FORM FOUR

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

TEACHER’S NOTES.
HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

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FORM 4

CHAPTER 1

THE WORLD WARS

The World Wars were among the key events by which the 20th century was characterized, alongside the world’s quest for peace and co-operation as well as developments and challenges in postcolonial Africa.

THE WORLD WAR 1 (1914-1918)

This was the first total war in the modern history of mankind. Almost all countries in the world were involved in it.

In what two ways were most nations involved in the First World War?

This involvement took two forms:

- Soldiers who were actually fighting in the war front.
- Civilians who were entrusted with the task of providing needs for the soldiers.

Explain why the First World War was the first mechanized war in world history.

- Much of the fighting was done with machines such as Automatic Rifles, Machine Guns, large Battle ships and submarines, Tanks and Long-range field guns.
- For the first time in history, man used 19th and 20th century scientific and technological development for the destruction of mankind.
- The Poison gas, which was developed during the war, killed many soldiers and caused permanent ill health to others.
- The development and use of aircraft during the war led to civilian involvement, causing civilians who were far away from the battle areas to get attacked.

Explain the causes of the First World War. (Identify the factors that led to the First World War).

- Colonial rivalry between Major European powers, particularly Britain, France and Germany.
- Economic rivalry between the European powers due to competition for raw materials and market for European manufactured goods.
- The first and Second Moroccan Crisis, arising from rivalry between the French and the Germans over Morocco, which increased political tension.
- The Arms Race among European powers.
- The system of alliance, I.E the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.
- Loss of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, which caused France to spoil for war to revenge.
- The 1911 dispute between Italy and Turkey over Libya, which caused ill feelings, particularly between Italy and Germany, because Germany was also interested in Libya apart from being an ardent supporter of Turkey.
- Nationalism all over Europe as European nationalists contested for more power for their peoples.
The 1912-1913 Balkan wars, which caused tension in Europe.

The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife in Sarajevo, which activated and antagonized the alliances already in place, leading to outbreak of the war.

**Explain the Alliance system and how it facilitated the First World War.** (In what ways did the Alliance system lead to (cause) the First World War?)

- Bismarck (the German Chancellor) arranged a dual alliance that comprised Germany and Austria-Hungary and was later joined by Italy to form the Triple Alliance in order to maintain German power in Europe after Prussia (a German state) had defeated France, which led to German unification. Such arrangement was also motivated by Bismarck’s fear that France would attack Germany in revenge. He extended the Triple Alliance by encouraging Romania to sign separate pacts with the members.
- To counter Germany’s power, Britain moved closer to France and Russia. The three formed the Triple Entente (Triple Understanding) of 1904.
- The Alliance system caused countries to act rashly, knowing that they would be supported. It also ensured that if a war broke out between two countries, the rest would join the war.

**In what ways did Imperialism cause (lead to) the First World War?** (Explain how Imperialism fuelled the First World War. Or: Explain how Economic rivalry between European powers fuelled the First World War. Or: Explain how colonial rivalry between major European powers facilitated the First World War.)

In late 19th century, the Western European nations, Japan and the USA competed among themselves for colonies as a result of the Industrial Revolution because:

- Each needed raw materials for their factories.
- Market for industrial products was of great necessity.
- Others wanted to invest capital in their new lands.

Although most colonial conflicts were solved in the 1884-85 Berlin Conference well before 1914, there was a lot of distrust, which no country could alleviate.

**Describe the Arms Race and how it led to the First World War.** (Analyse the Arms Race among the European powers and its influence in the First World War. (In what ways did the Arms Race feature as a factor in (cause of) the First World War?)

- From 1900-1914, there was competition for military supremacy among Western European countries, Japan, the USA and Russia, which made each of them aggressive and militant, ready to fight at the slightest provocation.
- Between 1906-1912, the Germans embarked on construction of nine Dreadnoughts.
- Britain concentrated on construction of eighteen Dreadnoughts.
- France and Russia expanded their armies by lengthening the conscription service and calling up training reservists.

**Describe the first and second Moroccan crisis and how it facilitated the First World War.**

**THE FIRST MORROCCAN CRISIS**

- As members of the triple Entente, France and Britain were great friends. They used the Entente to solve their colonial disputes. For example, France gave Britain a free hand in Egypt and Sudan while Britain recognized the supremacy of France in Morocco.
- Germany decided to test the Anglo-French alliance. On 31st March 1905, Kaiser William 2 alighted at Tangier in Morocco and delivered a speech on the importance of keeping Morocco an independent state. This did not please Britain and France.
- The German government then suggested an international conference to decide the future of Morocco.
- At the conference, which was held at Algesiras in Spain, Italy did not support Germany. This strengthened the Anglo-French alliance.

**THE SECOND MORROCCAN CRISIS**

- In July 1911, a German gunboat was sent to the port of Agadir in Morocco to protect German interests on the pretext that the French had recently sent troops to occupy the interior of
Europe to quell disorders there, although the real problem was caused by the unpopularity of the new Moroccan Sultan, who favored the French.

- Germany’s aims in Morocco became clear when the German foreign Minister suggested in Berlin that France gives up the French Congo to compensate for the exclusion of German interests in Morocco. This was a way of making France go to war, which France was in no position to do.
- Since Germany was determined to win more concessions, Britain helped to arrange a compromise whereby Germany agreed not to interfere in Morocco in return for a gift of part of French Congo.

(b) Analyse the 1911 dispute between Italy and Turkey over Libya and how this dispute led to the First World War.

- In 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey, taking advantage of the Agadir Crisis and the nationalist wave in the Ottoman Empire.
- Within a year, Italy had annexed Tripoli and the neighbouring province of Cyrenaica, implying that she was in possession of modern-day Libya.
- Feelings resulted between Germany and Italy, because Germany supported Turkey and was also interested in Libya.

Name the nations that emerged as a result of disintegration of the Ottoman Empire during the First World War. Or:
Identify the nations that emerged in Europe as countries disintegrated during the First World War.

Explain how nationalism in Europe facilitated the First World War

- The emergence of Germany and Italy as formidable powers in Europe disrupted the existing balance of power in Europe.
- The situation was worsened as Belgium broke away from Holland in 1930, while Norway was busy declining herself from Sweden.
- That very moment, the Ottoman Empire was quickly disintegrating into several fragments, leading to emergence of Greece, Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria as sovereign states.
- Elsewhere in Europe, there was a surge of strong nationalist aspirations among minority states or communities.

Identify Minority communities that depicted a surge of nationalism in the events leading to the First World War in Europe.

- Greeks and Bulgars in Macedonia, who hoped to be liberated from Turkish rule.
- The Italian and Romanian speakers within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, who aspired for political liberation.
- The Slavic peoples (the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Slovenes, Croats and Serbs), who were unhappy with Austro-Hungarian rule. The Serbs in particular sought reunification with Serbia across the Danube River. The Slavs were supported by Russia, Britain and France in their quest.

In what ways did desire for revenge fuel the First World War?

- The French harboured a deep-seated desire to settle old scores with the Germans due to their defeat by Germany during the 1870-71 Franco-Prussian war, which culminated in the German annexation of Alsace and Lorraine provinces, which were rich in industrial raw materials, particularly coal and iron ore, which undermined prestige of the French, who were regarded as the major land-power.
- France was eager to occupy large areas of Africa, regardless of whether they were productive or not, in order to boost her ego.

6. (a) Analyse the 1912-1913 Balkan wars and their role in fuelling the First World War.

- In 1912, in what became the First Balkan war, a Union of the Balkans, which comprised Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro, attacked Turkey on the pretext that the Young Turks movement was persecuting Christians in Macedonia. Turkey sued for peace as it was apparent that she was losing the war. The hostilities were concluded through the Treaty of London in 1913.
In what became the Second Balkan war, nations engaged in border and related disputes, characterized by demarcations and settlements, all of which were sealed at the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest, which ended the war.

Although the Western powers were not involved in the Balkan wars, the wars increased international tension, which caused a lot of concern.

Discuss the conflicts (demarcations and settlements) that characterized the Second Balkan War.

- Bulgaria and Serbia were contesting ownership of Macedonia, which had been carved out of Turkey by the 1913 Treaty of London.
- Serbia sought allies in Greece and Turkey. As a result, Greece and Serbia acquired Macedonia while Turkey recaptured Adrianople, which she had earlier lost at the Treaty of London.
- Romania acquired some valuable territory from Bulgaria, who lost much of what she had gained earlier on at the Treaty of London.
- Romania acquired Dobruja, a coastal region between the Black Sea and the River Danube.

In what ways did the Balkan War increase international tension?

- Bulgaria was left hunting and spoiling for an opportunity to recoup her losses.
- Because of her successes, Serbia was inspired in her ambition of uniting all Serbs in the Balkans under one rule.
- Hostilities between Austria and Serbia increased (were accentuated) as the Serbs were bitter after being denied occupation of Albania by Austria-Hungary during the First Balkan War. Occupation of Albania would have afforded the Serbs direct access to the sea.
- Serbia was unhappy as Austria and Hungary ruled about six million Serbs and Croats.
- Austria was unhappy with the emergence of Serbia as a powerful state, which set stage for the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Discuss the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in relation to the First World War. (In what ways did the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand fuel the First World War?)

**The Sarajevo Assassination**

- In June 1914, Franz Ferdinand (the Austro-Hungarian heir apparent) and his wife Sophie were killed in Sarajevo: the capital of the annexed province of Bosnia. The two were killed by Gavrilo Princip: a young Bosnian student, backed by a secret Serb organization called The Black Hand, which aimed at uniting all Serbs as one nation, and was therefore opposed to continued Austrian rule in Bosnia: a province largely inhabited by Serbs. However, the Serb government did not fully support The Black hand, since it regarded the organization as too radical and dangerously militant.
- Germany responded quickly by assuring Austria-Hungary of full support, regardless of whatever course of action she took. Therefore, Austria accused Serbia for the killing and presented Serbia with a stiff ultimatum and a list of demands, threatening to go to war if the demands were not met.
- Serbia accepted nearly all the terms except the fourth and sixth, which she suggested could be handled by the International Court of Justice at The Hague in Holland for arbitration.
- Austria-Hungary refused and therefore declared war on Serbia.
- In support of Serbia, Russia ordered full mobilization of her forces.
- In response, Germany demanded demobilization of Russia’s forces, but Russia did not, so Germany declared war on Russia.
- Germany demanded that France remains neutral, but France refused, so Germany declared war on France.
- German armies invaded Belgium, which caused Britain to join the war in defense of the 1839 treaty that guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium, a Treaty that Bismarck (the German chancellor) referred to as a scrap of paper not worth Britain’s defense.

State the demands of Austria against Serbia following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.

- An explanation for the assassination.
Apologies by Serbia to Austria-Hungary
Suppression of all anti Austrian publications and organizations.
Participation of Austrian officials in the enquiry, including the institution of judicial proceedings against those who committed the crime.
The dismissal of all officials that Austria objected to.
That Austrian police be allowed to enter Serbia’s territory to ensure that these demands were fulfilled.

What two of Austria’s demands was Serbia not ready to fulfil in relation to the Sarajevo Assassination?
- The dismissal of all officials that Austria objected to.
- That Austrian police be allowed to enter Serbia’s territory to ensure that these demands were fulfilled.

Describe two camps into which the powers were divided during the First World War.
- The one made up of the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy).
- The one known as the Allies, which comprised Serbia, Montenegro, Belgium, France, Russia and Britain.

Many other nations joined the allies while Turkey joined the Central Powers in 1914. The First World War was fought in Europe, Asia and Africa. It was fought both on land and at sea.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

Name the countries that were directly involved in the First World War.

Name the countries that:
- Formed the Triple Entente.
- Formed the Central Powers (Triple Alliance).
1. (a) Identify the war fronts during the First World War.
   - Identify the countries involved in fighting on the War Fronts during the First World War.
   - What was the Gallipoli campaign?
   - Why did the Gallipoli campaign fail?
3. (a) Why was Russia defeated in the First World War in spite of her large army and her mobilization of her army faster than Germany expected?
   - Why did Russia withdraw from the First World War in 1917?

Why did the USA enter the First World War?
World War I broke out in Europe, where it was fought on two main fronts, namely:
   i) The Western Front (mainly in France and Belgium).
   ii) The Eastern Front (in Russia and the Balkans).

WAR ON THE WESTERN FRONT
Here, the Germans were fighting British, French and (later on) American forces. The war on the Western front was part of the Von Schlieffen plan.

Explain the Von Schlieffen Plan.
- As far back as 1905, a German Field Marshal called Alfred Von Schlieffen had planned for a war against France, whereby France would be attacked through Belgium. Schlieffen believed that within a fortnight, German forces would capture Paris, thereby ending French resistance and force Britain to sign a separate peace treaty.
- Confident in the Schlieffen plan, the Germans invaded and overrun Belgium and Luxembourg on their way to attack the French.
- The French tried to launch their own attack against the Germans in the Alsace-Lorraine region, but they failed miserably. Even a British force sent to assist the French was nothing much for the Germans, who easily pushed it back.
- By September 1914, the German forces were only fifty miles from Paris: the French capital, which caused the French government to flee to Bordeaux.
- Germany attacked France from the east and from the west, creating a vacuum in the centre, which the British and the French used to attack the Germans.
Sensing danger, the German forces drew back across the Marne River.

**Why did the Von Schlieffen Plan fail?**
- Russia mobilized her forces faster than expected, which compelled Germany to deploy her forces to the Eastern front earlier than anticipated.
- The German invasion of Belgium was not as fast as anticipated.
- Britain entered the war, for which the Germans had not prepared.
- The German and the French sides were evenly matched, which Germany had not expected.

The rest of the war mostly took the form of Trench Warfare, whereby each side dug up a network of trenches reinforced with barbed wire for protection against artillery and machine gun fire. However, no side advanced against the other.

**Explain why the position of the opposing armies did not change in the Trench Warfare in spite of many attempts against each other during the First World War.**
- The two sides were evenly matched.
- The Trench warfare mainly sheltered defenders, which made attack more difficult than defense.
- The defenders used modern weapons and techniques such as Machine Guns and Barbed Wire defenses.

**Describe the new war methods employed to end the Trench Warfare stalemate during the First World War.**
- The Poison Gas, used by the Germans in 1915.
- Use of aeroplanes from 1915.
- Use of tanks from 1916, particularly by the British.

In May 1915, the Allies won Italy to their side by promising the Italians the two Austrian districts of Trieste and Trerti after the war, which was crucial as it held the Austrian forces in the Alps and stopped them from attacking Russia in the east. There was intense fighting in 1916 at Verdun and Somme, where a combined force of the French and the British kept the Germans at bay.

In late 1915, many countries joined either the Triple Alliance or the Triple Entente. Japan, Italy, Belgium, Serbia and Montenegro supported the Triple Entente while Turkey and Bulgaria supported the Triple Alliance. Consequently, the triple Alliance changed its name to Central Powers while the Triple Entente became the Allied Powers, popularly known as the Allies.

**WAR ON THE EASTERN FRONT**

Here, war was between Russia and Germany on one hand and between Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other. Although Russia mobilized her forces faster than Germany had expected, she was badly defeated because:
- She invaded both Germany and Austria at the same time.
- Although the Russian army was large, it was badly led, poorly trained and ill equipped.
- From the beginning of the war up to 1917, Russian casualties remained high.
- Russia was in a worse situation when Turkey joined the war in 1915 and cut off the main supply and trade route through the Dardanelles straits.

To assist Russia, the Allies launched the Gallipoli campaign in 1915, aimed at opening up the Dardanelles. But this campaign failed because:
- Anglo-French ships in the attack that was aimed at capturing Constantinople were destroyed by mines in the Dardanelles, which caused a delay that enabled Turkey to reinforce her defence.
- Troops brought in from Australia, New Zealand and Britain failed as the Central Powers had already taken position, ready for war. This caused the Allies to evacuate their forces.

The Allied military campaign in the Eastern Front encountered many more difficulties, which climaxed in the withdrawal of Russia from the war in 1917 as the Russian army had many problems such as:
- Lack of arms,
- Insufficient food supplies,
- Lack of clothing,
- Incompetent (poor/bad) leadership,
Poor transport and communication.

In March 1917, a revolution broke out in Russia, which led to the abdication of Tsar Nicholas 2. The new Russian government did not wish to continue the war against Germany. It formally ended the war in March 1918 with the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

**THE WAR AT SEA**

Explain how the First World War was fought at sea.

- Before 1914, the British fleet was numerically superior to that of Germany, although the German navy had superior armour and weapons. In 1914, the German navy upset British naval supremacy in the Pacific, but it was eventually defeated at the battle of Falkland Islands.
- In 1916, after decoding the German wireless cord, the British Royal navy fully countered the German fleet that had been stationed in the North Sea to attack the British fleet. In spite of losing many naval officers, Britain managed to route the German army out of the sea.
- Britain finally retained her supremacy in the sea, which was important to the Allies.
- Because of severe food shortages caused by the British blockade, the German high command declared unrestricted submarine warfare in 1917, meaning that ships from neutral countries were sank on sight without warning, just like enemy ships.
- In March 1917, German submarines torpedoed several US merchant ships. This angered the USA, which joined the war on the side of the Allies and upset the balance of power against Germany.

**Why was it important for Britain to retain her supremacy in the sea during the First World War?**

- The British blocked access by the central Powers to food and raw materials from other parts of the world.
- The British were able to capture the colonies of the Central Powers.
- The Allies maintained uninterrupted communication with other allied forces and could safeguard British food and raw material supplies from other parts of the world.

**Explain why the USA remained neutral in world warfare up to 1917.**

Upton 1917, the USA had remained neutral in World warfare because:

- She did not want to involve herself in the quarrel of European powers.
- There was fear that if the USA declared war on Germany, Americans of German descent might fight with those of other backgrounds on US soil.
- Upton 1916, the war had not directly interfered with US interests.

**End of World War 1**

Explain two major events that made 1917 the decisive year for the end of the First World War.

1917 was the decisive year for the end of the First World War because of two major events. These were:

- Russia’s withdrawal from the war after the Great Russian (Bolshevik) revolution.
- US declaration of war against the Central powers.

**Explain why the USA joined the First World War.** (What were the reasons for US entry into the First World War? Or: Explain the factors that facilitated entry of the USA into the First World War. Or: What were the reasons behind US entry into the First World War?)

- Pressure on the US government by Allies’ sympathizers within the USA, particularly those with blood or other ties with either France or Britain.
- US anger over a secret telegram by the German foreign minister: Arthur Zimmerman to the German embassy in Mexico urging Mexico to attack the USA in case the USA joined the Allies.
- If the allies lost war, US industrial and financial institutions would suffer serious losses as the USA had close trade links with Britain and France.
- British and US intelligence linked some of Germany’s sympathizers with industrial sabotage through strikes and explosions in US factories.
- Germany’s unrestricted submarine warfare, particularly after Germany sank the Sussex, A British ship that was ferrying American passengers to Europe.
The entry of the USA into the war gave the Allies an upper hand, leading to the defeat of Germany and her Central Power allies in 1918.

**Explain why the Central Powers were defeated in the First World War.**

- More manpower on the side of the Allies due to the large groups of supporters such as France, Britain, the USA, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.
- The Allies had more financial and industrial resources.
- The Allies had more powerful weapons like tanks, aircraft and battle ships.
- The Allies had more sea power, which they used to blockade the central Powers.
- The Allies had more political leadership.
- Germany was let down by her allies.
- The entry of the USA tilted the balance in favour of the Allies.

**Explain the terms that Germany was given by the Allies as a result of her defeat in the First World War.**

Due to her defeat, Germany was given the following stiff terms by the Allies:

- That Germany withdraws from all occupied territories including overseas colonies.
- Withdrawal of all German forces west of the Rhine.
- Surrender of all German war ships to the Allies.
- Allied occupation of some parts of Germany.
- Release of all Allied prisoners of war.

**THE PEACE SETTLEMENT**

**Identify the principles on which peace with Germany would be based as outlined by US President: Woodrow Wilson in 1918.**

In 1918, US President: Woodrow Wilson outlined the principles on which peace with Germany would be based as follows:

- The return of Alsace and Lorraine provinces and restoration of freedom to France.
- Abolition of secret diplomacy.
- Adjustment of Italian frontiers on nationality basis.
- Free navigation at sea for all nations in war and peace.
- Self determination for Austria-Hungary.
- Removal of economic barriers between states.
- Evacuation of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania and provision of access to the sea for Serbia.
- Reduction of Armament.
- Self government for non-turkish peoples in the Turkish Empire.
- The opening of the Dardanelles.
- Adjustment of colonial claims in the interest of the peoples concerned.
- Independence and provision of access to the sea for Poland.
- Vacating of Russian territory by German forces.
- Creation of an association of world nations to preserve peace.
- Restoration of independence to Belgium.

However, due to recurrence of World War 1 bitterness, these principles did not bring the desired peace. In January 1919, the Allies convened a peace conference in Paris: France, at which treaties were signed with each of the five central Powers.

**Identify the treaties signed during the Paris Conference (1919).**

- The Treaty of Versailles with Germany.
- The treaty of Saint German with Austria.
- The Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria.
- The treaty of Trianon with Hungary.
- The treaty of Lausanne with Turkey.

All these treaties were together called the Treaty of Versailles.

**Name the four Heads of State that dominated the Paris Conference (1919).**

The Paris conference was dominated by four heads of state. These were:
Woodrow Wilson: the President of the United States of America.
Lloyd George: the British Prime Minister.
Georges Clemenceau: the French Prime Minister.
Victoria Orlando: the Italian Prime Minister.
(a) What were the results of the Versailles Treaty?
Germany was solely held responsible for World War 1.
Germany was reduced in size by an eighth and in population by 6.5 million.
Germany lost claim to her colonies and overseas investments, which were put under the League of Nations as Mandate Territories.
Germany lost the provinces of Schleswig, South-Eastern Silesia, Alsace, Lorraine and a strip of Prussia.
Danzig port, which was claimed by both Germany and Poland, was put as a free city under the League of Nations.
The Saar valley, which was rich in coal and iron, was to be administered by the League of Nations for fifteen years, after which the inhabitants of the region would be allowed to vote on whether it should belong to France or Germany.
Germany was forced to pay war reparations of over 6.5 billion Sterling Pounds to the Allies.
Germany’s army recruitment was restricted to a hundred thousand men, with limited military equipment. Tanks, heavy Artillery, military aircraft, airships, poison gas and use of submarines were banned, which weakened Germany militarily.
No possible union between Austria and Germany would be allowed. Austria was allowed to remain independent in spite of having a large German population while Italy acquired Stria: the Italian-speaking region of Austria.
An independent Hungarian state was created.
Emergence of some new states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.
Finland acquired complete independence from Russia.
Syria, Palestine and Iraq became mandated territories and were no longer Turkish possessions. Turkey also lost Egypt.
The League of Nations was established to prevent another war outbreak. However, the Versailles treaty did not bring lasting peace because.
Explain why the Versailles treaty was ineffective. (Identify the factors that undermined the Versailles treaty. Or:
Explain why the Versailles treaty did not foster lasting peace after the First World War.)
Germany felt that the treaty was being used to punish and humiliate her.
The interests of people under colonial rule were largely ignored by the European powers.
The interests of minorities, particularly in Europe were ignored or inadequately catered for by the Allies. For instance, Austria was forbidden from merging with Germany.
Italy was embittered as she was given only the Italian-speaking region of Stria as the British and the French
Got the lion’s share of the territories taken over from the Central Powers.
The US Senate refused to ratify the charter of the League of Nations since the Constitution of the USA prohibited commitment to such an organization, whose membership required a nation to help a future victim of aggression.
Explain the impact of the First World War.
Many deaths as more than thirteen million people perished.
Diseases and Exposure. Soldiers and many other people were infected with Pneumonia, Spanish Influenza, Sexually transmitted and all manner of other diseases.
Mass starvation as most of the productive people were sent to war while land and crops were devastated.
Severe weakening of Europe’s economic domination over the rest of the world since greater expenditure was devoted to war rather than economic growth.
Destruction of the industrial and community lives as schools, factories, roads, bridges and railways in the Fighting zones were left in ruins.

Insecurity due to the Refugee crisis in continental Europe.

Emergence of the USA as the world’s leading power after the war.

Alteration of European boundaries as empires disintegrated while new nations emerged E.G Hungary, Yugoslavia, etc.

Erosion of Europe’s domination of overseas colonies as many Indians and Africans involved in the war returned home with revolutionary ideas, especially on the need for self determination.

Displacement of many people, which caused great misery and suffering, among other problems.

Establishment of an international organization (the League of Nations) for preservation of international peace and security.

Advancement in surgery and manufacture of pharmaceuticals as many injuries and ailments were incurred and experienced during the war.

Widespread use of motor vehicles and aircraft, which eased transportation in many parts of the world.

Promotion of gender equality as women took up jobs previously performed by men. This happened due to the great demand for manpower for military duties.

The impact/results of the First World War could be classified into political, economic and social results as follows:

**POLITICAL RESULTS**

- Creation of new nations in Europe, e.g. Hungary and Yugoslavia.
- Involvement of the USA in the war.
- Emergence of the USA as a leading world power due to victory over the Central Powers.
- It undermined the existence of Great Turkey, part of whose empire gained independence.
- The size of Germany was reduced.
- Germany lost her colonies.
- France regained her territories of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany.
- Rise of nationalism in Africa through the Ex-soldiers who fought in the war, who went back home determined to achieve self independence.
- European domination of overseas colonies was undermined.
- Creation of the League of Nations to maintain international peace and security.
- Revolution in Russia, which led to the collapse of the Tsar Regime and rise of communism in Russia.
- Anarchy, which led to rise of dictators like Benito Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany.

**ECONOMIC RESULTS**

- A lot of money was spent on the war as the warring sides bought arms.
- Strain to the economy of many countries, thus weakening European domination of the rest of the world.
- Disruption to economic activities like trade, agriculture, etc.
- Industries were destroyed.
- Destruction of property, hence economic loss e.g. roads, railways, schools, etc.
- The use of vehicles and air craft became widespread during the war, thus easing transportation in the world.

**SOCIAL RESULTS**

- Millions of people died during the war.
- Thousands of people were displaced and rendered homeless, creating a refugee problem.
- Outbreak of diseases in epidemic proportions, e.g. Spanish Influenza.
- Separation of families and many children were orphaned, causing misery and suffering.
- Starvation due to food shortage.
- The art of surgery advanced due to many injuries.
- Many women began to work due to demand for manpower, leading to Gender equality in many parts of Europe.
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Explain the origin of the League of Nations.
There was public demand for prevention of renewal of war after World War I. Several agencies of international co-operation were formed E.G the Universal Postal Union. Some world leaders such as US President Woodrow Wilson saw the need for political co-operation as the benefits of the economic and social agencies were realized.

A general association of nations was formed as a result of the 1919 Peace conference, which paved way for the formation of the League of Nations.

The headquarters of the League of Nations was established in Geneva: Switzerland, because of Switzerland’s neutral stand in European conflicts. Sir Eric Drummond from Britain was its first Secretary General. The league initially comprised the Allies and their associates, but later, other states joined, including Germany. Members of the League had to observe peace. Disarmament, peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for the sovereignty of other states were emphasized. The league could recommend economic or diplomatic sanctions or the use of military force against aggressions or those countries that violated its terms.

What were the aims of the League of Nations?

- Achievement of international peace and security.
- To reduce armament and to prevent war.
- To encourage nations to settle disputes peacefully.
- To take action against aggressors.
- To improve people’s working and living conditions.
- To supervise former territories of the Central Powers.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Identify the main organs of the League of Nations.

The main organs of the League of Nations include:

- The assembly.
- The Council.
- The secretariat.
- The Permanent court of International justice.
- The International labour office.
- Specialized Commissions and committees.

Describe the Assembly as constituted within the League of Nations.

- It comprised all League member states.
- Its members met annually in Geneva, although special sessions could be held whenever need arose.
- All members had equal vote (one vote each). Its president and other office bearers were elected on a simple Majority basis.
- No member could send more than three delegates to the Assembly.
- The Assembly meeting handled world affairs and any other issues of relevance, including operation of the league.

(c) Explain the functions of the Assembly as an organ of the League of Nations.

- Control of the budget of the league.
- Admission of new members.
- Appointment of nonpermanent members to the League of Nations council.
- Review of the various treaties.
- Supervision of the work of the League of Nations’ Council.
- Appointment of judges of the permanent Court of International Justice.
- Approval of the appointment of the Secretary General.
- Amendment of the league’s covenant.

Describe the Council as constituted within the League of Nations.

- It comprised permanent and nonpermanent members.
Its nonpermanent members served a three-year term. It met three times annually, except for emergency sessions.

Name the countries that served as permanent members of the League of Nations.
- France,
- Britain,
- Italy,
- Japan.

Explain the functions of the Council as part of the League of Nations.
- Carrying out recommendations of the Assembly.
- Appointment and control of various committees of the league.
- Appointment of the Secretary General, but with the Assembly’s approval.
- Preparing agenda for the Assembly.
- Generally, the council carried out the work of the league.

Describe the Secretariat of the League of Nations.
- It was the league’s administrative body.
- It was based in Geneva: Switzerland.
- It was mainly headed by a Secretary General, assisted by selected staff.
- Its expenses were met by members of the league.

What were the functions of the Secretariat as part of the League of Nations?
- Preparing agenda for Assembly and council meetings.
- Carrying out all League correspondence.
- Publication of reports.
- Carrying out research.
- Carrying out the League’s decisions.
- Provision of continuity between council and assembly meetings.

Describe the International Court of Justice as constituted within the League of Nations.
- It was based at The Hague: Holland.
- It comprised seven judges and four deputy judges of different nationalities, who served a nine-year term.

State the functions of the International Court of Justice as an organ of the League of Nations.
- Settlement of international disputes.
- Judicial advice to the Assembly and council on international disputes.
- Interpretation of treaties.

Describe the International Labour Office.
The International Labour Office was established in 1919 as an independent agency of the League of Nations to promote the welfare of workers. It exists today as the International Labour Organization: an auxiliary of the United Nations organization.

Explain how the International labour committee improved working conditions in Europe after World War I
- Maximum working hours per day and per week were fixed.
- Adequate minimum wages were specified.
- Sickness and Unemployment benefits were introduced.
- Old-Age pension schemes were enacted.

Define Specialized agencies as constituted within the League of Nations.
These were commissions and committees that handled specific problems, mostly arising from the period after the First World War.

Identify the problems/issues that League of Nations’ specialized Agencies handled.
- Mandates,
- Military affairs,
- Minority groups,
Disarmament,
International labour,
Health,
Economic and financial organizations,
Child welfare,
Drug-related problems,
Women’s welfare.

Achievements of the League of Nations

Explain the successes/achievements of the League of Nations.

- Establishment of and fair settlement of disputes through the International Court of Justice.
- Successful administration of Trust Territories.
- It focused World attention on the need to protect minorities.
- Settlement of various international disputes E.G between Turkey and Iraq over Mosul (1913-26).
- Restoration of financial stability in Austria during the Great Depression.
- Disarmament.
- Continental co-operation in social and economic issues.

Identify the international disputes that were settled by the League of Nations.

- The 1913-1926 Turkey-Iraq dispute over Mosul province.
- The 1931-1935 Colombia-Peru dispute over the Leticia trapezium.
- The Poland-Germany dispute over northern Silesia.
- The Sweden-Finland dispute over the Alan islands.

Describe the League of Nations’ peace pacts.

- The 1925 Locarno treaty, which settled boundary disputes between Germany and France and between Germany and Belgium, leading to Germany’s admission into the League of Nations in 1926.
- The 1928 Kellogg-Briand pact, by which nations had to renounce war and adopt peaceful settlement of disputes.

Explain the failures of the League of Nations. (What problems did the League of Nations face/experience? Or: Explain the shortcomings of the League of Nations. Or: Explain the factors that undermined the League of Nations.)

- In 1931, Japan defied the league and invaded Manchuria in China.
- In 1935, Benito Mussolini of Italy invaded Ethiopia and pulled out of the league.
- Germany broke (went against) the Treaty of Versailles with impunity and embarked on a remilitarization programme.
- Nations continued to sign secret treaties in total disregard of the league and its terms.
- Germany and Russia invaded Holland, Austria and Finland between 1936-1939.
- Germany occupied the Rhineland without hindrance.

Explain why the League of Nations failed to meet its objectives.

- It was considered partisan as many countries associated it with the Allies.
- Its rejection by the USA weakened it.
- It initially lacked Powerful Countries’ support.
- The conference of Ambassadors interfered with its work.
- Member states were preoccupied with nationalism.
- Inadequate funds.
- Germany’s aggression against other member states due to the Appeasement policy practiced by Britain and France.
- Lack of a military wing to enforce its decisions.
- Conspicuous absence of many members at its meetings.
- Its covenant did not forbid war.

WORLD WAR 2
Explain the influence of Adolf Hitler in World War II.

The Second World War and its outcome revolve around Adolph Hitler: an Austrian, who served as a corporal in the German army during the First World War as follows:

- By the end of World War I, the German empire collapsed. The German Emperor (William 2) fled to Holland. The German economy declined due to the Versailles settlement, which held Germany responsible for the First World War.
- In November 1923, Adolph Hitler and his friends launched an unsuccessful coup. But later, having taken advantage of the World recession of the 1930s, Hitler and his National socialist (Nazi) loyalists seized power.
- In 1936, Hitler made himself leader of Germany, with absolute power over his subjects.
- Instead of colonies, Hitler preferred and embarked on expanding Germany eastwards, effectively removing the Slav threat and bringing under control the most fertile and strategically secure land in Europe. France had to be crushed for Germany to expand into Eastern Europe and, hopefully, restore the glory enjoyed by Germany before the First World War.
- Hitler demanded rearmament of Germany and set out to assert Germany’s authority over smaller and weaker states, which greatly destabilized European peace.
- Hitler discredited heavy reliance on trade, which, to him, would only benefit the Jews, who controlled it. In his speeches, Hitler clearly stated that unless other powers submitted to his will, Germany’s expansion could not be effected without a new war.
- To eliminate opposition from within Germany, Hitler made all political parties subordinate to and coordinated by the state. From 1933, he launched Nazi purges, whereby millions of Jews and all other potential dissidents were killed.
- Although several peace settlements were signed to strengthen relations between world powers after the First World War, there was general increase of aggression because of the bad conditions many European countries found themselves in during the 1930s.

Therefore, coupled with Hitler’s seizure of power in Germany, events prior to 1939 culminated in the Second World War.

Explain the causes of World War II. (Explain the factors that led to World War II.)

- Extreme nationalism in Italy under Benito Mussolini and in Germany under Adolph Hitler.
- The Great Depression (1929-1939), which caused economic problems that triggered conflict between nations.
- The policy of Appeasement practiced by France and Britain, which encouraged dictators to be even more aggressive.
- The League of Nations was weak and could not stop the aggressive nations like Germany, Japan and Italy.
- The military alliance encouraged aggression among some states.
- The rise of dictators in Europe such as Hitler and Mussolini, which provoked war as they made unfair demands on other countries.
- Germany’s violation of the Versailles Treaty. Germany blamed this treaty for all her problems.

Describe two rival groups that were involved in World War II.
The Second World War involved two rival groups, namely:

- The Allied forces, which comprised France, Britain and the USA.
- The Axis Powers, which consisted of Germany, Italy and Japan.

Name four fronts on which World War II was fought.

- Western Europe.
- North Africa.
- Eastern Europe.
- The Far East.

OUTBREAK & COURSE OF THE WAR

Discuss the process of World War II. (Analyse the course of World War II.)
A month before the outbreak of the war, Hitler unexpectedly signed the Nazi-Soviet Friendship pact, enabling Germany to fight on one front and the Soviet Union to prepare for war. The war was fought on the western and eastern fronts.

Hitler felt he could attack Poland without hesitation, thinking that Britain would not support Poland, which would enable him to dispose off Poland and carry out his plans in Eastern Europe.

In September 1939, Germany invaded Poland, with devastating results, for the Soviet Union occupied Poland.

Britain ordered Germany to withdraw immediately, but Germany did not. Britain therefore declared war on Germany.

That same moment, France declared war on Germany.

Later that same month, Germany invaded Belgium, which led to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Britain and France supported Belgium.

Italy supported Germany, and then France surrendered.

Germany occupied all the coastal zones and ruled France through the Vichy, which was a puppet government.

In 1940, Germany launched a daylight attack on Britain and the war went on unto the winter season of 1941.

Hitler then attacked the Soviet Union and made Germany to fight on two fronts.

Without warning, Japan attacked the American fleet at Pearl Harbour in 1941 and made the USA to join the war on the side of Britain and the Soviet Union.

China also joined Britain and the Soviet Union, but Germany and Japan were well prepared. They fought at lightning speed to the borders of India.

In North Africa, Italy attacked Egypt, but was pushed back by Allied Forces at the battle of El-Amein, where the Germans were defeated by the British.

In Europe, Mussolini was overthrown by Anglo-American forces and the new Italian government declared war on Germany.

From June 1944, the Allies invaded Normandy and eventually liberated France. The Allies and the Soviet Union rushed to Berlin. The Germans tried to fight back but they were defeated.

Having been defeated unto his doorstep, Hitler killed himself to escape capture by Allied and Soviet troops. By 30th April 1945, the war was over in the West.

In the east, the Allies and the USA dropped Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan in 1945, with devastating results. Japan surrendered and the war was over.

**Explain why the Axis powers were defeated by the Allies in World War II.**

- The Allies had a large army compared to that of the Axis Powers.
- Germany’s failure to effectively control her expansive conquered territories, some of which rebelled as others joined the Allies against Germany.
- The entry of resource-rich USA into the war, which turned the tables against the Axis Powers. Shortage of raw materials on the side of the Axis powers E.G rubber, oil and cotton for sustenance of their economies and the war.
- The Allies had the most powerful weapon: the Atomic Bomb, which they used against Japan.

**What were the results of World War II.** (What were the effects/consequences of World War II.

- Massive loss of life and destruction of property.
- Untold suffering to war and other victims.
- Division of Germany into West and East after the war.
- Emergence of the USA and USSR as two superior powers as European nations had been devastated by the war.
- Unemployment as demobilized servicemen and prisoners of war increased demand for jobs.
- Increased US involvement in European affairs through the Marshal plan.
- Loss of confidence in existing governments in Europe as the economic ruin of World War 2 disoriented citizens.
A refugee crisis.
Displacement of many people from their countries.
Emergence of nationalism both in Asia and Africa.
Communism became more widespread due to suspicion between the capitalist and communist nations.
Advancement of military technology.
Establishment of the United Nations Organization (UNO) after the war to promote international peace and security.
Women changed their status and participated in the war.
Dependence of European nations on their colonies for reconstruction materials.

CHAPTER 2
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

What is International Relations?
International Relations refers to the co-operation or interaction between individuals or groups of nations of the world.

Into what levels could International Relations be categorised
These can be categorized into:

- Economic relations, which involve trade and other commercial activities among nations i.e. exchange of goods as well as giving of foreign loans and grants.
- Diplomatic relations, essential in settlement of disputes and promotion of commercial activities among nations. Such relations are regulated by exchange of Ambassadors or High Commissioners, who serve as Go-Betweens, encouraging international co-operation.
- Political relations, which involve cooperation between countries with similar political systems or ideologies.
- Socio-cultural relations, by which countries understand and appreciate each other’s culture by exchanging dance-trios, musicians, acrobats, athletes, sports teams, theatre groups, etc.

What are the benefits of International Relations?

- Economic growth in the world due to expanded international trade.
- Financial and technical assistance to developing nations by the developed ones through exchange of skills, knowledge and technology, which have speeded up industrial development.
- Enhancement of peace and security due to policies geared towards peaceful settlement of disputes, reducing the threat of war.
- Promotion of world understanding through cultural exchange.
- Collective solution of global problems such as desertification, armament, environmental pollution and global warming.

Identify two types of international organizations
There are two types of international organizations. These are:

- International Governmental organizations (IGO), which are created by two or more sovereign states such as the United Nations Organization, the Commonwealth, the Nonaligned Movement and the African Union.
- International Nongovernmental Organizations (NGO), which are created by individual or private organizations such as The International Red Cross, Amnesty International and Transparency International.

By what criterion could International Governmental organizations be categorised?
International governmental organizations can be categorized according to their membership or purpose as follows:

- Which may be global, regional or otherwise defined.
  - Global organizations, which have a worldwide membership e.g. the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization.
Regional International governmental organizations, which are defined by geographical boundaries, e.g. the East African Community, the Economic Community of West African States, etc.

- International governmental organizations with a broad purpose, e.g. the United Nations Organization, whose mandate includes health, security and environment.
- International Governmental organizations with a limited purpose, e.g. the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), whose mandate is limited to security concerns of their member states.

**Explain the role of International organizations.**

- Provision of member states with a forum to consult and tackle problems of concern.
- Acting as regulators in their fields to ensure the welfare of humankind. For instance, the World Health Organization (WHO) regulates the health sector through immunization, vaccination and other prevention campaigns.
- Enhancement of peace and security through peace-keeping missions, response to disasters and provision of assistance to war victims.
- Charity and facilitation of equitable distribution of resources in the world. For instance, the International Monitory fund (IMF) and the World Bank advance loans to developing nations.

**THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION**

The United Nations Organization (UNO) is an association of independent nations, established to promote and maintain international peace and security. Its membership is open to all nations, regardless of their political and ideological beliefs, differences in economic systems or levels of development, etc.

**Analyse the origin/formation of the United Nations Organization (UNO).** (Explain the origin of the United Nations Organization).

The formation of the UNO was preceded by a series of conferences as follows:

- On 12th June 1941 in London, the Inter-Allied declaration to work together with other freed peoples both in times of war and peace was signed.
- On 12th August 1941 in a meeting in the USA, US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the UK proposed a set of principles for international collaboration in maintaining peace and security. This led to the signing of the Atlantic Charter, which pledged respect for human freedom, allowed all nations the freedom to choose the forms of government they preferred and provided that no territory should change hands after war without the consent of its people.
- At a meeting in Washington on 1st January 1942, the declaration by United Nations was signed by the representatives of twenty-six allied nations that were fighting against the Axis powers, who proclaimed their support for the Atlantic Charter and pledged to continue fighting together against the Axis Powers. This marked the first use of the term United Nations, which was devised by President Roosevelt in reference to the twenty-six nations that assembled for that meeting.
- On 30th October 1943 in Moscow, the governments of the USSR, the UK and China signed a declaration in which they called for an early establishment of an international organization to maintain peace and security and to regulate the postwar period. This goal was reaffirmed on 1st December 1943 when the leaders of the USA, the UK and the USSR met in Tehran: Iran.
- At a conference held at Dumbarton Oaks Estate in Washington: USA from 21st September to 7th October 1944, the representatives of the USSR, UK, USA and China agreed on the aims, structure and functions of World organization. This was the first blueprint of the United Nations Organization.
- At a conference in Yalta: Ukraine on 11th February 1945, US president Roosevelt, UK prime minister Churchill and USSR Prime minister Joseph Stalin declared their resolve to establish a general international organization to maintain peace and security.
- On 25th April 1945 in San Francisco: USA, delegates from fifty nations met for the United Nations conference on international organization and drew up the United Nations Charter, which was unanimously adopted on 25th June 1945.
- The UNO began its official functions on 24th October 1945 after ratification of its charter by the USSR, USA, UK, China and France. That is why the United Nations’ day is celebrated every 24th of October.
The UNO took over the League of Nations’ mandate of maintenance of peace and security and prevention of outbreak of another World war.

- The headquarters of the UNO was established and still is in New York: USA. The UNO is recognized as a very important international body in development of world nations.

**State the reasons for the formation of the United Nations Organization**

- Maintenance of peace and security.
- To develop friendly relations among member states.
- To replace the League of Nations, which had collapsed?
- Promotion of international understanding and cooperation.
- To prevent another war.
- To promote cultural interaction.
- To promote fundamental human rights and freedoms.
- To promote social progress and better living standards.
- To promote economic development among member states.
- To protect the interests of the minorities such as women and children.

**Describe/Explain UN membership.**

- Membership to the UNO is open to all peace-loving nations that accept and are willing to carry out the obligations of its charter.
- Admission of any state to the UNO is effected by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. By 1945, only 51 states had signed the Charter. Kenya was admitted on 16th December 1963. Today, the UNO comprises over 191 states.
- The official languages of the UNO are: English, Chinese, French, Russian, Spanish and Arabic. This is for effective communication since members are from diverse backgrounds.

**State the principles of the UNO Charter.**

The charter of the United Nations Organization comprises the following principles:

- Sovereign equality of all member states.
- Member states’ fulfillment of their charter obligations in good faith.
- Peaceful settlement of international disputes, without endangering peace, security and justice.
- Refrain by member states from the threat or use of force against others in their international relations.
- Member states’ assistance to the UNO in any action it takes in accordance with the charter, without helping the states against which the UNO is taking preventive or enforcement action.
- Ensuring that nonmember states act in accordance with UN principles in so far as necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

**Outline the structure/organization of the UNO. (Name the organs of the UNO).**

The UNO is divided into six main organs. These are:

- The General Assembly
- The Security Council
- The International Court of Justice
- The Economic and Social Council
- The Secretariat
- The Trusteeship council.

**Explain how the United Nation’s General Assembly operates/works. (Describe the United Nations’ General Assembly).**

- It consists of all member states.
- It is the main deliberative body of the UNO.
- Each member is entitled to one vote.
- Its decisions are made by a two-thirds majority vote, depending on the importance of the matters involved.
- The Assembly meets annually, but may have special sessions at the request of the Security Council.
Because of the great number of issues to consider, the Assembly appoints seven committees to deal with matters and report back to the General Assembly for approval and action. For instance, its 1991 session comprised more than 150 items.

**What are the powers and functions of the UN General Assembly?**

- Making recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation.
- Dealing with colonial trusteeship and recommendation of measures for peaceful settlement of any situation likely to interfere with the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.
- Consideration and making recommendations on the principles of cooperation in the maintenance of peace and security as well as disarmament and regulation of arms.
- Promotion of higher standards of living E.G through employment and enhancement of the economic and social well being of the people.
- Discussion of and making recommendations on any question relating to international peace and security, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed.
- Election of the judges of the International Court of Justice. This is done jointly with the Security Council.
- Discussion of and making recommendations on any question within the scope of the charter or any issue affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the UNO, except where an issue or situation is currently being handled by the Security Council.
- Appointment of the Secretary General, with the recommendation of the Security Council.
- Initiation of studies and making recommendations to promote international political cooperation.
- Election of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council, the Economic and social council and the Trusteeship Council.
- Development and modification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
- Receiving and considering reports from the Security Council and other organs of the UNO.
- International collaboration in social, economic, cultural, educational and health sectors.
- Considering and approval of the UN budget.
- Guiding or directing the activities of other UN organs.
- Apportioning contributions among members.

**Describe the United Nations’ Security Council.** (Into what two categories is the UN Security Council membership divided?)

- It has fifteen members (five permanent and ten nonpermanent).
- Nonpermanent members are elected by the General Assembly for a two-year term.

**Name the five permanent members of the UN Security Council.**

- China,
- France,
- The Russian Federation,
- The United Kingdom,
- The United States of America.

**Explain how the UN Security Council operates.**

The Security Council operates as follows:

- Each member of the council has a vote. Decisions on procedural matters are made by an affirmative vote of at least nine of the fifteen permanent members.
- Decisions on substantive matters require nine votes of “Great Power Unanimity” I.E they must be supported by all five permanent members of the Security Council for them to be passed.
- The five permanent members have the right of Veto. If a permanent member says No, no decision can be made even if the decision has nine or fourteen of the fifteen voters’ support.
- If a permanent member does not wish to block a decision through a veto, she may abstain. Any of the five permanent members can block a proposal by casting a negative vote.
Members of the Security Council must have representatives in New York at all times in order to meet at a moment’s notice. Resolutions other than procedural matters require seven of the fifteen members’ votes to be passed.

Many countries, including Japan, Germany, India and Brazil are calling for the expansion of the Permanent Member states. The African Union is also pushing for two seats.

What are the functions of the UN Security Council?
- Maintenance of international peace and security
- Admission, suspension or expulsion of members to or from the Union.
- Investigation of disputes or any situation that may lead to international conflict.
- Negotiation, mediation and arbitration in case of disputes between states.
- Recommendation of appropriate procedures to be followed by states in settling disputes.
- Determining as to whether any situation threatens peace as well as taking the necessary measures in maintaining peace.
- Calling upon some or all members to provide forces or to facilitate military action against aggressors, E.G deploying peace-keeping forces in war-torn countries.

Describe the International Court of Justice.
- It is the main judicial organ of the UNO.
- It is based at The Hague in Netherlands.
- It is open to parties signatory to its statutes.

Explain how the International Court of Justice decides on disputes submitted to it.
In line with article 38 of its statutes, the court decides on disputes submitted to it by applying:
- International conventions establishing rules recognized by the states.
- International custom as evidence of a general practice as law.
- The general principles of law recognized by nations.
- Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicist of the various nations as subsidiary means of determining the rule of law.

Identify the disputes that are arbitrated by the International Court of Justice.
Disputes arbitrated by the court include:
- International borders,
- Treatment of diplomatic staff,
- Fishing rights,
- Nuclear tests,
- Territorial water delimitation.

The UN charter compels all members to comply with the decisions of the court, though, in practice, this does not always happen.

Under what terms does the International Court of Justice operate?
The International Court of Justice comprises fifteen judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council under the following terms:
- They are chosen on the basis of their qualifications.
- They serve for a nine-year term and may be re-elected.
- They cannot engage in any other occupation during their term of office.
- No two judges can be nationals of the same state.

Describe the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council.
- It comprises delegates from 54 UN member states, elected by the General Assembly for a Three-year term.
- The members meet twice every year in New York and Geneva, although there are short sessions on monthly basis.
- It mainly coordinates the economic and social activities of the UNO and supervises the operations of the UN agencies.
Explain how the United Nations’ Economic and Social council coordinates the economic and social activities of the United Nations Organization. (Identify the commissions through which the Economic and social council carries out its work as an organ of the UNO. Or: Identify the commissions set up by the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council.)

To achieve its goals, the United Nations’ Economic and Social Council has set up the following commissions:

- The Statistical commission.
- The Population Commission.
- The commission for social development.
- The commission on the status of women, especially women in developing countries, which advocates equal rights with men such as the right to vote as well as equal pay for equal work.
- The commission on narcotic drugs.

This council, which is popularly known as ECOSOC, is the main forum for international economic and social systems and promotion of living standards, employment, social health, international, cultural and economic cooperation as well as universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

What are the functions of the Economic and Social Council?

- Convening of international conferences on economic and social issues.
- Initiating studies and making reports on international economic, social, cultural, educational, health and related matters, which are then submitted with recommendations to the General Assembly.
- Offering nongovernmental organizations the opportunity to bring their expertise to the UN, thereby maintaining a vital link between the organization and the civil society.
- Making recommendations aimed at promoting respect and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.
- Coordinating the activities of specialized agencies like the World Health Organization and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development among others.
- Drafting conventions and presenting them to the General Assembly on matters within its jurisdiction.

Describe the Trusteeship Council as an organ of the United Nations Organization.

- The Trusteeship Council took over the work of the Mandates commission, which was an organ of the League of Nations.
- It comprises five permanent and six nonpermanent members. The nonpermanent members are appointed by the General Assembly.
- It took up responsibility over the territories under colonial rule, aimed at promoting political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of Trust Territories and other progressive development towards self government.

Describe the categories of Trust Territories over which the Trusteeship Council took responsibility.

- Territories voluntarily placed under the council by other powers.
- Territories under the former League of Nations.
- Territories taken from the Axis Powers by the Allies during the Second World War.

Name the countries that attained independence under the Trusteeship Council.

Countries that attained independence under the Trusteeship Council include

- Ghana,
- Somalia,
- Togo,
- Cameroon,
- Tanzania,
- Rwanda,
- Burundi,
- Western Samoa.
With the 1961 General Assembly declaration on the granting of independence to colonized countries and peoples, the United Nations has promoted decolonization, as was evident in South Africa’s independence in 1994 when Apartheid was dismantled and White minority rule ended, rendering Africa fully liberated from the colonial yoke.

**What are Specialized and Affiliated agencies in relation to the U N O?** (Define/describe Specialized and Affiliated agencies of the U N O).

- Specialized and Affiliated agencies are separate autonomous organizations related to the U N O by special agreements.
- They report annually to the Economic and Social Council.
- Initially, they were fifteen, but now they are more than twenty.

**Name the Specialized and Affiliated agencies of the United Nations Organization.**

- The International Labour Organization (I L O), which is based in Geneva: Switzerland and deals with World Labour issues by advocating better living and working conditions for workers worldwide.
- The Food and Agriculture Organization (F A O), which is based in Rome: Italy and is concerned with World food supplies and agricultural development in developing countries.
- The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), which is based in Paris: France. It coordinates educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural cooperation.
- The World Health Organization (W H O), which is based in Geneva: Switzerland. It gives financial aid to countries to develop their health services, to ensure the highest standard of education and to fight diseases worldwide.
- The International Monetary Fund (IMF), which works closely with the World Bank.
- The International Development Association (IDA), which advances loans to least developed member countries, allowing them about fifty years to repay, with no interest or profit.
- The International Finance Cooperation (IFC), which invests in private enterprises in developing countries.
- The International Civil Aviation Organization (I C A O), which promotes safe and orderly growth of the civil aviation industry.
- The Universal Postal Union (U P U), which boosts cooperation in promoting and improving postal services.
- The World Meteorological Organization (WMO), which supports worldwide networks for the observation of weather, climate, water levels and other physical conditions in earth.
- The United Nations Habitat, which is based in Nairobi: Kenya and which deals with human settlement and housing.
- The International Maritime Organization (IMO), which establishes shipping regulations to raise safety standards and to prevent pollution from ships.
- The United Nations Environment Programme (U N E P), which is based in Nairobi: Kenya and deals with issues related to environmental degradation and preservation.
- The World Intellectual Property Organization (W I P O), which protects legal rights in artistic and literary works.
- The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).
- The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) which is concerned with the needs of refugees all over the world.
- The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), now referred to as the United Nations Children’s Fund, which deals with special problems of child-care in countries affected by war or other calamities.
- The United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR).
- The International Centre for Public Enterprise in Developing Countries (ICPEDC).
- The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).
- The United Nations adhoc committee on the Indian Ocean.
- The International Conference on the question of Palestine.
- The United Nations Economic and Social Commission on Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).
In what ways does the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) promote international scientific and cultural cooperation?

UNESCO coordinates educational research and promotes international scientific and cultural cooperation by:

- Establishing training centers for formal and non-formal education as well as conducting campaigns against illiteracy at the request of member countries.
- Publishing books and other research journals.
- Advocating preservation of historical monuments, artifacts and valuable cultures.
- Promoting dissemination of information on social sciences as instruments of peace and justice.

State the role of the World Bank and the International Monitory Fund (IMF) as affiliated agencies of the United Nations Organization.

The World Bank, otherwise known as the International Bank for reconstruction and development (IBRD), is based in Washington DC in the USA. Its role includes:

- Giving long-term loans for financing development projects or balance of payments.
- Receiving and taking care of financial deposits from member states and share holders.
- Assessment and direction of the activities of member states and share holders alongside its own.

The International Monitory Fund (IMF) works closely with the World Bank by:

- Helping in stabilizing various world currencies.
- Promoting international trade.
- Selling foreign exchange to member countries in American Dollars.
- Raising and taking care of funds from member states’ subscriptions.
- Giving short-term loans, especially those needed to ease currency crises.

State the role of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) in ensuring World food supplies and agricultural development.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) is concerned with World food supplies and agricultural development in developing countries. It helps in:

- Increasing food production by using improved fertilizers, seeds and new types of plants.
- Improving distribution and marketing of food and agricultural products.
- Promoting rural development and good living conditions for the rural population.
- Controlling pests and combating epidemics and animal diseases.
- Sending agronomists and technologists at the request of member governments to give instructions on such matters as irrigation and control of soil erosion.
- Coordinating forestry, fisheries, hunger and malnutrition programs.

Describe the Secretariat as an organ of the United Nations Organization.

- It is an international staff working at the United Nations headquarters in New York and in the field.
- It is concerned with the day to day work of the UNO.
- The Secretariat
  - It comprises a staff of more than 25,000 men and women from more than 160 countries.
  - Its staff are answerable to the UN alone and take an oath not to seek or receive instruction from their governments.
  - It is headed by the Secretary General, who is chosen from among the world’s minor powers and is elected by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council for a term of five years and can be re-elected only once.

Explain the functions of the United Nations’ Secretariat.

- It is the main administrative organ of the United Nations.
- It registers treaties.
- It publishes reports.
- It carries on correspondence.
- It does a great deal of research.
- It administers programmes and policies laid down by other UN organs.

What are the duties of the United Nations’ Secretary General?
The duties of the Secretary General include:
- Monitoring the extent to which the decisions of the UN bodies are carried out.
- Bringing to the attention of the Security Council any problem that threatens international peace and security.
- Interpreting speeches and translating documents into the official languages of the UNO.
- Drawing the world’s attention to global issues: from development to human rights.
- Administering peace-keeping operations to resolve international disputes.
- Ensuring that policies laid down by other organs of the UNO are implemented.
- Surveying economic and social trends and problems.
- Registering treaties.
- Organizing international conferences on issues of worldwide concern.
- Conducting information programmes to acquaint the world’s communications media with the work of the United Nations.
- Preparing studies or research on subjects like Human Rights and Sustainable Development.

**How is the United Nations Organization financed?**

UN funds are provided by member states, each of which pays an assessed percentage of the total budget. E.G, while the USA PAYS 25%, Tanzania pays 0.01%.

**Explain the achievements of the United Nations Organization.**

- Promotion of world peace and security.
- Disarmament through various Arms-Control agreements, aimed at reducing the Arms Race.
- Adoption of the Universal Declaration of and promotion of Human rights through advocacy and by creating awareness on rights abuses.
- Improvement and awareness of the status and rights of women by empowering them to have greater control in making decisions that affect them.
- Protection, material and financial support to refugees among other forms of humanitarian assistance or charity work to alleviate human suffering.
- Clearing of land mines from former battle fields such as Angola, Afghanistan, Rwanda and Elsalvadore.
- Decolonization and promotion of democracy and good governance in much of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America.
- Multilateral and technical assistance to developing nations in the form of consultancy and skilled manpower, mainly through the UNDP.
- International cooperation in dealing with global issues such as environment, desertification and energy crisis.
- It has worked to combat terrorism, mainly through the UN international convention for the suppression of terrorist activities.
- International protocols (UN agencies), which are crucial in setting safety standards for sea and air.
- Improved health standards due to vaccination, prevention, cure and general health-care of the world’s population.
- Academic cooperation and cultural exchange by preserving historical, cultural and architectural sites.
- Improved shelter through the United Nations centre for human settlement (Habitat:).
- Emergency relief services to victims of war, floods, hurricanes and other disasters.

**Identify the problems encountered by the United Nations Organization.**

- Ideological differences between capitalists and communists, which caused the Cold War.
- Veto power of the Big Five, which undermines the decisions and implementation of some UN policies.
- Border disputes or political conflicts, which have badly affected its functions. The fact that members ignore its decisions as it has no army of its own.
- Inadequate funds to facilitate its operations.
- Membership to other regional or international organizations such as the African Union, the Nonaligned Movement, the Commonwealth and the Arab League, whose interests at times conflict with those of the United Nations, causing divided loyalty.
- Nationalism whereby, being sovereign, member states serve their own national interests at the expense of international (UN) concerns.
- Formation of an Afro-Asia Latin America bloc, whose members often voted as a bloc in order to counter the power of the five permanent members of the Security Council, which delays UN efforts to fight terrorism.
- Natural disasters and calamities like drought, famine, floods and epidemics, increase of which has created an unexpectedly high demand for economic resources, thus interfering with or delaying new initiatives planned by the UN.
- Terrorism, which has become a threat to international cooperation and peace.
- Economic discrepancies (some countries are too poor while others are very rich), which tend to militate against cooperation among UN member states.
- The Arms Race (accumulation of arms by the super powers), which undermined world peace as each nation struggled to participate in the Arms Race for fear of an attack by the enemy.

THE COMMONWEALTH

Define the Commonwealth.
- The Commonwealth is a voluntary association of independent states that were initially part of the British Empire.

Analyse the formation of the Commonwealth.
- All members of the Commonwealth came from the former British Empire, which comprised British protectorates, colonies and dominions.
- The launching of the association was set off by the publication of the 1839 Durham Report, which served as a landmark for the Commonwealth.
- The 1926 Imperial Conference Committee, which was chaired by Canadian Prime Minister: Lord Balfour, prepared and incorporated its report in the Westminster Statute, which shaped the Commonwealth.
- In 1931, the British parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, which contained the provisions by which the Commonwealth was established.
- The Commonwealth grew as more African countries became independent.
- All independent countries retained their freedom to join or leave the Commonwealth. That’s why, for instance, Purkistan and Apartheid South Africa left, though South Africa returned in 1994 after the All-Race elections.

Identify the dominions that formed the British empire.
- The Irish Free State,
- Australia,
- New Zealand,
- Canada,
- South Africa,
- Newfound land (mainly African and Asian colonies).

State the provisions contained in the Statute of Westminster.
In 1931, the British parliament enacted the Statute of Westminster, which contained the following provisions:
- No act of the British parliament could be the law of any dominion unless it was passed by the dominion’s parliament.
- Any law relating to succession to the throne or to changes in the royal style and titles could require the consent of the British parliament and the parliament of each dominion.
The UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand were defined as Autonomous Communities within the British Empire, united by the British crown but equal and not subordinate to one another. Equality was established among independent states, which was the beginning of the Commonwealth.

**Identify the features of the Commonwealth.** (Identify the characteristics shared by Commonwealth States.) Commonwealth states share the following characteristics:

- Recognition of the King or Queen of England as head of the Commonwealth.
- Cultural ties E.G Commonwealth games.
- Cooperation in education, characterized by Commonwealth education exchange programmes, which have assisted less-developed Commonwealth members.
- Common democratic constitutions acquired from Britain as a common heritage, characterized by a parliamentary system of government, an independent judiciary and a civil service free of politics.
- A common military tradition, based on the British military system and military exchange programmes.
- Use of English as a common language.
- Consultation and exchange of information E.G on finance, technical assistance, scientific cooperation, education and trade.
- Formation and exchange of a Power Bloc, through which standards and ideals are set.

**Explain the principles of the Commonwealth.**

A principle is a moral rule or belief about what is right and wrong.

Principles of the Commonwealth were agreed on in the 1971 Commonwealth Declaration for Peace and Understanding as follows:

- Belief in and value of international peace and order for mankind’s security and development, thus supporting the U N O in its Peace programmes.
- Liberty of the individual and equal rights for all citizens through representative institutions in spite of race, colour, creed or political beliefs.
- To fight social prejudice as it threatens the healthy development of the human race.
- To oppose all forms of colonial domination by being committed to the principles of human dignity and equality while furthering self determination and non-racism.
- To fight poverty, ignorance and disease, to remove wealth disparities and raise living standards to achieve a more equitable international society.
- Achievement or enhancement of free international trade by removing restrictive trade barriers while giving due consideration to the special requirements of the developing countries.
- To promote co-operation among member nations in order to combat (eliminate) all forms of injustice and to facilitate development.
- Exchange of knowledge and professionalism as well as cultural, economic, legal and political issues.
- To form a multinational association based on consultation, discussion and co-operation in pursuing their principles.

**Analyse/Describe Commonwealth membership.**

- The Commonwealth has a unique membership of developed and developing nations, which increased from eight in 1949 to fifty-four by the year 2000.
- The members are categorized/classified into various groups/divisions.
- The members of the Commonwealth do not sign a charter. They agree to abide by certain rules and regulations, guided by the Association’s principles and ideals.

**Identify the categories into which members of the Commonwealth are classified.**

- Britain and her dominions of Canada, Australia and New Zealand.
- African nations.
- Asian nations.
- Islands from the Caribbean Pacific and Mediterranean regions.

**Describe three main organs/branches of the Commonwealth.**

The Commonwealth comprises three organs. These are:
The Heads of Governments Biennial summits I.E presidents and prime ministers, who meet for a week once every two years for extensive discussions and consultations in any Commonwealth state. The Summit is the main policymaking body. Decisions are by consensus.

Ministerial meetings. The Commonwealth Ministers of Finance, foreign Affairs and Defense meet once every year while those of education, health and law meet once every three years. Commonwealth Ministers frequently visit member countries.

The Secretariat. This is the main agency for consultation and exchange of information among member states. It was established in 1965.

**State the ideals of the Commonwealth.** (What are the aims/objectives of the Commonwealth? Ideals/Or: Explain the purpose of the Commonwealth.)

An ideal is an idea or principle that seems perfect and worth achieving.

The aims/objectives of the Commonwealth are:

- To promote world peace and international understanding.
- To promote development in the poorer member states.
- To enhance co-operation between member states in matters such as education, transport, sports and economic development.
- To ensure personal liberty and equality of rights to all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political beliefs.

**ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMONWEALTH**

Describe the Commonwealth’s Secretariat.

- It is headed by the Secretary General, assisted by two deputy Secretary Generals and two assistant secretaries.
- It has a staff of over 350, drawn from member states.
- The Commonwealth Secretary General is appointed by member governments.
- The Secretary General directs programmes and performance of various duties at the Commonwealth.

Explain the functions of the Commonwealth’s Secretariat.

- It co-ordinates programmes of co-operation among member states.
- It encourages projects that are of benefit to members.
- It organizes the Heads Of State summit and the Ministers conference.
- It circulates information and anything of general interest to member states.
- It co-ordinates business by studying Commonwealth organizations that deal with economic and financial matters.
- It is an agency for consultation and the exchange of information among members.
- It is responsible for programmes of co-operation through performance of various duties.

**What are the duties/responsibilities of the Deputy and Assistant Secretaries General of the Commonwealth?**

Responsibilities of the first Deputy Secretary General include:

- International affairs.
- Legal Corporation.
- Information and Conference services.
- Applied studies in administration.

The second Deputy Secretary General oversees:

- Economic affairs.
- Export markets.
- Food production within the Commonwealth.

The first Assistant Secretary is in charge of:

Supervision of work in education and health.

Commonwealth Fund for Technical co-operation.

**Name the Secretaries General that the Commonwealth has had so far.**

Past Secretary Generals of the Commonwealth include:
Arnold Smith from Canada.
Shridath Ramphal of Guyana.
Chief Emeka Anyaoku from Nigeria.
Don McKinnon from New Zealand.

**Identify/describe the specialized agencies of the Commonwealth.**
- The Commonwealth Science Council, which promotes collaboration in developing regional programmes such as energy and rural technology.
- The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, which enables members to have regular parliamentary meetings in the various branches in member states. It was established in 1911.
- The Commonwealth Agricultural bureau, which provides co-operation in the field of agriculture.
- The Commonwealth regional health secretariat for east, central and southern Africa, which promotes co-operation in the medical sector.
- The Commonwealth fund for Technical Co-operation, which provides advice, expertise and training to member states. It was set up in 1971.
- The Commonwealth Press Union, which enhances communication between member countries. It was established in 1909 and started the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association in 1945.
- The commonwealth Youth programmes, purposed to involve young people in activities aimed at achieving national goals.
- The Commonwealth Development Co-operation, which provides training and financial assistance for members.

**What are Commonwealth declarations?**
Commonwealth declarations are unwritten and traditional procedures, guided by a series of agreements derived from its principles and aims. I.E declarations or statements issued by the Commonwealth heads of government and at various summits, which together constitute a foundation of Commonwealth values and a history of concern in global affairs.

The structure of the Commonwealth is based on such declarations since the Commonwealth has no formal charter or constitution.

**Identify two most significant Commonwealth declarations.**
- The Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth principles (1971).

**State two principles that the two most significant declarations of the Commonwealth set out.**
The two declarations clearly set out the Commonwealth’s commitment to:
- Democracy.
- The rule of law.
- Good governance.

**Explain how consultation is carried out in and with the Commonwealth.**
- Heads of member states meet every after two years to discuss international economy and politics.
- Decisions are by consensus, not through voting.
- Ministerial meetings are convened to deal with various issues within the Commonwealth. Ministers of foreign affairs, defense, supply and Finance meet every year while those of education, health and law meet every three years as others only meet when necessary.
- Member states are represented in capital cities of other member states by high commissioners in charge of maintaining close co-operation between member states, with status equivalent to ambassadors.

**Explain how the Commonwealth is financed.** (Explain how the Commonwealth gets funds with which it runs).
- The Commonwealth Secretariat and its activities are supported by an assessed or operating budget and three specialized or Programme funds.
- The assessed budget covers the secretariat’s operating costs and programmes.
- All member governments contribute to this budget on an agreed scale based on their country’s population and income.
Three specialized funds support specific Commonwealth activities.

Describe three specialized funds that support specific Commonwealth activities.

- The Commonwealth fund for technical co-operation (CFTC), which promotes technical co-operation among developing countries. It was established in 1971 and is the largest of the three funds. It supports training programmes, experts in the field and advisors to fill gaps in key areas like Industry, economic law, export and marketing. Dependent territories and associated states that contribute to the CFTC also benefit from its resources. Contributions to the CFTC are voluntary.
- The Commonwealth Youth programme (CYP). This empowers young people to develop their potential as productive and dynamic members of the society. It supports, among other things, regional centers in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and South Pacific. Contributions to the CYP are voluntary.
- The Commonwealth Science Council (CSC). This promotes sharing of scientific knowledge and experience among its members.

Explain the functions of the Commonwealth of nations.

- It promotes understanding and tolerance among members through free exchange of ideas.
- It supports youth programmes geared towards national development. Through the CYP, it enables the youth to undertake various projects and activities.
- It promotes partnership and co-operation among its members as they consult on various issues affecting their countries.
- It promotes democracy and good governance through parliamentary meetings as well as sending observers during parliamentary elections in member states to ensure free and fair elections.
- It promotes development of the legal systems of member countries. It upholds human rights and respect for the rule of law.
- It provides financial assistance to members from the less developed countries. Developed countries like the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand provide financial aid for economic development.
- It provides a forum for member states to air their views on international affairs with one voice by consulting on health, education, security, etc. A case in point is racism and Apartheid, which are condemned by the Commonwealth.
- Support of education and training. There are Commonwealth scholarships for students to study in other countries. Britain and Canada have availed grants for training facilities and for building universities in African countries.
- It promotes respect and encourages trust and friendship among members to work towards economic prosperity.
- It encourages trade among member states. It has enhanced economic ties. Developing nations have been assisted in conducting market surveys, trade affairs, marketing and trade negotiations.
- It provides machinery for maintaining peace among member states, E.G by sending peace-keeping missions to member countries involved in conflict.
- It promotes technical co-operation among member states through the CFTC, enabling members to discuss scientific and technical issues, on which they carry out research.
- It enhances social and cultural co-operation among members E.G through Commonwealth games.

Describe/explain the problems/setbacks encountered by the Commonwealth. (Explain the factors that undermine the commonwealth.)

Since its inception, the commonwealth of Nations has been affected by various challenges such as:

- Inadequate funds to run operations since the commonwealth largely comprise less developed member states.
- Withdrawal of some members E.g. South Africa in 1961 and Pakistan in 1972. This was because the commonwealth is a voluntary organization, with financial implications, which have undermined its performance.
- Political instability in some member countries E.G Sierra Leone, Pakistan and others in Africa and Asia, which have been involved in civil wars, which badly affect performance in the promotion of peace and good governance.
Dominance by some developed nations, which undermines decisions and policy matters) Lack of an executive authority or army to enforce its decisions and other roles. Because of this, some member states violate its rules and decisions.

The spirit of national interests. The feeling of Nationalism was so strong in the newly independent African and Asian states. Since their interests came first as they grappled with the major challenges of a new nation, they were least concerned with their participation in the Commonwealth.

Divided loyalty. Member states lacked commitment as they also belonged to the U N O, the Nonaligned Movement, the African Union, the European Union and other organizations.

Personality differences between leaders of some member states, E.G between Zimbabwe’s Robert Mugabe and Britain’s Tony Blair after Zimbabwe forcibly acquired white-owned farms in Zimbabwe, which led to Zimbabwe’s suspension from the Commonwealth in 2003.

Ideological differences based on capitalism and communism, mainly during the Cold war, which made it difficult for those with divergent ideas to work with one another in matters of international concern.

Colonial rivalry. At the formation and during the existence of the Commonwealth, colonialism was still perpetuated mainly by Britain, which caused the colonized countries to fight for independence while the liberated ones undertook radical reforms, which made implementation of its plans and achievement of peace initiatives difficult.

Race and colour discrimination. Even today, free movement of members has been prejudicially restricted through new visa rules adopted by some countries E.G Britain, which has badly divided the members.

What are the benefits of membership to the Commonwealth of Nations? (Explain the advantages/importance of membership to the Commonwealth).

The following are the benefits of membership to the Commonwealth of Nations.

- Financial assistance to members by developed countries.
- Assistance to developing member states in conducting market surveys, trade fairs and marketing.
- Cultural exchange programmes such as games have been promoted.
- Encouragement of understanding, friendship and co-operation through consultation and discussion.
- Commonwealth scholarships given to students to study in Britain and Canada.
- Promotion of technical co-operation among members through the Commonwealth fund and technical co-operation (CFTC).
- Promotion of democracy and good governance through parliamentary meetings and observing elections.
- A forum for members to air their views on international issues.
- It has assisted the youth to undertake projects through its youth programmes.
- Promotion of legal systems and respect for human rights and the rule of law.

THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT

What is nonalignment?

Nonalignment is neutrality or independence of policy and action in international affairs. It upholds peaceful co-existence of nations with differing political, economic and social systems.

Name/identify the founder-leaders of the Nonaligned Movement.

Founder-leaders of the nonaligned movement include:

- Jawaharlal Nehru of India,
- Sukarno of Indonesia,
- Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia,
- Gamal Nasser of Egypt,
State the factors that facilitated the formation of the Non-aligned Movement.
The following factors led to formation of the Nonaligned Movement:
- After the Second World War, the USA and the USSR emerged as two super powers, which divided the world into two blocs based on capitalism and communism.
- Due to competition between the USA and the USSR over World power, the Cold war (a war of words) developed among the nations that supported either power.
- Newly independent nations in Africa, Asia and Southern America did not wish to join power blocs of the USA and USSR. Indeed, the idea of the nonaligned movement started and steadily grew from 1947 following the independence of India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka and other Asian nations.
- The members needed co-operation to ensure peace and save the world from another war.
- With the Nonaligned Movement approach, members would get maximum aid from both blocs for economic growth.
- Alliance with any power bloc meant preparation for war, which the members were not ready for.
- The members wanted to establish their distinct identity in world politics.
- Being nonaligned was a clear indication that they were free from colonialism.

Identify the aims of the Non-aligned movement.
- To fight for decolonization by supporting liberation and independence movements.
- To work for the disarmament of the Super powers.
- To safeguard the sovereignty and national interests of member states.
- To promote economic independence of member states as a way of discouraging neocolonialism.
- To fight racism and all forms of discrimination.
- To promote neutrality among members.
- To discourage military alliances advocated by the Super Powers.
- To establish their own distinct identity and to speak with one voice in international affairs.
- To pursue an independent policy for peaceful co-existence.
- To avail funds for improvement of agriculture to ensure increased food production.
- To get favourable terms of trade, particularly for countries whose economy depends on exportation of raw materials.
- To encourage active participation of member states in UNO programmes.
- To get maximum aid from both blocs for their economic development.
- To attract more members as was in the 1958 conference of independent African states.

Explain the criteria of membership to the Non-aligned Movement.
NAM members agreed on the following criteria of membership:
- The interested country should have adopted an independent policy based on the co-existence of states with different political and social systems.
- The interested country should consistently support the movement for national independence.
- The interested country should not be a member of a multilateral military alliance concluded in the context of Great Power conflict, E.G NATO or the Warsaw pact.
- If the interested country has a bilateral military agreement with a great power or is a member of a regional defense pact, the agreement or pact should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflict.

Name the countries and organizations that are admitted to the Non-aligned Movement as Observers.
Apart from member states, there are participants admitted as observers and guests. Observers include:
- Antigua and Barbados,
- Armenia,
- Azerbaijan,
- Brazil,
- China,
Costa Rica,
Croatia,
Dominica,
Elsalvadore,
Kazakhstan,
Kyrgyzstan,
Mexico,
Paraguay,
Uruguay,
Ukraine.

There also are observer organizations, which include:

- The United Nations Organization,
- The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO),
- The League of Arab States,
- The African Union,
- Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC),
- The New Independent Movement of Puerto Rico,
- Front De Liberation Nationale Kanak Et Socialiste (FLNKS).

Kenya is among the members of the Nonaligned Movement.

Observer countries and organizations attend NAM meetings on an ad hoc basis to open the NAM to contributions from the international arena. They have no power to vote.

Guest states to the NAM include:

- Australia,
- Canada,
- Austria,
- Bulgaria,
- Germany,
- Finland,
- Poland,
- Sweden,
- Portugal,
- Spain,
- Romania,
- Greece,
- Italy,
- Norway.

Guest organizations mostly come from within the United Nations Organization e.g. the food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Children’s fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).

Those outside the UNO system include:

- The Commonwealth secretariat,
- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS),
- The Common Market for East and southern Africa (COMESA).

**Analyse the structure and organization of the Non-aligned Movement.**

- Coordination.
- The coordinating Bureau, which is the focal point for coordination.
- Working groups, Contact groups, Task forces and committees. These often meet and mainly concentrate on Co-ordination, efficiency and preparedness in the fulfillment of their mandates.
- Nonaligned Security Council Caucus.
The Joint Coordinating Committee. A joint coordinating committee of the Nonaligned movement and the Group of Seventy-seven was established in 1994 to promote co-operation and co-ordination between these two groups in promoting the interests of developing countries in international forums. It meets in New York: USA.

Coordination of nonaligned countries in other UN centres. The NAM Chair is also responsible for giving expeditious consideration to the establishment of arrangements for co-ordination of Nonaligned centres and international organization headquarters to facilitate co-ordination and co-operation with the coordinating bureau and enhance the role of the NAM in international forums.

The Troika. The concept of a Troika of the past, present and future Chairs emerged at a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the NAM in New Delhi: India in April 1997, where ministers expressed their satisfaction with the Troika’s format and suggested that the group meet more frequently as a discussion forum.

Panel of Economists. In 1997 in New Delhi: India the foreign ministers from various nonaligned countries set up an adhoc panel of economists to assess the current international economic situation from the perspective of developing countries and to identify and analyze their major issues of concern.

Documentation. The preparation of document is the responsibility of the Host country.

Decision-making. All decisions are made by consensus, stemming from understanding of and respect for different points of view, on the basis of which agreements acceptable to all can emerge. The NAM tradition is to encourage openness, to hold extensive consultations and to allow broad participation.

Describe coordination within the Non-aligned Movement.

Administration is nonhierarchical, rotational and inclusive, providing all member states with an opportunity to participate in global decision-making and world politics. The country that hosts the summit holds office until the next summit.

The Chair carries out certain delegated responsibilities e.g. promoting the principles and activities of the movement.

When a country assumes the chair of the movement, it creates or designates an entire section of the Foreign Ministry to deal specifically with the movement.

Since Nonaligned countries meet regularly and conduct much of their work at the UN, the chair country’s ambassador in the UN functions as the “Minister of Nonaligned Affairs”.

The Nonaligned Movement has created Contact groups, task forces and committees to facilitate the Chair’s responsibilities and the co-ordination and functioning of the existing working groups and to promote the process of achieving a commonality of positions and interests as well as ensuring that Nonaligned countries speak with one voice in international matters.

The Chair leads and co-ordinates the activities of the Nonaligned Movement within the United Nations and in other international forums.

What is the role of the Coordinating Bureau in the Non-aligned Movement?

Reviews and facilitates the harmonization of the Nonaligned Movement’s working and Contact groups, task forces and committees.

Co-ordinates and ensures mutual co-operation among Nonaligned countries.

Stands for and ensures a unified action in the United Nations and other international forums on issues of common concern.

Name six working groups, contact groups, task forces and committees of the Non-aligned Movement.

The Nonaligned Movement’s working group on human rights and disarmament.

The Committee on Palestine.

The contact group on Cyprus.

The task force on Somalia.

The Joint Coordinating Committee.

Describe the Non-aligned Movement’s Security Council Caucus.
- NAM countries elected to the UN Security Council and who form the NAM Caucus in the Security Council are expected to constantly strive to adopt unified positions so that the decisions and positions of the Nonaligned Movement as adopted at its summits and ministerial conferences and by the coordinating bureau are properly reflected in the Security Council decisions without prejudice to their sovereign rights.

- The Chair of the Coordinating Bureau in New York should attend and address the Security Council on matters of particular importance to members of the movement and hold regular meetings with each coordinator of the Nonaligned Security Council to be briefed on the work of the council and convey to the caucus coordinator the position of the movement.

**On what terms of reference is preparation of documents of the Non-aligned Movement based?**
- It should be the object of the widest possible consultations.
- It should aim at circulating the first draft as early as possible but not later than one month before the meeting.
- It should ensure that the documents are concise, highlighting issues of particular importance or urgency.
- It should lay emphasis on practical action-oriented measures that could be implemented.
- It should ensure that the document of summit conferences, which constitute the supreme organ of the movement, are condensed but comprehensive.

**Describe any five High-Level Non-aligned Movement meetings.**
- Meeting of the Ministerial committee, which comprises all NAM members, chaired by the movement’s chairperson. They are held by a decision of the summit of the ministerial conference.
- Conference of heads of state and government.
- Meeting of the Standing Ministerial Committee on economic co-operation.
- Meetings of the working groups, task forces, contact-groups and committees. These are held as often as necessary and make a significant contribution to the movement.
- Ministerial meetings of the coordinating bureau. These are restricted to preparations for summit and consideration of issues of major importance to the movement.
- Extra-ordinary meetings of the coordinating bureau. These address exceptional cases that call for urgent consideration.
- Ministerial conferences.
- Ministerial meeting in New York during a session of the UN General Assembly. Every year, ministers of Foreign Affairs meet in New York at the beginning of the regular session of the UN Assembly to deliberate on the items of the agenda of the general Assembly that are of major importance to the movement.
- Ministerial meetings in various fields of international co-operation. These discussed issues like Information, Agriculture and External Debt.

**Describe the Non-aligned Movement’s Conference of Heads of State and Government.**
- It is NAM’s highest decision-making authority.
- It has two committees: one for political issues and the other for economic and social issues.
- It is held every after three years, at least a month before the regular session of the UN General Assembly.
- It has a programme that includes a formal ceremony for the handing over of the chair.

**Analyse the Non-aligned Movement’s meeting of the Standing Ministerial Committee on Economic Cooperation.**
- It is meant to strengthen South-South co-operation, reactivate the dialogue between developed and developing countries and enhance the role of the UN (particularly the General Assembly) in international co-operation for development.
- It is frequently held whenever necessary upon the recommendation of the co-operating bureau.

**Describe the Nonaligned Movement’s ministerial conferences.** (What is the purpose of the Non-aligned Movement’s Ministerial Conferences?)
Discuss matters of urgency.
Review development and implementation of the decisions of the preceding summit.
Are convened eighteen months after the summit to discuss urgent matters.

Assess the performance of the Non-aligned Movement.
- Since its establishment, the NAM attracted many developing nations through its many conferences and activities in various member and other states.
- Its meetings are held every after three years, attended by heads of member states and governments. Its decisions are arrived at by consensus.
- Voting powers of the Non-aligned countries in the UN General Assembly strengthen their influence in world affairs.
- Independent African states remained neutral and even retained ties with their former colonial masters for security and economic reasons without any interference with their sovereignty.
- By late 1961, most independent African states adopted the policy of neutrality, enabling them to seek aid from (but without antagonizing) the West and the East.
- Up to the collapse and end of the Cold War, the non-aligned movement succeeded in ensuring that its members were not lured into the political or ideological quagmire in the world.
- Non-aligned Movement countries have called for integrated global negotiations and demonstration of the necessary degree of political will aimed at a new equitable economic order, beneficial to all nations.

Explain the achievements of the Non-aligned Movement.
The Nonaligned Movement is well remembered for its following successes:
- It enabled member states to safeguard their national security, freedom of action and territorial integrity.
- It helped in decolonization of areas under foreign rule by speeding up attainment of freedom in states that were still under colonial bondage.
- As an Afro-Asian bloc, the NAM got a common voice characterized by its united influence and exertion of the voting power of member states in world affairs. Here, the NAM functioned as a diplomatic strategy within which most independent states formulated their response to the international environment at a time when they lacked necessary physical strength.
- It helped in the relaxation of international tension by creating a conducive environment for peace, justice, equality and international co-operation by keeping clear of the USA and USSR military blocs.
- Through it, member states were free to put their national interests before those of the power blocs.
- It promoted disarmament through establishment of Nuclear weapons-free zones and continuous condemnation of the Arms Race.
- It worked towards the creation of the new international economic order by strengthening the economic base of member states to preserve their independence and by opening up for economic aid from both power blocs, coupled with readiness to expand their trade with both sides of the ideological divide.
- It set up a special solidarity fund, which gave financial assistance to Frontline states, cautioning them against sanctions imposed on Apartheid South Africa.
- It helped in creating the new scientific and technological order, accessing member states to the most advanced technology and scientific research available, bridging the “technological gap” between developed and developing nations.
- It provided a free international forum where members’ voices could be heard. Because of this, Apartheid was dismantled in South Africa as racism was eradicated in many other countries.

Identify the problems encountered by the Non-aligned Movement.
- It lacks an army or an executive machinery to implement its decisions.
- Political instability within and between member states, which has undermined its performance.
Its large size (over 116 Members), which has frustrated its ideological coherence and organizational solidarity as members have different ideologies, leaning either to the capitalist West or to the Communist East.

Border disputes, whereby most countries disagree over territorial boundaries in spite of their cooperation to have common objectives.

It lacks funds as member countries are poor, which has caused difficulty in the pursuit of independent policies due to reliance on donors or former colonial masters.

Members put their national interests before those of the Movement. Some members' individual national interests conflict with the objectives of the movement, which causes relegation of international matters to the waiting list.

Lack of or divided loyalty and commitment as NAM member states also belong to other organizations such as the U N O, the African Union and the Commonwealth of Nations, which hinders their active participation in the Movement.

Personality differences between the leaders of Member states, which hinder fruitful discussions. For instance, several leaders rejected the radical views of Fidel Castro of Cuba.

The collapse of the USSR and the end of the Cold War, due to which the movement appeared destabilized and irrelevant, having been overtaken by events.

Poor co-ordination of Movement activities due to lack of a permanent institutional machinery E.G a standing army, the Secretariat and executive authority for effective policy implementation.

Many member states have weak economies and are unable to remit their contributions or meet other financial obligations since their meager resources are used to sort out their national needs.

Differences unrelated to the principles of Nonalignment. E.g. at the 1978 meeting of the coordinating committee in Colombo: Sri Lanka, several Arab states pushed for Egypt’s expulsion from the Movement because Egypt had signed a separate peace treaty with Israel. Such a treaty was not an agreement with a Super power and therefore had nothing to do with the principles of the Nonaligned Movement.

**Explain the role of the Non-aligned Movement in the world today.** (What is the importance of the Nonaligned Movement in the world today?)

Although Apartheid has been dismantled in South Africa and independence almost fully attained, there still exist situations that require the Nonaligned Movement’s participation as follows:

- The Arms Race is still on, requiring a forum that would continue to articulate the voice of justice and sanity in the world.
- A few powerful industrially advanced nations still refuse to relax their hold on developing third world nations, which necessitates the Nonaligned Movement, which serves as a platform from which the demand for a less iniquitous world economic order can be raised.
- The Nonaligned Movement emerged as the third world’s shield against the pressures of the two super powers. Even with the end of the Cold War, the Nonaligned Movement remains relevant because, before achieving the new economic order, it has continued to achieve its set goals.
- The Nonaligned Movement still has the task of addressing emerging world issues such as Terrorism, environmental degradation, HIV & AIDS and Racism.

**THE COLD WAR**

**Define the Cold War.**

- The term Cold War refers to the hostility or struggle between the communist nations (led by the USSR (also known as the Soviet Union) and the capitalist nations (led by the USA) between 1945-1990.

**Explain the contrast between Capitalism and Communism.**

- The USA and her allies formed the Western Bloc and adopted capitalism I.E a system of production and trade based on private ownership of wealth, free trade and little industrial activity by the government. The
USSR and her satellite states formed the Eastern Bloc and adopted communism I.E a doctrine that advocates a classless society in which private ownership was abolished and the means of Production and subsistence belong to the community.

**Analyse/explain the background to the Cold War.**

- After the Second World War, the USA and the USSR emerged as the world’s super powers. Due to ideological differences, mistrust and suspicion arose between them, with the USSR fearing that the Americans would bomb her the way they bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan.
- The USSR managed to spread Communism in Eastern Europe. She occupied Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia (now the Czech and Slovak republics). This occupation made Britain to urge for Anglo-American unity.
- In the 1940s and 1950s, the USA acted to prevent the expansion of Communism by pushing for a community of independent noncommunist states. The USSR and her allies were on the other hand seeking to create a world favourable to the spread of Communism. She aimed at bringing Communism to other nations apart from those she had occupied.
- Each side claimed superiority of its own political and economic systems by building more powerful military forces. Each embarked on diplomatic maneuvers designed to weaken the other’s position while strengthening its own without actually going to war. Both sides viewed every uprising, local war and international incident as a Cold War.

**Name/identify the weapons that were used during the Cold War.**

Unlike the First and Second World Wars, the cold War did not necessarily involve firing of guns and killing of people. The main weapons used in it were:

- Propaganda.
- Economic sanctions.
- Financial aid to the enemies of the opposite side.
- Military support to the allies against the enemy.

**State the characteristics of the Cold War.**

- Mutual suspicion between the Powers.
- Economic alliances.
- Military alliances.
- Military conflicts between Communist and Noncommunist states or their supporters.

**What were the causes of the Cold War.? (Identify the factors that led to the Cold War).**

- Mistrust and suspicion due to ideological differences between the US-led capitalist West and the Soviet-sponsored communist bloc, each of which wanted to spread their ideology.
- The Arms Race I.E continued stock-piling of atomic bombs by the super powers due to their failure to agree over disarmament and control of weapons after the Second World War, which intensified their hostility, for none was sure as to when the other would strike, now that they had equal military strength.
- Formation of military alliances E.G NATO and the Warsaw pact, which created tension.
- The 1947 Marshall Plan, in which the USA introduced a large-scale programme of financial assistance to countries devastated by the war. This offer was rejected by Russia and her Communist allies, who saw it as an attempt to extend American control in Europe. The USSR therefore formed the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), which was an economic plan for Eastern Europe.
- European conflicts in the 1940s, during which the super powers provided military support to opposing sides. For instance, in the Greek Civil War, the USA and Britain supported one group while the USSR supported the other.
- Differences between the super powers over Germany. Western allies wanted a strong Germany to assist in the economic prosperity of Switzerland, Netherlands and other western European nations. However, the USSR wanted a politically and economically weak Germany to prevent another invasion.
- Domination of the UNO by the US-led Western powers, in whose favour the proposals and other activities of the organization mostly went.
- The USSR used her Veto power to defeat UN proposals, a move that upset the USA.
The Iron Curtain policy. The USSR, which occupied part of Eastern Europe before and after the Second World War, built the Iron Curtain that artificially divided Germany and her capital: Berlin into East and West and sealed off eastern Europe from the West, which made international relations poor.

In reference to the Cold War in Europe, explain the factors that led to deterioration of relations between the Super Powers. (Explain how relations between the super powers were undermined/negatively affected by the cold war in Europe.)

- Russia used her military might to impose Communist governments on and direct policies in many states. In 1946, the USSR helped to overthrow the postwar Greek government.
- In 1947, in what became known as the Truman Doctrine, US President: Harry Truman declared US support for those resisting subjugation by armed minorities or external pressure. This led to American intervention in Greece, Turkey and wherever else the USSR was trying to spread Communism.
- In the Marshal Plan of 1947, the USA, through its Secretary of State: George Marshall, initiated financial and material aid for the reconstruction or recovery of Europe’s war ravaged economy.
- In response to the Marshal Plan, the USSR closed all the land routes to Berlin and discouraged her satellite states from benefitting from the Marshal Plan, which she viewed as American interference in the internal affairs of other states.
- To counter US economic programmes, the USSR established the Communist Information Bureau (COMINFORM) to co-ordinate the work of European Communist parties and enforce ideological conformity. She also set up the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), which was an economic co-operative plan for Eastern Europe, aimed at achieving nearly all that the Marshal plan was meant to accomplish. However, COMECON did not succeed since the Russian economy was weak.
- The postwar division of Europe was further emphasized by the 1948 Treaty of Brussels, by which Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg formed a defensive alliance against any form of aggression. In response, the US-led Western Bloc formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, based in Paris: France.
- To break US monopoly in nuclear technology, the USSR exploded her first Atomic Bomb in 1949. In 1955, the USSR signed the Warsaw pact in Poland with East Germany and six Eastern European countries to counter NATO. According to the Warsaw Pact, all members agreed to fight any state that would militarily attack any of their members. The existence of NATO and the Warsaw Pact intensified hostilities between the super powers.
- In 1948, all road and rail routes to West Berlin were sealed off by Russian troops. Germany and her capital city: Berlin were divided into east and west. Russia treated the Eastern zone as a satellite state and even curtailed trade between the two zones. This almost led to starvation in West Germany since East Germany was the chief food producing area.
- From 1945-1949, the USA and her allies air-lifted material aid to west Berlin and blocked passage of goods to east Berlin. The division of Germany worsened relations between the super powers.
- In 1949, the Western Occupation zone became the Federal Republic of Germany while the Soviet Zone formed the German Democratic Republic.
- Many East Germans were attracted to West Germany, which was economically more developed. To stop such attraction, East Germany erected fences and watchtowers, started armed patrols and curtailed communication between east and West Germany as a way of guarding her border.
- In 1961, the East Germans built a wall (The Iron Curtain) along the border. This physically divided Germany and her capital: Berlin as well as the European continent into east and west. Europe was by then a theatre of dominance by the USA and the USSR, with the USSR controlling the east while the Allies controlled the west.

Analyse the Cold war in Asia.

Hostilities between the super powers spread to Asia as Americans strived to contain the spread of Communism as follows:

- After the Second World War, the USSR secretly involved herself in China by helping Mao Tse Tung and his Communist Party to gain power over the Kuomintang (Nationalist) forces, who Mao drove to
Formosa (Taiwan) island in 1949. In 1950, a treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance was signed between China and the USSR, the danger of which the USA unsuccessfully warned China of.

- In Indochina, the USA and the USSR clashed over Vietnam: a French colony that had been seized by Japan during the Second World War, where the two superpowers supported rival nationalist leaders. The USSR supported Ho Chi Minh while the USA, Britain and France were on the side of Ngo Dinh Diem. Vietnam was divided into north and south, with the USSR controlling the north and the USA remained in the South. The Stand-off led to the Vietnam War, with the USA wishing to block the spread of Communism while the USSR wished to spread communism. The Americans were defeated and had to withdraw.

- After the Second World War, the superpowers competed for influence in Korea, with the USSR particularly concerned since she had a common border with Korea. In 1945, Korea was occupied from the south by American forces and from the north by the Russians. In 1948, the USA announced the formation of the Independent Democratic Republic of Korea in the south. The Russians similarly formed the People’s Republic of Korea in the north. In 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea in an attempt to reunite Korea by force, but North Korea was repulsed when the US-dominated UNO quickly sent troops that pushed the North Koreans back. To avoid a possible World War, the USSR appealed for a ceasefire in Korea. The cold war in Europe had become a hot war in Asia.

**In what ways did the Cuban Missile Crisis influence the Cold War in Central America?**

The Cold War in Central America was characterized by the Cuban Missile Crisis as follows:

- In 1958, with the support of the USSR, Fidel Castro overthrew the 25-year-old dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista in Cuba. The USA unsuccessfully tried to remove Castro from office.

- Hoping to use Cuba to attack the USA in case of war, the USSR placed intermediate range nuclear missiles and other weapons in Cuba with Castro’s approval as a means of countering the emerging US lead in developing strategic arms and to protect Cuba from US-sponsored invasions such as the failed 1961 attempt.

- In 1962, there was a steady flow of Soviet arms into Cuba in exchange for Cuban sugar.

- President John F. Kennedy of the USA demanded immediate dismantling and removal of Soviet bases and missiles in Cuba and a strict blockade on all military ships approaching Cuba.

- To end the most serious Cold War crisis, President Nikita Khrushchev of the USSR removed Soviet missiles from Cuba.

**Analyse the Cold War in Africa. (Explain how military conflicts that stemmed from the Cold War were witnessed in Africa.)**

Military conflicts that stemmed from the Cold War were also witnessed in Africa as follows:

- In 1974, Soviet-supported Mengistu Haile Mariam overthrew Emperor Haille Selassie of Ethiopia and introduced Socialist programmes. However, Secessionist activities in northern Ethiopia and the withdrawal of Soviet assistance to Ethiopia (following the collapse of the Soviet Union) forced Mengistu out of power in 1991.

- In 1975, the MPLA, with the support of Cuba and the USSR, won Angola’s independence from Portugal. Shortly later, due to disagreement over which party was to lead, Angola was plunged into bruising civil war. The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for The Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), both of which were supported by the USA, opposed the MPLA government, which was supported by Cuban troops and the USSR. Following the collapse of the USSR, Soviet aid to Angola reduced, which paved way for democratic elections and an eventual end of violence in Angola.

- In the Democratic republic of Congo, President Mobutu Sese Seko sought and received the support of NATO, which propelled him to power after he overthrew the country’s socialist government.

**Identify the steps that led to easing of the Cold War. (State the factors that led to the end of the Cold War).**

The following steps or factors led to the easing and end of the Cold War:

- The super powers adopted measures to relax tension between them in what was termed as the Détente.
With the death of Joseph Stalin of the USSR, who was a Hard-liner that could not negotiate with the USA, the two super powers signed confidence-building agreements.

The USA and the USSR held a series of negotiations, which resulted in summit meetings and the signing of Strategic Arms Limitation agreements.

Leaders of the two super powers visited one another as a show of good relations. For example, in 1972, President Richard Nixon of the USA visited Beijing and Moscow.

From 1985-1991, President Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR adopted liberal policies I.E Openness and Economic Restructuring (Glasnost and Perestroika), which led to more co-operation.

President Ronald Reagan of the USA adopted a policy to ease the tension by talking with Russian leaders.

The collapse of Communist rule in Eastern Europe in 1989 weakened the position of the USSR and eased Cold War tension.

With the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe, the Berlin Wall (the Iron Curtain) crumbled in 1990, after which east and West Germany were unified under Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Russia’s support for the Gulf War in 1991 was an indication that the USSR was willing to co-operate with Western Europe.

In the 1991 Moscow summit, President George Bush Senior of the USA and Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR signed the Strategic Arms Reduction (START) treaty to cut their nuclear warheads and other weapons by about a third.

In 1990, the Paris Charter was signed, which dissolved the Warsaw Pact in 1991. This further eased Cold War tension.

Several states within the USSR lost interest in Communism and socialism. In a move to leave the union, these states formed their own independent administrations.

Former Soviet republics and satellite states declared their independence as some among them joined NATO, leading to collapse of the USSR in 1991.

Western democracies were established in former Communist countries such as Poland, Austria, East Germany, Romania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia after President Boris Yeltsin of Russia recognized their independence from the USSR and launched a full-scale economic reform programme to create a market economy and to overcome the imperial and ideological legacies of the USSR.

What were the effects of the Cold War?

- Mutual suspicion and mistrust between the super powers, which divided the world into two blocs.
- The Space race as well as the Arms Race which led to development of military technology as well as space-craft, rockets and other lethal weapons.
- Various crises E.g. the Vietnam and Korean wars, the Suez Canal crisis and the 1956 Hungarian revolution.
- International insecurity and disruption of world peace as each of the super powers struggled to dominate the world.
- Formation of the Afro-Asian bloc and adoption of the Neutral Policy approach (Nonalignment) to enable emerging nations in Africa and Asia to exert their influence in the UNO and to save them from Power bloc rivalry.
- Spread of Capitalism and Communism as the super powers competed to exert their influence and to ensure that their respective ideologies dominated the world.
- Formation of economic and military alliances such as NATO, COMECON, THE Warsaw pact and the European Economic Union.
- Development in science and technology, particularly military technology as military industries were established across nations and more lethal weapons manufactured, leading to the Arms Race and actual war in various countries.
- Deep seated mistrust among nations due to polarization of the world into two blocs, each of which undermined the other.
COOPERATION IN AFRICA

The need for cooperation in Africa stems from the desire of the peoples of Africa to liberate themselves of exploitation and domination of Africa by foreigners, particularly from Western Europe, which dates back to the 15th century when scientific innovation in Europe inspired exploration voyages.

PAN AFRICANISM

Define Pan Africanism. (What is Pan Africanism?)

Pan Africanism is a movement that aims at uniting all peoples of African descent. It stands for the unity and advancement of all Africans and is a manifestation of African protest against universal discrimination of black people by acknowledging their right to self determination and calling for the treatment of Africans with dignity as equals in all parts of the world.

Trace the origin of Pan Africanism.

- Pan Africanism started in the Americas in the 19th century as a result of the dispersal of black peoples over much of the Americas and the Caribbean through Trans-Atlantic slave trade.
- Africans were despised and ridiculed based on their skin colour as well as their hard and kinky hair and were convinced that they could find true friendship, understanding, brotherhood and a home over in Africa.
- Since Africa too had been colonized and humiliated by European powers at the beginning of the 20th century, black peoples in the Americas and West Indies joined those of Africa in the Pan African movement.
- Even after independence, many Africans saw the need to remain united amidst neocolonialism.

Identify the factors that led to Pan Africanism. (Explain the factors that gave rise to Pan Africanism.)

The following factors gave rise to Pan Africanism:

- Many Africans were brought together by their shared suffering in slavery.
- In the Americas, Africans shared similar experiences of racial discrimination.
- During the colonial period, Africans were subjected to many ills.
- Economic exploitation since the raw materials and other resources got from Africa only benefited the colonialists as indigenous Africans remained with nothing.

Explain the suffering shared by Africans during slavery. (What suffering did Africans experience/undergo during slavery? Or:

Explain the shared suffering by which Africans were brought together during slavery.)

- They suddenly found their status changed from that of freedom to slavery.
- They were forcibly removed from the comfort of their homes and families and transported to strange lands. The violence involved in the capture caused serious injuries, destruction of property and loss of life. Many times, even siblings were separated as they were shared among different slave traders.
- The long march from the interior to the coast of West Africa, where they were loaded into waiting ships, was traumatizing. At the coast, the weary slaves were paraded, named and branded like animals after being sold to the highest bidder, who then transported them across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas in terrible conditions.
- The ships were overcrowded as the merchants packed in as many slaves as possible. Many slaves died on route to the Americas. To prevent slave riots in the ships, metal chains were used to tie up the slaves. Water and sanitary facilities were scarce during most of the voyages. This made many slaves to jump into the Atlantic Ocean and face the sharks rather than proceed with the journey.
- On arrival in the Americas, slaves were stripped naked and paraded in the market-place like commodities for prospective buyers. The experience was most humiliating as the prospective buyers sorted out the strong ones who fetched a better price for the sellers. Those purchased were taken to the cotton, Sugarcane and tobacco plantations, homes, mines and sites for public works (to construct roads, railways and factories).
Explain the ills that Africans were subjected to during colonial rule. (In what ways were Africans mistreated during colonial rule? Or: Explain the ills/mistreatment that characterized colonial rule in Africa. Or: In what ways did Africans suffer during colonial rule? Or: Explain the suffering experienced by Africans during colonial rule.)

- They lost land to colonial powers. They were removed from their ancestral land. The most arable land was grabbed by the few European settlers while the Africans were settled in harsh arid and semi-arid areas.
- They were subjected to forced labour. For instance, in Belgian Congo (now the Democratic Republic of Congo), the colonialists chopped off the limbs of Africans who refused to collect the wild rubber.
- Imposition of many heavy taxes on Africans, E.G Poll tax, Hut tax and Breast tax.
- Poor (low) wages and poor working conditions.
- Discrimination, particularly through racial segregation.
- Corporal punishment.
- Rape and murder.
- Restrictions on movement and assembly.

Explain the aims/purpose of the Pan African movement. (Explain the objectives of the Pan African movement.)

- To unite all peoples of African origin in the struggle for emancipation from social discrimination and colonial rule.
- To challenge the ideology of White Race Supremacy, on which European colonization was based.
- To improve the conditions of Africans in the Diaspora and in the African continent.
- To restore the dignity of black peoples.
- To create a forum through which protests against European colonization and racial discrimination would be channeled.
- To fight Neocolonialism in Africa.

Analyse/explain development of Pan Africanism.

- United in humiliation and grief, the Africans in the Diaspora came to view themselves more and more as having a common history. Africa assumed a new significance to them. It was their only source of hope as it gave them identity and pride.
- In the 19th century, there were economic developments that led to the introduction of machines, which replaced human (slave) labour, causing slaves to be freed by their masters.
- The British began anti-slave-trade and antislavery campaigns in 1807 and 1833. This was closely followed by the American civil war over whether or not to continue slavery.
- A new spirit grew among black men such as Martin Delaney, Alexander Crummell, Bishop James Johnson, Wilmot Blyden, Bishop Turner, Henry Sylvester Williams, Dr W E B Du Bois, Marcus Moziah Garvey, George Padmore, Booker T. Washington, Dr Kwame Nkruma and Leopold Sedar Senghor. These Pan Africanists began to travel widely, visiting Africa and writing on African issues, with which African newspapers were started to deal best.
- Congresses were organized to deal with the problems of black peoples I.E to know or identify the problems and their possible solution.

Marcus Garvey (1887-1940)

Assess the life of Marcus Garvey as a Pan Africanist.

- Marcus Moziah Garvey was born in the West Indian island of Jamaica in 1887 to a family of freed slaves. As a young boy, he suffered a lot on account of his deeply dark complexion, a reality that shaped his philosophy of Pan Africanism.
- In his childhood, Europeans and children of mixed parentage declined to associate with him, just because he was very black. Children of mixed parentage in Jamaica constituted themselves into a class quite distinct from the darker African peoples while the people of the darker colour formed Despised Masses of Domestic servants and Plantation labourers.
By the time Garvey arrived in the USA in 1916, he had traveled widely in Britain and in south and central Africa. He was deeply upset by the poor working conditions among the people of African descent in all the areas he visited.

In England, Garvey met Dues Muhamed Ali, who encouraged him to lead black peoples all over the world in the struggle for liberation. Ali was editor of the African Times and the Orient magazine. Garvey visited the British museum, where he read extensively, particularly from the Bible and William Shakespeare.

Garvey developed his Pan Africanism philosophy in the USA, seeking to make Africans to take pride in their blackness and cultural heritage. He founded the Negroe Empire in New York in 1920. He organized a black convention in New York in 1924, which would enable black peoples to enjoy economic and political progress. Black peoples from different parts of the world attended the convention. Garvey then launched the Universal Negroe Improvement Association (UNIA), based at Harlem in New York.

Garvey also communicated with his supporters through the Negroe Will: a journal he founded, published in English, Spanish and French in order to reach a wider audience. He also founded an African Orthodox Church under Chief Bishop. Chief Bishop was a black patriarch. The African Orthodox Church was aimed at encouraging black peoples to practice one faith as they have one goal, one aim and one destiny. He adopted a Black Christ and a black Madonna as symbols of his African Orthodox church and asked his followers to forget white gods.

Garvey teamed up with the advocates of the Return to Africa Crusade, declaring that since the Europeans had the European continent, the colonial governments should leave Africa to the Africans. He even sent two missionaries to Liberia in 1920 and 1924.

Believing in African economic empowerment, Garvey mobilized African Americans to contribute funds for the establishment of black businesses, one of which was the Black Starline shipping company, in which black people invested millions of dollars. Three ships were purchased in order to free African Americans from dependence on European-owned ships for marine transport. However, the project declined and collapsed due to Garvey’s lack of managerial and financial skills to run it.

Garvey was witch-hunted, arrested, tried and convicted for fraud due to his critical attitude against the Europeans in the USA and was sentenced to five years imprisonment for allegedly collecting funds unlawfully. However, he was pardoned and repatriated to Jamaica, where he died in 1940.

Garvey’s most important contribution was that, more than anyone else in history, he mobilized black peoples to take pride in their cultures and complexion. Slogans such as “Black is beautiful” were inherited from him.

**What were the aims of the Universal Negroe Improvement Association (UNIA)?**

- Establishment of a central nation for the black race.
- Promotion of African cultures.
- Creating universal fraternity among the Black race.
- Establishment of academies for African children.
- To uplift the civilization of African communities.

**Explain the contributions of Marcus Garvey to Pan Africanism.**

- He developed his Pan Africanism philosophy in the USA, seeking to make Africans to take pride in their blackness and cultural heritage.
- He founded the Negroe Empire in New York in 1920.
- He organized a black convention in New York in 1924, which would enable black peoples to enjoy economic and political progress. Black peoples from different parts of the world attended the convention.
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- He mobilized black peoples to take pride in their cultures and complexion. Slogans such as “Black is beautiful” were inherited from him.

Assess/discuss the life of any one of the following as a Pan Africanist:

(a) Booker T. Washington.
(b) W E B Du Bois.

**Booker T. Washington**

- Booker T. Washington was born in a poor family of slaves in southern USA in 1856. In spite of his harsh background, Booker managed to raise his school fees and proceeded to Hampton institute, where he acquired a university Degree in Agriculture.
- Booker started the Tuskegee institute in Alabama, which trained black peoples in agricultural and industrial skills. He was principal of the institute.
- He encouraged new African Americans to work hard to achieve progress by cooperating with the government and cultivating the skills and habits that could earn them white support. This policy was criticized by other African Americans, particularly W E B Du Bois, who believed that African Americans must fight for their civil rights rather than try to win acceptance by the European Community. However, Washington believed that if African Americans could work hard and accumulate wealth, they could easily attain equal status with the European community and thereby end racial discrimination.
- His ideas were supported, particularly by successful Europeans such as Andrews Carnegie, who helped him found the National Negroe Business league, aimed at teaching virtues of business development to black communities in the USA. African schools in the USA embarked on technical education and agricultural skills.
- By the time of Booker’s death in 1915, the Tuskegee institute had become a model school for African Americans. To date, no other Pan Africanist promoted African education the way Booker did.

**W E B Du Bois (1868-1963)**

- William Edward Burghardt Du Bois was an excellent scholar in his own right as Professor of History, economics and sociology as well as a renowned journalist.
- W E B Du Bois was born in Great Barrington: a small town in Massachusetts: USA in 1868.
- He completed both Elementary and Secondary education through scholarships and secured a place at Fisk University before proceeding to Harvard University, where he became the first Black to receive PHD.
- In 1900, Du Bois was among the founder-members of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (N A A C P).
- In 1905, he established the Niagara Movement to protest against racial discrimination against black peoples in the USA. HE DISAGREED WITH Booker T. Washington on the best strategy black peoples should use to win respect from Europeans. He used his Journalism skill to fight racial injustice and maintained that capable Africans be allowed to pursue higher education like the Europeans without discrimination. He referred to such talented Africans as The Talented Tenth.
- Just like Marcus Garvey, Du bois glorified African history and cultures and believed that if Africans were to be a factor in world history, they had to form a Pan-Negroe movement. His greatest contribution to the African race was in the preparation of the 1900-1945 Pan African conferences, in which he strongly argued against slavery, colonial exploitation and repression of the African peoples.
He chaired the 1945 Pan African Congress at Manchester in England, where George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah served as joint secretaries and in which African leaders demanded political independence for African countries.


By the time of his death in 1963, Du Bois had acquired Ghanaian citizenship and was one of the most respected Pan Africanists.

THE PAN AFRICAN CONFERENCES (1900-1945)

In 1897, Black leaders in London formed the African Association, restricted to African and African Membership, mainly to unite Blacks and to promote their welfare amidst rising European hostility. The association organized the Pan African Conference of 1900.

Analyse the background of the first Pan African conference (1900).

- It was held at Westminster town hall in London.
- It was sponsored by Henry Sylvester Williams: a Trinidadian barrister (Lawyer), who coined the term Pan Africanism.
- It attracted 32 participants from Africa, the USA, Canada, the West Indies and Britain.
- It was at this conference that Du Bois was first introduced to Pan Africanism. Du Bois stated clearly that the problem of the 20th century was the Colour Line. He strongly condemned racial discrimination based on the skin colour.
- A Pan African Association and Journal were started.
- The conference sent a memorandum to the Queen of England demanding respect for the rights of Black people, especially in the British Empire.

What were the objectives of the first Pan African conference (1900)? (State/explain the aims/purpose of the first Pan African conference (1900).)

- An end to European colonization in Africa.
- To unite Black peoples all over the world.
- Initiation of a movement for securing the full rights of Africans.
- Establishment of more friendly relations between African and European races.
- Promotion of African economic interests.

Describe the issues discussed during the First Pan African conference (1900).

- Living conditions of Blacks in different parts of the world.
- Human rights violations against Blacks in South Africa and Rhodesia.
- Racial discrimination against Africans all over the world.

Describe two main tasks that the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (N A A C P) sent W E B Du Bois to fulfill in 1918.

In December 1918, Du Bois had been sent by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (N A A C P) to fulfill two specific tasks, namely:

- To investigate allegations of racial discrimination against African American troops stationed in France during the First World War.
- To represent black peoples at the impending peace conference after the First World War.

3. (A) Analyse/discuss the background to the Second Pan African conference (1919).

- It was held under W E B Du Bois in Paris: France alongside the Paris Peace Conference following the First World War.
- Du Bois was assisted by Blaise Diagne, a much respected African Assimile from Senegal.
- The conference attracted fifty participants, of which twelve came from Africa.

State/identify the recommendations that were made at the Second Pan African conference (1919).

- International laws to protect persons of African descent.
- Holding of land in the African continent in trust for Africans.
- An end to exploitation of African nations by foreign companies.
African enjoyment of the right to education.
Abolition of slavery and capital punishment.
That Africans enjoy the right to participate in their government as far as their development allows.

Describe the smaller conferences that were held after the Second Pan African conference.
After the Second Pan African Conference, other smaller conferences were held such as:
- The one jointly hosted by London, Brussels and Paris in 1921 as a follow-up of the second conference. It comprised 100 attendants, all of African descent, 35 of who came from the USA, 41 from the African continent and 24 were living in Europe. This conference was considered part of the second Pan African conference.
- The third Pan African conference (1923), which was jointly hosted by London and Lisbon. It was attended mainly by Africans in the Diaspora (those living in Europe and the USA). It reiterated earlier resolutions and demanded that Black people be treated as human beings.
- The fourth Pan African conference (1927), which was unique as it was convened in New York: USA and was attended mainly by African Americans, sponsored by, among others, European philanthropists who were supporting the African Americans in their efforts to uplift their living standards.
- That which was regarded as part of the Fourth Pan African conference and was held in 1927 in London, in which the attitude of communists towards Pan Africanism was discussed. In it, Communists failed to control and therefore tried to discredit W E B Du Bois and Marcus Garvey. After it ended, Pan African conferences ceased for the next eighteen years, after which George Padmore came to the scene.

What were the demands of the 1921 Pan African conference? (State the demands of the conference that was jointly hosted by London, Brussels and Paris in 1921.)
- Establishment of political organizations among suppressed black peoples.
- International and interracial harmony and democracy.

Describe the Fifth Pan African conference (1945).
- It was held in Manchester: Britain.
- It was convened by George Padmore, CLR Wallace Johnson and Jomo Kenyatta.
- It was chaired by W E B Du Bois.
- It was altogether attended by ninety delegates and eleven observers.
- It coincided with (came at the same time as) the end of the Second World War.

Apart from Jomo Kenyatta from Kenya, identify other prominent delegates at the fifth Pan African conference who came from Africa.
- Obafemi Awolowo from Nigeria.
- Kwame Nkruma from Ghana.
- Hastings Kamuzu Banda from Malawi.
- Peter Abrahams from South Africa.

Explain the factors that inspired the fifth Pan African conference (1945). (By what factors was the fifth Pan African conference (1945) inspired?)
- It was convened at a time when African and Asian ex-war veterans had become more nationalistic due to their Second World War experiences.
- Clause 3 of the 1941 Atlantic Charter, which stated that British and US governments would respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which to live. This inspired many people in Africa to demand political independence.
- The sentiments of British Prime Minister: sir Winston Churchill that the principles of Clause 3 of the 1941 Atlantic Charter were not applicable to Africa’s.
- The liberation of Ethiopia by a British-led but largely African force in 1941.

In what ways was the fifth Pan African conference (1945) unique from earlier ones? (Explain the factors that made the fifth Pan African conference (1945) unique from those that came before it.)
The fifth Pan African conference was unique from earlier ones in the following ways:
Earlier conferences were dominated by Africans in the Diaspora, particularly from Europe and the USA, but the 1945 conference was mainly organized by Africans from Africa, except W E B Du Bois and George Padmore.

Representatives of white philanthropists were neither present, nor did they finance the conference. Many African trade unions such as those from Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Ghana and Gambia, together with most of the West Indies were represented.

Explain the resolutions that were made at the fifth Pan African conference (1945). (Identify the resolutions that the fifth Pan African conference (1945) came up with).

- Africans embark on winning political power through nonviolent methods E.g. strikes and boycotts.
- African intellectuals play an important role in mobilizing the masses to fight for political liberation.
- Demand for inclusion of Africans as beneficiaries and part of universal suffrage.
- Condemnation of European capitalism.
- Demand for autonomy for black people.
- Unity of colonial and subject peoples of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa, hoping that before long, such peoples would be independent and would, as free nations, unite to consolidate and safeguard their liberty.
- Condemnation of the artificial boundaries imposed by colonial governments in Africa, for such boundaries divided the African people.

In what ways were Africans from the African continent involved in the leadership of Pan Africanism after 1945? (Explain the involvement of Africans from the African continent in the Pan African movement’s leadership after the fifth Pan African conference. Or: In what ways did the fifth Pan African conference mark the involvement of Africans from the African continent in the movement’s leadership?)

The fifth Pan African conference was a turning point in the growth of Pan Africanism as it marked the involvement of Africans from the African continent in the movement’s leadership as follows:

- Kwame Nkruma established the West African National Secretariat (W A N S) in 1945 in England to serve as a regional body for the Pan African Federation, for the promotion of unity in west Africa among the British, French and Portuguese colonies in west Africa.
- The West African National Secretariat worked closely with the Pan African Federation, founded by Ras Makonnen of Ethiopia and George Padmore of Trinidad in promoting Pan Africanism. It even published a newspaper: The New Africans to inspire the youth in Africa to resist imperialism.
- After the conference, some participants like Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkruma and Kamuzu Banda went back to their respective countries to lead the nationalist agitation.

Why was Pan Africanism centred in Africa after 1945?

After 1945, Pan Africanism was reactivated and was centered in Africa because:

- The second world War strengthened nationalism in Africa. Supported by the U N O, the USA and the USSR, Africans in the continent started to demand political independence.
- The 1945 Pan African conference was attended by, among others, African elite such as Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkruma, Kamuzu Banda and Leopold Senghor, who inspired their colleagues to join the movement.
- The attainment of political independence in India in 1947 and Burma in 1948 encouraged many nationalists in Africa.
- Due to the Cold war, The USA restricted the activities of black Americans who had links with the USSR such as George Padmore, which slowed down the activities of Black Americans in Pan Africanism.
- Ghana’s independence in 1957 inspired other African countries to focus on the liberation of their respective countries rather than fight for the betterment of fellow Africans outside the continent.

Analyse/assess the life of Kwame Nkruma as a Pan Africanist. (Explain the role/contribution of Kwame Nkruma in Pan Africanism.)

As one of the Pan Africanists from Africa, Kwame Nkruma (1909-1972) contributed greatly to the growth of Pan Africanism in the following ways:
At Lincoln University in Pennsylvania: USA, Nkruma was one of the leaders of the African Students association. He became a strong advocate of socialism, having read the philosophy of Hegel, Cant, Descartes and Marx.

Nkruma participated as Secretary in the 1945 Fifth Pan African Conference, after which he proposed that delegates go back to their countries and spearhead the nationalist struggle.

Soon after the 1945 Pan African Conference, Nkruma launched the W.A.N.S to coordinate plans for independence in British, Portuguese and French territories in west Africa.

In 1946, Nkruma was invited back to Ghana to lead the United Gold coast Convention (UGCC), of which he became secretary, but with which he fell out in 1949 because of his ideas, although the association accomplished a lot under his leadership. That same year, Nkruma founded the Convention people’s Party (CPP), which led Ghana to independence in 1957.

On becoming Ghana’s President in 1957, Nkrumah declared that Ghana’s independence would be meaningless unless the rest of Africa was liberated. He inspired many African countries to struggle for political independence and the Black Civil Rights movement in the USA to fight for their rights. He fulfilled his promise of promoting Pan Africanism even after Ghana’s independence.

In 1958, he hosted a conference for all independent countries in Africa, which was attended by all independent African countries I.E Egypt, Morocco, Ethiopia, Liberia, Tunisia, Sudan and Libya. Later that same year, Nkruma hosted the All Africa People’s Conference in Accra: Ghana.

He helped the Guinean leader: Sekou Toure with loans following the withdrawal of French support to Guinea after independence. He also helped Patrice Lumumba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Belgium and other Western countries (including the USA) were encouraging some rebellious leaders to secede.

It was most probably because of his fight against Western domination that Nkruma was eventually deposed in 1966 in a military coup that forced him into exile. He died in 1972 in Bucharest: Romania, where he had gone to seek treatment for Cancer.

Discuss/analyse the performance of the Pan African movement in the 1950s and 1960s. (Explain/assess the performance/progress of the Pan African movement in postcolonial Africa.)

Pan Africanism was evident in the political developments in Africa in the 1950s and 1960s, illustrated in the convening of conferences and in providing support for African nationalists seeking liberation as follows:

- In the first conference of independent African states, hosted by Nkruma in Accra: Ghana in 1958, the delegates pledged to assist fellow African countries who were fighting for political independence. It was attended by the then independent African countries.
- In the All African People’s conference which was hosted by Nkruma in Accra: Ghana but was chaired by Tom Mboya from Kenya in 1958, one of the resolutions passed was that African nationalists would use all means necessary to acquire political independence. It was attended by Freedom fighters and Trade unionists from all over Africa.
- The Second conference of Independent African states, which was held in Addis Ababa: Ethiopia in 1960 inspired future meetings that would culminate in the formation of a continental body. At that time, some divisions began to emerge among the African states over the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Patrice Lumumba was having problems with the former colonial masters: the Belgians.
- The 1960 Brazzaville conference was attended exclusively by the twelve Francophone conservative African states.
- The 1961 Casa Blavalle conference comprised radical states, which did not agree with the Brazzaville resolutions. Most moderates declined their invitation.
- the 1961 Monrovia conference, which was held in Monrovia: Liberia, attracted both moderate and conservative groups of African states. It sought to unite the antagonistic groups, particularly the radical and Conservative. It emphasized absolute equality of all states, regardless of size, population or wealth.
At an African States meeting in Cairo: Egypt in 1962, Guinea was encouraged by radical states to work for reconciliation with the Moderate and conservative groups. It was out of this reconciliation effort that the Organization of African Unity (OAU) was formed.

**Explain the divisions that emerged among African states over the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 1960.**

By 1960, some divisions began to emerge among the African states over the situation in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where Patrice Lumumba was having problems with the former colonial masters: the Belgians. These were:

- African states that supported Lumumba such as Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and Morocco, which were regarded as radical.
- French colonies, which did not support Lumumba such as Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Benin, Gabon, Cote D’ivoir, Madagascar, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal and Burkina Faso, which were regarded as the Conservative group.
- The third group, which comprised states like Ethiopia, Liberia, Libya, Nigeria, Togo, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia, which were considered moderates.

**Identify the resolutions of the 1960 Brazzaville conference of independent African states.**

In the resolutions of the 1960 Brazzaville conference, the states:

- Emphasized the need to respect international frontiers.
- Advocated noninterference in the internal affairs of any African state.
- Stressed the countries’ friendship with France.
- Promised political support for Mauritania in her Boundary dispute with Morocco.
- Advocated Algeria’s self determination, but condemned violence in the struggle for political independence.

**State the decisions/resolutions that were made at the 1961 Casa Blanca Conference of independent African states.**

At the 1961 Casa Blanca conference of independent African states, the members:

- Supported Morocco in her Boundary dispute with Mauritania.
- Supported Abdel Nasser of Egypt in the Arab quarrels with Israel.
- Condemned the use of African troops in the Francophone countries in fighting the Algerian nationalists.
- Advocated removal of foreign troops from Congo.

Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Egyptian leader, was an ardent supporter of Pan Africanism. He gave weapons, military training, shelter and financial assistance to African nationalists. For instance, the Maumau guerrillas in Kenya broadcast their grievances through radio Cairo.

**Describe two important events that took place in Africa soon after the 1961 Monrovia Conference.**

Soon after the Monrovia Conference, two important events took place which enhanced the unity of African states and reconciled the hostile groups. These were:

- The 1961 Algerian referendum, which favoured Algeria’s political independence from France.
- The situation in Congo stabilized after 1961.

**Explain/describe the achievements/successes of the Pan African movement.**

- A sense of unity among Black peoples, enabling Africans in the Diaspora and those from the African continent to realize that they shared a common origin and experienced similar prejudices from the European race.
- It laid basis for interest in research on African cultures, history, literature, music, religion, medicine and art among other fields, which enabled them to understand the status quo.
- Advancement of African nationalism by encouraging African peoples to take pride in their ancestry and demand their rights.
- Cultivation and restoration of the dignity of the Africans in themselves by pointing out that being black or African is good.
- Provision of a forum where Africans could discuss their problems.
- Formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) (now the African Union) as a result of its meetings and conferences.
- Condemnation of Italy’s invasion and attempt to colonize Ethiopia in 1935, which caused Italy to back down on her move.
- Commitment of African leaders to African issues, e.g., pressure by the American Black Caucus on the US Congress to take drastic measures against the Apartheid regime of South Africa in the 1980s.

**State the challenges encountered by the Pan African movement.** (Identify the setbacks to the Pan African movement. Or:

- Explain the factors that undermine the Pan African movement.)
  - Disagreement among its leaders such as W E B Du Bois and Booker T. Washington on the best strategy of uplifting the welfare of the peoples of African descent.
  - Hostility to the movement by European groups and powers, who dominated the international media and watered down the importance of Pan Africanism by spreading negative propaganda against the movement.
  - The fact that colonial powers prevented Africans on the continent from participating in the movement.
  - Illiteracy, ignorance, and lack of experience, which hindered some people of African descent from offering constructive support to the pan African leaders, which led to the collapse of many pan-Africanist ventures.
  - Restriction of the movement to the African continent, particularly after 1945, which tended to exclude or isolate Africans in the Diaspora.
  - Absence of black Americans in Africa’s affairs, which dealt a big blow to Africa’s progress.
  - Postcolonial divisions in Africa, e.g., between Conservative and Radical African leaders and between Francophone and English-speaking African countries, which further weakened the spirit of Pan Africanism.
  - The fact that most African countries were still under colonialism at the time of its formation and activities, which made it difficult for them to participate in Pan African affairs.

**THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY**

**What was the Organization of African Unity?**

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) was an association of independent African states. It existed from 1963-2002 when it was renamed the African Union (AU). It was instrumental in ending colonial and White minority rule throughout Africa.

**Explain the origin of the Organization of African Unity.**

The idea of an organization of African unity stems from continental meetings in the spirit of Pan Africanism. In one such meeting in Addis Ababa: Ethiopia in 1963, leaders of thirty out of the thirty-two independent African countries converged (met) under the leadership of emperor Haille Selassie I of Ethiopia and agreed to form a continental organization. Ghana and Uganda fully supported a Union government of Africa while the rest accepted a looser association of states.

The OAU charter was drawn and signed in 1973. States that had not yet gained independence sent observers. With the formation of the OAU, all African groupings such as the Brazzaville and Casa Blanca groups were dissolved.

The headquarters of the OAU was established in Addis Ababa: Ethiopia.

By 2002 when the OAU was renamed the African Union, its membership had grown from the initial 32 to over 54 member-countries.

**Describe the OAU charter.** (What was the importance of the OAU charter?)

The OAU charter borrowed heavily from that of the UNO except for the permanent members of the UN Security Council, who have Veto powers, which the OAU did not have since OAU members had equal privileges: each with an equal vote.

According to the charter, OAU chairmanship was rotational to allow each member state an opportunity to hold the organization’s top seat.

- The Charter outlined the organization’s objectives.
- The Charter outlined the fundamental principles of the organization.
- The Charter established four main bodies or organs through which the OAU functioned.
- The Charter outlined the structure of the OAU and stated that any independent African state qualified to become a member of the organization.
Explain the objectives of the OAU as outlined in the OAU charter.

- Promotion of continental unity.
- Defense of African sovereignty.
- Coordination and intensification of members’ efforts to achieve a better life for Africans.
- Promotion of international cooperation with regard to the charter of the UNO and the universal declaration of human rights.
- Eradication of colonialism.

State seven fundamental principles of the OAU as stipulated in the OAU charter.

- Recognition of the sovereignty and equality of member states.
- Noninterference in the internal affairs of member countries.
- Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of each country and its inalienable right to independent existence.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes.
- Adherence to the principals of nonalignment.
- Condemnation of political assassinations or any form of subversion by one country in another member country.
- Dedication to the emancipation of territories under colonial rule.

Identify/describe four main bodies or organs through which the OAU functioned. (Analyse the structure of the OAU.)

- The Assembly of heads of state and government.
- The council of ministers. This comprised all foreign ministers of member states.
- The Secretariat. This mainly provided necessary administrative services to the organization. It was based in Addis Ababa: Ethiopia and was headed by a secretary General, who was elected by the assembly of Heads of State and Government to serve a four-year term, with a provision for re-election.
- The Commission for Mediation, conciliation and Arbitration. This dealt with the core functions of the OAU, particularly peaceful settlement of disputes between member states, especially Boundary and Refugee-related ones. It had a total membership of 21 states.

Explain the functions of the following bodies of the OAU:

- The assembly of heads of state and government,
- The council of Ministers.

THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

- Was the OAU’s most supreme policy-making body.
- Met once every year except for emergency sessions.
- Mainly coordinated policies and reviewed the OAU structure.
- Passed its resolutions by a Two-thirds majority vote.
- Comprised members with equal voting rights, whose chairman was elected annually from among the heads of state and government.
- Held conferences in member states on rotational basis. The head of the hosting state automatically became chairman of the OAU. However, from 1983, all OAU summit meetings were held in Addis Ababa: Ethiopia.

THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

- Prepared agenda for the assembly of heads of state and Government.
- Prepared the OAU budget for approval by heads of state and government.
- Implemented the decisions of the Assembly.
- Met twice a year, except for emergency sessions. Its meetings preceded those of the heads of State and Government, to who it was responsible.
- Passed its decisions by a Two-thirds majority vote. Each country had only one vote.

Identify the departments that made up the OAU Secretariat.

- Political affairs,
- finance,
Education,
science,
Culture and social affairs,
economic development And Cooperation,
Administration and Conference.

Name-identify the specialized agencies and committees that handled the OAU’s technical business.
(Describe the specialized agencies and committees that handled the OAU’s technical business.)

- The Liberation Committee, which coordinated the activities of the continent’s liberation movements to ensure decolonization. It was based in Dar es Salaam: Tanzania.
- The economic and social Commission, which dealt with economic development in the continent. The African Development Bank (ADB) based in Abidjan: Cote D’ivoir, has operated through this commission.
- The commission On Education, science And Culture.
- The Defense commission.
- The Conference of African Trade ministers.
- The African Civil aviation commission (AFCAC).
- The Pan Africanist Agency (PANA).
- The Pan African Postal and Telecommunication Union (PATU).
- The supreme Council of sports in Africa.
- Union of African Railways.
- Organization of African Trade Unions Unity (OATUU).
- Union of National Television and radio Organizations (URTNA).
- The Association of African Universities (AAU).
- Union of African Journalists (UAJ).

Explain the achievements of the OAU.
It gave Africa one voice in international forums, such as the UNO. Liberation of several African countries from oppression, E.G Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape-Verde, Namibia and south Africa.
Provision of a forum where leaders could deliberate on African problems among other issues. Advancement of Pan African interests by promoting the dignity of black peoples all over the world against racism, genocide and colonial exploitation.
Settlement of Boundary and other disputes among member states, E.G between Kenya and Somalia, Ethiopia and Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi, Morocco and Algeria as well as Morocco and Saharawi Arab Republic.
Promotion of economic and technical cooperation in Africa through the African development Bank and provision of projects like electrification, road construction and provision of water.
Promotion of postal and telecommunication services as well as radio and television programs through URTNA. Promotion of social and cultural heritage in Africa through All Africa games and intermilitary sports.

What challenges/problems did the OAU encounter? (Explain the factors that undermined the operation of the OAU.)

- Political instability i.e. civil wars and military coups, which hampered the continuity of the organization’s programs.
- Boundary disputes, which caused bitter quarrels and undermined unity among member states.
- Personality differences between various African leaders, which have hindered solution to problems affecting their people as some could not sit in the same room or at the same table.
- Interference by major powers such as the USA, Britain, France and the USSR, who continued to meddle in African affairs at the expense of African unity, particularly during the Cold War.
- Neocolonialism as many African nations still had and continue to have strong attachment to their former colonial masters, on who they depend for financial aid, military assistance, education and technology. Such states invite their former colonial masters whenever they encounter difficulties instead of solving such problems through the OAU.
Inadequate financial support from member states due to delayed or lack of remittance of their contributions, which hindered fulfillment of its obligations.

Lack of a mechanism or sufficient machinery E.G a military force, causing the organization to rely on the good will of member states to implement or enforce its decisions.

The all Africa scope and nature of OAU, which often conflicted with regional opinions and interests. For instance, some Arab League members like Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Libya, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia were often torn between following their regional interests and pursuing those of the OAU.

Ideological differences between member states, particularly in the Cold war era, when some member countries maintained strong links with and even adopted policies of either communist countries of eastern Europe or the capitalist powers of western Europe and the USA, which hampered progress in the OAU. For instance, while Kenya was closely linked with the capitalist west, Mozambique had close ties with the socialist powers.

Most member states gave priority to their national rather than continental interests. For instance, Mauritius and the Seychelles collaborated with Apartheid south Africa, with which other African states were not comfortable.

Failure of the organization to face errant leaders like Idi Amin of Uganda, Jean Bokassa of the Central African Republic and Mobutu Sese Seko of what is now the Democratic Republic of Congo, who violated their own citizens’ rights but continued to attend OAU summits without being reprimanded by fellow leaders.

Lack of continuity due to constant change in leadership, characterized by the one-year term given to the chairmanship.

**Identify examples of Boundary disputes that caused bitter quarrels and undermined unity among OAU member states.**

- Ghana and Togo,
- Algeria and Morocco,
- Morocco and Mauritania,
- Kenya and Somalia,
- Ethiopia and Eritrea,
- Nigeria and Cameroon.

**Identify examples of personality differences between African leaders, by which the operation of the OAU was undermined.**

Uganda’s Idi Amin and Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere,

Tanzania’s Julius Nyerere and Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah,

Uganda’s Yoweri Museveni and Sudan’s Omar El Bashir,

Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Joseph Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

**THE AFRICAN UNION**

**Trace/explain the origin of the African Union.** (Analyse the background of the African Union.)

At the OAU Heads of state and government meeting in Sirte: Libya in September 1999, what became known as the Sirte Declaration was made, calling for the establishment of an African union, to accelerate the process of integration in Africa to enable the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy while fully addressing its problems.

At the Heads of State and Government meeting in Lome: Togo in 2000, the constitutive act of the African Union was adopted. However, it was the 2001 Lusaka summit that paved the way for the formation of the African Union.

At a summit in Durban: South Africa in July 2002, the AU was launched and its first Heads of State summit convened, with Thabo Mxwelywa Mbeki: the President of the republic of South Africa as its first president.

**Explain the differences between the African Union and the OAU.** (What factors make the African Union different from the OAU? Or:

In what ways is the African Union different from the OAU?)
It challenges the principle of noninterference in member countries, which was emphasized by the OAU. It is envisaged as a union of African people, unlike the OAU which was seen as an organization of African executives.

It has an ambitious agenda of accelerating growth and eradicating poverty. It has an accountability mechanism, which involves peer review among member states. It proposes to establish a Peace And Security Council, with a standing African army.

It has an anthem. It established a Pan African parliament and an Economic, social and cultural council. It has an ambitious African development agenda through the New partnership for Africa’s development (NEPAD).

What are the goals of the New partnership for Africa’s development (NEPAD)?
- To promote accelerated growth and sustainable development.
- To eradicate widespread poverty in Africa.
- To end the marginalization of Africa in the globalization process.

**The Charter of the African Union**

The AU charter is very important, for it outlines the objectives and the structure of the African Union.

**What are the objectives of the African Union?** (Explain the aims of the African Union.)

- Achievement of greater unity and solidarity among African people and countries.
- To defend the sovereignty, integrity and independence of African states.
- To accelerate political, social and economic integration.
- To promote African common positions on issues of interest.
- To encourage international cooperation.
- To promote peace, security and stability on the continent.
- To promote democratic principles and institutions, popular participation and good governance.
- To promote and protect human and people’s rights.
- To establish necessary conditions for the continent to play its rightful role in the global economy and in international negotiations.
- To coordinate and harmonize the policies between the existing and future regional economic communities for the gradual attainment of the objectives of the union.
- To advance the development of the African continent by promoting research in science and technology.
- To work with relevant international partners in the eradication of preventable diseases and the promotion of good health on the continent.

**Outline the structure of the African Union.** (Identify the organs that make up the African Union)

- The Assembly.
- The Executive Council.
- The commission.
- The Permanent Representatives committee.
- The Peace and security council.
- The Pan African parliament.
- Economic, Social and cultural Council.
- the Court of Justice.
- financial institutions.
- Specialized committees.

**Describe the AU Assembly.**

- It comprises heads of state and government.
- It is the supreme and most important decision-making body of the union.
- Its members meet annually to elect the AU chairperson.
- Its decisions are by either consensus or a two-thirds majority vote.

**Explain the functions of the AU Assembly.** (Discuss the functions of the Assembly as an organ of the African Union.)
It monitors the implementation of policies and decisions of the union and ensures compliance by all member states.

It appoints the chairman of the commission and deputy commissioners and determines their functions and terms of office.

It determines the common policies of the union.

It is in charge of appointment and termination of the judges of the Court of Justice.

It establishes new organs of the union.

It gives direction to the Executive Council on the management of conflicts, war and other Emergency situations as well as restoration of peace.

It considers requests for admission of new members.

The Assembly may delegate some of its powers and functions to any organ of the union if the situation demands, which further underscores its supremacy in the union.

Describe the AU Executive Council.

- It is made up of Foreign Affairs Ministers or the authorities designated by the governments of member states.
- It is answerable to the Assembly.
- Its functions involve coordination of policies in areas of common interest to member states.
- It can delegate its powers and functions to specialized technical committees.

Explain the functions of the Executive Council as an organ of the African Union.

- It prepares material for the Assembly to discuss and approve.
- It coordinates policies in areas of common interest to member states.

Identify the areas of common interest to AU member states.

- Foreign trade.
- Energy, industry and mineral resources.
- Transport and communication.
- Insurance.
- Science and technology.
- Water and resources and irrigation.
- Food, agriculture and animal resources, livestock, production and forestry.
- Environmental protection, humanitarian action and disaster response, and relief.
- Education, culture, health and human resources development.
- Nationality, residence and emigration matters.
- Social security, including formulation of mother and child care policies as well as policies related to persons with disabilities.
- Establishment of a system of African awards, medals and prizes.

Describe the following AU organs:

- The Commission.
- The Permanent Representatives committee.
- The Peace and Security Council.
- The Economic, social and cultural council.
- The court of justice.
- Financial institutions.

**THE COMMISSION**

It is the Secretariat of the African Union.

It comprises a chairperson, a deputy chairperson, eight commissioners and staff members.

It deals with administrative issues and implements the decisions of the union.

It coordinates AU activities and meetings.

Applications for AU membership are made through it.

**THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE**
i) It comprises ambassadors to the African Union.
ii) Its main responsibility is to prepare for the executive council as it has more time to deal with AU functions.
iii) Its members are permanently stationed at the AU headquarters in Ethiopia.

**THE PEACE & SECURITY COUNCIL**
- The proposed Peace & Security Council is to comprise fifteen members, responsible for monitoring and intervening in conflicts.
- It is to be alerted by an early warning system on the threats to security in the continent.
- A peace fund is to be created to enhance its work.
- A council of elders is to be identified to advise it.
- An African force is to be put at its disposal.

**THE PAN AFRICAN PARLIAMENT**
It is made up of elected representatives nominated from the five regions of Africa. It is entrusted with ensuring participation of the civil society in AU processes.

**THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL COUNCIL**
- It is mainly advisory.
- It comprises professional and civic representatives of AU member states.

**THE COURT OF JUSTICE**
It is to rule on human rights abuses in Africa in terms of a legal statute or framework.

**FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS**
Three financial institutions are to be set up to fund AU projects. These are:
- The African monetary fund.
- The African investment bank.

Identify/describe the specialized committees of the African Union.
Apart from its main organs, the AU has specialized technical committees that are responsible for sectoral issues at the ministerial level. These include:
- The committee on rural economy and agricultural matters.
- The committee on monetary and financial affairs.
- The committee on trade, customs and emigration matters.
- The committee on industry, science and technology, energy, natural resources and environment.
- The committee on transport, communication and tourism.
- The committee on health, labour and social affairs.
- The committee on education, culture and human resources.

Explain the functions/importance of specialized technical committees of the African Union.
- They prepare AU projects and programs, which they submit to the Executive council.
- They ensure supervision, follow-up and evaluation of decisions taken by AU organs.
- They ensure the coordination and harmonization of projects.
- They submit to the executive council reports and recommendations on the implementation of the AU act.

Describe AU membership. (Explain the provisions of the AU charter on AU membership.)
All African states are eligible to join the African Union.
For a country’s membership to be approved, the country must notify the chairperson of the commission about the country’s intention. The chairperson then informs all the member states, who vote individually on the matter. Admission is based on a simple Majority Vote.
Governments that come to power through unconstitutional means are prohibited from participating in AU activities.
Any state that desires to renounce its membership is free to do so by informing the Commission’s chairperson, who relays the information to other member states.
A member state wishing to withdraw from the African Union must comply with the provision of the AU act up to the date of withdrawal.
THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

Define the East African Community.
The East African Community is a regional organization that consists of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. It was founded in 1967 as a forum of economic cooperation, greatly influenced by the OAU, which advocated regional economic integration.

Explain/trace the origin of the East African Community.

- The East African Community began with establishment of the East African economic and political union in the 1920s when, under British rule, companies and business enterprises were based in Kenya, with their branches in Uganda and Tanzania. The British and German colonial governments wanted to establish a unified administration over the East African territories.
- The first major step towards economic cooperation in East Africa was the establishment of the East African High Commission (EAHC) by the British government in 1948.
- Under the East Africa high Commission, various common services were run jointly in East Africa.
- A high commission made up of the three territorial governments was created and a secretariat established to coordinate common services. A central legislature was also created, although its work was limited by lack of legislative competence over a significant field of regional activities, e.g., regional planning and fixing of tariffs.
- In 1961, the East African high commission was replaced by the East African Common Services Organization (EACSO), which also had regional offices in Kampala and Dar Es Salaam, with Nairobi as its headquarters.
- Acquisition of independence by East African countries (1961-1963) brought new challenges to the EACSO, characterized by suspicion and mistrust among the three East African nations.
- Meetings were held, e.g., in the Ugandan towns of Mbale and Kampala to settle the dispute, after which two proposals were made, namely:
  - That certain industries such as Tyre, Bicycle parts and Fertilizer manufacture be exclusively located in Uganda and Tanzania.
  - That Kenyan products such as Beer and Galvanized iron be subjected to a quota system to control their competition with Tanzanian and Ugandan products.
- A lot of tension was generated since no state complied with the proposals. To resolve the crisis, a commission made up of three ministers from each state was formed in 1965, led by Kjeld Philip: a U.N expert. The Philip Commission as it was later known, came up with the idea of signing the treaty for East African cooperation, which was seen as a permanent solution to the trade dispute.
- Following the recommendation of the Philip Commission, the East African community was formed after its endorsement by presidents Kenyatta of Kenya, Obote of Uganda and Nyerere of Tanzania in 1967. The EACSO was disbanded.
- To strengthen the common market between the three states, it was decided that the Community takes over the control of some services and research activities, which would help ensure balanced economic growth. Basically, the treaty of the East African community as endorsed by the presidents of the three East African states gave the East African Community a strong legal base and, at the same time, placed common Market services within one framework.
- With the common market, the three East African states had the same customs tariff agreement with countries that were not members of the Community. Tax concessions for industry were the same throughout the community. The currency of each state was valid throughout the East African community at face value.

Explain why the British and German colonial governments wanted to establish a unified administration over the East African territories.

- To safeguard settler interests.
- To dominate the Africans.
- To minimize administration costs.
- To enhance efficiency.
- To establish a common market for the east African countries.

**Identify the Institutions that were initially brought under joint British and German colonial administration in east Africa.**
- The east Africa court of appeal (1902).
- The East African postal union (1911).
- The East Africa customs union (1917).
- The East Africa currency board (1920).

**State two main objectives of the East Africa High commission.**
- To run essential services within east Africa economically. Such services included air and railway transport, postal services, etc.
- To establish a common market for the east African countries.

**Identify the common services that were run jointly in east Africa under the East Africa High Commission.**
- East African railways and harbours administration.
- East African postal and telecommunications administration.
- Agricultural research services.
- Medical research services.

**Identify the services provided by the east African Common Services organization (EACSO).**
- Posts and telecommunication services, which involved handling telephone services, telegraphs, letters, parcels and money-orders among others in the East African region.
- Research services, which covered fields like fisheries, veterinary, agriculture, forestry as well as Desert and Locust control.
- Railways and harbours.
- Meteorological services.
- Income tax assessment and collection.
- Publishing services through the east African Literature Bureau (E A L B).

**Explain the new challenges that were encountered by EACSO after acquisition of independence by east African countries (1961-1963).**
- Tanzania and Uganda felt that Kenya was enjoying the Lion’s Share of the economic benefits accruing from the organization, mainly because Kenya enjoyed interterritorial trade surpluses owing to her better industrial base unlike her neighbours.
- The organization’s headquarters were in Nairobi.
- Kenya had a more sophisticated infrastructure, which gave her an added advantage over Uganda and Tanzania.

**State the objectives of the East African Community.**
- To promote trade among the east African countries.
- To provide common services in east Africa.
- To facilitate free movement of people in the region.
- To provide a forum for discussion of various issues affecting the region.

**Organization of the east African community**

**Analyse the organization of the East African community.** (Describe the main institutions/organs of the East African Community.)

To coordinate the various activities of the east African Community, the treaty that created the Community established the following institutions as its main organs:
- The East African authority: the community’s supreme organ. It comprised the three heads of state, with rotational chairmanship.
- The East African Legislative Assembly. This comprised 27 members (nine from each member state), three east African Ministers, three deputy east African Ministers, the chairman of the Assembly, the secretary-general and the council to the Community. It had thirty-six members altogether and could make and enact laws to govern the common services offered by the Community. Each member state appointed a
Community minister to promote the Community’s interests and projects in their respective governments’ cabinet.

- The Secretariat. This was based in Arusha: Tanzania. It could coordinate the work of the Councils and oversee the Common Market council succession.
- The Common Market tribunal, which was established to settle disputes between the partner states.
- The East Africa court of appeal, which was meant to hear appeals from the courts in the three member states. The East Africa Industrial Court was a Staff Tribunal.
- Five special councils established to deal with special areas.
- The East African Development Bank. This was meant to promote balanced industrial development. It was based in Kampala: Uganda.

Describe five special councils of the east African community which were established to deal with special areas.

- The common Market council, which ensured the functioning and development of the common market in accordance with the east African community treaty. It kept its operations under review.
- The communications council, which provided a forum for consultations under review.
- The financial Council, which consulted on the major financial affairs of the community. It considered and approved major financial decisions relating to services administered by the Community. It included estimates of expenditure, loans and investment programs.
- The economic consultative and planning council, which assisted in the national planning of the partners by consultative means and advised the Authority on the long-term planning of the common services.
- Research and social Service Council, which assisted through consulting in the coordination of the policies of each of the partner states on research and social matters. The work of this council was also coordinated at the Secretariat in Arusha.

What were the objectives of the East African Development Bank? (Explain the aims/purpose of the East African Development Bank.)

- Provision of financial and technical assistance to member states.
- Giving priority to industrial development in less industrialized partner states.
- Financing the projects designed to make the economies of the partner states complimentary in the industrial field.
- To supplement the activities of national development by joint financing through agencies for financing specific projects.
- Cooperation with the other national and international organs, be they public or private.
- To undertake other activities and provide other services as may advance the objectives of the bank.

Describe the cooperations that the East African Community treaty set up in addition to the major institutions.

- The East African Railways Cooperation, based in Dar Es Salaam.
- The East Africa harbours cooperation, based in Dar Es Salaam.
- The east Africa Posts and Telecommunication cooperation, based in Kampala.
- The East Africa airways based in Nairobi.

Describe the facilities that were directly controlled by the East African Community’s Service Commission.

- The east African natural resources council, which supervised research work for centers such as the Fresh Water fisheries, marine fisheries, agriculture and forestry research, etc.
- The East Africa Tax board, which, in collaboration with the East African customs and Excise Department, ensured that the tax systems in the three countries worked together.
- The East Africa Research Council, which coordinated work on a variety of medical problems such as Leprosy, sleeping Sickness, Tuberculosis and viral diseases.
- The East Africa Literature Bureau, which promoted production and sale of books and encouraged more Africans to write books.

Identify the services that were controlled by the East African Community.

- The East Africa Railways.
✓ The East Africa Harbours Cooperation.
✓ The East Africa posts and telecommunication.
✓ The East Africa Customs and Excise.
✓ The East African Development Bank.
✓ East Africa Income Tax.
✓ East Africa medical research centre.
✓ East Africa agricultural, veterinary and forest research.
✓ East Africa scientific research institute.
✓ East Africa Fisheries Research.
✓ East Africa Literature Bureau.
✓ East Africa Meteorological Department.
✓ East Africa Civil Aviations Directorate.
✓ East Africa Marine Fisheries.
✓ The East Africa Court of Appeal.
✓ The east African Industrial Research.
✓ The East Africa Tropical Research Centre.
✓ The East Africa Airways.

**Explain the benefits provided by the East African Community to member states up to 1977.** (Explain the successes/achievements of the East African Community up to 1977.)

✓ Establishment of common services to promote justice, regulate industrial relations, standardize examinations and boost transport and banking services, e.g. the East Africa Court of Appeal, the east Africa Industrial court, the East Africa Examinations council, the East Africa Railways Cooperation, and the East African development Bank.

✓ A wider market.
✓ A forum for discussing various issues affecting the East African region.
✓ It facilitated movement of the people in the region.
✓ Promotion of socio-cultural networks.

**Explain the challenges/problems encountered by the East African Community up to 1977.** (Explain the setbacks to the east African Community up to 1977. Or: Explain the factors that undermined the East African Community up to 1977.)

✓ Perception by Uganda and Tanzania that Kenya was getting the Lion’s Share of the east African Community because Kenya was more industrialized.
✓ Personality differences, particularly between presidents Idi Amin of Uganda and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, meaning that the three leaders of east Africa could not meet to deliberate on east African Community matters.
✓ Ideological differences, which caused tension, particularly between Kenya and Tanzania, for Kenya pursued Capitalism while Tanzania adopted Socialism.
✓ Political instability in Uganda, particularly after Idi Amin had taken over, leadership, which disrupted Uganda’s economy and hampered Uganda from honouring her financial obligations to the East African Community.
✓ Different economic development priorities among the three countries, with Tanzania favouring railway transport while Kenya preferred road transport.
✓ Failure of the East African Development Bank due to lack of funds. The bank was meant to ensure balanced economic development.
✓ Defeat of the principle of free movement of people and goods due to the Transfer tax imposed on Kenyan goods.
✓ Border closures as tension mounted between the three states.

**REBIRTH OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (2001)**
The east African community was formally relaunched in 2001 following the signing and enforcement of the treaty that established the east African community in Arusha by presidents Yoweri Museveni, of Uganda, Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya and Benjamin Mukapa of Tanzania in 1999 and 2000 respectively.

Formation of the EAC 2001

Explain the milestones in the process of the establishment of the East African Community. (Analyse the diplomatic work/process that went on before the treaty that reestablished the East African Community was signed and enforced. Or:

Explain the process of rebirth of the East African Community. Or:

Explain the factors that led to rebirth of the East African Community.)

- On 30th November 1993, the first summit of east African heads of state signed the agreement establishing the permanent tripartite commission for east African cooperation in Kampala: Uganda.
- On 14th March 1996, the secretariat of the commission for east African cooperation was launched in Arusha: Tanzania. Ambassador Francis Muthaura from Kenya became its first Secretary General.
- On 19th November 1996, the agreement for the establishment of the east African Business council was signed in Nairobi: Kenya.
- On 28th April 1997, east African Community member states signed a tripartite agreement on avoidance of double taxation.
- On 29th April 1997, the second summit of East African heads of state was held in Arusha: Tanzania. At the summit, the 1997-2000 first East African cooperation development strategy, the east African flag and the East African passport were launched. The permanent tripartite commission was mandated (given authority) to embark on the process of upgrading the East African Community agreement into a treaty.
- On 20th November 1997, the chiefs of defense of east African community member states met in Arusha and agreed on a draft memorandum of understanding for cooperation in defense matters.
- On 26th May 1998, donors pledged a billion US dollars for the first phase of the improvement of the east African road network at the end of a two-day conference in Arusha.
- On 25th to 26th March 1999, the First Ministerial Seminar on east African Cooperation was held in Arusha, embarking on issues of the Draft east African Community treaty.
- On 30th November 1999 at the fourth summit in Arusha, the treaty of the establishment of the East African Community was signed.

Describe the main organs of the East African community as outlined in the treaty that established it in 1999. (Analyse the organization of the East African community 2001.)
The summit of heads of state. This comprises heads of state of member countries. It gives direction towards the realization of the goals and objectives of the Community.

The Council of ministers. This is the main decision-making organ of the heads of government of member states. It gives direction towards the realization of the goals of the East African Community.

The Coordinating Committee. This comprises permanent Secretaries and is answerable to the Council of Ministers. It oversees general cooperation and coordinates the activities of sectorial committees.

Sectorial Committees. These inceptualize and monitor implementation of East African Community programs. They are created by the council on the recommendation of the respective coordinating committee.

The East Africa court of Justice. This interprets and ensures implementation of Community law in line with the treaty.

The east African Legislative Assembly. This provides a democratic forum for debate and has a Watchdog function as part of its role in the legislative process. It comprises about thirty members representing the three member states.

The Secretariat. This is the Community’s executive organ. It ensures proper implementation of regulations and directives adopted.

Describe the autonomous institutions of the East African Community 2001.

Apart from its main organs, the East African Community has various autonomous institutions established by the Council. These are:

- The east African Development Bank (E A D B).
- Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO)
- Interuniversity Council for East Africa (I U C E A), which is based in Kampala: Uganda and coordinates research and higher education in east Africa.

Identify the fields/areas in which the treaty that established the East African community sought to strengthen Member state cooperation for mutual benefit and for fast, balanced and sustainable development.

- The economic field.
- The sociocultural field.
- The field of research and technology.
- Defense.
- Security.
- Legal and judicial affairs.

Consequently, member states have undertaken to establish a customs union, a monetary union and a political federation.

On what areas does cooperation of the East African Community’s member countries focus in order to achieve the Community’s stated objectives?

- Development and liberalization of trade.
- Investment and industrial development.
- Monitory affairs.
- Development of regional infrastructure and services.
- Development of human resources, science and technology.
- Facilitation of free movement of persons, labour, services, rights of establishment and residence.
- Development of agriculture and ensuring food security.
- Environment and Natural Resource management.
- Development of tourism and wildlife management.
- Development of health, social services and cultural activities.
- Enhancing the role of women in socioeconomic development.
- Political, legal and judicial affairs.
- Development of the private sector and promotion of the civil society.
The East African Community treaty provides for a progressive development process towards the conclusion, within four years after its coming into force, of a protocol establishing a customs union. This took place in January 2005 when all the member states signed the protocol.

**Identify the issues addressed by the 2001 East African Community treaty.**

- Application of the principle of Asymmetry.
- Elimination of internal tariffs and other charges of equivalent effect.
- Elimination of no tariff barriers.
- Establishment of a common external tariff.
- Rules of origin.
- Dumping.
- Subsidies and counter-availing duties.
- Security and other restrictions to trade competition.
- Duty drawback, refund and remission of duties and taxes.
- Customs cooperation.
- Re-exportation of goods.
- Simplification and harmonization of trade, documents and procedures.

**Explain the challenges encountered by the East African Community since 2001.**

- Suspicion that Kenya is still the dominant power.
- Complaints by Kenyan business people over lack of harmonization of tariffs on all commodities.
- Trans-border smuggling of vehicles and other goods: a problem that has accompanied the opening of the region.
- Harassment of Kenyan fishermen by Ugandan and Tanzanian authorities, especially in Lake Victoria.
- Cross-border cattle raids in some parts, e.g., West Pokot in Kenya and Karamoja in Uganda.
- Member states’ membership to other regional economic organizations, which further complicates the Community’s work. For example, Tanzania is a member of the Southern Africa development Cooperation (SADEC) while Kenya and Uganda belong to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).

**Explain the achievements/successes of the East African Community from the year 2001.**

- Movement of citizens within the member states has been boosted.
- Provision of a forum for the leaders to harmoniously discuss issues affecting the East African region.
- Improvement of transport between member states.
- Reduction of tariffs for industrial goods produced in East Africa to facilitate easier trade.
- Closer interaction of professionals and the civil society in the three countries through their organizations.
- Cooperation of the Community’s civil society with a view to enhance its role in various fields. For instance, the Law societies in East Africa merged to form the Law Society of East Africa. The chambers of commerce and industry have now formed the business council of East Africa.

**THE ECONOMIC COMMUNITY OF WEST AFRICAN STATES**

**Define the Economic Community of West African States.**

i) The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a regional group that brings together all West African states except Chad and Cameroon.

**Name the countries that make up the Economic Community of West African States.**

- Liberia,
- Gambia,
- Mali,
- Cape Verde,
- Burkina Faso,
- Niger,
- Benin,
- Togo,
Ghana, Côte d’Ivoire, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Nigeria, and Guinea.

**Trace/Explain the origin of the Economic Community of West African States.**
- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was formed in 1975 after the treaty establishing it was signed in Lagos, Nigeria, bringing together all West African states except Chad and Cameroon.
- Before 1975, various West African states formed loosely bound cooperations.
- ECOWAS was conceived as a means to economic integration and development, intended to lead to the eventual establishment of an economic community in West Africa. Members of ECOWAS cooperate in many areas of economic endeavour.

**Name the cooperations that were formed by West African states before 1975.**
- The 1958 Ghana-Guinea union.
- The 1963 Senegal-Gambia (Senegambia) agreement, which dealt with currency, air services and trade.
- The Niger River Commission, which comprised Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Niger, which dealt with how best to use the waters of the Niger River.
- The Lake Chad Basin commission between Nigeria, Chad, Niger and Cameroon.
- The Senegal Basin commission between Senegal, Guinea, Mali and Mauritania.
- The Togo-Nigeria agreement of 1947.

**Describe the areas of economic endeavour in which Members of ECOWAS cooperate.**
- Abolition of visas and other restrictions or obstacles to free movement between member-states.
- Setting up technical and specialization commissions of mutual interest.
- Joint industrial development.
- Contribution to the Community’s budget.
- Cooperation in agriculture, communication and cultural matters.
- Intercommunity re-exportation of Third world country imports.
- Revenue cooperation.
- Compensation & Development fund.

**What are the objectives of the Economic Community of West African States?**
- To improve the living standards of people in the member-states.
- To promote cultural interaction among member-states.
- To improve relations between member-states.
- To promote industrial development among member-states.
- To liberalize trade between member-states.
- To create a customs union in the region.
- To foster cooperation in specialized fields such as Transport, Communication, Agriculture, Trade, Industry, social and Cultural Affairs, etc.

**Analyse the organization of ECOWAS.** (Describe the main institutions/organs of ECOWAS.)
The treaty establishing ECOWAS in 1975 outlined the main institutions (organs) of ECOWAS as follows:
- Authority of heads of state and government. This is the highest organ in Ecowas. It meets once every year and is made up of the heads of member-states, with a rotational chairmanship to ensure that all member-states have an opportunity to occupy the Chair. A new chairman is appointed annually.
- The Council of Ministers. This comprises two representatives from each member-state. It mainly deals with general management of ECOWAS and serves as an advisor to the authority in addition to giving directions to the subordinate organs of the community.
The executive secretariat. This is charged with the day to day administration of the Community. It is based in Lagos: Nigeria.

The Tribunal. This interprets the treaty that established the community and settles disputes between member-states.

Specialized Commissions.

Management of ECOWAS institutions is so balanced that there is no domination of or by a member-state. E.g. while the ECOWAS secretariat is based in Lagos: Nigeria, the fund is based in Lome: Togo. Cote D’ivoir provides the Executive secretary and Liberia provides the fund’s director-general.

Identify four specialized commissions of ECOWAS.

- The Trade, customs, emigration, monitory and payment Commission.
- The Industry, Agriculture and natural resources commission.
- The Social and Cultural Affairs commission.
- The defense Council/commission.

CHALLENGES FACING ECOWAS

Explain the challenges/problems facing ECOWAS. (Explain the difficulties/setbacks experienced by ECOWAS. Or:

Explain the factors that undermine ECOWAS. Or:

What factors hinder the progress/success of ECOWAS?)

Like other regional organizations in Africa, ECOWAS has experienced many setbacks since its inception, which include the following:

Influx of workers from less-developed states within the organization.

Border conflicts among member-countries e.g. between Nigeria and Cameroon over the Bakasi region and those between Ghana and Togo or Burkina Faso and Mali respectively, which complicated the operation of the organization.

Foreign interference, especially through the presence of Israeli and French soldiers in Cote D’ivoir, which aroused anxiety among some member-states. For instance, Guinea believed that Israeli and French soldiers in cote D’ivoir were training Guinean exiles to overthrow the government in Conakry.

- Ideological differences among member-states, which created a lot of tension and hampered the work of the Community, especially during the Cold war. For instance, there was tension on this line between the presidents of Burkina Faso and Cote D’ivoir.
- Divided loyalty and commitment owing to member states’ belonging to other organizations such as the Cape-Verde & guinea-Bissau Free Trade Area, the commonwealth, the annual Franco-African conference and the French community, which places heavy demand on ECOWAS member-states.
- The fact that member-states make their annual payments in local rather than foreign currency, which might cause ECOWAS to cut its budget and reduce services to member-states.
- The fact that ECOWAS member-states cover a large geographical region in West Africa, which makes coordination of the activities of the entire fifteen member-states difficult and ineffective.
- Poor infrastructure i.e poor transport and communication due to the colonial heritage, which excluded road and rail-links particularly between English-speaking and francophone states, which makes the Community’s transaction of business inefficient or difficult.
- The sharp division between the francophone, Lusophone and English-speaking states both in terms of language and administrative approach, which slows down activities and interaction among member-states.
- The externally oriented direction of trade of most member-states due to colonial commercial transaction patterns inherited at the time of independence, which pegged the states to their former colonial masters.
- Political instability in the region E.g. fighting in Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote D’ivoir, Burkina Faso and Senegal, which made economic and other forms of cooperation difficult.
- Violation of ECOWAS regulations by member-states with impunity. For instance, Ghana closed her border with Togo while Nigeria extradited Ghanaian nationals who had flocked into Nigeria to benefit from Nigerian oil due to economic hardships in Ghana from 1983-1985.
Suspicion and mistrust among member-states. For instance, because of her immense wealth, population and military might, Nigeria is regarded as a potential threat to other member-states.

**Explain the achievements/successes of ECOWAS.** (Explain why ECOWAS is rated among the most successful cases of regional integration in Africa. Or: Why is ECOWAS rated among the most successful cases of regional integration in Africa? Or: Give reasons why ECOWAS is rated among the most successful cases of regional integration in Africa.)

In spite of its many difficulties, ECOWAS is one of the most successful cases of regional integration in Africa.

Because:
- Member-states adopted the 1978 protocol and the 1981 defense act, enabling it to establish a multinational peacekeeping/peace-enforcement military group (ECOMOG), requiring member-countries to join hands to support or protect any one of them who became a victim of external aggression while placing equal emphasis on threats from within member-states.
- Peace was restored in Liberia, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone and several other member-states.
- The heads of member-states meet regularly to tackle the problems facing the region.
- A mechanism for conflict-management, resolution and prevention as well as security and peace-keeping was established.
- Goods from member-states have a wider market.
- Member-states benefit from Tariff/barrier removal.
- Nigeria has for several years provided member-states with subsidized oil.
- Economic growth and development of infrastructure have been stepped up by linking up roads, railways and telephone connections, leading to great improvement in transport and communication within the region.
- There is a lot of sociocultural exchange, which promotes good relations among member-states.
- Visa requirements have been waived, enabling free movement within the ECOWAS region.
- There is a joint examination syllabus for West African states to ensure standardization of the education systems, which has brought a lot of progress in the field of education in the region.

**PREFERENTIAL TRADE AREA**

**Trace the origin of Preferential Trade Area (PTA).**

- Establishment of Preferential Trade Area (PTA) was based on its treaty, which was signed in Lusaka: Zambia in 1981 and the multinational programming and operational centre (MULPOC) conference of the council of ministers, which was held in Lusaka: Zambia in 1977.
- MULPOC recommended that governments of eastern and southern African states establish a preferential trade area towards closer cooperation and a common market.
- At the 1977 MULPOC conference, nine of the fifteen member-states (Kenya included) signed the PTA agreement.
- PTA membership increased to fifteen later at a conference in Harare: Zimbabwe.

**Explain two major aims of PTA.** (Explain two main objectives of PTA. Or: Explain two main reasons for establishment of PTA. Or: Explain two main purposes of PTA.)

- Mutual economic cooperation on preferential terms to save the use of foreign currency for items that could be exchanged among member-states.
- Elimination of tariffs and no tariff barriers in trade among member-states while retaining those barriers with the rest of the world.

**State the requirements of PTA’s Rule of Origin**

Among the rules governing participation of traders in the PTA, the Rule of Origin was most important. Its requirements were as follows:

- Goods had to be produced in a member-country for them to be free from tariff and no tariff barriers.
• Nationals of a member-state had to own at least 51% shares of the company that produced the goods, including equity holding by government institutions, agencies, enterprises or cooperation of such governments.
• The cost of insurance and freight (CIF), value of the material imported from outside PTA or of undetermined origin should not exceed 60% of the total cost of materials used in the production of the goods.
• If the goods were produced in member-states, the value added due to the cost of production would account for at least 45% its original cost in its factory of manufacture.

Explain the problems/difficulties encountered by PTA. (What challenges did PTA face?)
• Ideological differences.
• Different levels of development among member-states i.e. economic nationalism.
• Poor transport and communication links.
• Exchange rates.
• Multiplicity of currencies with different strengths compared to major international ones.
• Foreign interference.
• Membership to other regional groupings and international organizations e.g. the southern African Development coordination Conference (SADECC).

In 1994, the Preferential Trade Area was replaced by the common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).

THE COMMON MARKET FOR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

Describe The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA).
• It is an economic organization of sovereign states that have agreed to cooperate in developing their natural and education resources for the good of all their peoples.
• It covers eastern and southern Africa.
• It consists of 19 member-states.

Name the states/countries that make up COMESA. (Outline/list the member-states of COMESA.)
• Angola,
• Comoros,
• Ethiopia,
• Burundi,
• Eritrea,
• Kenya,
• Egypt,
• Seychelles,
• Madagascar,
• Malawi,
• Mauritius,
• Mozambique,
• Rwanda,
• Sudan,
• Swaziland,
• Uganda,
• The Democratic Republic of Congo,
• Zambia,
• Zimbabwe.

Trace/explain the origin of COMESA.
• COMESA was established on 8th of June 1994 to replace the Preferential Trade Area for eastern and southern African states.
The establishment of COMESA stems from the recognition that since independence, efforts by individual countries to attain economic growth in eastern and southern Africa failed.

COMESA was designed to facilitate sustainable growth and development, based on joint exploitation of resources, aimed at forming a large economic and trading unit capable of overcoming some of the barriers faced by individual states.

**Explain the objectives/aims of COMESA.** (Explain the purpose/reasons for establishment of COMESA.)

- To attain sustainable growth and development of member-states by producing a more balanced and harmonious development in production and marketing.
- To promote joint development in all fields of economic activities and adoption of macro-economic policies and programs to raise the standards of living.
- To cooperate in creating an enabling environment for domestic investment.
- To cooperate in promoting peace, security and stability among member-states to enhance economic development in the COMESA region.
- To cooperate in strengthening the relations between COMESA and the rest of the world.
- To contribute towards the establishment, progress and realization of the objectives of the African economic community.
- Joint research and adoption of science and technology for development.
- Adoption of common positions in international forums.
- To foster closer relations among member-states.

**Describe/explain the principles of COMESA.** (What are the principles of COMESA?)

- Equality and interdependence of member-states.
- Solidarity and collective self-reliance among member-states.
- Interstate cooperation, harmonization of policies and integration of programs.
- Nonaggression.
- Recognition, promotion and protection of human rights in accordance with the provisions of the African charter on human rights.
- Accountability, economic justice and popular participation in development.
- The recognition and observance of the rule of law.
- Promotion and sustenance of a democratic system of governance in each member-state.
- Maintenance of regional peace and stability through the promotion and strengthening of good neighbourliness.
- Peaceful settlement of disputes, active cooperation between neighbouring countries and the promotion of a peaceful environment as a prerequisite to economic development.

All countries in eastern and southern Africa qualify to join COMESA as long as they meet the requirements of the 1991 COMESA treaty. It is that treaty that outlines the above-mentioned principles of COMESA.

**Outline the structure of COMESA.** (Name the organs that make up COMESA. Or: What organs constitute COMESA?)

COMESA is made up of eight main organs. These are:

- The Authority.
- The Council of Ministers.
- The Court of justice.
- The committee of Governors of Central Banks.
- The Intergovernmental committee.
- The Technical Committee.
- The Secretariat.
- The consultative Committee.

**Analyse the structure/organization of COMESA.** (Describe the organs that constitute COMESA. Or: Explain the functions of each of the main organs of COMESA.)

**THE AUTHORITY**
It is COMESA’s supreme policy-making organ.

> It comprises the heads of state and government of the member-states.
> It is in charge of general policy direction and control of the common market.
> It meets once every year but may hold extra-ordinary meetings at the request of any of its members as long as the request has a two thirds majority support among the members.

All decisions of the Authority are made or taken by consensus.

**THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS**

This is designated by each member-state. Its responsibilities include:

> Monitoring and ensuring proper functioning and development of the common market in line with the COMESA treaty.
> Making recommendations to the Authority on matters of policy, aimed at efficient and harmonious functioning and development of the Common Market.
> Giving direction to other subordinate organs of the Common market, except the Court.
> Making regulations, issuing directives, taking decisions, making recommendations and giving opinion in line with the COMESA treaty.
> Requesting advisory Court opinions.
> Consideration and approval of the budget of the Secretariat and the Court.
> Consideration of measures to be taken by member-states to attain the aims of the Common Market.
> Making staff-rules, regulations and financial regulations for the Secretariat.
> Designation of economically depressed areas of the common market.

The Council meets once every year, just before the meeting of the authority, but can also hold extra-ordinary meetings at the request of a member-state as long as the request is supported by a third or more of the member-states.

The decisions of the council are reached by consensus or, if this fails, a two-thirds majority vote.

**THE COURT OF JUSTICE**

This ensures proper interpretation and application of the COMESA treaty and adjudicates any dispute among member-states. For example, in 2004, Egypt exported cement to Kenya without paying duty. This dispute was successfully arbitrated by the Court.

**THE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNORS OF CENTRAL BANKS**

This consists of the governors of the monetary authorities designated by member-states. It:

> Develops programs and plans of action on the field of finance and monetary cooperation.
> Monitors, reviews and ensures proper implementation of programs and plans with regard to monetary and financial cooperation.
> Requests the intervention of the Secretary-General with regard to monetary and financial affairs of the common market.
> Considers reports and commendations from the technical committee on finance and monetary affairs.
> Submits reports and commendations to the council.

Normally, the committee meets once a year and determines its own rules of procedure.

**THE INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE**

This comprises permanent secretaries from member-states. It is responsible for the development and management of programs and action plans in all areas of cooperation except the finance sector. It meets annually. It:

> Oversees the implementation of the COMESA treaty and may request investigation of any particular matter by a technical committee.
> Submits its recommendations to the Council.
> Develops programs and Action plans in all sectors of cooperation except finance and monetary affairs.
> May request specific investigations by the secretary-General.
> Monitors, reviews and ensures proper functioning and development of the common Market.

**TECHNICAL COMMITTEES**

These include:
The Committee on Agriculture.
The committee on comprehensive information systems.
The committee on energy.
The committee on finance and monitory affairs.
The committee on natural resources and environment.
The committee on industry.
The Committee on labour and human resources.
The committee on social and cultural affairs.
The Committee on tourism and wildlife.
The committee on Trade and customs.
The committee on Transport and communication.

Each technical committee comprises representatives of member-states. Committee meetings are based on the amount of work pending. The committees determine their own rules of procedure.

Functions of these technical committees include:

- Preparation of a comprehensive implementation of programs and prioritizing the programs with respect to their sectors.
- Constant monitoring and review of the implementation of cooperation programs.
- Submission of reports and recommendations to the Intergovernmental committee. However, the committee on finance and monitory affairs is exempted for it reports to the committee of governors of central Banks.

THE SECRETARIAT

- The secretariat is headed by the secretary-general, who is appointed by the Authority to serve for a five-year term and is eligible for re-appointment.
- The secretary-general is the chief executive of the common Market and is assisted by two Assistant Secretary-generals and other staff of the council.
- Each assistant secretary-general is appointed by the Authority, which also determines his or her terms and conditions of service.
- The Secretariat is based in Lusaka: Zambia.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

- Acting as secretary to the authority and the Council.
- Servicing and assisting the organs of the common Market in the performance of their functions.
- Ensuring that the common Market continues to operate.
- Submitting reports in consultation with the intergovernmental committee on activities of the Common Market to the Council and the Authority.
- Submission of references to the Court concerning any breach of the treaty in relation to the Common Market.
- Administration and financing of the Common Market.
- Promoting the adoption of joint positions by member-states in multilateral negotiations with other countries.
- Submission of the budget of the Common Market to the Intergovernmental Committee.

THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

This comprises the Business Community and other stake-holders. It:

- Participates in the Technical committee.
- Provides a link and facilitates dialogue between the Business community and other COMESA stake-holders.
- Consults and receives reports from other interest groups.
- Makes recommendations.
- Monitors the implementation of the COMESA treaty with regard to the Business Community and other interest groups.

Identify independent institutions established by COMESA.
Apart from its organs, COMESA has established some independent institutions to improve its efficiency in the region it covers. Such independent institutions are:

- The eastern and southern African Trade and development Bank (PTA bank: Nairobi: Kenya).
- The PTA Reinsurance company: Nairobi.
- COMESA Association of commercial Banks; Harare: Zimbabwe.

**Explain the achievements/successes of COMESA.**

- Easier and liberalized trade in the common Market.
- A lot of cooperation with regard to customs, with a unified computerized customs network across the region.
- Movement of goods, services and people, which is easier due to improvement in transport and communication since main highways and railways linking up member-states are given priority.
- A lot more work and effort to create an enabling environment for investment, with a legal framework to encourage Private Sector investment in place.
- The harmonization of micro-economic and monetary policy throughout the region.
- Establishment of harmonized monetary, banking and financial policies in the region.
- A wider, harmonized and more competitive market and many other benefits, forming a major market for internal and external trade.
- Greater industrial productivity and competitiveness because of the large common market.
- Increased agricultural production and food security due to the large market and varied regional potential. E.G Egypt benefits from east African tea and coffee as eastern Africa purchases cement from Egypt.
- Rational exploitation of member-states’ resources for their welfare as each produces the product for which it is best suited, leaving other products to other member-states.
- Encouragement of good governance, accountability and respect for human rights among member-states. For instance, Burundi and Rwanda had to meet this requirement before their admission to the Common Market.
- Generation of employment for many people.

**Explain the challenges/problems facing COMESA.** (Describe the difficulties/setbacks experienced by COMESA. Or:
Explain the factors that undermine the performance of COMESA.)

In spite of its numerous achievements, COMESA has many difficulties such as:

- Membership to other regional organizations such as the East African Community and the Southern African Development Community, which makes it difficult for some members to duly attend to COMESA.
- Personality differences between leaders E.G Uganda’s President Museveni and Sudan’s President El Bashir.
- Interstate disputes. For instance, Rwanda and Uganda were accused of participating in the civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo from 2001-2003.
- Boundary conflicts between some members, E.g. Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- Civil wars, E.G in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi, which undermine the operations of the Common market.
- Quarrels between member-states over trading rights under COMESA, e.g. the Egypt & Kenya dispute over the Duty-free cement dumped in Kenya by Egypt in 2003.
- Competition from external players. For instance, some western countries heavily subsidize their farmers, whose agricultural products are cheaper than those from the COMESA region, whose products face stiff competition.
- Poor transport between member-states in spite of improvement in the road and railway networks.
- Withdrawal by Tanzania and Zambia: founder-members of COMESA, who joined SADEC.
- South Africa’s advanced industrial sector, which outcompetes the rest in the COMESA region.
CHAPTER 4

NATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES (KENYA)

What is Philosophy? (Define the term Philosophy. Or:
Explain the meaning of the term Philosophy.)
- Philosophy is a Greek term that means love for Wisdom. Wisdom is the highest knowledge about people, things and God the Creator. Therefore, philosophy aims at explaining the meaning of human existence.

What is a national philosophy? (Define the term National Philosophy. Or:
Explain the meaning of the term National Philosophy.)
- A national philosophy is a system of ideological beliefs and values that are widely accepted within a country, championed particularly by the Ruling party leadership.

In what ways is a national philosophy important? (Explain the importance of a national philosophy.)
- It guides the nation towards achievement of set goals.
- It serves as a motivating factor for the citizens to work collectively.
- It helps make citizens focused and to have a purpose.
- It gives meaning to national endeavors and aspirations.
- It is a yardstick to evaluate national activities and undertakings.
- It gives a nation an identity.
- It enhances proper utilization of national resources.
- It facilitates equitable distribution of national resources.
- It promotes national unity and integration.
- It encourages patriotism and positive nationalism.

Identify three national philosophies that are used in Kenya.
- African socialism,
- Harambee,
- Nyayoism.

Harambee and Nyayoism are closely related.

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

What is African Socialism? (Explain the meaning of African socialism as presented in Sessional Paper NO.10 Or:
What is African Socialism according to Sessional Paper NO.10?)
- African socialism is an African philosophy coined by KANU in its manifesto of 1963 after Kenya’s attainment of independence.
- In 1965, the ideas of the 1963 KANU manifesto were identified and published as sessional paper NO.10 titled African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya.
- According to sessional paper NO.10, African socialism is a system that is neither imported from nor a blueprint of any foreign country or ideology. It is a positively African system that encourages political, economic and social values essential in African society, capable of incorporating useful and comfortable techniques from whatever source.

Describe/explain the major conditions that African Socialism set off to fulfill with regard to sessional paper NO.10.
- It must draw on the best of African traditions.
- It must be adaptable to new and rapidly changing circumstances.
- It must not rest its success on a satellite relationship with any other country or group of countries.

Explain the factors that influenced the adoption of African Socialism in Kenya. (Explain the reasons why African Socialism was adopted in Kenya. Or:}
What were the motives for adoption of African Socialism in Kenya? or:
Explain why Kenyan nationalist leaders adopted African Socialism.
- Desire to create a new society, different and free from the colonial one.
- Desire for a just and humane society in which all were considered equal before the law.
- Recognition of the traditional practice of national social responsibility, with power equally shared among and for the benefit of all Kenyans.
- To ensure equitable distribution of resources and freedom to own property.
- Desire for a united and free Kenya where individual rights and freedoms will be granted through a democratic political system.

Identify the objectives of the Kenyan society according to Sessional paper NO.10.
- Human dignity and freedom.
- High, growing and equitably distributed income per capita.
- Freedom from want, disease and exploitation.
- Political equality.
- Equal opportunities.
- Social justice.

What are the features of African Socialism? (Describe/explain the features of African Socialism. Or:
Explain the policies that characterize African Socialism.)
According to sessional paper no.10, African socialism is characterized by the following policies:
- Political democracy, in which all are free and equal.
- Mutual social responsibility, derived from African communalism, in which people work to serve others and not for personal gain.
- Free and varied ownership, E.G free enterprise, nationalism and partnership.
- Diffusion of ownership whereby economic powers should not be concentrated on a few people.
- Equality, to be attained in resource use by having a range of controls to ensure that property is used in the interest of the society.
- Progressive Taxation, adopted to ensure equal distribution of wealth and income.

These are the main ones among many other policies of African socialism as contained in sessional paper NO.10, all of which have both long term and short-term objectives, most of which have already been achieved.

In what ways is African Socialism important? (Explain the importance of African Socialism. Or:
Explain how African Socialism has contributed to social and economic development in Kenya.)
African Socialism is applied to planning in various areas. It has contributed immensely to social and economic development in Kenya, which makes it important in the following ways:
- It encouraged unity and peaceful co-existence.
- It has promoted mutual social responsibility through self reliance and hard work.
- It has helped ensure respect for the rights and freedoms of citizens.
- It has promoted African culture, based on African traditions.
- It has boosted fairness and justice through strategies such as District Focus for Rural Development.
- It has promoted development of the cooperative movement, which has speeded up social and economic growth.
- It has improved social development in education and health. Education has assisted in achieving social needs.
- It has promoted agriculture by addressing the problem of land ownership, whereby the landless were settled in settlement schemes as both small and large scale farmers, mainly of cash crops like coffee were encouraged through various incentives.
- It promoted the policy of africanization as Africans replaced foreigners in commercial and industrial development.
- It has promoted the democratic process in governance through activities that encourage participation of all citizens in governing their country.
What role has African Socialism played in the democratic process in Kenya? (How has African Socialism promoted the democratic process in Kenya?)

African Socialism has promoted the democratic process in governance through activities that encourage participation of all citizens in governing their country such as:
- The electoral process.
- Establishment of a multiparty system of government.
- Growth of the civil society.
- Free print and electronic media.
- Civic education.
- Frequent, free and fair elections.

HARAMBE

What is Harambe?
- Harambe is a Kiswahili slogan that means pulling or working together. It is a call to hard work. It was popularized by Mzee Jomo Kenyatta: the first president of independent Kenya, who made it a national motto in 1963 on realizing that it was only by pulling together that development would be reached.

Explain the origin and development of Harambe.
- As a principle, Harambee stems from the African traditions and practices, characterized by the communal work and the Community spirit. For instance, pre-colonial communities cooperated in building houses or clearing and digging land through the spirit of Togetherness. It was this traditional sense of unity that influenced Mzee Kenyatta to adopt and use it to create the true fruits of Uhuru.
- Harambee is founded on the spirit of mutual social responsibility and is indeed African socialism in practice. It has provided the guiding principles for national development by serving as a mobilizing force that brings the people of Kenya together to achieve a common goal.
- The Harambee spirit embodies ideals of assistance, joint effort, mutual social responsibility and community self-reliance. It has provided Kenyans with the drive for cooperation between individuals and communities. Harambee implied Freedom And hard Work (“Uhuru na Kazi”).

Explain the aims/objectives of Harambe. (State the purpose of Harambe.)
- Promotion of self reliance.
- Promotion of national unity.
- Promotion of national development (Nation building) in all aspects through pooling resources together.
- Promotion of constructive nationalism.

State/explain the principles of Harambe.
- Mobilization and involvement of people in project initiation and implementation.
- Collective rather than individual gain. That is why Harambe is mostly directed towards communal rather than personal projects.
- Involvement of participants in decision making. Project choice must be guided by the felt needs of the majority.
- Maximum utilization of local resources like labour, materials and money in implementation of the projects.
- Unity in action, the essence of Harambe, strengthened by the Nyayo philosophy of peace, love and unity.

Explain the role of Harambe in Kenya’s development. (Explain how Harambe promoted development in Kenya. Or: What is the importance of Harambe?)
- It promotes unity.
- It has promoted agriculture, mainly through irrigation and encouragement of both small and large scale farmers.
- It has encouraged or promoted democratic participation in national development.
It encourages mutual social responsibility as people cooperate and participate in a project. It has developed education through building of classrooms, laboratories and libraries. Students have been able to pursue higher education through Harambe funds and government bursaries.

- Medical services have been promoted through the building of hospitals, dispensaries and Nyayo wards.
- Rural access roads and bridges have been constructed through Harambe.
- Churches and other religious centers have been built, boosting spiritual nourishment.
- The welfare of people with special needs has been addressed. In 1989, president Daniel Arap Moi organized and conducted a Harambe to raise money for persons with disability.
- It is because of Harambe that leaders now have a forum to educate the public on issues of national concern.
- HIV/AIDS as well as drug abuse have been kept under control with human rights upheld.
- It has improved people’s living standards, mainly through provision of piped water, electricity, farmland, grade cattle and construction of modest houses.
- It promotes self reliance and African socialism.

**Explain the factors that undermined the Harambe spirit** (Identify the setbacks/weaknesses of the Harambe spirit.)

Since its inception, the Harambe spirit was and still is undermined by various factors such as the following:

- Misappropriation (misuse) of Harambe funds.
- It elicited a negative attitude from the people since they were forced to contribute.
- It was abused as even the rich organized Harambe for themselves.
- Harambe became unpopular and monotonous due to the frequency and due to rampant poverty.
- Harambes became an avenue for corruption for leaders who would use all means (including force) to get money to contribute, especially when the president was presiding.

**NYAYOISM**

**Explain the origin and development of Nyayoism.**

- Nyayoism is derived from the Kiswahili word “Nyayo”, which means “Footsteps”.
- It was introduced by president Daniel Arap Moi after the passing away of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta: the first president of independent Kenya. In it, Moi pledged to follow the footsteps of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and the social economic and political policies that Kenya had adopted.
- According to President Moi, Nyayoism is a pragmatic philosophy that crystallizes and articulates what has always been African, indigenous and formative in our societies.
- It is based on African traditional pillars of peace, love and unity, embodied in an African political economic system that is positively African, not being imported from any country, or being a blue-print of any foreign ideology, but capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques, rooted in African past, but new in its tribal application to the management of Kenya.
- It simply means being mindful of other people’s welfare, based on African socialism.

**Describe the sources of Nyayoism.**

- The 1965 sessional paper NO.10 on African socialism, which advocated collective responsibility, cooperation and sharing.
- The biblical teachings on the ten commandments, the love of God, fellow men and oneself. The virtue of love would unite Kenyans to build the nation.
- Moi’s political career, which became a source of inspiration. Moi explained that Nyayoism is a philosophy of active nationalism for nation building.

**Describe the pillars of Nyayoism.**

These are:
- Peace, i.e., the state of being free from war and disorder. Nyayoism advocates peace as the only tool for development. It discourages political instability. A peaceful environment enhances unity, trade, social interaction, and cooperation.
- Love, which is extolled by the philosophy as a virtue that enhances trust and willingness to work together. Love encourages the practice of being mindful of other people’s welfare as well as the African practice of communalism. It discourages discrimination, oppression, corruption, and all forms of exploitation.
- Unity. This feeling of togetherness is derived from the belief that we are created by one God. Here, there is unity, there is strength, rooted in understanding of our common purpose, loyalties, and mutual dependence.

**Explain the role of Nyayoism in Kenya’s development.**
- It enhanced cooperation and unity as in it, being mindful of other people’s welfare was emphasized.
- It enhanced the spirit of African socialism.
- It promoted mutual social responsibility and self-reliance.
- It encouraged the Harambe spirit to promote people’s welfare.
- Education was boosted through the building of schools, some of which were named after Moi, e.g., Moi Girls Eldoret.
- Through Harambes, Moi built Nyayo wards across the country.
- Public transport was improved by the introduction of Nyayo Buses.
- Agriculture was improved as President Moi led in soil conservation measures such as building of gabions. He even set up the Nyayo Tea Zones to promote tea production.
- President Moi set up funds to cater for the disadvantaged.
- Nyayoism encouraged the establishment of the Jua Kali sector and parastatals to provide employment opportunities.

**Explain the factors that undermined the Nyayo spirit.** (Explain the challenges/setbacks encountered by the Nyayo spirit. Or: What problems did the Nyayo spirit face?)

In spite of its various achievements, the Nyayo spirit was undermined by various factors such as the following:
- The inclusive human and respectful society targeted by the philosophy was not attained, probably due to difficulties in applying the philosophy.
- The Nyayo pillars of peace, love, and unity were difficult to apply as people attached various meanings to them, which made it difficult to monitor and evaluate them. Some people have even argued that it is not possible to love everyone equally.
- Corruption became rampant in Kenya during Moi’s reign, negating the spirit of being mindful of other people’s welfare. Things were worsened by the world economic recession, which slowed down the pace of development.
- The establishment of institutions of learning, Nyayo wards, Nyayo Tea Zones, and Nyayo buses was not realized throughout the country.
- The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) withheld loans and grants to Kenya, citing poor governance and lack of transparency and accountability by President Moi’s government.
- Although the Nyayo philosophy was a driving force in the initial ten years of President Moi’s twenty-four year rule, Moi’s government gradually adopted measures that appeared to antagonize the very philosophy he articulated.

**Explain the effects/impact of national philosophies in Kenya.**

**SOCIAL IMPACT**
- Education was promoted through the Harambe spirit and being mindful of other people’s welfare.
- Medical services (hospitals, dispensaries, and Nyayo wards) were provided.
- Unity, cooperation, and collective responsibility were enhanced as Kenyans pooled resources together out of love.
Harambes have been held to build churches and other religious centers to boost spiritual growth.

People’s living standards have improved. Through sharing, people have collected funds for individuals to buy land, build houses, conduct weddings, and clear medical bills.

The spirit of cooperation and being mindful of other people’s welfare has been inculcated. E.G president Moi organized various fund-raising drives for the disadvantaged as well as famine relief, disaster and the heart fund.

Culture has been promoted since the philosophies are drawn from African traditions, especially communalism or sharing.

Religious tolerance has been promoted.

**POLITICAL IMPACT**

- Promotion of nationalism and patriotism.
- Democratization of and political equality in Kenya.
- International cooperation and understanding for the spirit of working together inspired Kenyans to spearhead peace initiatives for other communities.

**ECONOMIC IMPACT**

- Africanization and self-reliance as Kenyans took over initiatives and industry, replacing foreigners after independence.
- Growth of the cooperative movement, which led to expansion of agriculture.
- Construction of more access roads and introduction of Nyayo buses, which boosted transport and communication.
- A peaceful environment, which promoted trade and tourism.
- National economy policies have been influenced by the philosophies, particularly African socialism.

**EXPLAIN THE DEMERITS/DISADVANTAGES OF NATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES IN KENYA.** (What were the weaknesses of national philosophies in Kenya?)

- Promotion of overdependence on foreign aid.
- Fuelling corruption, E.G abuse of the Harambe spirit.
- Exploitation of the citizenry by leaders, E.G through forced Harambes.
- Lack of concrete solutions to emerging issues E.G HIV/AIDS, corruption and ethnic clashes.

**CHAPTER 5**

**DEVELOPMENTS & CHALLENGES IN KENYA SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

At independence in 1963, Kenya’s new leaders under President Jomo Kenyatta encountered various political, economic and social challenges, which they lacked experience in handling. They however took up bravely the task of seeing Kenya into prosperity.

**EXPLAIN HOW NATIONAL UNITY WAS FOSTERED IN KENYA BY 1964.** (Explain the measures taken to defuse the difference between KANU and KADU by 1964.)

- By December 1964, most of the prominent Kadu leaders, under Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro, voluntarily crossed over to Kanu.
- Paul Ngei of the APP was absorbed into Kanu and was made Chairman of the Kenya Maize and Marketing board. He later became a Minister in the Cabinet. This made Kenya a defector one-party state, although the constitution had a provision for a multiparty system.
- Parliament abolished the regional constitution that Kenya had at independence.

**EXPLAIN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS WITNESSED IN POSTCOLONIAL KENYA.** (Explain the political successes realized in Kenya since independence.)
Change of Kenya from a multiparty state to a defector One-Party state (one-party state by fact). Kenya became a dejure One-Party state (One-party state by law) in 1982 but returned to multipartism in 1991 following the repeal of section 2A of the Constitution of Kenya.

National Unity. By December 1964, most of the prominent Kadu leaders, under Ronald Ngala and Masinde Muliro, voluntarily crossed over to Kanu, which ended the divisive trend that Kenya would have otherwise followed.

The 1964 Republican Constitution, by which Kenya became a republic with an executive President, who was also the head of the government, state and the ruling party. This brought Kenya closer to the strong unitary government that Kanu had always wanted.

Though the President was given wide-ranging powers, he was closely bound to an elected Legislature, of which he had to be one.

Kanu’s control over parliament and the country as a whole was strengthened in spite of continuous splits in the party along ideological lines.

There were various constitutional amendments and bills in parliament to ensure that Kenyans would no longer live under oppression and discrimination of any kind.

Since independence, Kenya has remained under an elected government in spite of various unsuccessful coup-attempts such as that of 1st August 1982.

Kenya has remained free from political instability in spite of political assassinations such as that of Tom Mboya in 1969 and Robert Ouko in 1990. This makes Kenya suitable for civilians and other people to live in.

Disbanding of tribal welfare organizations. This took place during the reign of President Daniel Arap Moi.

Explain the political challenges/difficulties experienced in postcolonial Kenya. (Explain the political setbacks encountered in Kenya since independence.)

- Suspicion between various ethnic groups E.G the smaller ethnic groups that supported Kadu and the larger ethnic groups that supported Kanu.
- Conflict between the political leaders E.G between Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga.
- Threat of neocolonialism as Western nations and communist countries sought to dominate Kenya’s policies.
- Political assassinations E.G those of Tom Mboya, J.M Kariuki and Robert Ouko, which left the nation divided.
- Death of the founding President (Mzee Jomo Kenyatta) in 1978, which created fears over the transition.
- The 1982 attempted military coup.
- Prodemocracy protests that led to the scrapping of section 2A of the constitution in 1991.

Explain the factors that contributed to the clamour for multipartism in Kenya. Explain why Kenyans eventually demanded multipartism.

- Rampant corruption in government such as the Goldenberg scam and the grabbing of public plots and buildings.
- Rigging of elections, especially through the Queue voting system, introduced in party nomination in 1988.
- The collapse of One-party states in eastern Europe in 1989, which encouraged the struggle for democracy.
- The success of multipartism in other parts of Africa E.G in Zambia.
- Pressure from donor institutions and countries.
- Pressure from the Clergy.
- Pressure from the civil society.

Explain the challenges/disadvantages of multiparty democracy in Kenya. (Explain the problems facing multiparty democracy in Kenya.)

Many politicians and senior government officials were not ready for multipartism. They incited their supporters to kick out opposition supporters from their regions.

- Ethnic clashes of 1991 particularly in the Rift Valley, due to political animosity.
- Some public servants were used by the executive arm of government and the ruling party to frustrate the opposition by denying politicians licenses to hold political rallies.
- Many of the political parties formed were ethnic based.
- Many selfish politicians were paid to defect from their parties and join others.
- The ruling party used the police force and the government-owned media to its advantage.
- The opposition parties lacked financial support from the state, enjoyed by the ruling party.
- There was inadequate civic education for the electorate.
- The international community interfered with the running of the country and openly sided with certain politicians and parties.
- Due to poverty, many citizens were compromised to vote for incompetent leaders.
- Most political parties have experienced leadership wrangles.

**Explain the role/importance of political parties in Kenya since independence.** (In what ways have political parties fostered good governance in postcolonial Kenya?)
- They formulate policies and programmes on how to run the government more efficiently.
- They select candidates for public office and nominate candidates for parliamentary and civic seats.
- They mobilize the people to participate in political affairs, E.G elections.
- Opposition parties check the excesses of the government by pointing out its mistakes. For instance, in 2004, Ntonyiri MP: Maoka Maore pointed out two financial scandals involving misuse of government funds.
- They initiate political debate on important issues.
- They provide civic education to the masses.
- They ensure that there is a government in-waiting in the event that the ruling party is unable to govern.
- They serve as a training ground for political leadership.
- They provide an opportunity for ethnic groups to associate politically, encouraging unity.
- Opposition parties take part in Watch-dog committees of Parliament, such as the Public Accounts Committee and the Public Investments Committee.
- Opposition parties provide an alternative approach to the management of political and economic affairs of the country through their contributions in debates.

**Explain how the existence of many parties has promoted democracy in Kenya since 1991.** (In what ways has existence of many parties promoted democracy in Kenya since 1991?)
- They have promoted freedom of Association by providing alternative parties for people.
- They have provided people with a forum to express their views on how the country should be managed.
- They have made the government more accountable to the people.
- They have provided checks and balances in government.
- They have provided a system of scrutinizing government expenditure through the Public Accounts committee and the Public Investments Committee.
- They have enabled people to form political parties.

**ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS**

The economic developments experienced in postcolonial Kenya included introduction of Land and Industrial policies aimed at strengthening the economy. The sessional paper NO.10 of 1965 made a number of proposals to rejuvenate the economy.

**Describe the land policies/reforms adopted by the government after independence in Kenya.** (Describe the policies/reforms adopted by the government in postcolonial Kenya.)

In the colonial period, a lot of land was snatched from Africans by white settlers and the colonial government. At independence, the Kenya government arranged to resettle landless Africans on land formally owned by white settlers. Various policies were adopted by the government to achieve the resettlement. Such policies were as follows:

- The Kenya government obtained a loan from Britain, which it reloaned to Africans to enable them to buy land in the former “White” highlands.
The government established and expanded settlement schemes all over the country through the Ministry of Land and Resettlement, which was formed in 1963.

Cooperatives and land-buying companies were formed to purchase land for Africans.

The government came up with a Land adjudication and registration programme to convert the traditional African land-tenure system to Registered Freehold Tenure. Originally, it was based on land consolidation, whereby fragmented plots of land owned by one person in a particular area were consolidated into one holding before registration. Today, the programme is concerned with normal registration of land. The Land Adjudication and Registration programme was very important in speeding up subsequent agricultural development, especially in development of ranches for livestock improvement in arid and semi-arid areas.

The Agricultural development Cooperation (ADC) was established to manage large-scale farms. It has retained several farms for the production of certain key inputs such as highbred seeds and high-quality breeding stock.

The government has diversified the agricultural sector to avoid reliance on only one or two crops as was the case in the colonial period. Crops like wheat, sisal, pyrethrum, horticultural crops and sugarcane were added to coffee and tea, which formed the backbone of the colonial economy.

Through the Ministry of Agriculture, the government established Kenya Agriculture research institutes at Muguga near Nairobi, Tigoni, Bogoria, Embu and Bukura among others. Also, organizations that conduct research work on specific crops were set up, such as the coffee and Tea Research foundations and the horticultural crop research stations. This led to increased food-production due to high yields and pest-resistant varieties of highbred crops and animals that have been introduced all along.

Several irrigation schemes were set up in marginal or arid areas, which was necessary since 80% of Kenya’s land area is dry land. Examples of such irrigation schemes are: The Bura Scheme in Tana River District, the Ahero Irrigation Scheme in Nyanza Province, Mwea Irrigation Scheme in Central Province and Pekera Irrigation Scheme in Rift Valley Province. These schemes have boosted production of crops such as rice, cotton, fruits and vegetables.

The government established Development Authorities for coordination and proper use of resources in each water catchment area. Examples are the Tana-Athi River development Authority, Kerio Valley and Lake Basin Development Authorities.

The Kenya government has carried out studies meant to assess the area of potential drainage that can be reclaimed E.G Kano Plains, Yala Swamps and Lambwe Valley.

The government has had to take increased action to arrest land degradation due to major changes in land-use.

**Explain the benefits of land reforms/policies that were adopted/introduced in Kenya after independence.**
- Farmers acquired Title deeds, which they used to acquire farming loans.
- Many landless people acquired land.
- People conducted economic activities with a lot of confidence.
- Living standards improved due to economic growth.
- The country’s economy improved due to dairy farming and cultivation of cash crops.

**Describe two main types of settlement schemes established by the government in postcolonial Kenya.**
(Describe two types of settlement schemes established after independence in Kenya.)
- Low-density schemes, which were sold to people with farming experience, for such schemes had big farms. Those who bought land in such schemes also received loans for purchase of farm-inputs.
- High-density schemes, for resettlement of as many landless African families as possible. Here, small-scale farming was practiced on farms created through subdivision of large-scale farms formerly owned by white settlers.

(b) Name the settlement schemes that were established in Kenya after independence. (Identify examples of settlement schemes that were established in postcolonial Kenya.)
- The Million-Acre Scheme,
- Haraka Scheme,
- Harambee Scheme
- The Shirika Scheme.

**Identify the major changes in land-use that the Kenya government has had to deal with in order to arrest/address the problem of land degradation.** (Describe the changes that have caused land degradation in Kenya.)
- Destruction of forests through clearing for cultivation or timber, firewood or building materials in water catchment areas.
- Poor cultivation methods, especially on hill-sides.
- Reduction of water and grazing areas, particularly in arid and semi-arid areas.
- Successive crop failure and diminishing crop-yields.
- Overstocking and cultivation along river-banks.

**Identify the possible solutions that the Kenya government adopted to alleviate/deal with the problem of land degradation.** (In what ways has the government tackled the problem of land degradation in Kenya?)
- An agro-ecological Zone mapping, compiled by the Ministry of Agriculture to correlate information on rainfall, water and soil topography for possible cropping patterns.
- A permanent Presidential commission on soil conservation and Afforestation, created by President Moi in 1981. It was aimed at coordination and mobilization of the efforts of various agencies in soil and water conservation as well as afforestation throughout Kenya.
- A tree planting day was decreed by President Moi, aimed at a better climate for conservation in Kenya.

**Explain the challenges encountered by Kenyans in the agricultural sector.** (Explain the problems experienced Kenyans in the agricultural sector.)
- Droughts and famines E.G in 1984 and 2006.
- The population has grown faster than the gains made in the agricultural sector, which has resulted in many Kenyans remaining landless.
- World market prices of Agricultural commodities have fallen drastically since the 1970s.
- Corruption and mismanagement of cooperatives, resulting in meager earnings for tea, coffee and pyrethrum farmers.
- Corrupt government officials have grabbed research-land.
- Poor infrastructure, which has frustrated farmers as they are not able to access the market.
- Politically instigated clashes E.G in the Rift valley in the 1990s, which discouraged farmers from intense cultivation.
- Poor technology, which has contributed to poor yields, especially due to reliance on natural rains.
- Destruction of farm produces by pests after harvest.
- The cost of farm-inputs like fertilizers and pesticides has become too high for most farmers.
- Competition from the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (Comesa) member-countries and from the more industrialized countries like the USA, which has frustrated Kenyan farmers, mainly because some of the competitors’ produce is cheaper than that of Kenyan farmers due to subsidies to farmers in rich countries.

**Explain the steps taken by the Kenya government to promote agricultural development.**
- The government started a number of African settlement schemes on land acquired from the white settlers.
- The process of land consolidation and registration was accelerated to give farmers title deeds for their land.
- The government encouraged small-scale farming of coffee and tea to improve the standards of living in the rural areas.
- Africans were encouraged to acquire grade-cattle, which they were forbidden to keep during colonialism.
- Agricultural development co-operations (ADC) were started to manage large-scale farms belonging to the state. These farms were established in Western Kenya, Rift valley and Coast province. The farms acted as models for Kenyan farmers and were also used for production of seeds.
Research stations such as the Kenya Agricultural research institutes (KARI) were established to conduct agricultural research on pests, production of more drought-resistant crops and better breeds of livestock.

A number of irrigation projects were established, such as Bura, Ahero and Pekera to boost irrigation in marginal areas.

A number of development authorities were created to effectively manage the water catchment areas E.G the Tana and Athi River development Authority (TARDA), the Kerio valley Development Authority (KVDA) and the Lake Basin Development Authority (LBDA).

Agricultural education has been included in the education curriculum, right from the Primary school level to improve the sector through education.

A farmers’ bank: The Kenya Farmers Association (KFA) was set up to lend money to farmers.

Farmers were encouraged to form Producer Cooperatives to jointly market their commodities.

Explain the importance/benefits of Producer cooperatives to Kenyan farmers.

- They help in marketing the produce of farmers more efficiently.
- They provide seasonal credit to small-scale farmers.
- They assist farmers to access farm-inputs such as fertilizers and pesticides.
- They develop the infrastructure in their areas of operation E.G by constructing access roads in rural areas to assist farmers in delivering their products to the markets.
- They have assisted rural communities to increase their incomes and improve their living standards.
- They assist in processing farmers’ produce apart from facilitating transportation of the produce to the markets. A good example of such cooperatives is the Kenya Planters Cooperative Union (KPCU) that deals with coffee.

Explain the problems that producer cooperatives in Kenya face. (Explain the challenges/setbacks encountered by Producer cooperatives in Kenya since independence.)

- Commodity price fluctuations in the world market, which have reduced the profits of producer societies since the 1980s.
- The depreciation of the Kenya shilling, particularly in the 1990s, which rendered the costs of farm-inputs prohibitive to most farmers.
- Corruption and embezzlement of farmers’ funds, which often lead to splitting up of Cooperatives as was in the 1990s.
- Due to interference in the elections of management committees by politicians, good managers are not always elected to run the affairs of the societies.
- Since the ownership of shares by individuals is usually small, many do not take keen interest in the affairs of the societies.

Analyse/discuss the cooperative movement in Kenya. (Discuss the development of the cooperative movement in Kenya.)

- The cooperative movement was started by European settler-farmers in Kenya in early 20th century to service their agricultural and dairy needs. Among them were The Kenya Cooperative Creameries (KCC) and the Kenya Farmers Association (KFA). Through such cooperatives, farmers could market their produce, purchase farm-inputs and provide research services.
- In 1913, the government brought all cooperative societies under its control through the Cooperative Societies Ordinance.
- Through another Cooperatives Ordinance in 1948, the Department of Cooperatives was established. The 1948 Cooperatives ordinance also allowed Africans to form their own cooperatives such as the Women’s groups in Nyanza, which sold eggs to the colonial government. However, African cooperatives declined because they lacked leaders with managerial skills and were looked down upon by educated Africans as inferior organizations. The Maumau rebellion and the declaration of the state of emergency also caused such decline. By 1950, there only were 75 African cooperatives out of the 200 that had been started. But towards the end of
the state of emergency, cooperative movements started picking up due to introduction of Land-consolidation programmes, by which land could be freely developed without restriction or communal control.

- After Kenya’s independence, the government created the Ministry of cooperative development to facilitate growth of Cooperatives and streamline their management. As a result, many cooperative societies were formed, especially by African farmers in order to market their produce and to acquire farm-inputs and relevant knowledge on farming.

- Through the cooperative Societies Act that was passed in 1966 and revised in 1967, the government outlined rules and regulations to guide the operations of the cooperative societies and promote their popularity and growth.

- In 1968, the Cooperative Bank was established to provide loan facilities to help cooperative societies to finance their operations.

- In 1969, The Cooperative Societies rules empowered the Commissioner of Cooperation development to control misappropriation of funds and to improve the overall efficiency of the cooperative movement by dismissing committees that were not effective.

- In the sessional paper NO.8 of 1970, the government demanded and diversified the cooperative movement. As a result, many types of Cooperative societies were formed, E.G agriculture-related cooperatives, credit cooperatives and Consumer cooperative societies, which handle distribution of consumer goods.

What are the functions of cooperative societies in Kenya? (Explain the importance of cooperative societies in Kenya.)

- They assist members to invest their money in tangible assets, E.G Mwalimu savings and Credit Society, whose building in Nairobi earns income, with profits shared out to members.

- They give advance loans to members to enable them to attend to their personal financial commitments at manageable loan-repayment rates.

- Agriculture-based cooperatives (as earlier stated) assist farmers to market their produce and increase the profit margin of their sales and to obtain farm-inputs at reduced rates. A good example is the Kenya Grain Growers Association.

- They provide essential services to the members at minimal rates to enhance output, E.G Extension field-workers, who advise farmers on how to farm with maximum yields and assist by establishing essential services like cattle-dips and storage facilities.

- They educate members to create general awareness regarding their activities and attempt to achieve this through organizing long and short training courses, regular seminars and workshops at its training college in Lang'ata and through field or correspondence in various parts of Kenya.

- Creation of and providing job opportunities by employing many people in the various sectors of the cooperative movement.

- They play an important role in defending the interests of members. Moreover, members earn dividends from the profits of the cooperatives’ investments like houses and land.

Explain the challenges/problems facing cooperatives in Kenya.

- Rampant cases of fraud, dishonesty and favouritism in the management.

- Lack of experience or understanding concerning business principles. The societies are unable to recruit experienced staff at competitive salaries.

- Inefficiency in the management of some cooperative societies.

- Fluctuation of world-prices of some agricultural products, which have badly affected agriculture-based cooperative societies.

- Mismanagement and embezzlement of societies’ funds, bringing some cooperatives to their collapse.

What are Statutory bodies?

- Statutory bodies are state-owned public operations established to perform specific socioeconomic roles. They are also known as Parastatals. They are established by acts of parliament, which clearly spell out their functions and terms of reference.

Name the parastatals that were established in Kenya during the colonial period.
Parastatals have been in Kenya since the colonial period, during which they mainly served the interests of the White settlers. Parastatals established during the colonial period include:
- The Dairy Board,
- The Kenya Meat Commission,
- The Maize and Produce Board.

**Identify the parastatals that were created in Kenya after independence.**

At independence, the Kenya government deliberately broadened existing parastatals and established new ones to stimulate Kenya’s economic growth by promoting African participation in them. Parastatals established after independence include:
- The Industrial and Commercial Co-operation,
- The Kenya National Assurance Company,
- Agricultural Finance co-operation,
- The Kenya Commercial Bank,
- The Central Bank of Kenya.

**State/explain the reasons for establishment of parastatals in Kenya.** (Why were parastatals established in Kenya?)

- Indigenization of the economy, which was predominantly in the hands of White and Asian communities. Indigenization was accomplished by providing Africans with loans and some skills to enable them to establish industrial and commercial enterprises and to enable African farmers to buy settler farms. The Industrial and Commercial Development Cooperation and Agricultural Finance cooperation were in charge of promoting indigenization.
- To issue and regulate the flow of money and influence the direction of the country’s economy. Here, the central Bank of Kenya was instrumental.
- To generate direct income to the government by making profit through competition by producing competitive goods and services to compete with private organizations. The Kenya Commercial Bank and the Kenya National Assurance Company helped in this objective.
- To enhance state control of certain essential services, such as transport and communication. Here, the Kenya Posts and Telecommunication Cooperation, the Kenya Railways Cooperation and others of their kind are instrumental, for, through them, the government provides the public with telecommunication services, sometimes at subsidized cost. Most remote parts of the country have been opened up by these parastatals.
- To ensure equitable distribution of certain essential commodities like sugar throughout the country by buying and evenly distributing the commodities. That is why the Kenya National Trading Cooperation was established.
- To provide employment, training opportunities and relevant skills of self employment to many Africans, which also boosts the “Jua Kali” sector.

**Explain the problems/setbacks encountered by parastatals in Kenya.** (Explain the factors that hinder/undermine parastatals in Kenya. Or: What factors make parastatals ineffective?)

- Lack of qualified personnel to manage the organizations since the colonial government had not trained Africans for managerial tasks.
- Mismanagement, favouritism and dishonesty in addition to overemployment of workers, which has led to gross financial mismanagement. This has caused some parastatals to be declared bankrupt and to be put under receivership.
- Duplication of roles, whereby more than one parastatal are given the same task, which has caused tension between the organizations and frustration to the management staff.
- Some parastatals have very little or nothing to do since there are too many of them.
- Interference in the management of some cooperations by political leaders and other influential persons, which has led to employment of unqualified personnel and misappropriation of funds.
- Natural disasters such as pests and prolonged drought, which affect yields and production and hinder the performance of Agriculture-based parastatals.
- Internal and international economic conditions, e.g. high inflation rates that have led to increased production costs and low returns for parastatal organizations.

**Explain how the Kenya government controls/monitors the activities of parastatals.**

To enhance management and production, the government monitors/controls the activities of parastatals in the following ways:
- Members of the board of directors in charge of running parastatals are directly appointed by the Minister under whose portfolio the organization falls. Every board is headed by a chairman directly appointed by the President.
- The Inspectorate with State Cooperation in the Office of the President monitors the activities of parastatals and advises them on government policies.
- Parastatals are required to prepare and submit to parliament detailed annual reports about their activities, sources of revenue and nature of expenditure. Parliament discusses the reports to ensure that the organizations are properly run.
- All the accounts of parastatals are audited by the Controller & Auditor General of cooperations, who then prepares detailed reports of discussion by parliament.

**INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT**

**What measures has the Kenya government taken to ensure that the country is industrialized?** (State the measures taken by the Kenya government to bring industrial progress to the country.)

Various measures have been adopted by the Kenya government to industrialize the country since independence as follows:
- The Sessional paper NO.10 of 1965 affirmed the policy of a free market system in which foreign investors were welcomed to start industries in Kenya.
- In 1963, the government created the Development Finance Company of Kenya (DFCK) and the Industrial Commercial Development Cooperation (ICDC) to finance indigenous Kenyans to establish industrial projects.
- In 1966, the Kenya Industrial Estates (KIE) was established as a subsidiary of ICDC to facilitate small-scale industries by Kenyans. This led to expansion of industrial estates in Kakamega, Kisii, Kericho, Embu, Machakos, Malindi, Nyeri, Murang’a and Voi.
- In 1970, a mechanism was established to protect local industries from imports. These included introduction of NO-OBJECTION certificates to vet imports.
- The government established a number of statutory bodies (parastatals) such as the Kenya Ports Authority, Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Cooperation and the Kenya Pipeline Company to facilitate industrialization through port facilities, telecommunications and fuel provision respectively.
- The government has promoted the Tourism industry through the creation of the Kenya Tourists board to market Kenya as a tourist destination.
- Vocational training and higher institutions of learning were started to produce competent technical staff to industrialize the country.
- The government has established export processing zones which specifically manufacture products for export. These firms have provided employment to many Kenyans in addition to providing a market for their products such as cotton and wool.
- Foreign investors have been licensed to prospect for and exploit minerals to expand industrialization. In 2003, the Tiomin mining company from Canada was given the rights to mine Titanium in Kwale at the Kenyan coast.

- The government has taken various measures to ensure industrial development.
The government embarked on a rural electrification programme since the 1990s to expand agro-based industries.

**Explain the factors that have facilitated industrial development in Kenya since independence.** (Explain the reasons for industrial expansion/growth in postcolonial Kenya.)
- Existence of natural raw materials like Trona in lake Magadi.
- Water surfaces like the Indian Ocean and lake Victoria, which provide fish for fish-processing industries apart from serving as waterways for sea/water transport.
- Forests, which produce timber for papermaking and other requirements.
- The beautiful scenery and game-parks, which have facilitated the tourism industry.
- The permanent rivers, which have provided water for hydro-electric power.
- The population, which has provided labour and a domestic market.
- Rich agricultural farmland, which provides raw materials for agro-based industries.
- Roads, railways and airports, which have provided the means of transport for both raw materials and passengers.

**Explain the impact/results of industrial development in Kenya since independence.**
- Many people have got jobs (salaried employment).
- Diversification of the economy to avoid over-reliance on agriculture.
- Infrastructure in the country has improved.
- Urban centers have sprung up near major industries.
- It has promoted self-reliance in some products such as cooking oil.

**Explain the setbacks/hindrances to industrial development in Kenya.** (What factors undermine Kenya’s effort to industrialize? Or: Explain the challenges/problems facing the Kenya government in its efforts to industrialize.)
- Repatriation of capital by most multinational co-operations to their home-countries instead of investing it in Kenya.
- Many companies use imported materials for their operations, E.G Motor-vehicle manufacturers.
- The senior managerial positions of most large firms are taken up by foreigners, who pass policies that are not friendly to Kenya.
- The majority of the big industries are located near major urban centers. Thus, the ripple effects of industrial expansion do not reach the rural areas.
- Mismanagement of major industries, which leads to their collapse. A good example here is the Kenya Meat Commission, which was revived in 2006 after it collapsed in the 1980s.
- The Kenya Industrial Estates lacks finances to support entrepreneurs.
- Kenyan industries are adversely affected by competition from the more industrialized countries, which sell their goods cheaply.
- The domestic market in Kenya is small, mainly due to low purchasing power.

**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**
Since independence, Kenya has made great social development in education, health, housing and recreation.

**EDUCATION**
The education system inherited at independence was not suitable in developing skilled manpower needed in the civil service, commerce and industry.

**Identify the education commissions and committees that were set up in Kenya after independence.** (Describe the education commissions and committees that were set up in postcolonial Kenya.)
The Kenya government set up several commissions and committees, each of which made elaborate reports on the required educational reforms. Among such commissions were:
The Kenya Education Commission (also known as the Ominde Commission), Chaired by Professor Ominde in 1964.

- The National Committee on Education Objectives and Policies (1976), chaired by Peter Gachathi (also known as the Gachathi commission).
- The Presidential working Party on the second University (1982), chaired by Professor Mackay (it was also known as the Mackay Commission).
- The Kamunge commission (1988).

What were the results of establishment/setting up of education commissions and committees in Kenya after independence?

Most of the changes recommended by these commissions were used, due to which:

- Education was expanded at all levels. For instance, by 1986, there were 10354 primary schools compared to 6058 at independence.
- Harambee institutes of science and technology have been established in almost every district to equip secondary school-leavers with skills that would enable them to secure employment.
- Postsecondary school training colleges and institutions were opened up to train middle-cadre personnel in agriculture, veterinary, water and technology, medicine, mass communication, ETC.
- Three national polytechnics were established in Nairobi, Mombasa and Eldoret to offer middle and high-level technical training to produce personnel skilled to serve in schools, colleges, industries and in some government departments where their technical knowledge is needed.

Describe the departments and institutions that were established by the Ministry of Education in Kenya after independence.

To polish up the system of education, the Ministry of Education established the following departments and institutions:

- The Inspectorate, which supervises implementation of educational reforms and recommends various teaching and learning materials to institutions of learning.
- The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) which develops relevant curriculum and teaching & learning materials for use in schools and colleges.
- The Kenya National Examination Council, which develops, administers and certifies national examinations.
- The Kenya Literature Bureau, which publishes materials for use in schools and colleges.
- The department of Adult education, which was set up by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services to develop and supervise the implementation of adult education programmes in order to help the government in eliminating illiteracy among adults, who would then be meaningfully involved in nation building.

Discuss the educational changes introduced by the Kenya government after independence.

(Describe/explain the changes that were made by the Kenya government in the Education sector after independence.)

- The Kenya government set up several commissions and committees, each of which made elaborate reports on the required educational reforms.
- The Ministry of education established various departments and institutions such as the Ominde Commission and the Department of Adult Education to polish up the system of education.
- In 1985, the 8-4-4 system of education was effected to offer a curriculum that emphasizes practical and vocational subjects such as Crafts, Artwork, Metalwork, agriculture, Carpentry and home-science.
- The 8-4-4 curriculum was designed to enable school leavers to acquire vocational skills to enable them to secure employment in the formal and informal sectors or be self-employed altogether.
- In the funding of education, free primary school education was introduced. Due to increased expenditure as a result of tremendous expansion in education, the government was compelled to introduce cost sharing at all levels of education, especially from secondary school upwards. Free primary school education was re-
introduced in 2003, after the NARC government assumed or took over leadership of this country after 40 years of the Kanu government.

**In what ways have health services been expanded in Kenya since 1963?** (Explain how health services in Kenya were expanded after independence.)

Since independence, health services in Kenya have been expanded in many ways such as:

- Training of many health personnel and building of hospitals in district headquarters, with dispensaries and health-centers in locations and sub locations.
- Improvement in the quality of healthcare through programmes such as immunization against preventable diseases, provision of Family Planning services and education on the value of improved nutrition.
- Provision of health services to the rural population through Harambee efforts and private initiative. Because of this, life expectancy has increased while infant mortality has fallen.
- Provision of health services by some municipalities for their residents through health-related departments E.G Environmental health, which organizes inspection of food premises such as hotels and kiosks as well as restaurants.
- Licensing of organizations and individuals to run clinics, nursing and maternity homes and hospitals. Their services compliment those of the government.
- Establishment of Community Health-Worker support units by nongovernmental voluntary organizations such as African Medical Research Foundation (AMREF) to support public health projects in Kenya.
- Formation of a special national fund for the disabled to provide financial assistance to the associations of the disabled.
- Continuous assistance by international health agencies such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Organization. (UNO) of various health projects for alleviation of various health related problems in Kenya.
- Establishment of medical research institutes all over Kenya, which have greatly contributed to the improvement of health services. Such institutes include the Clinical Research Centre of Nairobi, the Alupe Leprosy research centre in Teso and the Malaria and other Protozoal Research Centre in Kisumu. These and others are coordinated by the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI).

(b) **Explain how the Kenya government re-affirm the right and freedom of the individual in propagating national culture.** (In what ways is national culture expressed/exhibited in Kenya?)

Because of cultural problems created by the colonial experience, the Kenya government has emphasized the role of culture in many official documents such as the Kenya Constitution to re-affirm the right and freedom of the individual in propagating national culture in various ways such as:

- **Music and Dances.** Today, there are many traditional Music & Dance groups and also instrumentalists, several of which perform in hotels to entertain and introduce guests to Kenyan culture by reciting and singing traditional poems and songs accompanied by traditional instruments like the drum, the Lyre and the Harp among many others.
- **Drama.** Annual Drama and Music festivals involving teachers, training colleges, secondary & primary schools and other groups outside the School system are organized by the Ministry of Education and the Department of Culture in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services.
- **Theatre.** The Kenya National Theatre promotes theatrical performances by staging local and foreign plays using professional and amateur groups such as the Traveling Theatres of Nairobi and Kenyatta University, the Little Theatre Club in Mombasa and the Ramogi Cultural Society in Kisumu.
- **Sculpture.** Kenyan sculptors have produced pieces of sculpture that have penetrated the Sculpture Market locally and overseas, which has attracted several talented young Kenyans to Creative Art and made Kenya famous internationally. Famous pieces of sculpture from Kenya include The Kisii soapstone Carvings, the “bird Of Peace” and the “Fruits Of Independence”.
- **Painting & Art.** The Department of Culture in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services has assisted young artists to exhibit their work in local art galleries. Several art-exhibitions have been stepped up all over Kenya
to enlighten the public on the importance of appreciating and preserving Kenyan contemporary and traditional art which has attracted local and international demand.

- Crafts. The department of culture in collaboration with interested agencies has and still is encouraging traditional skills of production such as basketry and pottery and researches on traditional medicines and food-production. Of late, the Ministry of technical training and applied technology has been established to promote local craftsmen, particularly those of the Jua-kali sector.

- Cultural festivals. The Department of culture supports local annual festivals like those held in Kisii, Busia and Vihiga, which depict the culture of the participants. The department has constructed rural and urban cultural centers to ensure that future generations have a cultural base upon which the Kenyan nation is built.

- Research and Documentation. The department of culture has embarked on research and writing down our traditional ways of life and knowledge I.E aspects of oral tradition such as traditional songs and dances, stories, proverbs, riddles and others. Most cultural and historical research is done by the University of Nairobi, especially at the Institute of African Studies.

- Cultural Exchange Programmes. The Kenya government signed cultural exchange agreements with Russia, Germany, France, China, the Democratic Republic of Congo, the USA, Britain, Ethiopia and others. This has resulted in mutual exchange of artists, especially musicians and dancers.

- Recreation. Social change and cultural contests have brought about modern types of music, dance, games and sports. Kenya has had to join the rest of the world in upholding them.

- The Cinema. Through the Films cooperation and the Institute of Mass communication, the Kenya government encourages making and showing of local films alongside foreign ones to Movie-goers in urban centers and film-watchers in the rural.

- Sports. In the past, Kenya could not participate in many sporting events due to lack of facilities for training. The Ministry of culture and social services then embarked on the construction of facilities like Stadia all over Kenya. E.G Moi International Sports centre in Kasarani and the Nyayo national Stadium. Kenya is famous worldwide for its outstanding sportsmen and women, who have set new World records in the Olympics, Commonwealth and All-Africa games in Athletics, Boxing, Hockey, ETC. In fact, Kenyan runners have dominated all races by sometimes scooping all the medals.

What major sociocultural challenges/setbacks has Kenya encountered since independence?
(Describe/explain the social and cultural difficulties/problems experienced in postcolonial Kenya.)

- The fast-rising population, which presents challenges of food, health and education provision.
- Spread of H.I.V & AIDS, which has increased the Health bill.
- Some cultural practices such as female Circumcision and Early marriages, which have retarded development.
- Corruption, which has led to the depletion of the few resources available.
- Increase in crime-rate.
- The fact that most Kenyans, particularly the youth, ape or try to take up foreign cultures at the expense of traditional ones. Some of such foreign culture interferes with rather than perfecting the behaviour of many Kenyans, leading to a lot of deviancy and permissiveness.

However, with the promotion of Kenyan cultural programmes in the mass media (particularly on radio and Television), it is hoped that almost all these challenges will be remedied, putting Kenya back on her cultural feet. The youth need to be assisted to be aware that failure stems from a broken focus and that as Africans, they are purposed to exist and that Black Is Beautiful in its own right.

CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN AFRICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE
After attaining independence, African leaders had a great task of nation building. The Africans had suffered economic exploitation, racial discrimination and lack of political representation. The situation could only be addressed through sound policies that would promote national development. Many African countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo adopted various policies for development. However, the leaders lacked resources and had not been prepared for leadership.

**Tanzania**

After attaining her independence in 1961, Tanganyika embarked on an ambitious development programme. The significant political mileage was the union of Tanganyika (under Julius Nyerere) with Zanzibar (under Abeid Karume), forming Tanzania in 1964. **Describe/discuss the political developments in postcolonial Tanzania.** (Assess the political developments in Tanzania since independence).

- In 1961, Tanganyika attained her independence from British rule, with Mwalimu Julius Nyerere as President.
- After Zanzibar’s independence from British rule, an Arab leadership headed by the sultan was imposed on the Africans. Soon after, Sheikh Abeid Karume of the Afroshirazi party came to power, deposing the sultan’s regime.
- In 1964, there was a political union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. A new nation: the Union of Tanzania was formed, with Nyerere as President and Karume as First Vice President. According to the constitution of the Union, if the president of the united republic came from the mainland, the first Vice President came from the island and the second Vice President from the mainland. Later, due to some constitutional changes, the post of Prime Minister was introduced.
- In 1967, the Arusha declaration was signed, laying down the principles for development. Tanzania adopted a Socialist policy in her development agenda. She also embraced the policy of nonalignment.
- In 1973, Tanzania’s capital centre was transferred from Dar Es Salam to Dodoma to ease administration of mainland Tanzania.
- Maintenance of the east African Community together with Kenya and Uganda was another political development. Although the community collapsed in 1977 due to policy difference among the three east African countries, more cooperation was realized in 1984, leading to eventual revival of the Community in 1993.
- In 1977, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged their two parties: the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM).
- In 1978-1979, Tanzania was invaded by Uganda, but she drove back the Ugandan army and even had a hand in the overthrow of Uganda’s President: Idi Amin Dadaa.
- President Nyerere made remarkable efforts in Tanzania’s growth. In 1985, Nyerere resigned as Tanzania’s President and Ali Hassan Mwinyi took over.
- Tanzania offered material and financial support for African Liberation movements, for which she is well remembered, since the OAU liberation Committee was based in Dar Es Salam. Her role in African liberation movements brought independence to Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This strengthened Tanzania’s opposition to apartheid, which led to Namibia’s independence in 1990, followed by south Africa in 1994.
- With the support of Ali Hassan Mwinyi but to the disappointment of mainland parliamentarians, Zanzibar decided on its own to join the African Muslim League, which threatened the Republic of Tanzania as a Union, but this problem was later diplomatically repudiated.
- In 1995, Tanzania held her first multiparty elections and Benjamin William Mkapa was elected President of Multiparty Tanzania. In December 2005, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete became Tanzania’s fourth president in a peaceful transition.

**What were the principles of the Arusha Declaration (1967)?** (Describe the principles for Tanzania’s development as contained in the 1967 Arusha Declaration.)

- Self-reliance I.E use of human and local resources for development.
- Ujamaa (socialism) I.e. Communalism for collective responsibility, unity and national development.
- Rejection of all forms of discrimination.
- Nationalization policy, i.e., control of factories and means of production by the government.

**Describe the major political developments that President Julius Nyerere will be remembered for in Tanzania.**

- Political union between mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964.
- Nyerere was pro-socialism and was opposed to Capitalist ideology.
- Support for international organizations, particularly the Nonaligned movement, Organization of African Unity, United Nations Organization and the commonwealth.
- Support for African Liberation movements, aimed at liberating African countries from colonialism. In fact, Tanzania was a member of the Frontline states: an organization or union of states that worked for liberation of Africans from the colonial bondage.
- Merger of the Tanzania African National Union and the Afro-Shirazi Party in 1977; these two parties together formed Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), with Nyerere as President and Karume as Vice President.
- Nyerere helped President Milton Obote of Uganda, who had been deposed by Idi Amin to reclaim power in Uganda in 1979.
- Nyerere influenced the transfer of the capital city of Tanzania from Dar-Es-Salam to Dodoma.
- As an example of good leadership, Nyerere retired as president of Tanzania in 1985 to allow new leadership in the country.

**Describe/discuss the political challenges/setbacks encountered by Tanzania since independence.** (State three political challenges that Ali Hassan Mwinyi faced as President of Tanzania.)

Most of Tanzania’s political challenges were encountered during the reign of President Ali Hassan Mwinyi. As President of Tanzania, Mwinyi faced the following problems:

- His decision to lead Zanzibar in joining the African Muslim League almost broke the Union of Tanzania. By joining the league, Mwinyi made Tanzania an ally of the Arab World without wide consultations.
- He faced pressure to embrace multiparty democracy until the constitutional amendment of May 1992.
- Corruption contradicted Ujamaa and African socialism.
- The influx of refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo was a threat to security.
- Fear of political instability made Zanzibar threaten to break away from the union.

**Describe the economic developments/successes/achievements in Tanzania since independence.**

- In 1964, Tanzania adopted the Arusha declaration, with emphasis on self-reliance, Ujamaa (socialism) and Nationalization.
- The Ujamaa policy and desire for Self Reliance boosted agricultural production.
- Agro-based industries were established. Sisal-related factories and textile industries were set up. Cement, shoes, oil, tobacco, and steel-manufacturing industries were also built.
- Nationalization and Africanization encouraged African participation in economic development which enhanced trade and financial initiatives.
- The construction of the Tazara line and the Tanzam Oil Pipeline, with financial assistance from China, which boosted Tanzania’s economy. The Tazara line linked Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania to Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia and helped in the transportation of copper.
- Establishment of the East African Community in 1967, which increased trade.
- Rapid expansion of some urban centers such as the port of Dar Es Salaam, the new capital of Dodoma and Arusha, the headquarters of the revived East African Community.
- Improvement of the banking and insurance sectors.
- Increased mining of diamonds, Cobalt and Oil.

**What economic challenges/setbacks has Tanzania encountered since independence?** (State/discuss the factors that undermined economic growth in Tanzania since independence.)

- Increased poverty levels.
- A wider gap between the rich and the poor due to the rise of African enterprises.
- Negative attitude towards Ujamaa, which resulted in use of force in its implementation. Because of this, agricultural production decreased.
The volume of imports outweighed that of exports, causing trade-imbalance, which was worsened by the collapse of the East African Community in 1977.

Foreign investors feared the economic slump and left for Kenya and Uganda.

Price fluctuations in the world market for crops such as tea, sisal and coffee, which negatively affected Tanzania.

Prolonged drought and diseases, which negatively affected the agricultural sector.

The fact that Nyerere did not believe in foreign loans for development. Donors did not accept the policy of nationalization.

Tanzania’s currency was devalued in addition to suffering inflation.

Corruption cropped up as Hassan Mwinyi made efforts towards adoption of liberal policies to jump-start the economy.

Tanzania’s mineral resources are not fully exploited due to poverty, lack of technical expertise and poor transport system.

The collapse of the east African Community, which denied Tanzania a large market for her goods.

Tanzania’s huge debts.

Failure of Ujamaa as a development strategy, which eroded the confidence of the leaders.

Analyse/assess the social developments in Tanzania since independence.

Educational facilities were expanded, with free education right from primary school level. Self-reliance was emphasized according to the Arusha declaration. Agriculture and technical subjects were also emphasized. Adult education was highly valued.

Kiswahili was accepted, encouraged and used as a medium of instruction and a national language, which promoted unity in Tanzania.

Provision of health services was stepped up by establishing hospitals, health centers and clinics, especially in rural areas. More food was provided for better nutrition and improved health.

The role of women in society was and still is appreciated by offering them educational opportunities as are offered to men, employing and appointing them to senior positions in party and government activities.

THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The Democratic Republic of Congo was a Belgian colony. Previously known as Belgian Congo and then Zaire, after which it was named the Democratic republic of Congo, this country attained independence in June 1960, with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister. The Democratic Republic of Congo immediately faced a military revolt by soldiers who demanded an end to Belgian domination in the army. There was a lot of chaos and the whole of the Democratic Republic of Congo was plunged into disorder, leading to the Congo Crisis.

Analyse/discuss the factors that fuelled/led to the Congo Crisis.

Africans in the army rebelled against white officers employed during the colonial era because of their opposition to the continuation of white men as army commanders.

Belgium sent its army to quell the revolt and to protect Belgian civilians and property.

The Belgian navy bombed the coastal town of Matadi. In response, angry African soldiers killed many Belgian citizens, which provoked a serious military engagement between the two communities.

Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba and President Joseph Kasavubu broke relations between the Democratic Republic of Congo and Belgium.

In the south of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Moise Tshombe, with the help of the Belgians, was prepared to cut off Katanga from the rest of the country and establish his own independent state. This led to a rebellion in Kasai, which, like Katanga, wanted to cut itself off from the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Congo appealed to the United Nations Organization for military support to put down the rebellion. The UNO sent some soldiers, but these were of no help since the UNO had a policy of not interfering in the affairs of a country.
Lumumba and Kasavubu opposed each other because Lumumba held radical views while Kasavubu belonged to the conservative group. This led to the murder of Lumumba in December 1960. As a result, Lumumba’s followers pulled out of government and retreated to the province of Oriental, where they formed their own government and started guerrilla training camps to overthrow Kasavubu’s government. Katanga, Kisangani and Kasai each had a government and army of its own, ready to fight the other.

At a National Leaders Meeting of 1961, a new National Coalition Government was set up under Cyrille Adoula. Antonine Gizenga (one of Lumumba’s followers) was to be Deputy Prime Minister. Katanga (which was under Moise Tshombe) was not represented at the meeting. However, there was peace and stability for a while.

There was another political rift between Gizenga and Adoula, but Gizenga was arrested and imprisoned. Once again, the government requested the United Nations Organization to help it against Tshombe, which the UNO readily provided in 1962. Tshombe was defeated and Katanga was integrated into the Democratic Republic of Congo.

A new constitution was drawn whereby the DRC became a federation and each state had its own assembly. Adoula’s term of service ended in 1964. President Kasavubu invited Moise Tshombe to form a new government as a way of pleasing the Katangese. Tshombe therefore became the Prime Minister of the new government.

Because of previous problems, the Lumumba group, which was not pleased with Tshombe’s appointment, staged a rebellion against Kasavubu’s government in the city of Kisangani, where they formed the People’s Republic of Congo. There was war between the Tshombe government and the Kisangani rebels. To defuse the situation, Kasavubu forced Tshombe to resign on 3rd October 1965 and replaced him with Sylvester Kimba. But that government did not last long.

In November 1965, Joseph Mobutu, who was Commander of the armed forces, organized a bloodless coup and removed the civilian government from power. He then established a totalitarian regime.

Describe/discuss the political developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.

On becoming President of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Joseph Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) adopted various reforms as follows:

- He centralized power and became the head of state and government.
- He banned all political parties, except his movement: Popular De La Revolution (MPR).
- He nationalized industries and raised revenue for development.
- He changed the constitution, stripping parliament of its powers. He abolished the federal system (including local assemblies).
- He reduced administrative regions to eight. Civil servants were appointed by the central government.
- He adopted the Authenticity programme to promote Congolese culture.
- He changed the country’s name from Belgian Congo to Zaire to differentiate it from Congo Brazzaville.
- He renamed major towns. E.G Leopoldville became Kinshasa while Elizabethville became Lubumbashi.
- He dropped his name (Joseph) and adopted the names Mobutu Sese Seko. He advised the Zairians to drop their Christian names.

Analyze/discuss the socioeconomic developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.

Describe the social successes in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence. Or: Explain the economic achievements in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.)
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENTS
- The government supported social activities such as dance, music, and sports.
- Congolese culture was promoted.
- The entertainment industry developed due to the country’s rich cultural heritage. Congolese musicians are internationally recognized. They send part of their profits back home.
- Mobutu adopted the Authenticity programme to revive the Congolese culture. To achieve this, he encouraged the Africanization of names of people, the country and towns.
- The government revised the education curriculum to suit the needs of the people.
- Primary, secondary, and university education were expanded.
- Hospitals and dispensaries were built.
- The government established a national medical insurance programme.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS
- Roads and railways were built.
- The port of Matadi was expanded.
- Navigation on river Congo was improved.
- Mobutu adopted economic reforms in which industries were nationalized.
- The government established a pension scheme for workers.
- Foreign investors were encouraged to invest in agriculture, which increased food production.
- Lunga hydroelectric power station was built for industrial use.
- Petroleum resources were developed.

Describe the political difficulties that the Democratic Republic of Congo experienced since independence. (Discuss the political setbacks encountered in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence. Or: State the political challenges/problems facing the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.)
- The Democratic republic of Congo experienced political turmoil after six days of independence. The country’s multi-ethnic composition of about eighty tribes has naturally made unity a distant dream for political leaders.
- The Belgians, who came to crash a mutiny, may have masterminded massive looting and destruction of property, making Congo ungovernable.
- The Congo crisis culminated in the secession of Katanga under Moise Tshombe and the Kasai region under Albert Kalonji.
- Political and ideological differences existed between the Prime Minister (Patrice Lumumba), who advocated centralization of power, and President Joseph Kasavubu, who favoured regional government.
- After the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in 1961, his supporters withdrew to Kisangani, almost causing disintegration of the country.
- The Belgian and United Nations forces that came in during the Congo Crisis interfered with the running of the government.
- In 1965, Joseph Desire Mobutu took over power from Kasavubu through a military coup.
- Mobutu became a dictator, banning all political parties. He centralized power and suspended parliament.
- The 1990s saw a rise in pressure-groups comprising civilians and soldiers who demanded multipartism.
- Opposition groups rebelled against the government. Laurent Desire Kabila (a rebel-leader based in the then eastern Zaire) rose to power and overthrew Mobutu in 1997. Mobutu fled to Morocco, where he died shortly later.

Laurent Kabila was assassinated in January 2001.
Joseph Kabila (a son of Laurent Kabila) took over in 2001 but continued to face opposition from rebels under Ernest Wamba Dia Wamba and Eunice Ihinga. It was during the reign of his father Laurent that what was known as Zaire became the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The Democratic Republic of Congo has faced hostilities from her neighbours such as Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

Discuss the political challenges in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.
Economic challenges
(a) Failure to exploit her natural (mineral) resources due to political instability.
(b) Over-reliance on foreign aid from Belgium and France, which created a debt-repayment crisis.
(c) Misappropriation of donor funds, which aggravated the debt crisis.
(d) Lack of trade policies, which gave rise to Black Marketeering.
(e) Smuggling and corruption, which hindered economic growth.
(f) Joblessness (Unemployment), which led to increased poverty levels.
(g) Massive printing of the country’s currency on the directive of Mobutu, which caused inflation and weakened the economy.
(h) Poor economic policies by Mobutu, which affected economic growth. Mobutu became a multibillionaire amidst angry and poverty-stricken citizens.
(i) The nationalization policy failed, forcing Mobutu to return some nationalized assets to private investors.

Social challenges
- Increased illiteracy as the school system collapsed.
- Increased unemployment.
- Low standards of living due to poverty.
- Deterioration of the health sector due to lack of medical services.
- Civil wars, which have caused a refugee problem.
- Insecurity, which has hindered delivery of services in the refugee camps.
- An increase in the number of orphans and widows due to war.
- Destitution, which has led to the spread of HIV & AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections due to sexual abuse.

Sociopolitical challenges in Tanzania
And the Democratic Republic of Congo
Whereas Tanzania has enjoyed unity and political stability, the democratic Republic of Congo has not had any peace despite her large mineral resource base that lies untapped. However, both countries encounter common sociopolitical problems such as:
- Inadequate funds.
- Poor infrastructure.
- Natural calamities
- Inadequate trained manpower.
- Unemployment.
- Untapped natural resources.
- Poverty.
- Population explosion.
- Illiteracy.
- The refugee problem.
- Environmental degradation.

SOCIOECONOMIC & POLITICAL CHALLENGES
IN AFRICA SINCE INDEPENDENCE
By the beginning of the 21st century, all African countries had attained political independence. Some had made great strides in nation building. Different African nations adopted various approaches in the fulfillment of their dreams. The choice of political, economic and social ideology largely depended on the leadership that took
over upon attaining independence. However, their attempts at nation building have been undermined by various challenges.

**Social challenges**

- Poverty (low income per capita), which has meant low purchasing power, hence reduced economic growth. This frustrates virtually every development effort.
- Illiteracy (low literacy levels), which characterize much of sub-Saharan Africa, especially in countries affected by conflict such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, Somalia and Sudan. African countries inherited from colonial masters a segmented pattern of education, which makes their search for an education system that suits their development needs one of the biggest challenges.
- Inadequate healthcare (lack of access to modern medical facilities) due to poverty and low levels of technology. Killer diseases like Malaria, HIV-AIDS and Cholera as well as the exodus of medics from various countries in search of greener pastures in the developed world has compounded the problem of inaccessibility of medical services, which has lowered economic growth.
- Population explosion (the ever rising population), which has strained provision of essential services like Food, clean water, medicine, literacy and housing to the people, leading to rural-urban migration and unemployment.
- Conflict (civil and international wars), which defines the interaction between communities as witnessed in Nigeria, Sudan, Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Cote D’Ivoire and the Democratic Republic of Congo among others. Due to dwindling economic resources, different religious doctrines and authoritarian systems of government.
- Crime, due to unemployment, which results from poor planning, inaccessibility to career training and shrinking economies. The easy access to fire-arms due to regional conflicts has led to increased armed robberies in cities and on major highways. This causes insecurity, which scares away investors in some countries.
- Terrorism, which has continued to be a cause of great concern to many African countries, especially those that have been hit by bombings like Kenya, Tanzania, Morocco, Libya and Egypt. Africa has been targeted by international terrorist organizations on suspicion that some countries have taken sides with the enemy.
- The Refugee Menace (influx of refugees in some countries) as masses flee from civil strife in their home-countries, as is evident in the Great Lakes region, a situation that has overstretched refugee camps in the neighbouring countries.
- Environmental pollution, especially in cities like Lagos, Cairo and Johannesburg due to poor environmental policies, a thriving industrial sector and rising population.

**Economic challenges**

- Colonial hangovers, whereby many independent African countries never detached themselves but continued to seek loans from their former colonial masters, which they were unable to repay. Donor aid, loans and grants have brought about a dependence syndrome which explains the debt crisis many African states experience since independence.
- Slow industrial growth due to acute shortage of vital industrial raw materials like iron, coal, steel and petroleum in many parts of Africa, largely because of over-exploitation of existing natural resources during the colonial period. Shortage of technical support and skilled manpower for industrial take-off has made the situation worse.
- Unfavourable climatic conditions, which have greatly curtailed food production, particularly among agricultural communities, leading to severe famine.
- Population pressure (rapid population growth) particularly in cities, where social and other services have been overstretched, particularly health, education and housing. The population is also characterized by a high dependence ratio as most of it is youthful, unemployed and dependent on a small working group. Massive rural-urban migration puts more pressure on the limited resources in urban areas.
- Poor infrastructure (lack of/inadequate transport & communication network) since the few that exist link the colonial sources of raw material, leaving other parts (especially dry areas) inaccessible, which explains the imbalance in economic development in many African countries.
- Over-reliance on primary exports such as coffee, tea, rubber, cotton, copper, soda ash, bauxite ETX, which means low income to the exporting countries. The imports to African countries largely comprise ready-made highly expensive goods while the exports from the very African countries are raw materials subjected to price-fluctuations in the world market as, in most cases, such prices are determined by the buyers.
- Corruption, characterized by bribery and mismanagement, whereby public funds are often embezzled, leading to collapse of public institutions and projects in such countries as Nigeria, Cameroon and the Democratic republic of Congo, whose economies lack the much-needed support. Rampant smuggling, black marketeering as well as lack of transparency and accountability in economic and political affairs cause donor agencies to suspend aid, thus frustrating trade and industrial growth in independent Africa.
- Poor economic planning, whereby economic reform policies pursued E.G the Nationalization and Africanization policies in Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda have destabilized economies and therefore kept foreign investors at bay. This left such countries with very weak economies, from which they have never recovered. Haphazard printing of money in some countries E.G in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo triggered financial crises due to inflation and high costs of living.
- Unemployment due to decline of job-creation, which stems from economic mismanagement and structural adjustment programmes such as retrenchment.

Political challenges
- Ideological differences based on the economic, political and social philosophies adopted by postcolonial African governments/leaders to guide development. In some countries such as Angola, Mozambique and the Democratic Republic of Congo, such differences exploded into civil strife.
- The Cold war, during which various leaders supported either the Western or Eastern bloc for selfish motives in spite of Africa’s stated position of nonalignment. This left many African countries divided and locked in border conflicts that continue today, even though the cold war itself is over.
- Coups D’etat (political instability) characterized by military take-over, which gripped several African states after independence and became the order of the day, particularly in the 1960s. The rise of military dictatorships led to insecurity and underdevelopment since Democracy, human rights, and the rule of law were stifled.
- Strained international relations (personal/ideological differences between African leaders), with some ending in border closures, which greatly undermined international cooperation.
- Conflicting interests, whereby many African governments have found themselves torn between serving their territorial interests and adhering to the interests of global and continental organizations like the African Union and the United nations Organization. For instance, Nigeria and Zimbabwe had to be expelled from the Commonwealth of Nations for alleged disregard for human rights and personal property.
- Neocolonialism, whereby African states claim independence but continue to heavily depend on their former colonial masters. Most countries retained the colonial structures; E.G former British colonies still practice the Westminster parliamentary democracy, although they have difficulties in sustaining it. Furthermore, the “Divide and rule” policies inherited by leaders of independent states have contributed to anarchy (lawlessness and disorder). The presence of multinational peace-keeping forces in parts of Africa has perpetuated Western influence, hence exposing Africa to economic exploitation.
- Ethnicity (existence of different ethnic groups), which has contributed to severe interethnic wars as was the case in Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Nigeria, which have slowed down economic development apart from causing a rise in the refugee Crisis and heavy loss of human life.
- Maladministration, whereby, at independence, the leadership in many African states was ill-prepared and inexperienced in administration. This led to political instability and often spurred rebel movements by
groups that felt locked out in the sharing of the national cake. This was more so in Angola and Mozambique.

REVISION QUESTIONS

1. Describe the social developments in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.
2. Identify the economic achievements in the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.
3. Identify the reforms adopted by Mobutu Sese Seko as President of the Democratic Republic of Congo.
4. State the challenges facing the Democratic Republic of Congo since independence.
5. State the principles of Tanzania’s development as contained in the Arusha Declaration of 1967.
6. Explain the economic developments and challenges that Tanzania has witnessed since independence.
7. Identify the major political developments that Julius Nyerere will be remembered for in Tanzania.
8. State three political challenges that Ali Hassan Mwinyi faced as President of Tanzania.

CHAPTER 7

LOCAL AUTHORITIES IN KENYA

What are local authorities? (Describe local authorities in Kenya.)
- Local authorities are a system of local level administration in Kenya, which is separate from central government.
- They constitute local government, which is run by residents in their particular localities.
- Local government is carried out by elected local councilors.
- All local Authorities operate under the Minister for Local Government.

Explain how local authorities were established in Kenya.
- In Kenya, local authorities were introduced in 1903, following the enactment of the Township Ordinance, which created Nairobi and Mombasa townships.
- However, in the colonial era, the British separated the European local authorities from the African local authorities known as The Local Native Council from 1924.
- In 1950, these councils were elevated to African District Councils.
- At Independence in 1963, the local authorities were unified.

Outline the types of local authorities in Kenya. (Into what types are local authorities in Kenya classified/divided?)
- Local authorities in Kenya include:
  - City councils;
  - municipal councils;
  - Urban councils;
  - County councils;
  - Town councils;
  - Area councils.

Analyse/describe the system of local government in Kenya.
- Each council has elected and, in some cases, nominated councilors.
- Nominated councilors are appointed by the Minister for Local Government.
- Elected councilors are voted into office by residents within their respective localities. Also, in the councils, are District Commissioners, i.e. ex officio members of the local authorities in their districts.
- Local people are allowed to participate in matters affecting them in their daily life, such as health, Education and Agriculture.
Local authorities employ qualified staff for higher and technical posts, which is important for effective administration and provision of services.

The Local Government Staff Commission appoints middle-level and senior staff.

Identify/outline the most important officers in a local authority. (Name the officers that run/operate a local authority.)

The most important officers in a local authority include:
- The Clerk;
- The Treasurer;
- The Engineer;
- The Medical Officer of Health.

CITY AND MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

Name three cities in Kenya today.

Today, Kenya has three cities. These are:
- Nairobi,
- Mombasa,
- Kisumu.

Describe city and municipal councils in Kenya. (Explain how government activities are carried out/exercised in city and municipal councils in Kenya.)

- Cities are run in the same manner as the municipalities, except that services offered at the City level are at a larger scale due to higher population.
- Like the municipalities, the city is headed by a Mayor.
- Every municipality in Kenya has a Municipal Council.
- Each council consists of elected and nominated councilors. The elected councilors represent the electoral areas (wards), into which each council is divided. The nominated councilors, who are appointed by the Minister for Local Government, work hand in hand with the elected councilors.
- A mayor is elected from among the councilors during the first Council meeting after each General Election. The Mayor heads the council and presides over all Council meetings as chairman and as chief representative of the council. The Mayor is eligible for re-election.
- The Mayor is assisted by the Deputy Mayor, who is elected in the same manner.
- All elected councilors in each council hold office for a five-year term and can stand for re-election.

Describe/analyse county and town councils in Kenya.

- Normally, Counties are rural areas while towns or townships are urban.
- A county or township is an area that does not merit municipal status due to its small size.
- Townships may exist within counties.
- Each county or township has a County or Township council made up of elected and nominated councilors, headed by a chairman and deputy chairman, both of who are elected from among the councilors during the first Council meeting.

URBAN AND AREA COUNCILS

Describe urban and area councils in Kenya. Explain how government functions/runs in urban and area councils.

- They are found in every County division.
- They consist of a chairman, vice chairman and elected and nominated councilors.

Explain the relationship between local authorities and central government in Kenya.

- Local and central government are linked through the Minister for Local Government.
- The Minister for Local Government controls the activities of all local authorities throughout the country.
- Central government spells out directives and policy guidelines to local authorities through the Ministry for Local Government.
- Through the Local Government Act, the Ministry is mandated to ensure that all local authorities function and operate within the overall national policy as spelt out by Central Government.
Explain how central government influences/controls local authorities in Kenya. (Describe the powers of the Minister for local government over local authorities in Kenya.)

- General supervision of the activities of the local authorities to ensure that they follow the regulations of the central government.
- Streamlining local authorities’ affairs.
- Re-organization of local authorities through upgrading, redefining their boundaries and amalgamation of two or more local authorities.
- Enquiry, suspension and dissolution of a local authority.
- Approval or disapproval of decisions made by local authorities.
- Appointment of senior officers of the councils, E.G the Town Clerk and the Auditor General. This, he does in conjunction with the Public Service Commission.
- Approval or disapproval of the by laws made by local authorities.
- Receiving and assessing annual reports on the performance of local authorities.
- Financial control over local authorities by withdrawing grants, appointing inspectors to audit the local authorities and either approving or disapproving levies, rates, taxes and rent increases.

Outline the services that are offered by local authorities in Kenya.

- Education;
- Health;
- Water;
- Housing;
- Sewerage services, depending on their respective capacity.

Explain the functions of local authorities in Kenya.

- They link the people with the central government through their elected leaders and councilors.
- They enhance participatory democracy in their respective localities and afford their people an opportunity to exercise their democratic rights and manage their public affairs and government. For instance, Councillors, Mayors, Chairmen and other leaders are elected democratically.
- They mobilize local resources and energies in carrying out projects within their areas, E.G construction of roads, bridges, etc.
- They facilitate education through construction and maintenance of schools.
- They assist the Central Government in providing social services to the people over a specified locality. They perform specialist duties and are empowered to raise revenue and spend money within certain limitations in line with the Local Government Act, CAP.265 of the laws of Kenya.
- They provide job and training opportunities for people within their jurisdiction. Thus people get employed in the local authorities as councilors, administrators, clerks, labourers, etc.
- They provide recreation services, which include provision of recreation grounds and allotment such as swimming-pools, sports-grounds, parks, museums, art galleries and public film shows.
- They provide and maintain sanitation and drainage facilities and services.
- They are responsible for housing in their areas of jurisdiction.
- They provide and maintain the road network in their areas where as the central government develops major roads.
- They provide entertainment and leisure facilities such as stadia, social halls and parks.
- They regulate commercial activities within their area of jurisdiction.
- They provide water and sewerage services and collect garbage.
- They make the by laws that regulate the behavior of those living within their jurisdiction.
- They provide employment for many people.
- They control pollution within their areas of jurisdiction.
- They provide building regulations and protection.
- They render essential public services to people within their jurisdiction.
They supplement government efforts in the provision of health services.

**Explain how local authorities supplement government efforts in the provision of health services.**
- They construct and maintain health centres e.g. maternal and child-welfare clinics, Dispensaries, Smoke-controls, etc.
- They provide mortuary and ambulance services.

**Explain the responsibilities of local authorities for housing in their areas of jurisdiction.** (Explain how local authorities ensure proper housing in their areas of jurisdiction.)
- Clearing slum dwellings.
- Building and managing new houses as well as improving older ones.
- Water supplies.
- Sewerage and rubbish disposal.
- Street-lighting and cleaning.

**Explain the responsibilities of local authorities in provision and maintenance of sanitation, drainage facilities and services.**
- They ensure that public toilets are kept clean.
- They dispose off dead animals.
- They bury destitute persons who die within their jurisdiction and have no relatives to claim and bury them.
- They ensure cleanliness in shops and offices.
- They collect and dispose off refuse.
- They provide Ambulance services and carry out vaccination and immunization programmes.

**Explain how local authorities regulate commercial activities within their area of jurisdiction.**
- Building, provision of and maintaining markets and abattoirs.
- Performance of regulatory services such as consumer protection and provision of trade-licenses and permits.
- Imposition of Cess and other levies on crops such as coffee and tea.

**Explain the role/responsibilities of local authorities in provision of building regulations and protection.**
- Issuing and approval of plans for various types of buildings.
- Safe-guarding buildings and other property, particularly by fire control services.
- Provision of municipal police.

**Identify the essential public services that are rendered by local authorities to people within their jurisdiction.**
- Maintaining public areas E.G squares and gardens.
- Provision of educational facilities i.e. preschool, nursery and primary schooling as well as special schools for handicapped children.
- Running libraries, which are closely associated with education.
- Running personal social services such as Day-care centres, social clubs, meal services and hostels.
- Establishment of children’s homes to care for children deprived of a normal home-life.
- Provision of homes for destitute and the aged.
- Looking into the welfare of the disabled people within their locality.
- Construction and maintenance of roads and bridges.
- Provision of land for cemeteries and for cremation.

**Assess/discuss the independence of local authorities in Kenya.**
- Parliament controls the functions of local authorities through the statutory powers conferred on them through the Public General acts.
- Local authorities are permitted to pass by-laws to effect their work. They work closely with Central Government departments in this regard.
- The by-laws passed by local authorities regulate particular aspects of public life in a given area, e.g. there can be a by-law prohibiting the dumping of garbage in a certain area.
All by-laws must be approved by the Minister for Local Government.

**Sources of revenue for local authorities in Kenya**

**Explain how local authorities are financed.** (Describe the sources of revenue for local authorities in Kenya.)

Local authorities in Kenya are financed or funded in the following ways:

- They receive grants from the central government.
- They collect rent from residential buildings, market stalls, stadia and those who erect billboards within their areas of jurisdiction.
- They receive fees from the residents for services such as markets, slaughterhouses; refuse collection, house rents, rates on land, service charges, trade licenses, Cess, Fines, water and sewerage disposal.
- They give or withdraw business licenses.
- Fines from offenders.
- Rates from property owners.
- Loans and donations from donor agencies.
- Sale of property E.G land and buildings.
- Profits from investments.

**Explain the factors that undermine the performance of local authorities in Kenya.**

- Some local authorities are too small to operate effectively.
- The high population in some local authorities strains the available resources.
- Many of the local authorities lack a financial base to provide services.
- Inefficient revenue collection systems reduce their performance.
- Many individuals and organizations evade payment of the required levies or fees.
- Misappropriation of funds and corruption bewilder and undermine efficiency in most local authorities.
- Conflicts between the councilors and the chief officers greatly frustrate operations.
- Too much control by the central government and politicians, which hinders their independence and efficiency.
- Most local authorities lack qualified staff in administration and financial management due to poor terms of service and remuneration.
- Over employment of staff, which strains the finances of some local authorities.
- Illiterate councilors, who run down some local authorities.
- Other factors such as poor infrastructure, vandalism, increased crime and traffic congestion.

**CONCLUSION**

The Central Government controls all operations of local authorities and can intervene when necessary to protect the interests of the citizens and to ensure that they operate in line with government policies.

**CHAPTER 8**

**GOVERNMENT REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE**

In Kenya, development depends on the availability of funds. The government must have an annual financial plan to identify its sources of revenue and areas of expenditure.

Every year, the Minister for Finance has to read the Budget.

**What is a budget?**

- A budget is a financial statement that gives estimates of government revenue and expenditure.
  
  Or:
  
  - It is a comprehensive financial statement that gives an estimate of government revenue and expenditure for a given financial year.

**Explain why the government of Kenya prepares the budget annually.**

- To identify sources of government revenue.
- To identify development projects and expenditure for a particular year.
To explain to the public the taxes imposed.
To balance its revenue and expenditure and prioritize its needs.
To obtain useful information that enables it to monitor expenditure.
To assess its performance in the previous year.
To communicate its plans and policies to its foreign and local development partners for the purpose of investment.
To secure loans and grants from donors.
To plan for emergencies (crises) within the year E.G earthquakes, disease outbreaks and floods.
To promote accountability and transparency in government departments as each ministry is allocated funds in order of need and must account for them.
To have a point of reference in the preparation of the next budget.

Into what two main categories are sources of government revenue in Kenya divided? (Describe two main classifications of sources of government in Kenya.)
- Internal sources E.G taxation.
- External sources I.E loans and grants, mainly from donor countries.

Into what two categories is taxation divided? Taxation, which is the main internal source of government revenue, is divided into two categories. These are:
- Direct taxes E.G pay-As-you-Earn (Payee). It is commonly known as income Tax.
- Indirect tax.

Identify the forms of taxes that fall under the Indirect Tax category.
- Customs Duty, which is imposed on imported goods, E.G vehicles.
- Excise Duty I.E tax on locally made goods like coffee and soda ash.
- Value Added Tax (VAT) I.E sales Tax, which is imposed on goods like bread, fuel and sugar.
- Traffic Revenue Tax I.E road-maintenance levy, road licenses, airport tax, etc.
- Trading licenses, which are paid by business people.
- Investment revenue I.E profit gained from parastatals and other firms.
- Interest from loans paid to the government.
- Land rates from land-owners.
- House rents for government buildings.
- Court fines.
- Fees charged on a variety of services such as levies on timber, mining, tourist and scrap metal fees.
- Sales of treasury bills and post office bonds.
- Grants and loans from donors such as world Bank and the International Monitory Fund (IMF).

Identify five types of taxes paid by Kenyans to the government.
- Income tax;
- Customs Duty;
- Excise duty;
- Value Added tax (VAT);
- Airport tax;
- Sales stamp duty.

What problems does the Kenya government encounter in raising revenue for national development? (Explain the setbacks facing the Kenya government in raising revenue for national development.)
- Evasion of taxation by individuals and organizations.
- People’s negative attitude towards tax payment due to lack of information on the importance of tax payment apart from rampant corruption and poverty.
- Wealth declaration initiatives do not provide the right information as to how much wealth an individual has that is eligible for taxation due to dishonesty.
Rich Kenyans keep their money in foreign banks, making Kenya to lack interest generated from such monies.

- Inadequate information on local investment through Treasury Bills, post office bonds and shares at the Nairobi Stock exchange.
- High interest rates on loans.
- The donor conditions are too harsh and undermine national sovereignty. This is because the recipient nation is compelled to import goods from the country that gives her loans.
- Government offices in charge of tax collection at times cheat about the income to be taxed. Some officers embezzle the revenue collected, making it not to reach the treasury.

Describe two main types of government expenditure.
- Capital expenditure I.E money for development activities such as development of roads, schools, industries, airports and agriculture.
- Recurrent expenditure I.E money used for maintenance of government services.

Describe any three forms of recurrent expenditure. (Into what forms is recurrent expenditure classified/divided?)
- Payment of salaries.
- Repair and maintenance of government property
- Loan repayment.
- Maintenance of embassies.
- Membership obligations to regional and international bodies such as the African union (AU) and the United Nations Organization (UNO)
- Grants to local authorities.
- Bursaries to schools.

Explain how the Kenya government controls Public finance.

Government revenue has to be controlled to ensure efficient and effective use of public funds. As the supreme body of the Land, the Kenya Parliament controls government money by enacting various laws aimed at ensuring government accountability as follows:
- All intended government expenditure is approved by parliament.
- All reports on expenditure from the ministries are scrutinized by the Public Accounts committee and the Public Investments committee.
- The Controller and Auditor-General audits ministries and government departments and report the findings to parliament. The Auditor-General of the state co-operations audits the expenditure of all state co-operations.
- The Permanent secretaries in the ministries account for all the money allocated to their ministries.
- The Kenya anticorruption commission investigates corruption cases and recommends prosecution of suspects.
- Government contracts are advertised and awarded according to the procurement procedures.
- Supplementary expenditure in government ministries are approved by parliament.
- Revenue evasions are curbed by use of X-ray scanners to verify cargo arriving at the Mombasa port.
- The Public Officers Ethics act, which was formulated by the government in 2001, compels Kenyans to shun corruption, which encourages those handling public money to spend it for the intended purpose. Embezzlement of public funds attracts heavy penalties.

CHAPTER 9

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD
One of the characteristics of democratic systems of government is the frequent holding of elections to give the citizens a chance to pick leaders of their choice. This is the case with the USA, Britain and India.

**THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE USA**

1. (a) What is Representative Democracy?
   (b) Name three main organs of government in the United States of America.
2. (a) Explain the meaning of the term Federal Republic. (Define a Federal Republic).
   (b) Name the states that make up the United States of America.

The USA attained independence in July 1776 and created a Representative Democracy, i.e., a system of government in which officials are elected by citizens to manage the affairs of government.

In the United States of America, there are several levels of elections to elect the President, senators and members of the House of Representatives. The government comprises three organs, i.e., the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary.

The USA is a Federal Republic, meaning that the government comprises several states that are under one federal government.

**THE RISE OF THE USA**

The United States of America came into existence in 1776 when the thirteen British colonies of North America united to overcome British colonialism by forming an alliance under the articles of a confederation with a common armed force to fight the British. Actual independence was got in 1783 with the signing of The Peace of Paris.

1. (a) State/explain the problems that the United States of America faced after independence.

   After independence, the Americans had so many problems to deal with. They had to:
   - Achieve unity amidst diversity.
   - Organize a representative government.
   - Reconcile freedom with authority.
   - Regulate taxation, commerce and currency.
   - Govern the yet ungoverned lands.
   - Maintain forces adequate for defense.

In 1787, a convention of delegates from the states that formed the USA met in Philadelphia and drew up a constitution, which was ratified in 1788, after which George Washington became the first President of the USA in 1789.

(b) Describe/explain the features of the constitution of the United States of America.

   - It is federal. Each of the states that make up the United States of America has a large measure of independence. The national (federal) government only has powers identical to it, i.e., handling or dealing with national and international issues.
   - It is written.
   - It is the supreme law of the land. All the states and their people are bound to it. No state is allowed to secede (break away) after joining the USA.
   - It includes the Bill of Rights, i.e., the rights and freedoms of the individual citizen, which nobody can take away.
   - It is to be interpreted by the Supreme court.
   - The legislature, which is bicameral and which comprises two houses, i.e., the senate and the house of representatives, which together became Congress.
   - Clearly spelt out processes of constitutional amendment.
   - Separation of powers between the legislature, the Executive, and the judicature (Judiciary) as branches of the federal government to ensure that no branch attains or has more influence over the others.

**HOW THE US GOVERNMENT WORKS**

The Legislature

1. (a) Describe the US legislature.
It is the lawmaking arm of government.

It is made up of the Senate and the house of Representatives, altogether known as Congress.

(b) Explain how the US legislature works.

- A bill is first debated in both houses.
- When approved, the bill is forwarded to the President for assent.
- Congress amends the constitution when necessary. Such amendment must be approved by individual states.

2. (a) Explain the role played by Congress in the USA.

- It checks on the executive.
- It ensures that government revenue is properly used. It controls the revenue and expenditure of the federal government, I.E defense, foreign aid and salaries for federal employees.
- It checks on the Executive. It closely monitors the conduct of the President, Vice President and other senior public officials and helps guard against serious crimes like treason or corruption.
- It enacts and amends laws.
- It approves the ratification of treaties with other powers.
- It approves the appointment of those who work in the senior civil service and foreign relations such as high-ranking government officials and ambassadors.
- It appoints commissions of enquiry to investigate issues of national importance.
- It represents the aspirations of the American people.

(b) Explain how one becomes a member of the federal parliament (Congress) in the United States of America. Members of Congress are elected by universal adult suffrage for different terms as follows:

- Representatives are chosen from among the states according to the size (population). They serve for two years.
- Senators serve for six years and are elected (two) from each state.
- Congressional candidates are nominated from either the Republican or the Democratic Party.

2. (a) Describe three main political parties in the United States of America.

Three political parties are represented in the US Congress. These are:

- The republicans, which mainly comprises members that could be regarded as conservatives, with deep-seated rigidity with regard to issues or matters concerning the lives and values of Americans.
- The Democratic Party, which mainly consists of Liberals and tends to put up with emergent issues such as scientific and other social developments.
- The Party of Independent Candidates, which comprises politicians who choose to stand or run through the elections as independent candidates. These belong to neither the Republican nor Democratic political parties. However, so far, Presidents of the USA only came from either the Republican or Democratic party.

Parliament buildings of the USA are in Washington DC: the capital city of the USA.

Individual state issues are in the hands of state governments. Each of the states that form the USA has its own government, which handles or runs its own (internal) affairs.

(b) Describe the features of state government in the United States of America.

Each state has a governor, who is its administrative head.

- Each state has a law court that handles internal affairs.
- Each state has education, health and public welfare facilities.
- Each state is responsible for its own development.
- Each state has its own capital city.
- Each state generates its own revenue.
- Each state has a bica,tural legislature to pass state laws.
- Each state has state-policing to maintain law and order.

Elections
1. (a) Describe the categories/levels of election in the United States of America.

In the United States of America, there are various levels of elections as follows:
- Elections of the House of Representatives, which are held every two years.
- Elections of the Governors, which are held every four years.
- Elections for the Senate, which are held every six years.
- Presidential elections, which are held every four years. In some cases, Presidential elections are included in the Elections for the Governors category.

(b) Explain the role of political parties in the United States of America.
- They make electoral politics meaningful as most candidates are sponsored by them.
- They help voters to decide on candidates, who stand for different principles and policies.
- They are held accountable if the policies advocated by their candidates fail.
- They help communicate the desires of the people to the government.
- They provide political education to members.

(c) State the requirements for a Presidential candidate in the United States of America.
- Must be 35 years of age or older.
- Must have lived in the USA for at least 14 years.
- Must be an American by birth.

THE EXECUTIVE

In the United States of America, the Executive is charged with carrying out the laws and regulations passed by parliament. It is headed by the President. The President is the leader of the federal government in the USA.

1. (a) What are the functions of the President in the United States of America? (Describe/explain the functions of the President of the USA).
- Is the head of state.
- Is the chief executive, ensuring that laws and policies are implemented.
- Initiation of bills in the Congress.
- Keeping Congress informed of international developments.
- Is the commander in chief of the armed forces.
- Is the head of the party that nominates him/her.

(b) Describe the features of the Presidency in the United States of America.
- The President serves as nominal and political head of the federal republic.
- Although the President has much power, he is closely supervised by Congress. If his conduct is poor and of a criminal nature, he can be removed from office by the Legislature through impeachment.
- The President’s authority over the Legislature is limited.
- The president is elected every four years through an indirect system.

2. (a) In what ways does the President of the United States of America serve as nominal and political head of the federal republic?
- As the chief of the Executive, he appoints his cabinet ministers and senior civil servants, but with the approval of Congress.
- He is the Commander in chief of the armed forces, whose main units are: the army, the air force and navy. These units have foreign bases in strategic parts of the world.
- Together with Congress, he guides and controls foreign relations and aid.

(b) Explain how the President of the United States of America is Elected.

The President of the USA is elected every four years through an indirect system as follows:
- The people vote for either Republican or Democrat candidates of their choice in each state.
- Those who win in the preliminaries are nominated and sponsored by their parties for the presidential elections, in which all voters participate.
- Once elected by his party, the Presidential nominee picks a vice president as his running mate.
On winning the elections, the President appoints his council of ministers and senior civil servants, who must be approved by Congress before taking office.

The President serves for four years and can be re-elected only once to prevent an individual from ruling for too long and from becoming too powerful.

3. (a) In what ways is the President’s authority over the Legislature in the USA limited?

He cannot appropriate federal revenue without approval.

He can neither dissolve Congress nor call a general election. Elections in the USA are controlled and fixed for predetermined periods. Presidential elections occur in November after every four years.

The new government takes over in January after the elections.

(b) Describe/explain the functions of the Federal government in the United States of America.

It admits new states into the union.

It gives grants to individual states.

It levies and collects taxes.

It pays government debts.

It defends the nation from external and internal enemies.

It regulates commerce with foreign nations and among the states.

It regulates the value of the US currency.

It handles affairs with foreign nations.

It resolves disputes between different states.

It enacts federal laws.

It establishes the federal courts.

THE JUDICATURE

1. (a) Identify/name the main branches/components/organs of the Judiciary in the United States of America.

In the United States of America, the judiciary comprises:

The Supreme court,

Federal Courts,

State Courts.

The Supreme Court is at the topmost while State Courts are the lowest in the Court hierarchy.

(b) Explain how the Judicature operates in the United States of America. (Describe the organization of the Judicature in the United States of America).

The U.S judicature operates (is organized) as follows:

Judges of the Supreme Court are nine, including the Chief Justice.

All judges are appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate.

Judges make independent decisions by trying to interpret the constitution fairly.

Where agreement in a case is not reached by interpretation, judges cast votes to conclude the case through majority consensus.

The supreme court only deals with matters involving interpretation (the meaning) of the Constitution.

2. (a) Explain the differences between state courts and federal courts in the United States of America.

State courts concern themselves with cases which involve the adjudication of rights claimed under state laws.

Judges of state courts are usually elected by citizens for short terms.

The federal judiciary consists of the supreme court, circuit courts, Courts of Appeal, District courts, Court of claims, and the Court of customs.

The supreme Court has original jurisdiction in all cases affecting Ambassadors and public officials.

Federal judges are appointed by the President, but with the consent of the Senate.

(b) Explain how federal government operates in the United States of America. (Describe federal government in the United States of America).

All states are legally considered equal. Each state functions as a republic.
States exist almost as independent republics with their own laws, which, however, do not conflict with federal laws.
States raise revenue, usually from local income, property sales and excise taxes.
Most of the expenditure goes to education, highways, public welfare and health.
Relations with foreign countries are never the concern of individual states.
Each state is similar in structure to the federal government.

3. (a) In what ways is the structure of government of individual states of the USA similar to the federal government?

In the United States of America, each state is similar in structure to the federal government in various ways as follows:
- Every state has its written Constitution for internal affairs.
- There is a legislative system that comprises the senate and the house of Representatives.
- The number of senators and representatives varies. Senators serve for four years while representatives serve for two years after election.
- Senators and representatives are elected by popular vote.
- The Executive in each state is headed by an elected Governor, who serves for four years, but just like the President, can be re-elected only once.
- The Judiciary in each state comprises courts of several grades, whose members are usually elected.

(b) Explain the relationship between states and the federal government in the United States of America.
The government of the United States of America operates on division of power between the central and the state governments in the following ways:
- State legislatures are empowered to pass laws on purely state matters. Such laws are only applicable in the individual states.
- States are empowered to run their own affairs in areas of provision of social services like health, education and public welfare.
- States are responsible for maintaining law and order in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

© Identify matters/affairs that are handled by the federal government but which are not the concern of individual states in the United States of America. (What matters are not dealt with by individual states in the United States of America? Or:
What matters are handled only by the Federal government in the United States of America?)
- Foreign affairs,
- Trade,
- Defense,
- Taxation,
- Issuing of currency,
- Mediation in disputes between states and the citizens of different states,
- Interstate disputes.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN
The British system of government is a constitutional monarchy, where by, although the Monarchy is hereditary, the government must adhere to the rules of the constitution. The Monarch (King or Queen) is the ceremonial head of state, but political power is exercised by the Prime Minister. The monarch is the head of state, but the Prime Minister is the head of government.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS
1. (a) Describe the electoral process in Britain.
- The electoral process is based on universal adult suffrage, where all citizens aged 18 years and above are eligible to vote.
- British elections are by Plurality, meaning that the person attracting the highest number of votes becomes the winner. Although this method is simple and clear, its main disadvantage is that the
person emerging as the winner could have less number of votes as compared to the total number of votes of the other contestants.

- There are two main political parties that take part in elections in Britain, i.e. the Conservative Party and the Labour Party.
- Elections are characterized by competition between the two major political parties. The party that wins most constituent seats names the Prime Minister.

(b) Describe voter registration in Britain.

- Registration of voters is done by the local authorities, which update the electoral registers all the time (by keeping an annual register of the voters).
- An annual register of those eligible to vote in each constituency is issued every February.
- Since 1948, a postal vote is possible for citizens who are away from their constituencies during the voting period, either on business or for other reasons.
- The constituency boundaries are based on the population and geographical size. At the moment, Britain has 650 constituencies in total.
- There are no nominating conventions or Primaries in British politics. This is mainly due to the unpredictable timing of the elections. However, a candidate is nominated by ten registered voters of an area.
- Until 1970, no party affiliation conditionality was required, but most of the candidates have always been affiliated to a political party.
- In Britain, it is the house of Commons that is subjected to the electoral process. This stems from the Reform Act of 1894.

2. (a) In what ways is the Reform act of 1894 important?

- It embodies recognition that sovereignty comes from people as represented in parliament, with a modernized constitutional monarchy, respondent to the needs and wishes of the people.
- The act served as a Back-up to the Act of Settlement (adopted in 1701).

(b) What was the outcome (what were the results) of the adoption of the Act of Settlement in Britain in 1701? (What were the terms of the Act of Settlement in Britain (1701)?)

- There emerged a recognized monarch, from whom all lawful authority was derived.
- Respect for custom was increasingly embodied in law.
- The authority of the king and the rest was to be exercised according to the law.
- Parliamentary sovereignty was recognized as a cornerstone of constitutional monarchy.

3. (a) Describe two types of election in Britain.

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

- General Elections, which must be held at least once every five years. The Prime Minister determines when the elections are to take place.
- By-elections, which take place in an individual constituency in the event of death or resignation of a member of parliament.

(b) Identify four categories of citizens that are not eligible to contest a constituency seat in Britain.

There are four categories of citizens that are not eligible to contest a constituency seat in Britain. These are:

- Clergymen of the churches of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Roman Catholic church.
- Holders of certain offices, E.G Judges, Civil Servants, Soldiers, Police officers and various public officials.
- Aliens (those that are not British citizens).
- Members of the House of Lords.

(c) Name three main organs of government in Britain.

The British government mainly comprises three organs/branches. These are:

- The Legislature,
- The Executive
- The Judiciary.
The British system of government clearly separates the powers and duties of the three organs of government. The principle of separation of the three organs of government is crucial for the protection of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, which is the hallmark of parliamentary systems of government. Of the three organs, parliament is the most supreme as it makes the laws of the land.

**THE LEGISLATURE**

1. (a) Who constitutes the British parliament? (Identify the bodies/organs that the British parliament is made up of).

   The British parliament (Legislature) mainly consists of:
   - The Monarchy,
   - The House of Lords,
   - The House of Commons.

(b) Explain how the Organs that make up the British Parliament operate/work.

**THE MONARCHY**

In Britain:
- The monarchy is represented by the King or Queen.
- After each general election, the King or Queen invites the leader of the party with majority support in the house of Commons as the Prime Minister to form a government answerable to parliament.
- At the beginning of each parliamentary session, the King or Queen addresses both houses together in the house of Lords. The speech is written by the Ministers and it outlines the government’s proposed legislation of the coming session. The reading of the speech opens parliament officially.
- The King or Queen is the legal head of state. He/she is the symbol of national unity, a focus of loyalty and an embodiment of acceptable social standards. However, the monarchy is above party politics.
- The government functions in the name of the Monarchy.

**THE HOUSE OF LORDS**

- It is made up of people nominated by the King or Queen.
- It also consists of people in office by virtue of holding some hereditary peerage or those who hold some senior posts in the Church of England such as the Archbishop of Canterbury.

**THE HOUSE OF COMMONS**

- It is the major legislative arm of the government.
- It controls the revenue and expenditure and directs government policy.
- Members of the House of Commons are elected by the people.

2. (a) Explain the functions of:
   i) The House of Commons,
   ii) The House of Lords.

**Functions of the House of Commons**

It makes the laws together with the House Of Lords.
- It controls the Executive. For instance, it can pass a vote of no confidence if it is not happy about the way the Executive conducts public affairs.
- It controls finance. It is the guardian of national wealth.
- It calls attention to abuses in society and demands the settlement of public grievances.
- It serves as a training ground for future leaders.

**FUNCTIONS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS**

It initiates legislation, usually routine or noncontroversial bills.
- It examines bills as they pass through parliament.
- It at times helps the House of Commons in checking the powers of the Executive.
- It acts as a court of Appeal for criminal cases.
- It facilitates the house of Commons in the process of lawmaking.
- It holds bills from the House of Commons to seek public approval.
- It questions ministers about the activities of the government.
Parliamentary Supremacy in Britain

Before the close of the 17th century, the Monarchy, the Rule of Law and the claims of the representative assembly had been reconciled, giving Parliament supremacy.

3. (a) Explain the effects of the supremacy of parliament in Britain.
   - Flexibility of the Constitution since it is altered by an act of parliament.
   - The Majesty’s government is carried on through ministers acceptable and responsible to parliament according to the rule of law. This means that nobody can be deprived of liberty or penalized in any way except for breach of the law and in accordance with the legal process.
   - Everyone under the monarch is equally subject to the law, meaning that the king or queen cannot do anything without referring to the law.
   - Judges could and still can be removed from office for serious misbehaviour and in accordance with the procedure requiring the consent of both houses of parliament (The House of Commons and the House of Lords).
   - If all other institutions fail, the will of the House of Commons prevails.

By early 20th century, the British parliament comprised the monarchy, the House of Commons, the House of Lords and the government.

(b) Identify the factors that limit parliamentary supremacy in Britain.
   - Members of the House of Commons have to consider the moral values of the British society.
   - Public opinion, to which parliamentarians are sensitive, especially because an unpopular government may not be re-elected.
   - Local authorities are empowered to make by-laws even without consulting parliament.
   - The interests of the institution under the spotlight are always taken into account before legislation is done in parliament. Such institutions include the Church, Universities, farmers and trade-unions.
   - Legislation passed by one parliament can be changed by a future one.
   - International law is also taken into account when laws are made.

In spite of these limitations, the legislature remains the supreme organ in Britain.

4. Explain why parliament remains the supreme organ in Britain. (Why is parliament still the supreme organ in spite of its limitations in Britain?)
   - It is the only institution empowered to make, amend and abolish laws.
   - All other institutions in Britain derive their powers from Parliament.
   - It is the only institution that approves government budget.
   - Its decisions are binding to all.
   - The legislature (Parliament) can remove an unpopular government from office.

THE EXECUTIVE

1. (a) Identify the components of the Executive in Britain. (Identify the institutions that make up the Executive in Britain.)
   - The Monarch (King or queen),
   - The Prime Minister,
   - The Cabinet,
   - The civil service.

(b) Explain the functions of the Monarch in the British government. (What are the duties/responsibilities of the king/queen in the British government?)

In the British government, the King or Queen:
   - Is the head of state.
   - Sermons, prorogues and dissolves parliament.
   - Approves bills before they become laws.
   - Confers honours to citizens who have excelled.
   - Invites the leader of the ruling party to form government.
   - Heads the Commonwealth of Nations.
Opens and closes parliament.
Creates Peers.
Heads the Anglican Church and appoints the Archbishop.
Is Commander In Chief of the Armed Forces.
Handles foreign policy, including the enactment of treaties.
Pardons offenders.
Appoints judges.

2. (a) Explain how the Prime Minister carries out his/her duties in the British government.

The Prime Minister:
- Is the chief government official.
- Appoints Ministers to work closely with him/her. Ministers are in turn assisted by junior ministers.
Then there are Government departments such as the Department of Employment and the Department of Defense, both of which are run by senior civil servants headed by a Permanent Secretary. Such departments carry out the work of the government.
- Appoints his cabinet, which help him in government by carrying out various government responsibilities.

(b) Explain the functions of the Prime Minister in Britain.
- Appoints and dismisses cabinet ministers.
- Chairs cabinet meetings.
- Is the leader of the House of Commons.
- Is the chief executive in the British government.
- Initiates both domestic and foreign policies.
- Represents Britain in international forums.
- Recommends the appointment of senior civil servants such as the Chief Justice, High Commissioners etc.

3. (a) What are the functions of the cabinet in Britain?
- Initiation, control and implementation of political policies.
- Serves as the most important decision making body.
- Initiation of most legislations.
- Control of the legislative process.
- Coordination of government activities.

(b) Identify the conventions that guide the operation of the cabinet in Britain.
- A government that is defeated on a major issue or on a vote of no confidence is expected to resign.
- The cabinet is usually drawn from the House of Lords and the House Of Commons.
- Except during a crisis, the cabinet comes from the ruling party.
- Advice given by the cabinet must be accepted by the King or Queen.
- All members of the Cabinet take the oath of the Privy Councilors and are bound to secrecy by this and the Official Secrets Act.
- Members of the Cabinet are collectively responsible for all decisions and actions and are individually responsible for the departments they head.

4. (a) Explain the provisions of the 1854 Northcote-Trevelyan report on the civil service in Britain.
- The civil service became a single organization rather than separate department staff.
- Entry into the civil service was based on merit.
- A civil servant could be transferred from one department to another.
- All civil service examinations are conducted by the Civil Service Commission.

By 2003, people working in the British civil service got engaged in a variety of activities, ranging from coal mining and teaching, to scientific research and diplomacy. While some of the civil servants are employed by local authorities, others are employed by various government departments and boards.

(b) State the principles that characterize/govern the civil service in Britain.

The civil service in Britain is characterized by four main traditional rules. These are:
The tradition/practice of Anonymity, Whereby the minister alone is responsible for the work of his/her department. The Minister therefore gets credit for all that goes well and censure (he/she is blamed) for all that is criticized. The civil servants are therefore taken as carrying out the instructions of the minister.

The Principle of Impartiality, whereby civil servants are required to serve whichever minister is in office. This explains why senior civil servants are not allowed to take part in national politics, with the exception of voting.

Ministers make policies and the civil service executes them.

The Tradition of Assumption, whereby it is not the task of the civil servants to initiate change or take responsibility for future policies. They do not plan future lines of social and economic development.

The British civil service is organized according to departments.

© Explain the role of the civil service in Britain.

The role of the civil service in Britain includes:

- Advising ministers on formulating policy and decision making.
- Implementing government policy.
- Providing continuity in the government.

THE JUDICIARY

1. (a) Explain the main importance of independence of the Judiciary in Britain.

In Britain, the Judiciary operates as an independent branch of the government. Therefore, judges are not political appointees. This independence is important, as it helps the Judiciary to check the other branches of government (the Executive and the Legislature).

(b) Explain the main function of judges in Britain.

The main function of British judges is to apply the law before their courts. They do not decide on the desirability or correctness of the law itself, meaning that it is not the task or responsibility of judges to argue or decide as to whether a particular law is acceptable or not.

British judges have long had the reputation of being impartial. This results partly from the Common Law tradition and judgment based on precedents.

2. Explain how independence of the Judiciary is protected in Britain. (In what ways is independence of the Judiciary ensured in Britain?)

Various mechanisms have been established to ensure the independence of the judiciary in Britain as follows:

- The constitution recognizes the Judiciary as a separate organ from the other organs of government.
- The tenure of office of judges is longer than that of other public servants. In Britain, judges retire at 75 years of age.
- A judge’s tenure can only be terminated when the judge is unable to perform duties.
- Since 1701, judges have been appointed on good behaviour until retirement.
- A judge can only be dismissed by a resolution from both houses of the British parliament.
- Judges and magistrates are not answerable to the Executive.
- The Judiciary has a separate system of command under the Chief justice.
- The salaries of judges are not open to discussion by parliament.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS AND FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNMENT IN INDIA
India attained political independence from Britain in 1947. Her constitution was promulgated in 1949 and was formally effected in 1950.

1. Give examples of Indian political institutions that are inspired to some extent by the British parliament system.
   - The Indian President,
   - House Of The People,
   - Council Of States,
   - Council Of Ministers,
   - The Cabinet,
   - The Prime Minister.

2. In what two ways is the Indian political system mainly different from the British model?
   Two major differences of the Indian system from the British model are:
   - The provision for a federal system of government, which divides power between the central government and the states.
   - The Presidency. India is neither a republic nor monarchy.

**The electoral process in India**

1. (a) Explain how democratic institutions that are enhanced by the electoral system were established in India.
   - To facilitate the illiterate people to pick their candidates, the ballot contains the names and party-symbols of the candidates in each constituency. Voters mark the symbols and drop the ballots in the ballot-box.
   - The Indian political structures are heavily borrowed from the British system. For instance, the house Of The People in India is the equivalent of the House Of commons in Britain.
   - India is divided into Single-Member districts, some of which are traditionally reserved for members of the Minority groups, E.G people of the lower castes.
   - The candidate who wins the largest number of votes takes the seat.
   - Candidates are required to file nomination papers and must pay a deposit, which is refunded if a candidate garners over a sixth of the votes. The Indian Electoral Commission scrutinizes Campaign finances to curb or prevent corrupt practices in the electioneering period, such as buying of votes by unscrupulous politicians.

   (b) Explain the functions of the Electoral Commission of India (ECI).
   - Preparation of the electoral register.
   - Setting polling dates.
   - Establishment and making of polling stations.
   - Allocation of party symbols.
   - Publishing election reports according to the electoral laws.
   - Counting of votes.
   - Drawing constituency boundaries.

2. (a) Identify the political parties in India.
   - The congress party.
   - The Bharatiya Janata Party.
   - Communist Parties of India. These are: CPI-M and CPI-ML.
   - Dravivita Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK).
Participation in elections in India is usually high in spite of the high population of economically underprivileged and illiterate people.

3. Name three main organs of government in India.

India’s government is a Representative Democracy comprising three main organs. These are:

- The Legislature,
- The Executive,
- The Judiciary.

It is also made up of several federal states.

**The Legislature**

1. Describe the formation/structure of parliament in India.
2. State the powers of Parliament in India.
3. Describe the two chambers that India’s parliament is made up of.
   i) The Indian parliament is the supreme lawmaking body. Its powers include:
      (a) Initiating amendments to the constitution.
      (b) Scrutinizing the technical aspects of a legislation before it becomes law.
   ii) The Indian parliament is made up of two chambers or houses. These are:
      (a) The Lower chamber, also referred to as the House of the People (Lok Sabha). It has 545 members.
      (b) The Upper House (Rajya Sabha), also known as The Council Of State. It has 250 members.
      iii) The president nominates twelve members to the Upper House to represent special interests, such as the Arts and other professions. The other members are elected by the state legislatures.
      iv) Members of the Upper House (Rajya Sabha) are elected to serve a term of six years, but one third of them stand for elections every two years. Any bill, with the exception of a money-bill, can be introduced in either house. All bills must pass through both houses. In the case of a conflict, a joint meeting is organized in order to resolve it. Therefore, the upper house serves as a link between state-governments and the national government.
      v) Lower House members are elected on the basis of a single-member (to represent) constituencies for a term of five years. The house meets twice every year.
      vi) The Speaker comes from the Lower house and is elected from among the members, as is in the House Of Commons in Britain. The Speaker is required to be impartial (not to take sides) in the exercise of his/her duties.
      vii) The house Of The People (the most powerful of the two houses) has several standing committees, E.G the Rules Committee. These committees supervise a whole-range of government operations, including the Budget, performance of ministries, ETC. English and Hindi are the official languages of this house.
      viii) All bills must be debated by both the Lower House and the Upper House.
THE EXECUTIVE

According to the Indian constitution, the Head of State is the President, who is elected for a five-year term by an electoral college consisting of members of parliament and the Legislative Assembly.

The vice President is elected for a five-year term by both houses of parliament in a joint session. As is in the USA, The Indian Vice President presides over the upper house of parliament and is empowered by the constitution to take over the Presidency whenever it falls vacant apart from during election.

1. (a) What conditions must one fulfill in order to be elected President of India?
   - Be a citizen of India by birth.
   - Be elected as a member of the house of the people (the Lok Sabha).
   - Be the winner of most votes in a presidential election.
   - Must have attained the age of 35 years and above.
   - Must have lived in India for at least 14 years.
   - Should not be holding any office of profit under the government of India.

   (b) Outline the powers of India's President.

   The Indian constitution vests overwhelming powers in the President. In this respect, the President has powers to:
   - Dissolve parliament.
   - Declare a state of emergency and rule the country by decree.
   - Assent or veto a bill. However, the veto may be overcome if both houses repass the bill.
   - Serve as commander in chief of the Armed Forces.
   - Appoint state governors and supreme court judges.
   - Appoint the Prime Minister. However, the constitution demands that the President acts only on the advice of parliament.
   - Serve as the major symbol of national unity.

2. (a) Apart from elections, identify other circumstances in which the office of the president of India could fall vacant.
   - In the event of death of the sitting president,
   - Incapacitation of the sitting President,
   - Removal of the sitting President from office,
   - Resignation of the sitting President.

   In such an event, Presidential elections must take place in six months’ time.

   (b) Explain how the cabinet is formed/constituted in India.

   The Prime Minister is appointed by the President, but must be the winner of elections in the Lower House. In spite of the President’s power to appoint, the President has no choice as the leader of the Majority party in the Lower House must be appointed. If this is not done, the government would not secure the confidence of the strongest party.

   The Prime Minister picks (appoints) Ministers. These must however be officially appointed by the President. Ministers in India must be members of parliament. However, nonmembers of parliament may be appointed if within six months they become members of parliament through a by-election.

   The Ministers constitute the council Of Ministers and are collectively responsible to parliament for all government decisions. However, by tradition, only the most
important ministers (between twelve to eighteen) are invited by the Prime minister to join the Cabinet. This is mainly because the council of ministers is too large, since it is made up of both ministers and their deputies.

The cabinet meets regularly, usually once a week. Other ministers and experts can attend these meetings, but only on invitation. Normally, the Prime Minister picks an Inner cabinet to help him/her in decision making on important policies.

3. (a) Explain the functions of the cabinet in India.

- Approval of all proposals for legislative enactment.
- Giving recommendations on all major appointments.
- Settlement of interdepartmental disputes.
- Co-ordination of government activities.
- Overseeing the implementation of government policies.
- Formulation and coordination of all government policies.

3. (b) Explain the role played by the special agency of the Civil service that is assigned to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet in India.

A special agency of the Civil service is assigned to the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, just like in Britain. The agency provides specialized secretarial and administrative services. These include:

- Preparing agenda.
- Keeping records;
- Recovering decisions, which involves going into the records to establish earlier decisions made by the government regarding a particular policy.
- Making follow-up on implementation.
- Coordinating the various special committees of the cabinet.

After independence, the Indian government replaced the colonial civil service. The Indian civil service was named the Indian Administrative services (AS). The Indian Administrative services is made up of people of proven talent and intelligence, who are then provided with special training so as to act as the core of the huge civil service.

4. (a) Analyse the structure of state government in India.

- Executive power is vested in the governor, who is appointed by the President.
- The Governor appoints the Chief Minister, who, on his advice, appoints other ministers.
- The Governor nominates one sixth of the legislative Council.
- All decisions of the Council of Ministers in a state must be communicated to the governor.
- The governor has the power to dissolve the legislative assembly.
- The Governor’s assent is necessary for a bill to become law.

4. (b) Describe/discuss the organization of the Judiciary in India. (Explain how the Judiciary in India operates/works).

The constitution of India creates and provides for organization of the Judiciary as follows:

- The most senior is the Supreme Court, made up of 17 judges and the Chief Justice.
- Judges are appointed by the President but in consultation with the sitting members of the Supreme court.
- A judge holds office until 65 years of age.
There exist lower courts.
State-courts serve in various Indian states.
Privileges and allowances of a judge cannot be changed to his/her advantage after appointment.
The Supreme Court has both Original and Appellate jurisdiction in any case.
The Supreme court has exclusive original jurisdiction in any dispute between Central Indian government and one or more states.
The supreme court has Original jurisdiction on matters pertaining to enforcement of fundamental rights.
The Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases that involve a substantial question of law or value.
The Supreme Court has some advisory functions as provided for in the Constitution.

CONCLUSION
The Indian system of government is a representative Democracy. The citizens elect officials, whose work is to govern the affairs of the country on their behalf.

Unlike cases in the USA and Britain, which have only two major political parties, India has numerous political parties. The winning party produces the Prime Minister of the country, who is appointed by the President.