

**GRADE 12**

**HISTORY**

**UNIT MODULE 1**

**DECOLONISATION AND INDEPENDENCE**

**SUBUNIT 1: EFFECTS OF WORLD WAR 2**

**SUBUNIT 2: PATHWAY TO INDEPENDENCE**

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

We acknowledge the contributions of all Secondary Teachers who in one way or another have helped to develop this Course.

Our profound gratitude goes to the former Principal of FODE, Mr. Demas Tongogo for leading FODE team towards this great achievement. Special thanks to the Staff of the English Department of FODE who played an active role in coordinating writing workshops, outsourcing lesson writing and editing processes, involving selected teachers of Central Province and NCD.

We also acknowledge the professional guidance provided by Curriculum and Development Assessment Division throughout the processes of writing, and the services given by member of the English Review and Academic Committees.

The development of this book was Co-funded by GoPNG and World Bank.

**DIANA TEIT AKIS**

PRINCIPAL



**Flexible Open and Distance Education  
Papua New Guinea**

Published in 2017

@ Copyright 2017, Department of Education, Papua New Guinea

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or any other form of reproduction by any process is allowed without the prior permission of the publisher.

ISBN 978-9980-89-738-1

National Library Services of Papua New Guinea

Printed by the Flexible, Open and Distance Education

## Table of Contents

	<b>Page</b>
<b>Contents</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>Secretary’s Message</b> .....	<b>4</b>
<b>Unit Introduction</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>Study Guide</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Unit 12.1: Decolonisation and Independence</b> .....	<b>7</b>
<b>Subunit 1: 12.1.1 Effects of World War 2</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.1.1 Background events of WWII and its effects.....	9
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.1.2 Downfall of imperial powers after WWII.....	16
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.1.3 Role of USA and UN in the process of decolonisation.....	24
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.1.4 Decolonisation and Nationhood.....	34
<b>Answers to Activities 12.1.1</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<b>Subunit 2: 12.1.2 Pathway to Independence</b> .....	<b>56</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.1 Resistance, negotiations and external pressures.....	56
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.2 Territories still striving for Independence, New Caledonia and West Papua	66
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.3 Case Studies: France in Indo China, East Timor, Morocco, Angola.....	75
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.4 British India and Ghana.....	87
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.5 USA support for Independence for Indonesia and Philippines.....	96
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.6 Australian handover of New Guinea.....	100
<input type="checkbox"/> 12.1.2.7 Condomonium administration of New Hebrides.....	108
<b>Answers to Activities 12.1.2</b> .....	<b>113</b>
<b>Glossary</b> .....	<b>119</b>
<b>References</b> .....	<b>121</b>

## SECRETARY'S MESSAGE

Achieving a better future by individual students and their families, communities or the nation as a whole, depends on the kind of curriculum and the way it is delivered.

This course is a part of the new Flexible, Open and Distance Education curriculum. The learning outcomes are student-centred and allows for them to be demonstrated and assessed.

It maintains the rationale, goals, aims and principles of the national curriculum and identifies the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values that students should achieve.

This is a provision by Flexible, Open and Distance Education as an alternative pathway of formal education.

The course promotes Papua New Guinea values and beliefs which are found in our Constitution, Government Policies and Reports. It is developed in line with the National Education Plan (2005 -2014) and addresses an increase in the number of school leavers affected by the lack of access into secondary and higher educational institutions.

Flexible, Open and Distance Education curriculum is guided by the Department of Education's Mission which is fivefold:

- To facilitate and promote the integral development of every individual
- To develop and encourage an education system satisfies the requirements of Papua New Guinea and its people
- To establish, preserve and improve standards of education throughout Papua New Guinea
- To make the benefits of such education available as widely as possible to all of the people
- To make the education accessible to the poor and physically, mentally and socially handicapped as well as to those who are educationally disadvantaged.

The college is enhanced to provide alternative and comparable pathways for students and adults to complete their education through a one system, many pathways and same outcomes.

It is our vision that Papua New Guineans' harness all appropriate and affordable technologies to pursue this program.

I commend all those teachers, curriculum writers, university lecturers and many others who have contributed in developing this course.



**UKE KOMBRA, PhD**

Secretary for Education

## COURSE INTRODUCTION

---

Dear Student,

Welcome to the Grade 12 History Course Module. This Unit consists of three unit modules.

**UNIT MODULE 1: DECOLONISATION AND INDEPENDENCE**

**UNIT MODULE 2: OUR CHANGING WORLD**

**UNIT MODULE 3: PAPUA NEW GUINEA AND ITS WAYS**

This module is divided into three unit modules which will include all the information you will need for this course. In addition, if you have any other History resource book it will greatly help you in understanding the course.

The course begins with decolonization in Papua New Guinea, the pre Independence and Independence periods. It discusses the different political, economic and social changes Papua New Guinea and the effects of these changes on the people.

Unit 2 discusses major ideological wars such as the Cold War between US led democratic countries and *former* USSR and communists' states and countries. It discusses many changes at the international level between countries and major organisations and the effects of these changes on societies.

In the last unit you will discuss Papua New Guinea's government and conflicts, and ways of resolving conflicts. You will also look at foreign relations, social, cultural and current events occurring in Papua New Guinea and its effects.

### Assessments

- **Practice Exercises**  
Each topic module in each Unit Module has a Practice Exercise for you to do after the Summary. Answers to the Practice Exercises are found at the end of each Topic in the unit.
- **Assignments**  
Each Unit has an Assignment booklet which you will send to FODE Provincial Center for marking. The marked Assignment will be returned to you with comments and advice from your tutor. A mark will be given. This mark is counted towards your final mark in the exam.
- **Examinations**  
The exams are the same as those given to students studying in Business/Technical Colleges and are held each year in November.

For more information refer to the **Study Guide**.

## STUDY GUIDE

---

Below are the steps to guide you in your course study.

- Step 1: Carefully read through each module. In most cases, reading through a lesson once is not enough. It helps to read something over several times until you understand it.
- Step 2: There is an instruction below each activity that tells you to check your answers. Turn to the marking guide found at the end of each module and mark your own written answers against those listed under the **Answers to Activities**. Do each activity and mark your answers before moving on to the next part of the module.
- Step 3: After reading the summary of the unit module, start doing the Practice Exercise. Refer to the module notes. You must do only one practice exercise at a time.
- Step 4: Below each Practice Exercise, there is an instruction that says:

**CHECK YOUR WORK. ANSWERS ARE AT THE END OF COURSE MODULE 1.**

Turn to the marking guide at the end of the Topic and mark your own written answers against those listed under the Answers to Practice Exercises.

- Step 5: When you have completed a practice exercise and marked your answers, go back to the module and correct any mistakes you may have made before moving on to the next module.
- Step 6: Study the entire module following Steps 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Here is a sample Study Timetable for you to use as a guide. Refer to it as a reminder of your study times.

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8:00-10:00	<b>FODE STUDY TIME</b>				
10:00-11:00					
1:00-2:00					
2:00-4:00					
6:00-7:00					
7:00-9:00	Listen to or watch current affairs programmes. Write your diary, read a book.				

A timetable will help you to remember when you should be doing your FODE studies each day.



### Time Frame

This unit should be completed within 10 weeks.

If you set an average of 3 hours per day, you should be able to complete the unit comfortably by the end of the assigned week. Try to do all the learning activities and compare your answers with the ones provided at the end of the unit. If you do not get a particular exercise right in the first attempt, you should not get discouraged but instead, go back and attempt it again. If you still do not get it right after several attempts then you should seek help from a friend or your tutor. Do not pass any question without solving it first.

## Module 1: Introduction

---

Unlike the 1914 – 1918 war, the Second World War was a war of rapid movement and was a much more complex affair, comprised of major campaigns taking place in the Pacific and the Far East, in North Africa and deep in the heart of Russia, as well as in the central and Western Europe and the Atlantic.

Despite the fact that the war initially began in Europe in 1938, it eventually had a ‘spill over’ effect to the other parts of the world. Thus, the Second World War had indeed; either directly or indirectly affected the lives of people on almost all the continents of the world.

The effects of the war itself are numerous and the degree of destruction in general was immeasurable. However, in areas or countries where the war itself was actually fought, experienced a greater level of damage, and had a higher number of casualties.

In the colonies, they were persuaded by their colonial masters to take part in the war on their side with the promise of granting independence at the end of the war. For the colonies, taking part in the war it also gave them the opportunity to prove their worth to their colonial powers.

### Learning Indicators:

Students will be achieving these outcomes when they, for example:

- Demonstrate and make brief explanation why there was decline in European powers influences in the colonies.
- Identify and discuss causes of and reasons for the decline of European powers in Africa, Asia and the Pacific.
- Explain the attempts that have been made to achieve cooperative human activity at the international level (as well as local and national)
- Outline the development and realisation of the nation-states
- Evaluate the extent to which the new nations recognised and attained their goal of independence
- Produce case studies that investigate the background, approach and progress of people and countries striving for self-determination and independence (using a range of resources including primary sources and ICT)
- Debate (or present arguments for and against) independence



### Learning Outcomes

- Identify and understand events, issues and forces that have shaped their cultural, social, political and economic heritage.
- Demonstrate an understanding of historical concepts and ideologies.
- Describe and explain the origin, development and impact of change on societies and nations.
- Interpret and critique historical evidence and information.
- Apply the historical skills of inquiry, observation, classification, recording and interpreting.

## Sub unit 12. 1.1: Effects of World War II

### Sub topic 12.1.1.1: Background events of WWII and its Effects

Welcome to Lesson 1 of sub topic 1. This is the first lesson of the Grade 12 Unit 1 Course on Decolonisation and Independence. You will start by looking at the Background events of World War II and its Effects on a global scale.

By the end of this sub unit students can:

- define liberalism, nationalism, self-determination, capitalism, communism, neo-colonialism and holocaust.
- discuss and identify the reasons for the decline of European powers in Africa, Asia and the Pacific
- discuss and explain the effects of the war which led to eventual decolonisation and independence.

---

### What were the effects of the war?

#### *(a) Enormous destructions*

There were enormous destruction of lives, homes, industries and communications in Europe and Asia (Illus. 12.1.1a-c).



Illustration 12.1.1a Nagasaki, a month after the atomic bomb was dropped.



*Almost 40 million people were killed: well over half of them were Russians; six million were poles, four million Germans, two million Chinese and two million Japanese. Britain and the USA got off comparatively lightly (see Illustration 12.1.1b).*

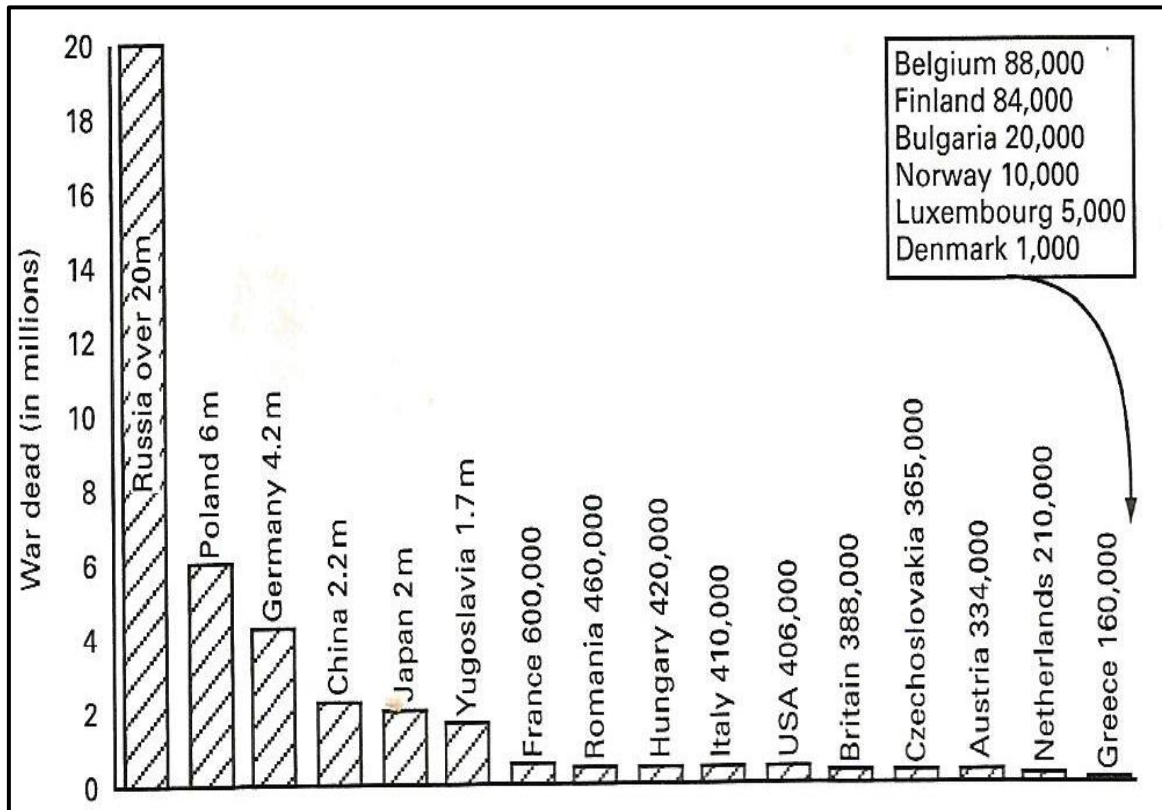


Illustration 12.1.1b: War dead

*Another 21 million people were uprooted from their homes: some had been taken to Germany to work as slave labourers, some had been put into concentration camps, and some had been forced to flee invading armies. The victorious powers were left with the problem of how to repatriate them (arrange for them to return home).*

Large parts of Germany, especially her industrial areas and many major cities, lay in ruins. Much of Western Russia had been completely devastated, and some 25 million people were homeless. France had suffered badly too: taking into account the destruction of housing, factories, railways, mines and livestock, almost 50 per cent of French wealth had been lost. In Italy where damage was very serious in the south, the figure was 30 per cent. Japan suffered heavy damage



Illustration 12.1.1.1c: Bombed out, refugees leave the ruined city of Aachen in Western Germany in October 1944.

and a high death toll from bombings. Though the cost was high, it did mean that the world had been rid of Nazism which had been responsible for terrible atrocities. The most notorious was the Holocaust. (Illus. 12.1.1.1c)



Illustration 12.1.1.1d: Bodies at the Belsen concentration camp

*(b) There was no all-inclusive peace settlement*

This was not like the end of the First World War when an all-inclusive settlement was negotiated at Versailles. This was mainly because the distrust which had re-emerged between the USSR and the west in the final months of the war made agreement on many points impossible.

*Nevertheless, a number of separate treaties were signed:*

- *Italy* lost all her African colonies and gave up her claims to Albania and Abyssinia (Ethiopia);
- *The USSR* took the eastern section of Czechoslovakia, some area in Finland, and held on to Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia which they had occupied in 1939
- *Romania* recovered northern Transylvania, which had been occupied by the Hungarians during the war
- *Trieste*, was claimed by both Italy and Yugoslavia, was declared a free territory protected by the United Nations Organization
- In 1951, at San Francisco, *Japan* agreed to surrender all territory acquired during the previous ninety years, which included a complete withdraw from China.

However, *the Russians refused to agree to any settlement over Germany and Austria*, except that they should be occupied by Allied troops and that East Prussia should be divided between Russia and Poland.

*(c) The war stimulated important social changes*

Apart from the population movements during the war, once hostilities were over, many millions of people were forced to move from their homes. The worst cases were probably in the areas taken from Germany by Russia and Poland, and in the German speaking areas in Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia. About 10 million Germans were forced to leave and make their way to West Germany so that no future German government would be able to claim those territories.

*(d) The war caused the production of nuclear weapons*

The first ever use of these weapons, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, demonstrated their horrifying powers of destruction. The world was left under the threat of a nuclear war which might well have destroyed the entire planet. Some people argued that this acted as a deterrent, making both sides in the Cold War so frightened, of the consequences that they were deterred or discouraged from fighting each other.

*(e) Europe's domination of the rest of the world ended*

The four western European states, which had played a leading role in world affairs for most of the first half of the twentieth century, were now much weaker than before. Germany was devastated and divided, France and Italy were on the verge of bankruptcy; and although Britain seemed strong and victorious with her empire intact, the cost of the war had been ruinous. The USA had assisted to keep Britain afloat during the war by sending her supplies, but these had to be paid for later. As soon as the war was over, the new US President Truman abruptly stopped all further help, leaving Britain in a sorry state: she had overseas debts of over £3, 000 million, many of her foreign investments had been sold off, and her ability to export goods had been much reduced. She was forced to obtain another loan from the USA which was given at a high rate of interest; the country was therefore closely and uncomfortably dependent on the USA.

*(f) Emergence of the super-powers*

The USA and the USSR emerged as the two most powerful nations in the world, and they were no longer as isolated as they had been before the war. The USA had suffered relatively little from the war and had enjoyed great prosperity from supplying the other allies with war materials and food. The Americans had the world's largest navy and air-force and they controlled the atomic bomb. The USSR, though severely weakened, still had the largest army in the world. Both countries were highly suspicious of each other's intentions now that the common enemies, Germany and Japan had been defeated. *The rivalry of the two super-powers in the Cold War, was the most important feature of international relations for almost half a century after 1945*, and was a constant threat to world peace.

*(g) Decolonisation*

The war encouraged the movement towards decolonisation. The defeats inflicted on Britain, Holland and France by Japan and the Japanese occupation of their territories – Malaya, Singapore and Burma (British), French (Indo-China) and the Dutch (East-Indies) – destroyed the tradition of

European superiority and strength. It could hardly be expected that, having fought to get rid of the Japanese, the Asian peoples would be willing to return to European rule. Gradually they achieved full independence, though not without a struggle in many cases. This in turn, intensified demands for independence among the peoples of Africa and the Middle East, and in the 1960s the result was a large array of new states.



Map Illustration 12.1.1e: Japanese Expansion 1931-1942

*(h) Formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO)*

This emerged as the successor to the League of Nations. Its main aim was to try to maintain world peace, and on the whole, it had been more successful than its predecessor (i.e. The League of Nations).

Now read the summary.

**Topic Summary**

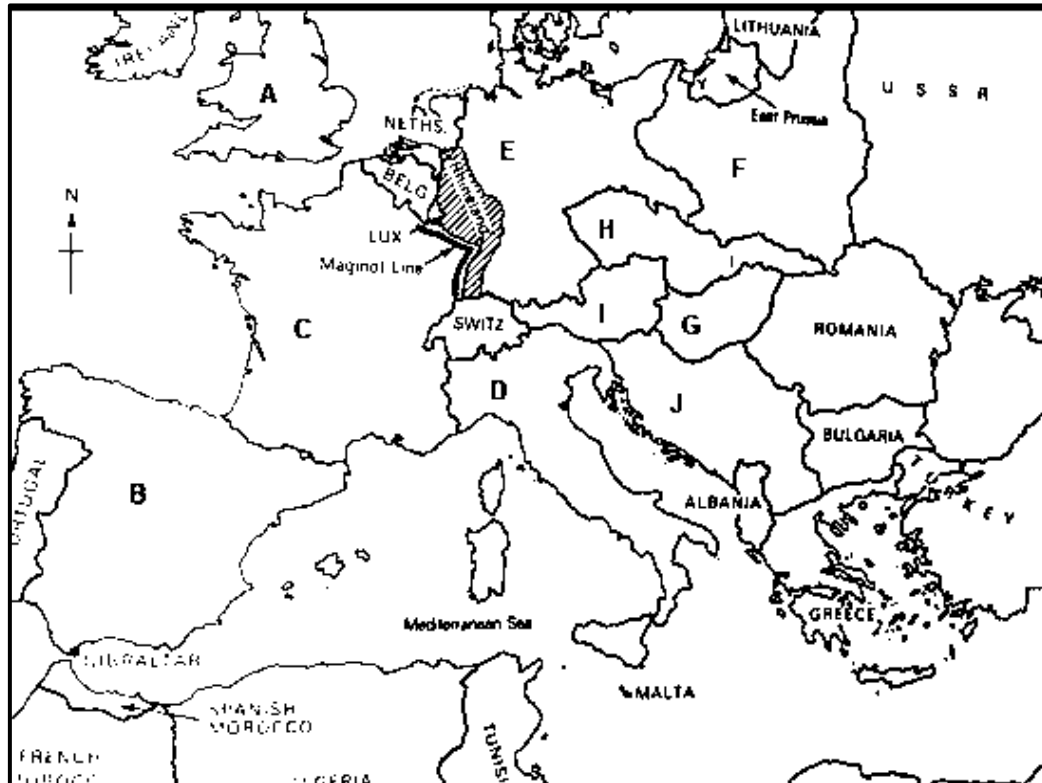
- The Second World War was a war of rapid movement and was a much more complex affair that occurred between 1938 and 1945.
- WWII affected more places in the world compared to WWI, as a direct consequence resulting in massive and immeasurable destruction to both lives and properties.
- At the end of the war, the leading European nations (i.e. Britain, France, Germany and Italy) were no longer dominant.
- The war also displaced millions of people from their homes, resulting in millions of refugees in search of a place to resettle and rebuild their lives.
- The effects of the Second World War can be categorised under the following:
  - (a) Enormous destructions
  - (b) There was no all-inclusive peace settlement
  - (c) The war stimulated important social changes
  - (d) The war caused the production of nuclear weapons
  - (e) Europe's domination of the rest of the world ended
  - (f) Emergence of the super-powers
  - (g) Decolonisation
  - (h) Formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO)

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.1.1

1. Refer to the Map of Europe in 1935 below and correctly write the names of the countries labeled A-J.



- |          |          |
|----------|----------|
| A) _____ | F) _____ |
| B) _____ | G) _____ |
| C) _____ | H) _____ |
| D) _____ | I) _____ |
| E) _____ | J) _____ |

2. What were the eight main reasons why European power's dominance declined at the end of WW II?

- (a) \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) \_\_\_\_\_

- (e) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (f) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (g) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (h) \_\_\_\_\_

3. According to the graph on p.13 (Fig. 1.1). What was the exact number of casualties for?

- a) Yugoslavia \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) Italy \_\_\_\_\_  
 (c) Hungary \_\_\_\_\_

4. Why was there No "*all-inclusive peace settlement*", unlike WWI? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

5. What was the prominent social change that eventuated as a result of the war?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ .

6. Who were the four leading western European states in the first half of the twentieth century? i) \_\_\_\_\_ ii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 iii) \_\_\_\_\_ iv) \_\_\_\_\_

7. Name the two rival countries during the Cold War as well as the idea each strongly supported?

Countries	Ideas each encouraged

8. What encouraged the move towards De-colonialism?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

9. Write down the main aim of the UN.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

10. What was the Holocaust?

---

---

11. What is the economic idea that encourages private ownership and encourages the profit motive?

---

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.1.**



**Sub topic 12.1.1.2: Downfall of imperial powers after WWII****The end of the European empires**

In the previous lesson, you learnt about the background of World War II and its effects on a global scale. In this topic you will learn about the reasons for the downfall of the European powers after WWII.

By the end of this topic, the students can;

- List the reasons why European powers lost their colonies after WWII.
  - Identify the internal breakdown of European powers
  - Explain why the Second World War became a stepping stone for the rise of nationalism.
  - Identify and write down the names of the countries and the years they got their Independence.
- 

**The end of the European empires**

At the end of the Second World War in 1945, the nations of Europe still claimed ownership of vast areas of the rest of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa. The European countries that were still dominant in the race of colonising these vast areas of the world were;

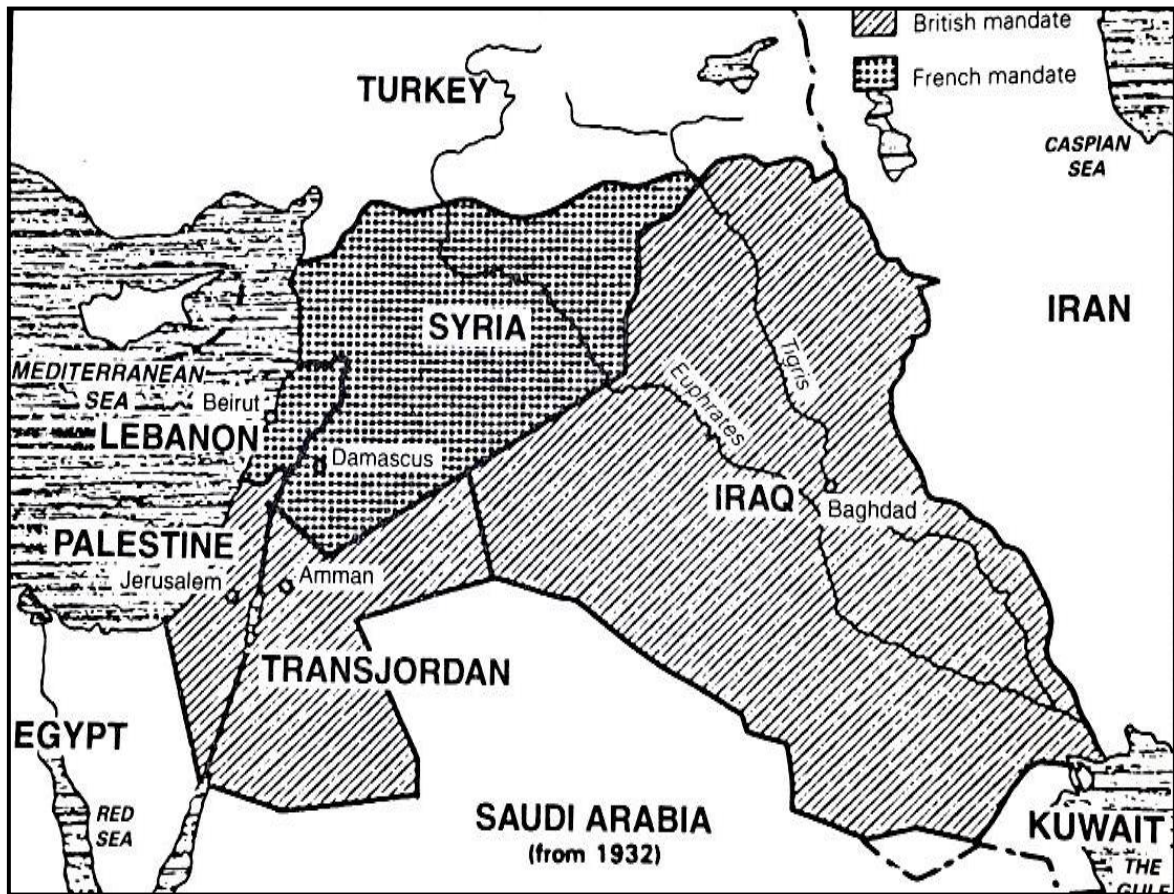
i) Britain

ii) France and

(iii) other important dominant powers.

- i)** Britain's empire was the largest in area. In Asia these consisted of India, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, enormous tracts of Africa and many assorted islands including other territories such as Cyprus, Hong Kong, the West Indies, the Falklands and Gibraltar. Eventually, Britain was prepared to grant independence when it was felt that these individual territories were ready for it. Most of these new states retained a link with Britain by becoming members of the British Commonwealth.
  - ii)** France had the second largest empire, with territories in Africa, Indo-China and the East Indies. In addition, Britain and France still held land in the Middle East taken from Turkey at the end of the First World War. Britain held Transjordan and Palestine and France kept Syria and Lebanon. These were known as 'mandated' territories, which meant that Britain and France were expected to 'look after' them and prepare them for independence. (Refer to Map 12.1.1.2a)
  - iii)** Other important empires were those of Holland (Dutch East Indies) Belgium (Congo and Ruanda Urundi), Portugal (Angola, Mozambique and Guinea), Spain (Spanish Sahara, Ifni, Spanish Morocco and Spanish Guinea) and Italy (Libya, Somalia and Eritrea).
-

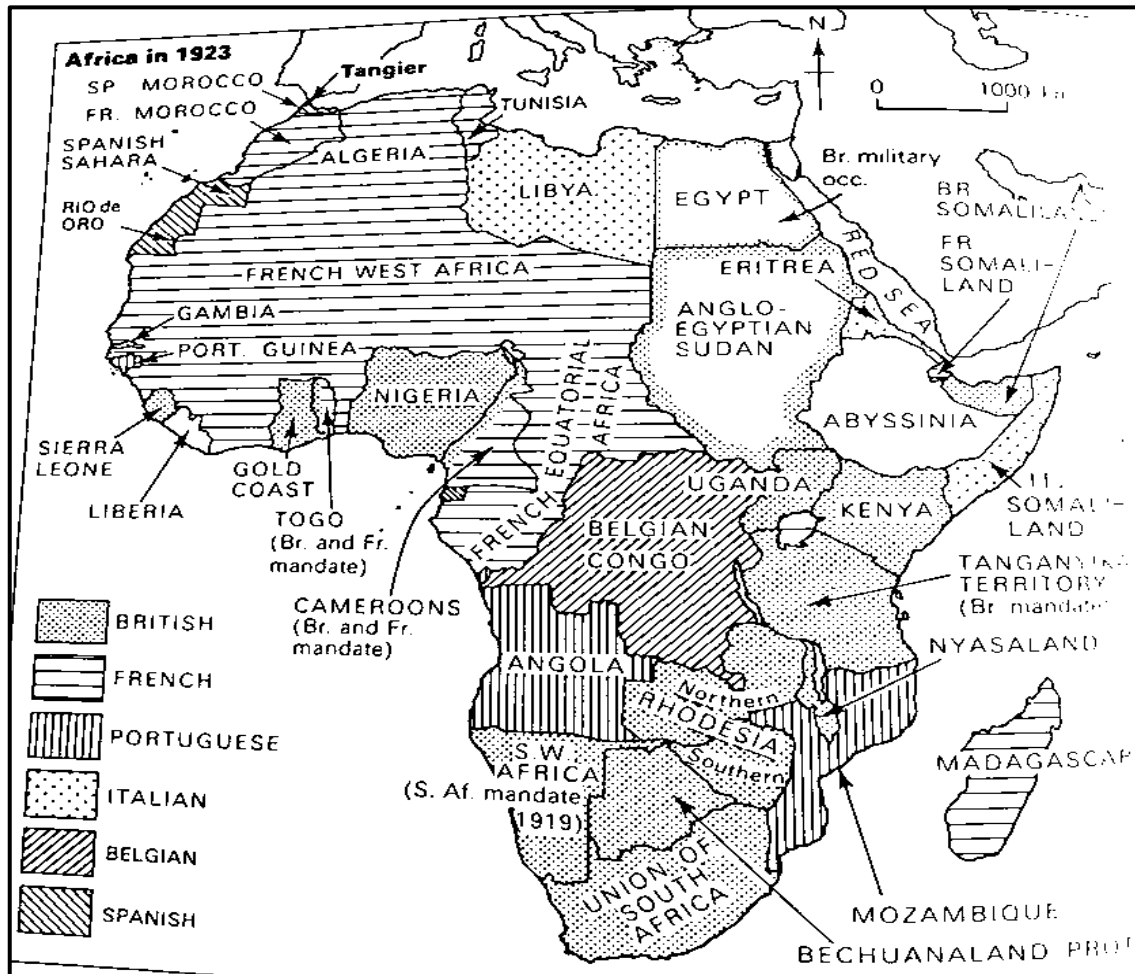
The map below shows areas that were given to France and Britain after World War I.



Map Illustration 12.1.1.2a: Areas given to Britain and France to be 'looked after' at the end of the First World War.

Over the next 30 years, remarkable changes took place; by 1975 most of these colonial territories had gained their independence. In some places, as in the Dutch and French colonies, they had to fight for it against determined European resistance. The problems involved were often complex; in India there were bitter religious differences to resolve, in other areas there were tensions amongst various ethnic groups, at times, leading to vicious clashes between these ethnic groups, resulting in genocide attempts, and refugees fleeing for their lives as in Nigeria and Rwanda. In other areas – Algeria, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Rhodesia – large numbers of whites had settled, and they were relentlessly hostile to independence which would place them under black rule.

Now, study the map of Africa on the following page.



Map Illustration 12.1.1. 2b: European colonies in Africa

### Why did the European powers give up their empires?

There are several reasons why the European powers were no longer able to hold on to their positions of dominance after the war. These reasons can be categorised under three main points.

#### (a) Nationalist Movements

These had been in existence in many of Europe's overseas colonies, especially in Asia, before the Second World War. Although European powers claimed to have brought the benefits of western civilisation to the colonies, there was a general feeling amongst colonial peoples that they were being exploited by the Europeans, who took most of the profits from their partnership. The development and prosperity of the colonies were being held back in the interest of the Europeans, whilst most of the colonial peoples continued to live in poverty. In India, the Indian National Congress Party had been agitating against British rule since 1885, and in south-east Asia, Vietnamese *nationalists* began to campaign against French rule during the 1920s. However, nationalism was not so strong in other areas.

### (b) The effects of the Second World War

The Second World War gave a great stimulus to nationalist movements in a number of ways:

Before the war, colonial peoples believed it would be impossible to defeat the militarily superior Europeans by force of arms. Japanese success in the early part of the war showed that was possible for non-European armies. Japanese forces captured the British territories of Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong and Burma, the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China. Although the Japanese were eventually defeated, the nationalists, many of whom had fought against the Japanese, had no intention of accepting European rule again. If necessary, they would continue to fight against the Europeans, using the guerrilla tactics they had learned fighting the Japanese. This was exactly what had happened in Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Burma.

See illus. 12.1.1.2c below.

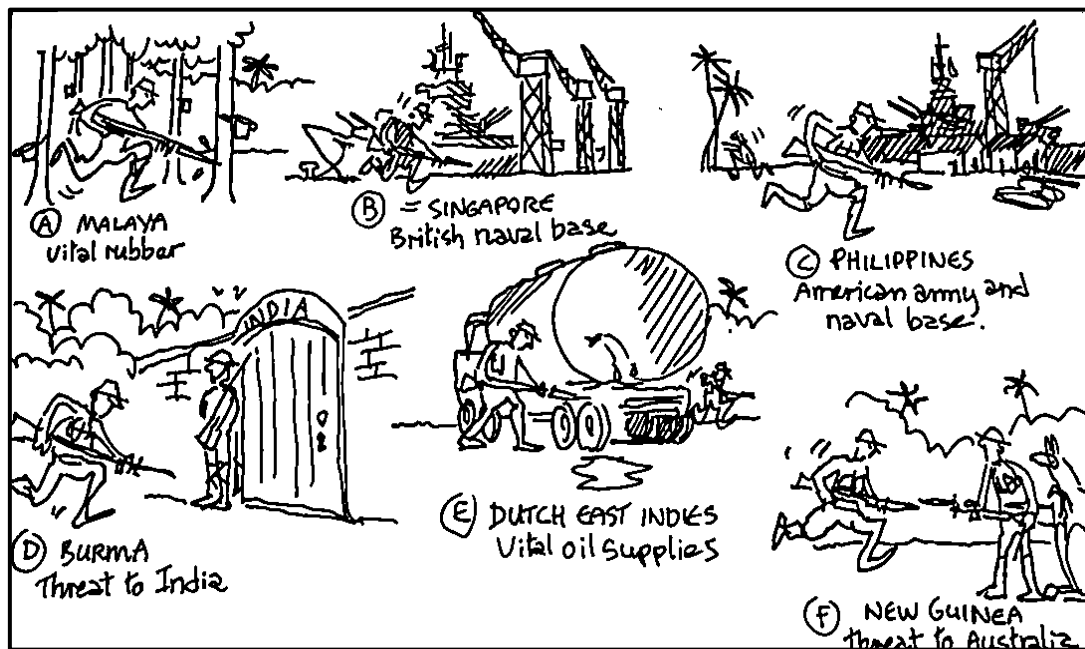


Illustration 12.1.1.2c: Japanese capture of important strategic sites in the early part The Second World War in South East Asia.

- *Asians and Africans became more aware of social and political matters as a result of their involvement in the war.* Many Africans, who have left their homeland for the first time to fight in the Allied armies, were appalled at the contrast between the primitive condition in Africa and the relatively comfortable conditions they experienced, even as members of the armed forces. Some Asian nationalist leaders worked with the Japanese, thinking that after the war, there would be more chance of independence being granted by the Japanese than by the Europeans. Many of them, like Dr. Sukarno in the Dutch East Indies, gained experience helping to govern the occupied areas. Sukarno later became the First President of Indonesia (1949).
- *Some European policies during the war encouraged colonial peoples to expect independence as soon as the war was over.* The Dutch government, shocked that people were so ready to

co-operate with the Japanese in the East Indies, offered them some degree of independence as the Japanese were defeated.

- *The war weakened the European states*, so that in the end, they were not militarily strong enough to hold to their empires in the face of really determined campaigns for independence. The British were the first to recognize this, and they responded by giving independence to India (1947). After that, *British policy was to delay independence as long as possible, but to give way when the pressure became irresistible*. It was a further ten years before the Gold Coast became the first territory in Africa to win independence. As Iain Macleod (British Colonial Secretary) later put it: 'we could not possibly have held by force our territories in Africa; the march of men towards freedom cannot be halted; it can only be guided'. The French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese reacted differently and seem determined to hold on to their empires. But this involved them in costly military campaigns, and eventually they all had to admit defeat.

### **(c) Outside pressures**

Apart from the two main points discussed above, the third reason was 'Outside pressures'. In this case the 'Outside pressures' that added additional pressure on colonial powers to give independence to their colonies was the United States of America and the United Nations.

Even Russia was vocal against the idea of imperialism. Further discussions on the United States and the United Nations in terms of their influence on the issue of decolonisation will be elaborated on in detail in the next topic.

Almost every case was different; the following sub topics will look at these different ways in which colonies and territories gained their independence.

Now read the summary.

### **Topic Summary**

- At the end of World War II, European powers were faced with situations and problems that questioned their very existence in their colonies which eventually led to their downfall.
- The reasons for the downfall of the dominant European powers after the war can be categorised into three main reasons.
- Nationalists groups which developed in some areas before the war but in many others, after the war.
- The Second World War gave a great stimulus to nationalist movements in a number of ways.
- Outside Pressures were also involved to eventually, see to the downfall of these European powers being dominant again.
- Most former British colonies opted to be still linked to Britain by joining the British Commonwealth.

- All the former colonial powers experienced different setbacks from their former colonies as they pressed for independence and the various steps taken by the European colonisers to eventually grant them independence.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.1.2

1. Refer to the Puzzle below. Find the words from the list and circle them.

I	N	D	O	C	H	I	N	A	J	K	L	M
T	C	A	B	C	S	E	R	I	P	M	E	N
S	G	O	D	E	F	C	G	H	I	C	U	O
I	P	H	M	T	S	O	R	Q	N	P	R	A
L	P	U	A	M	V	L	W	E	X	Y	O	I
A	A	A	N	N	O	O	D	N	I	A	P	S
N	L	M	D	C	A	N	B	A	Z	V	E	E
O	E	R	A	D	E	I	W	E	I	F	A	N
I	S	U	T	P	N	S	R	E	H	G	N	O
T	T	B	E	D	I	E	T	Y	A	I	J	D
A	I	D	I	P	O	N	M	L	S	L	K	N
N	N	R	F	R	A	N	C	E	L	M	T	I
I	E	S	T	M	A	I	R	E	G	I	N	H

#### Words:

- |                  |               |                 |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. EUROPEAN      | 6. MANDATE    | 11. *SYRIA      |
| 2. EMPIRES       | 7. INDIA      | 12. NATIONALIST |
| 3. COLONISE      | 8. *GHANA     | 13. VIETNAM     |
| 4. *INDEPENDENCE | 9. INDO-CHINA | 14. NIGERIA     |
| 5. *COMMONWEALTH | 10. PALESTINE | 15. FRANCE      |
| 16. SPAIN        |               |                 |

(Note: Find these \* words diagonally)

**2. Matching: Select from the word list given below and match with the correct definition.****Words:**

Mandate, nationalist, liberalism, imperialism, communism, de-colonisation, neo-colonisation

- (a) \_\_\_\_\_ the practice of exercising influence over former colonies after independence by Economic means.
- (b) \_\_\_\_\_ is people with a very strong desire to expel foreign rulers so they can have a government run by people of their own nationality.
- (c) \_\_\_\_\_ areas placed under the Leagues' instructions to be prepared for independence.
- (d) \_\_\_\_\_ is the desire/belief in individual freedom and constitutional government.

**3. Short Answer Questions**

- (a) How did Britain's former colonies retain their connection with her after they became independent? \_\_\_\_\_
- (b) Name the countries in the Middle East that were given to British and the French as mandate territories to control;
- i) British: \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) French: \_\_\_\_\_
- (c) What is the present day name for the former 'Dutch East Indies'?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- (d) What was the general feeling among the Nationalists about their partnership with the European?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- (e) In the earlier part of WWII, the Asian colonies felt that it was impossible for them to defeat the militarily superior Europeans. What happened to change that perception?
- \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.1.**

**Sub topic 12.1.1.3: Role of USA and UN in Decolonisation process**

In the last sub topic you learnt about the 'Downfall of European powers after WWII. In this sub topic you look at the 'Role of the US and UN' in the decolonisation process in many of their former colonial empires after the Second World War.

By the end of the sub topic the students can:

- Explain the formation of the United Nations and its role in the world.
- Clearly state the reasons for US and the UN involvement in the decolonisation process.
- Identify and locate the countries the US and UN were involved with.
- Discuss and explain the significance for the involvement of the USA.
- Research and present findings for the contribution of the USA and the UN.

---

The presence and involvement of the US and the United Nations in the push for independence for many countries after World War II can be classified as "Outside Pressures". These two dominant powers also applied immense force on the colonial powers to give up their empires. The effects and reasons for the involvement of these two powers will be further discussed throughout this lesson.

**1. The United States**

The USA, no doubt remembering that it had been the earliest part of British empires to declare independence (1776), was hostile to imperialism. During the war, the 1941 Atlantic Charter set out joint Anglo-American thinking about how the world should be organised after the war. *Two of the points mentioned were:*

- Nations should not expand by taking territory from other nations
- All peoples should have the right to choose their own form of government.

Though Churchill later said that this only applied to victims of Hitler's aggression, the hope of Asian and African peoples had been raised.

President Roosevelt made it clear that he took the Atlantic Charter to apply to all peoples, not just those taken over by the Germans. He and his successor, Truman, pressurised the British government to speed up independence for India.

One reason given by the USA for wanting to see the end of the European empires was that, the delays in granting independence to European colonies in Asia and Africa would encourage the development of communism in these areas. Also important was the fact that, the Americans looked on the newly –independent nations as optional markets into which, they could step and establish both economic and political influence.

The United Nations Organisation, under US influence, came out firmly against imperialism and demanded a step-by-step program for decolonisation. *The USSR (former)* also added its voice to



the chorus and constantly denounced imperialism. As well as putting the European states under pressure, this encouraged nationalists all over the world to intensify their campaigns.

## 2. The United Nations Organisation

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) officially came into existence in October 1945, after the Second World War. *It was formed to replace the League of Nations*, which had proved incapable of restraining aggressive dictators like Hitler and Mussolini. In setting up the UNO, the great powers tried to eliminate some of the weaknesses which had handicapped the League. *The UN Charter was drawn up in San Francisco in 1945*, and was made on proposals made at an earlier meeting between the USSR and USA, China and Britain held at Dumbarton Oaks (USA) in 1944.

*The aims of the UN were to:*

- Preserve peace and eliminate war;
- Remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in underdeveloped countries;
- Safe-guard the rights of all individual human beings, and the rights of peoples and nations.

Despite the careful framing of the Charter, the UN was unable to solve many of the problems of international relations, particularly those caused by the Cold War. On the other hand, it played an important role in a number of international crises by arranging cease-fires and negotiations, and by providing peacekeeping forces. Its successes in non-political work (such as care of refugees, protection of human rights, economic planning and attempts to deal with health and population problems) have been enormous.

## 3. The Structure of the United States Organisation

Under the structure of the UN there are six main organs:

- the General Assembly
- the Security Council
- the Secretariat
- the International Court of Justice
- the Trusteeship Council and
- the Economic and Social Council

### a) *The General Assembly*

This is the meeting of the representatives from all the member countries; each member can send up to five members, though there is only one vote per country. The Assembly meets once a year, starting in September and remaining in session for about three months. But, special sessions can be called in times of crisis by the members themselves or by the Security Council. Its function is to discuss and make decisions about international problems, to consider the UN budget and what amount each member should pay, to elect the Security Council members, and to supervise the work of the many other UN bodies. *Decisions do not need a unanimous vote as they did in the League Assembly.* Sometimes a simple majority is

enough, though on issues which the Assembly thinks are very important, two-thirds majority is needed. These include decisions about admitting new members or expelling existing members and about actions to be taken about maintaining peace. All speeches and debates are translated into the six official UN languages – English, French, Russian, Chinese, Spanish and Arabic.

Therefore, the General Assembly is the main deliberative body of the UN.

*b) The Security Council*

This sits in permanent session and its function is to deal with crisis as they arrive, by whatever action seems appropriate, and if necessary, by calling on members to take economic or military actions against the aggressor. The Council began with eleven members, five of them permanent (*China, France, USA, USSR and Britain*), and the other six elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms. In 1965 the number of non-permanent members was increased to ten. Decisions need at least nine of the fifteen members to vote in favour, but these must include all five permanent members. This means that anyone of the permanent members can veto a decision and prevent any action being taken. In practice, it has gradually been accepted that abstention by a permanent member does not count as a veto, but this has not been written into the Charter.

In order to secure some actions in case of a veto by one of the permanent members, the General Assembly (at the time of the Korean War in 1950) introduced the '*Uniting for Peace*' resolution; this stated that if the Security Council's proposals were vetoed, the Assembly could meet within 24 hours and decide what action to take, even military intervention if necessary. In cases like this, a decision by the Assembly would only need two-thirds majority. Again this new rule was not added to the Charter, and the USSR, which used the veto more often than any other member, always maintained that a Security Council veto should take precedence over a General Assembly decision. Nevertheless the Assembly acted in this way many times, ignoring Russian protests.

*c) The Secretariat*

This is the 'office-staff of the UN, and it consists of over 50, 000 employees. They look after the administrative work, preparing minutes of meetings, translations and information. *It is headed by the Secretary-General*, who is appointed for a five year term by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. In order to ensure some degree of impartiality, he or she is not from one of the major powers. The Secretary General acts as the main spokesperson for the UN and is always at the forefront of international affairs, trying to sort out the world's problems.

So far the post had been held by:

Trygve Lei of Norway (1946 -1952)

Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden (1952 – 1961)

U Thant of Burma (1961 – 1971)

Kurt Waldheim of Austria (1971 – 1981)

Perez de Cuellar of Peru (1981 – 1991)

Boutros Boutros-Ghali of Egypt (1991 – 1996)

Kofi Annan of Ghana (1996 – 2006)

d) *The International Court of Justice*

The International Court of Justice at the Hague (in Holland) has fifteen judges, all of different nationalities, elected for nine year terms (five retiring every third year) by the Assembly and the Security Council jointly. It has dealt successfully with a number of disputes, including a frontier dispute between Holland and Belgium and a disagreement between Britain and Norway over fishing limits. In other cases, however, it was not so successful. In 1946, for example, Britain accused Albania of laying mines near the Greek island of Corfu, and demanded compensation from Albania for damages caused to British Shipping. The Court upheld the claim and ordered £1million to Britain. Albania refused to pay claiming that the Court had no right to judge the case. In theory, the Security Council has the power to take 'appropriate measures' to enforce the Court's decisions, it has never done so.

e) *The Trusteeship Council*

This replaced the league of nations Mandates Commission which had originally come into existence in 1919, to keep an eye on territories taken away from Germany and Turkey at the of the first world war. Some of these areas (known as mandated territories or mandates) had being handed over to the victorious powers, and their job was to govern the territories and prepare them for independence. The Trusteeship Council did its job well and by 1970 most of the mandates had gained their independence.

However, *Namibia remained a problem, since South Africa refused to give the area independence.* South Africa, ruled by a government representing the white minority of the population, was unwilling to give independence to a state right on its own frontier which would be ruled by a government representing its black African majority. The UN repeatedly condemned South Africa for its attitude; in 1971 the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa must withdraw immediately. South Africa ignored the UN, but as the other states of Africa gradually gained independence under black governments, it became more difficult for South Africa to maintain both, its position in Namibia and its own white minority rule. At last in 1990 the pressure of black Africa nationalism and world opinion forced South Africa to release its grip on Namibia.

e) *The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)*

This has twenty-seven members elected by the General Assembly, with one-third retiring each year. It organises projects concerned with health, education and other social and other social and economic matters. Its task is so enormous that *it has appointed four regional commission (Europe, Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Far East)*, as well as commission on population problems, drugs problems, human rights and the status of women. ECOSOC also co-ordinates the work of an astonishing array of other commissions and specialised agencies, around thirty in all. Among the best known are the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the World Health Organisation (WHO), the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and the United Nations Relief and

Works Agency (UNRWA). The scope of ECOSOC expanded in such a remarkable way that by 1980 more than 90 per cent of the UN's annual expenditure was devoted to ECOSOC activities.

#### 4. How different was the United Nations from the League of Nations?

##### a) *The UN has been more successful*

There are some important differences which have tended to make the UN a more successful body than the League.

- The UN spends much more time and resources on economic and social matters and its scope is much wider than that of a league. All the specialised agencies, with the exception of the International Labour Organisation (founded in 1919), were set up in the 1945 or later.
- The UN is committed to safeguarding individual human rights, which the League did not get involve in.
- Changes in the process of the General Assembly and the Security Council (especially the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution), and the increase power and prestige of the Secretary-General have enabled the UN, on occasion, to take more decisive action than the League ever achieved.
- The UN has a much wider membership and is therefore more of a genuine world Organisation than was the League, with all the extra prestige that this entails. Both the USA and the USSR were founder-members of the UN whereas the USA never joined the League. Between 1963 and 1968, no fewer than forty-three new members joined the UN, mainly the emerging states of Africa and Asia, and by 1985 membership had reached 159; the League never had more than 50 members. Later, many of the former member states of the USSR joined, and by 1993 the total had reached 183.

##### b) *Some of the weakness of the League remain*

Any one of the five permanent members of the Security Council can use its power of veto to prevent decisive action being taken. Like the League, the UN has no permanent army of its own and has to use forces belonging to its member states.

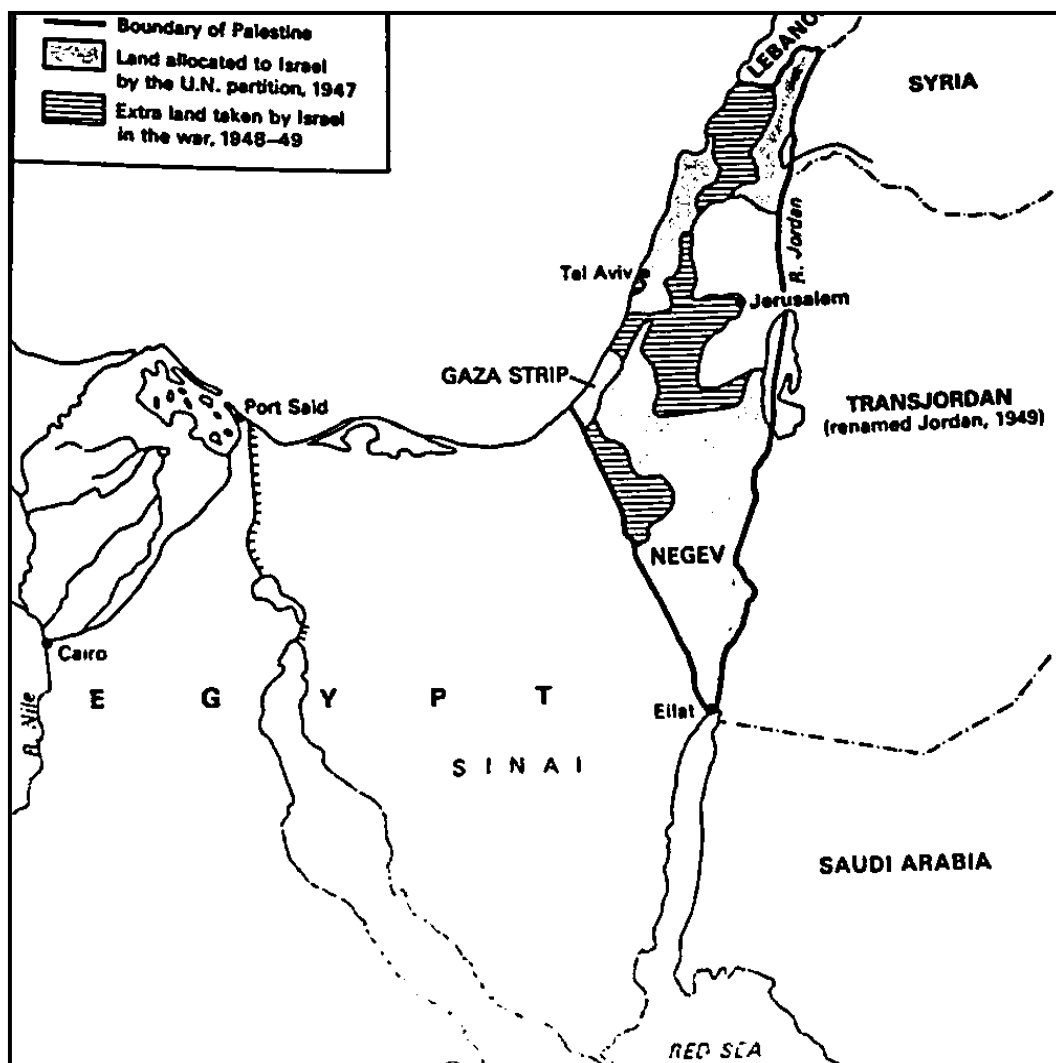
#### 5. How successful was the UN as a peace keeping Organisation?

Although it has had mixed success, it is probably fair to say that *the UN has been more successful than the league in the peace keeping effort*, especially in crises which did not directly involve the interest of the great powers, such as the civil war in the Congo (1960-1964) and the dispute between Holland and Indonesia over West New Guinea.

On the other hand, it has often been just ineffective as the league in situations- such as the Hungarians rising of 1956 and the 1968 Czech Crisis- where the interests of one of the great powers (in this case the USSR) seemed to be threatened , and where the great power decided to ignore or defy the United Nations. The best way to illustrate the UN's varying degree of success is to examine some of the major disputes in which it has been involved.

- a) *West New Guinea, 1946* - In 1946, the UN helped to arrange independence from Holland for the Dutch East Indies, which became Indonesia. However, no agreement was reached about the future of West New Guinea (West Irian), which was claimed by both countries. In 1961 fighting broke out; after U Thant had appealed to both sides to re-open negotiations, it was agreed (1962) that the territory should become part of Indonesia. The transfer was organised and policed by UN force. In this case, the UN played a vital role in getting negotiations off the ground, though it did not itself make the decision about West Irian's Future.
- b) *Palestine, 1947* - The dispute between Jews and Arabs in Palestine was brought before the UN in 1947. After an investigation, the UN decided to divide Palestine, setting up the Jewish state of Israel (see Map Illus. 12.1.1.3a). This was one of the most controversial decisions, and it was not accepted by the majority of Arabs. The UN was unable to prevent a series of wars between Israel and various Arab supervisory forces, while the UN Relief and Works Agency cared for the Arab refugees.

Study the map of Israel below.



Map Illustration 12.1.1.3a: Israel, 1947 - 1949

- c) *The Korean War (1953)* - This was the only occasion on which the UN was able to take decisive action in a crisis directly involving the interest of one of the superpowers. When South Korea was invaded by communist North Korea in June 1950, the Security Council immediately passed a resolution condemning North Korea, and called on the member states to send help to the South. However, this was only possible because of the temporary absence of the Russian delegates, who would have prevented the resolution, if they had not been boycotting Security Council meetings (since January of that year) in protest at the failure to allow Communist China to join the UN. Although the Russian delegates returned smartly, it was too late for them to prevent action going ahead. Troops of sixteen countries were able to repel the invasion and preserve the frontier between the two Koreans along the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel.

Though this was claimed by the west as a great UN success, it was in fact, very much an American operation – the vast majority of troops and the commander-in-chief, General MacArthur, were American, and the US government had already decided to intervene with force the day before the Security Council was taken. Only the absence of the Russians enabled the USA to turn it into a UN operation. This was a situation not likely to be repeated, since the USSR would take good care to be present at all future Council sessions.

*The Korea War had important results for the future of the UN:* one was the passing of the ‘Uniting for Peace’ resolution, which would permit a Security Council veto to be by-passed by a General Assembly vote. Another was the bitter attack by the Russians on Secretary- General Trygve-Lie for what they considered to be his biased role in the crisis. His position soon became impossible and he eventually agreed to retire early, to be replaced by Dag Hammarskjold.

d) *The Belgian Congo civil war (1960-1964)*

Here the UN mounted its most complex operation to date (except for Korea). When the Congo (known as Zaire since 1971) dissolved into chaos immediately after gaining the independence, a UN force numbering over 20, 000, managed to restore some kind of order. A special UN Congo Fund was set up to help with the recovery and development of the ravaged country. *But the financial cost was so high that the UN was brought close to bankruptcy*, especially when the USSR, France and Belgium refuse to pay their contributions towards the cost of the operations, because they disapproved of the way the UN had handled the situation. The war also cost the life of Dag Hammarskjold, who was killed in a plane crash in the Congo.

e) *Recent successes and failures*

Successes

- The United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has been operating with about 7000 troops in South Lebanon since 1978, in a frontier dispute between Lebanon Christians (aided by the Israelis) and Palestinians. UNIFIL has had some success in maintaining peace relative in the area, but it was a constant struggle against frontier violations, assassinations, terrorism and the seizing of hostages.

- *The UN was successful in bringing an end to the long drawn-out war between Iran and Iraq (1980-8).* After years of attempting to mediate, the UN at last negotiated a cease-fire, though admittedly, they were helped by the fact that both sides were close to exhaustion.
- *Mozambique, which gains independence from Portugal in 1975, was torn by civil war for many years.* By 1990, the country was in ruins and both sides were exhausted. Although both sides had signed a ceased-fire agreement in Rome (October 1992) at a conference organised by the Roman Catholic Church and the Italian government, it was not holding. There were many violations of the cease-fire and there was no way that elections could be held in such an atmosphere. The UN now fully involved operating a program demobilising and disarming the various factions, distributing humanitarian relief, and preparing for elections, which took place successfully in October 1994.

East Timor was a Portuguese territory. It was half of the small island in the East Indies; the western half belonged to Holland and became part of Indonesia in 1949. East Timor's nationalist movement (FRETILIN) won a short civil war against the ruling group, which wanted to stay with Portugal (September 1975). The US denounced the new government as Marxist, which was not entirely accurate; after only a few weeks, Indonesian troops invaded, over-threw the government and incorporated East Timor into Indonesia. The USA continued to supply military goods to the Indonesians, who were guilty of atrocities both during and after the war. It is estimated that about 100, 000 people were killed, while another 300, 000 were put into detention camps. Resistance was still continuing in the early 1990s, but although the UN condemned Indonesia's action, East Timor was too small and, unlike Kuwait, too unimportant to warrant any sanctions being applied against Indonesia.

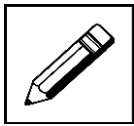
Now read the summary.

### Topic Summary

- The United Nations and the United States of America have also been very vocal about former colonies becoming independent and therefore played vital roles either directly or indirectly in these colonies achieving independence.
- Reasons given by the USA for wanting to see the end of the European empires was that the delays in granting independence to European colonies in Asia and Africa would encourage the development of communism in these areas.
- The Americans looked on the newly-independent nations as possible markets into which they could step and establish both economic and political influence.
- The aims of the UN are to:
  - Preserve peace and eliminate war;
  - Remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in underdeveloped countries;
  - Safe guard the rights of all individual human beings, and the rights of peoples and nations.

- Based on the founding principles the United Nations does its utmost best to foster and facilitate the steps towards independence for former colonies.
- Although it has had mixed success, it is probably fair to say that the UN has been more successful than the league in the peace keeping effort, especially in crises which did not directly involve the interest of the great powers.
- On the other hand, it has often been just ineffective as the league in situations- such as the Hungarians rising of 1956 and the 1968 Czech Crisis- where the interests of one of the great powers (in this case the USSR) seemed to be threatened , and where the great power decided to ignore or defy the United Nations.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.1.3

---

1. What was the function of the Trusteeship Council?

---

2. According to your notes, what was one failure of the League of Nations?

---

---

3. What are the two points mentioned in the 1941, at the Atlantic Charter?

i) \_\_\_\_\_

ii) \_\_\_\_\_

4. When did the United Nations officially come into existence?

---

5. *The USA and decolonisation.* You will have noticed while reading your notes the USA often became involved in the decolonisation program. Identify the country where by the US had assisted to secure their territory and describe how it had gone about doing so

---

---

---



6. What were the different motives behind American intervention in the process of decolonisation?

i) \_\_\_\_\_

ii) \_\_\_\_\_

7. List down the aims of the United Nations;

i) \_\_\_\_\_

ii) \_\_\_\_\_

iii) \_\_\_\_\_

8. List down the five permanent members of the United Nations.

i) \_\_\_\_\_

ii) \_\_\_\_\_

iii) \_\_\_\_\_

iv) \_\_\_\_\_

v) \_\_\_\_\_

9. Explain what 'veto' means

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Define these following Abbreviations:

i) ILO \_\_\_\_\_

ii) WHO \_\_\_\_\_

iii) FAO \_\_\_\_\_

iv) UNICEF \_\_\_\_\_

v) UNESCO \_\_\_\_\_

vi) UNRWA \_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.1.**

**Sub topic 12.1.1.4: Decolonisation and Nationhood**

In the previous topic, you learnt about the involvement of the United States (US) and the United Nations (UN) in the process of Decolonisation. In this topic you will learn about Decolonisation and Nationhood.

By the end of this sub topic, students should be able to:

- define Decolonisation and Nationhood
  - list the factors that cause decolonisation
  - explain why some countries reached nationhood earlier than others
  - draw the map of Africa, Asia and the Pacific and correctly show the countries and their dates of independence.
- 

For the purpose of our studies on Decolonisation and Nationhood, we discuss the various European powers and how they treated their former colonies in preparation for Independence. Through that process, enabling De-colonisation and securing their Nationhood.

The British Empire being the largest and having a group of colonies in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, the Pacific, and the sub-continent of India, will be the first nation to be discussed, followed by the French and the other European powers.

However, since the sub-continent of India will be further deliberated on as a case study in your next unit on 'Pathways to Independence', we will look at Britain's other former colonies.

**The West Indies, Malaya and Cyprus**

*As these three territories moved towards independence, interesting experiences in setting up federations of states were tried, with varying degrees of success. A federation is when a number of states join together under central or federal government which has over all authority; each of them has its own separate parliament which deals with internal affairs. This is the type of system which works well in the USA, Canada and Australia, and many people thought it would be suitable for the British West Indies and for Malaya and neighboring British territories.*

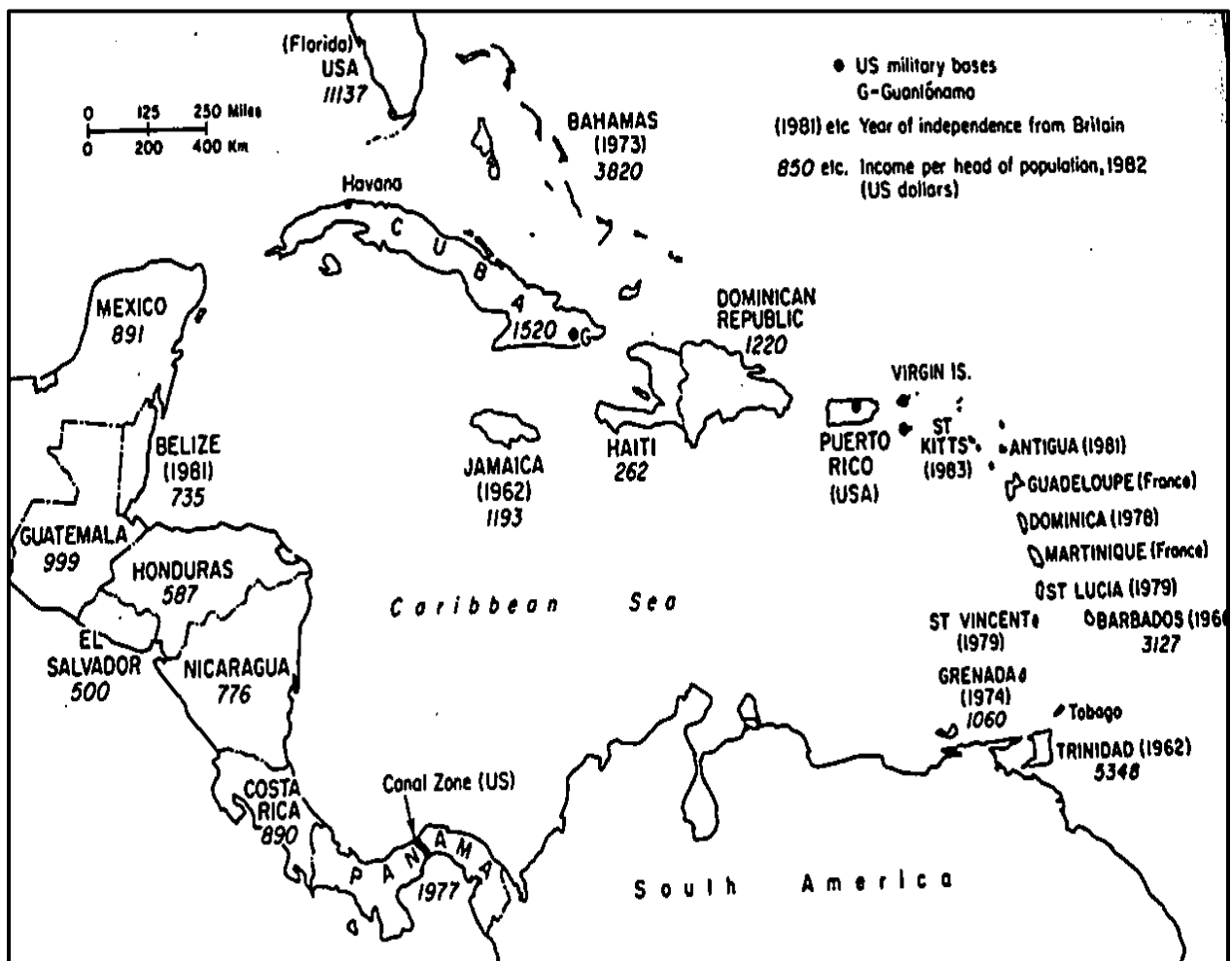
- The West Indies Federation was the first one to be tried, but it proved to be a failure: set up in 1958, it only survived until 1962.
- The Federation of Malaysia, set up in 1963, was much more successful.
- The British handling of independence for Cyprus unfortunately was not a success story and the island had a troubled history after the Second World War.

**(a) The West Indies**

Britain's West Indian possessions consisted of a large group of islands in the Caribbean Sea (see Map Illus. 12.1.1.4a), the largest were Jamaica and Trinidad, and others included Grenada, St Vincent, Barbados, St Lucia, Antigua, the Seychelles and the Bahamas. There was also British Honduras on the mainland of Central America and British Guiana on the north – east coast of South

America. Together, these territories had a population about 6 million. Britain was prepared in theory to give them independence, but there were problems.

- Some of the islands were very small, and there were doubts about whether they were viable as independent states.
- The British Labour government felt that a federation would be the ideal way of uniting such small and widely scattered territories, but many of the territories themselves objected.
- Nevertheless, Britain went ahead in spite of the difficulties and established the West Indies Federation in 1958(excluding British Honduras and British Guiana).
- When Jamaica and Trinidad withdrew from the Federation in 1961, it no longer seemed viable.
- In 1962 Britain decided to abandon the federation and grant independence to all those that wanted it. By 1983 all parts of the British West Indies, except a few tiny islands, had become independent and all of them became members of the British Commonwealth.
- Ironically, having rejected the idea of a fully-fledged federation, they soon found that there were economic benefits to be gained from co-operation. The Caribbean Free Trade Association was set up in 1968.



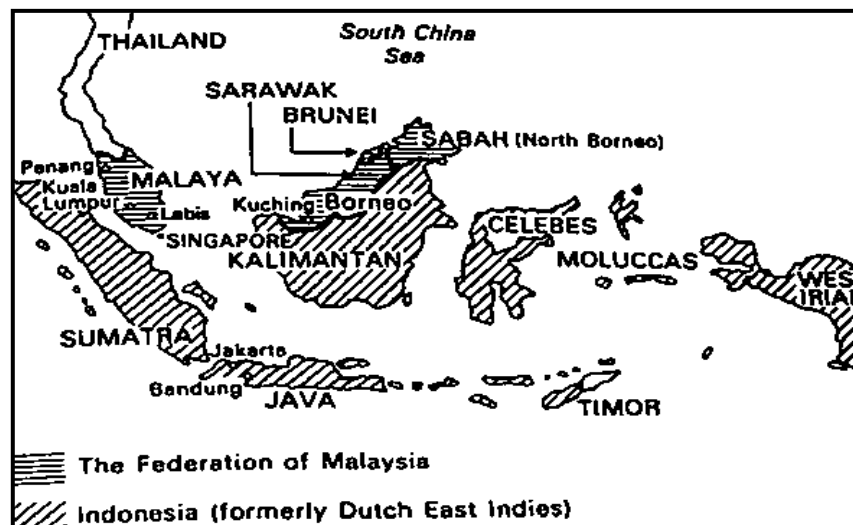
Map illustration 12.1.1.4a: Central America and the West Indies

(b) *Malaya*

Malaya was liberated from the Japanese in 1945, but there were two difficult problems to be faced before British were prepared to withdraw.

1. It was a complex area which would be difficult to organise. It consisted of nine states ruled by a sultan, two British settlements, Malacca and Penang, and Singapore, a small Island less than a mile from the mainland. The population was multi-racial: mostly Malays and Chinese, but with some Europeans as well. In preparation for independence, it was decided to group the states and settlements into the Federation of Malaya (1948), while Singapore remained a separate colony. Each state had its own legislature for local affairs; some sultans retained some power, but the central government had overall control. All adults had the vote and this meant that the Malays, the largest group usually dominated affairs.
2. Chinese communist guerrillas led by Chin Peng, who had played a leading role in the resistance to the Japanese, now begin to stir up strikes and violence against the British, in support of an independent communist state. The British decided to declare a state of emergency in 1948, and in the end, they dealt with the communist successfully, though it took time, and the state of emergency remained in force until 1960. Their tactics were to re-settle all Chinese suspected of helping the guerrillas, into specially guarded villages. It was made clear that independence would follow once the country was ready for it; this ensured that the Malays remained firmly pro-British and gave very little help to the communists, who were Chinese.

The move towards independence was accelerated when the Malay party, under the leadership of *Tunku Abdul Rahman*, joined forces with the main Chinese and Indian groups to form the *Alliance Party* which had won 51 out of the 52 seats in the 1955 elections. This seemed to suggest stability and the British were persuaded to grant full independence in 1957, when Malaya was committed to the Commonwealth. (Refer to Map Illus. 12.1.1.4b)



Map illustration 12.1.1.4b: Malaysia and Indonesia

*The Federation of Malaysia was set up in 1963.* Malaya was running well under the leadership of Tunku Abdul Rahman, and its economy based on exports of rubber and tin, was the most

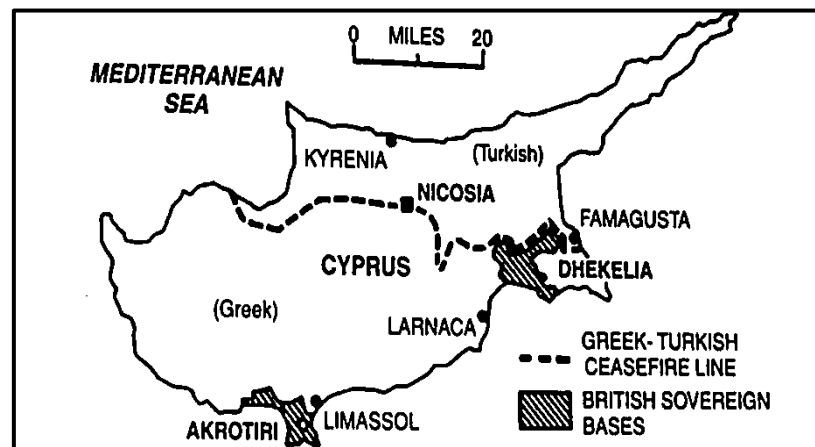
prosperous in south-east Asia. In 1961, when the Tunku proposed that Singapore and three other British colonies, North Borneo (Sabah), Brunei and Sarawak, should join to Malaya to form the Federation of Malaysia, Britain agreed (see Map Illus. 12.1.1.4b). After a United Nations investigation team reported that a large majority of the populations concerned was in favour of the union, the Federation of Malaysia was officially proclaimed (September 1963). Brunei decided not to join, and eventually became an independent state within the Commonwealth (1984). Although Singapore decided to leave the Federation to become an independent republic in 1965, the rest of the federation continued successfully.

### (c) Cyprus

The British Labour government (1945-1951), considered giving Cyprus independence, but progress was delayed due to difficulties with population – about 80 per cent were Greek-speaking Christians, while rest were Muslims of Turkish origins. The Greek Cypriots wanted the island to unite with Greece (*enosis*), but the Turks were strongly opposed to this. Churchill's government (1951-1955), made worse the situation in 1954 when their plans for self-government allowed the Cypriots less power than what the British Labour wanted to give. There were hostile demonstrations which were dispersed by British troops.

Sir Anthony Eden, Churchill's successor, decided to drop the idea of independence for Cyprus, believing that Britain needed the island as a military base to protect her interest in the Middle East. He announced that Cyprus must remain permanently British; though the Greek government promised that Britain could retain her military bases even if *enosis* took place.

Study the map of Cyprus below.



Map illustration 12.1.1.4c: Cyprus divided.

The Greek Cypriots, led by Archbishop Makarios, pressed their demands, while a guerrilla Organisation called *Eoka*, led by General Grivas, waged a terrorist campaign against the British, who declared a state of emergency (1955) and deployed about 35,000 troops to try to keep order. British policy also involved deporting Makarios and executing terrorists. The situation became even more difficult in 1958 when the Turks set up rival organisations in support of dividing the island.

*Eventually, to avoid possible civil war between the two groups, Harold Macmillan, Eden's successor, decided to compromise.* He appointed the Sympathetic and tactful Hugh Foot as governor and he negotiated a deal with Makarios:

- The Archbishop dropped *enosis* and in return Cyprus was granted full independence;
- Turkish interest were safeguarded, Britain retained two military bases, and, along with Greece and Turkey, guaranteed the independence of Cyprus;
- Makarios became the first President with a Turkish Cypriot, Fazil Kutchuk, as Vice-President (1960). It seemed the perfect solution.

*Unfortunately, it only lasted until 1963 when civil war broke out between Greeks and Turks.* In 1974, Turkey sent troops to help establish a separate Turkish state in the north and the Island has remained divided since then. Turkish state in the north (roughly one-third of the island's area), Greeks the south, with UN troops keeping the peace between the two. Many attempts were made to find agreement, but all failed. In the mid-1980s the UN began to press the idea of a federation as the most likely ways of reconciling the two states. Though this solution was at first rejected by the Greeks (1987), they later seemed to show more interest, and federation may yet turn out to be the way to reconciliation.

### **British Leave Africa**

African nationalism spread rapidly after 1945; this was because more and more Africans were being educated in Britain and the USA, where they were made aware of racial discrimination. Colonialism was seen as the humiliation and exploitation of blacks by whites, and working-class Africans in the new towns were particularly receptive to nationalist ideas. The British, especially the Labour governments of 1945-1951, were quiet willing to allow independence, and were confident that they would still be able to exercise influence through trade links, which they hope to preserve including new states as members of the commonwealth. This practice of exercising influence over former colonies after independence by economic means is known as *neo-colonialism*; it became widespread in most of the new states of the third world. Even so, the British intended to move the colonies towards independence very gradually, and the African nationalists had to campaign vigorously and often violently to make them act more quickly.

*The British colonies in Africa fell into three distinct groups which had important differences in character which were to affect progress towards independence.*

#### **1. West Africa: Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia**

These colonies had relatively few Europeans, and they tended to be administrators rather than permanent settlers with profitable estates to defend. This made the move to independence comparatively straightforward.

#### **2. East Africa: Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika**

Here, especially in Kenya, things were complicated by the 'settler-factor' – the presence of European Asian settlers who feared for their future under black governments.

#### **3. Central Africa: Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia**

Here, especially in Southern Rhodesia, the 'settlers-factor' was at its most serious, as these

European settlers were most firmly entrenched. They owned huge and profitable estates, and confrontation between white settlers and Africans nationalists were most bitter.

India and Pakistan	1947
Burma and Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	1948
Transjordan (Jordan)	1946
Palestine	1948
Malaysia and Gold Coast (Ghana)	1957
Nigeria, Somaliland (became part of Somalia) and Cyprus	1960
Tanganyika and Zanzibar (together forming Tanzania)	1961
Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda	1962
Kenya	1963
Nyasaland (Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Malta and Bechuanaland (Botswana)	1964
Aden (South Yemen)	1967
Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)	1980
British Honduras (Belize)	1981

Figure 12.1.1.4d: Former British colonies and their dates for Independence

Study the map of Africa below.



Map Illustration 12.1.1.4e: Showing former British colonies in Africa.

The other colonial powers were at first determined to hold on to their empires using military force. But gradually they all gave way in the end and granted independence to their former colonies.

The main territories gaining independence were:

**French**

Syria	1946
Indo-China	1954
Morocco and Tunisia	1956
Guinea -	1958
Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mauretania, Niger, Gabon	
Upper Volta (later Burkina-Faso), Chad, Sudan (Mali)	
Madagascar (Malagasy) Cameroon, Congo, Togo	
Oubangui-Shari (Central Africa), and Dahomey (Benin)	1960

**Dutch**

East Indies (Indonesia) -	1949
Surinam -	1975

**Belgian**

Congo (Zaire since 1971) -	1960
Ruanda-Urundi (became two separate states: Rwanda and Burundi) -	1962

**Spanish**

Spanish Morocco -	1956
Guinea (Equatorial Guinea) -	1968
Ifni (became but of Morocco) -	1969
Spanish Sahara (divided between Morocco Mauretania) -	1975

**Portuguese**

Guinea (Guinea-Bissau) -	1974
Angola and Mozambique -	1975
East Timor (seized by Indonesia later in 1975) -	1975

**Italian**

Ethiopia -	1947
Libya -	1951
Eritrea (became part of Ethiopia) -	1952
Italian Somaliland (became part of Somalia) -	1960

Figure 12.1.1.4f: Other Former European Colonies and their Independence Dates

### The End of the French Empire

The main French possessions at the end of the Second World War

- Syria in the Middle East, from which they withdrew in 1946
- Guadeloupe and Martinique (islands in the West Indies)



- French Guiana ( on the mainland of South America) and huge areas of north and West Africa
- Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria (together known as the Maghrib)
- French West Africa
- French Equatorial Africa and
- The large island of Madagascar off the south-east coast of Africa.

The French began by trying to suppress all nationalist agitation, regarding it as high treason. As *the 1944 Brazzaville Declaration* put it:

**The colonising work of French makes it impossible to accept any idea of autonomy for the colonies or any possibility of development outside the French Empire. Even at a distant date, there will be no self-government in the colonies.**

But gradually, the French were influenced by Britain's moves towards decolonisation, and after their defeat in Indo-China in 1954, they too were forced to bow to the 'wind of change'.

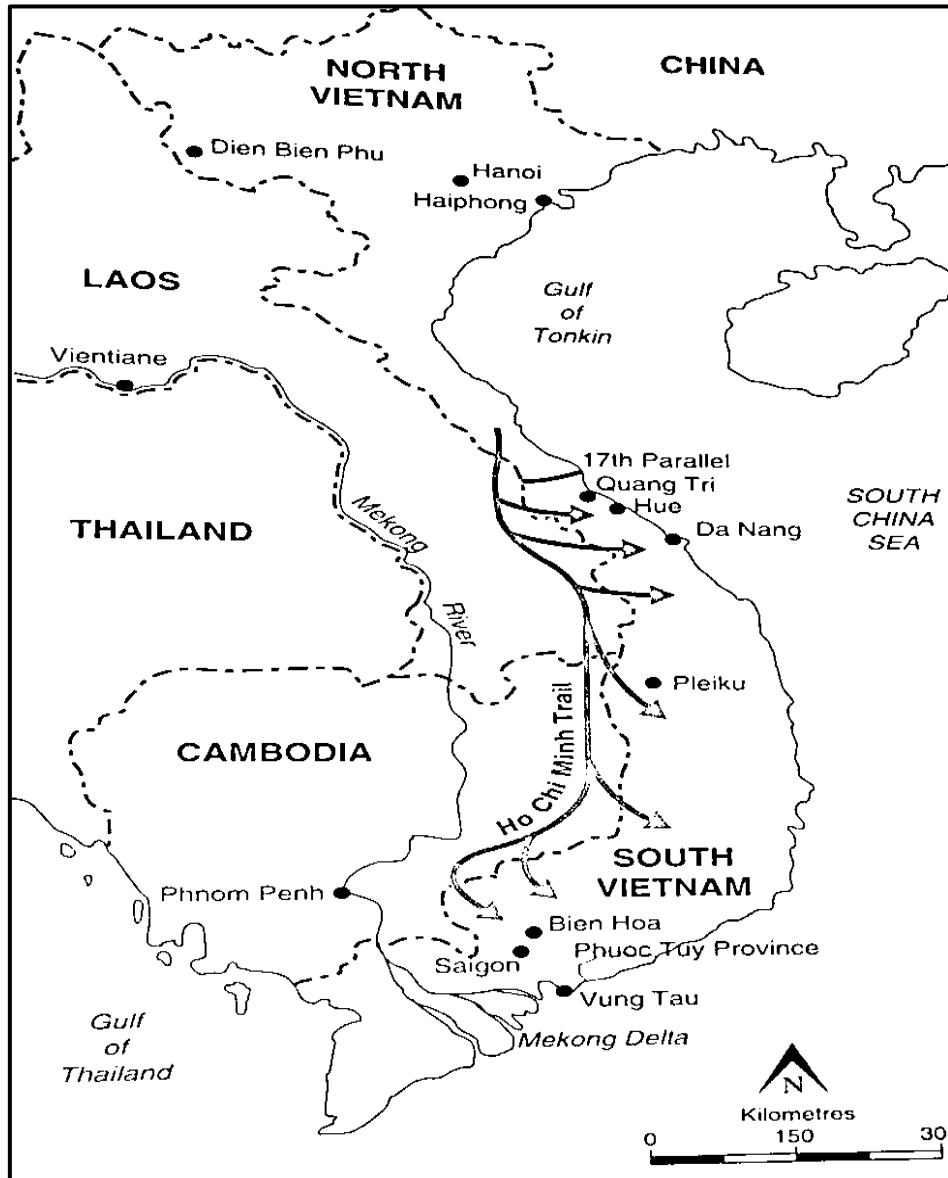
### Indo-China

Before the war, French had exercised direct rule over the area around Saigon and had protectorates over Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and Laos. A protectorate was a country which was officially independent with its own ruler, but which was under the 'protection' or guardianship of the mother country. It usually meant in practice that the mother country, in this case French, controlled affairs in the protectorate just as it did in a colony.

Indo-China, which consisted of three areas, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, which was part of the French empire in south-east Asia, and was the scene of almost non-stop conflict from the end of the Second World War. In the first phases of the conflict, the people of the area fought for and won their independence from the French. The second phases (1965-1975) began with civil war in South Vietnam; the USA intervened prevent the further spread of communism, but eventually had to admit defeat.

During the war, the whole area was occupied by the Japanese, and resistance was organised by the communist *Ho Chi Minh* and the *league Vietnamese Independence (Vietminh)*. When the Japanese withdrew in 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared Vietnam Independent. This was unexpected to the French, and an eight year armed struggle began which culminated in the *French defeat in the Dien Bien Phu in May 1954*. The defeat was a humiliating blow for the French and it caused a political crises. The government resigned and new and more liberal premier Pierre Mendes-French, realising that public opinion was turning against the war, decided to withdraw.

*At the Geneva Conference (July 1954), it was agreed that Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia should become independent.* Unfortunately, that was not the end of the troubles. Although the French had withdrawn, the Americans were unwilling to allow the whole of Vietnam to come under the rule of communist Ho Chi Minh, and an even bloodier struggle development; there were also problems in Cambodia.



Map Illustration 12.1.1.4g: French Indo-China.

### ***The rest of the French Empire***

The French possessions in Africa south of the Sahara were:

- *French West Africa* consisting of eight colonies: Dahomey, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Mauretania, Nigeria, Sudan and Upper Volta;
- *French Equatorial Africa* consisting of four colonies: Chad, Gabon, Middle Congo and Oubangui-shari;
- A third group consisted of *Cameroun and Togo* (former German colonies given to French to be looked after as mandates in 1919), and the island of *Madagascar*.

*French policy after 1945 was to treat these territories as if they were part of French, and any moves towards more privileges for the Africans were opposed by the French settlers. In 1949, the French government decided to clamp down on all nationalist movements, and many nationalist leaders and trade unionist were arrest. Often, they were denounced communist agitators, though without much evidence to support the accusation.*

Gradually, the French were forced by events in Indo-China and the Maghrib, together with the fact that Britain was preparing the Gold Coast and Nigeria for independence, to change their policy. In 1956, *the twelve colonies of west and Equatorial Africa were each given self-government for internal affairs, but they continue to press for full independence.*

When de Gaulle came to power in 1958, he proposed a new plan, hoping to keep as much control over the colonies as possible:

- The twelve colonies would continue to have self-government, each with its own parliament for local affairs
- They would all be members of a new union, *the French Community*, and French would take all important decisions about taxation and foreign affairs
- All members of the community would receive economic aid from France
- There would be a referendum in each colony to decide whether the plan should be accepted or not
- Colonies which opted for full independence could have it but would receive no French aid.

De Gaulle was confident that none of them would dare face the future without French help. He was almost right: eleven colonies voted in favour of his plan, but one, *Guinea, under the leadership of Sekou Toure', returned a 95% vote against his plan.* Guinea was given independence immediately (1958), but all French aid was stopped. However, Guinea's brave stand encouraged all other eleven, as well as Togo, Cameroun and Madagascar: they all demanded full independence and de Gaulle agreed. They all became independent republics during 1960. However, this new independence was not as complete as the new states had hoped: *de Gaulle was intent on neo-colonialism* – all the new states found that France still influenced their economics and foreign policies, and any independent action was almost out of the question.

Three French possessions outside Africa – Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana (all in South America) including New Caledonia and French Polynesia (both in the Pacific), were not given independence. They continued to be treated as extensions of the mother country and their official title was 'overseas *de'partments* (a *de'partments* a sort of county or province). Their people voted in French elections and their representatives sat in the France National Assembly in Paris.

### **Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and Italy**

All these colonial powers, with the exception of Italy, were, if anything, were even more determined to hold onto their oversea possessions. This was probably because, being less wealthy than Britain and France, they lacked the resources to put up with neo-colonialism. There was no

way that they would be able to maintain the equivalent of the British Commonwealth or the French influence over their former colonies from foreign capital.

**(a) Holland**

Before the war Holland had a huge empire in the East Indies including the large islands of Sumatra, Java, Celebes, West Irian (part of the island of New Guinea) and about two-thirds of the island of Borneo (see Map Illus. 12.1.1.4h). They also owned islands in the West Indies, and Surinam on the

mainland of South America, between British and French Guiana.



Map Illustration 12.1.1.4h: Indonesia and East Timor

*It was in the valuable East Indies, that the first challenge came to Dutch control even before the war.* The Dutch operated to a similar way to the French in Algeria – they grew crops and did very little to improve the living standards of the East Indians. Nationalist groups campaigned throughout the 1930s, and many leaders including *Ahmed Sukarno*, were arrested.

When the Japanese invaded in 1942, they released Sukarno and others and allowed them to play a part in the administration of the country, promising independence when the war was over. With the Japanese defeat in 1945, Sukarno declared an independent republic of Indonesia, not expecting any resistance from the Dutch, who had been defeated and their country occupied by Germans. However, Dutch troops soon arrived and made determined efforts to regain control.

Although, the Dutch had some success, the war dragged on, and they were still a long way from complete victory in 1949, when they at last decided to negotiate. *Reasons for their decision were:*

- The expense of the campaign was crippling for a small country like Holland to sustain;
- Outright victory still seemed a long way off;
- They were under strong pressure from the UN to reach agreement;
- Other countries, including the USA and Australia, were pressing Holland to grant independence so that they could exert their influence in the area, once exclusive Dutch control ended;
- The Dutch hoped that by making concessions, they would be able to preserve the link between Holland and Indonesia and maintain some influence.

*Holland agreed to recognise the independence of the United States of Indonesia (1949), with Sukarno as president, but not including West Irian.* Sukarno agreed to a Netherlands – Indonesia Union under the Dutch crown, and Dutch troops were withdrawn. However, the following year, Sukarno broke from the Union and began to pressurise the Dutch to hand over West Irian, seizing

Dutch - owned properties and expelling Europeans. Eventually, in 1963, Holland gave way and allowed West Irian to become part of Indonesia.

Important developments took place in 1965 when Sukarno was overthrown in a right-wing military coup, apparently because he was thought to be too much under the influence of Communist China and the Indonesian communist party. The USA was involved in the coup, and welcomed Sukarno's successor, General Suharto. He introduced what he called his 'New Order'. This involved a removal of communists during which, at least half a million people were murdered. The regime was a brutal military dictatorship, but there were few protests from the West because Suharto was anti-communist.

Of the other Dutch possessions, Surinam was allowed to become an independent republic in 1975; the West Indian islands were treated as part of Holland, though allowed some control over their internal affairs.

#### *(b) Belgium*

Belgian control of their African possessions, the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, ended in chaos, violence and civil war.

The Belgians thought that the best way to preserve their control was by:

- *Denying the Africans any advanced education*- this would prevent them from coming into contact with nationalist ideas and deprive them of an educated professionals class who could lead them to independence;
- *Using tribal rivalries to their advantage*. This worked well in the huge Congo which contained about 150 tribes; men from one tribe would be used to keep order in another tribal area. In Ruanda-Urundi the Belgians used the Tutsi tribe to help them control the other main tribal group, the Hutu.

In spite of all these efforts, nationalist ideas still began to filter in from neighbouring French and British colonies.

#### *(c) Spain*

Spain owned some areas in Africa: the largest was Spanish Sahara, and there were also the colonies of Spanish Morocco, Ifni, and Spanish Guinea. General Franco, the right-wing dictator who ruled Spain from 1939 until 1975, showed little interest in the colonies.

- When national interest developed he did not resist long in the case of *Spanish Morocco*: when the French gave independence to French Morocco (1956), Franco followed suit and Spanish Morocco became part of Morocco. The other two small colonies had to wait much longer:
- *Ifni* was allowed to join Morocco but not until 1969; and
- *Guinea* became independent as Equatorial Guinea in 1968.

#### *(d) Portugal*

The main Portuguese possessions were in Africa: the two large areas of Angola and Mozambique, and the small West African colony of Portuguese Guinea. They also still owned the eastern half of the island of Timor in the East Indies. The right-wing Portuguese government of Dr Salazar, ignored nationalist developments in the rest of Africa, and for many years after 1945, seemed quite and resigned to their position. They were mainly agricultural; there were few industrial workers and the black populations were almost entirely illiterate. In 1956, there were only fifty Africans in the whole of Mozambique who had received any secondary education. Though nationalist groups were formed in all three colonies in 1956, they remained unimportant. *Several factors changed the situation.*

- By 1960 the nationalists were greatly encouraged by the number of African states winning independence.
- The Salazar regime, having learnt nothing from the experiences of the other colonial powers, stepped up its' repressive policies, but this only made the nationalists more resolute.
- Fighting broke out first in Angola (1961) where Agostinho Neto's MPLA (*People's Movement for Angolan Liberation*), was the main nationalist movement. Violence soon spread to Guinea where Amilcar Cabral led the resistance, and to Mozambique, where the FRELIMO guerrillas were organised by Eduardo Mondlane.
- The nationalists, who had strong Marxists connections, received economic and military aid from the communist bloc.
- The Portuguese found it impossible to suppress the nationalist guerrillas; the troops became demoralised and the cost escalated until by 1973, the government was spending more than 40 per cent of its budget fighting three colonial wars at once.
- Still the Portuguese government refused to abandon its' policy; and in 1974, the Salazar dictatorship was overthrown by a military coup.

Soon all three colonies were granted independence; Guinea took the name Guinea Bissau (September 1974), and Mozambique and Angola became independent the following year. This caused a serious crisis for Rhodesia and South Africa; they were now the only states left in Africa ruled by white minorities, and their governments increasingly threatened.

#### *(e) Italy*

It was officially decided in 1947 that Italy, having supported Hitler and suffered in the Second World War, must lose all her overseas empires. Her African possessions were to be administered by France and Britain until the UN decided what to do with them. The UN followed a policy of placing the territories under governments which would be sympathetic to Western interests.

- *Ethiopia* was handed back to the rule of the Emperor Haile Selassie, who had been forced into exile when the Italians invaded Ethiopia (Abyssinia) in 1935.
- *Libya* was given independence under King Idris (1951)
- *Eritrea* was made part of Ethiopia (1952) but it was to have a large measure of self-government within a federal system.

- *Italian Somaliland* was merged with British Somaliland to form the independent state of Somalia (1960).

Some of these arrangements did not prove to be very successful. Both Idris and Haile Selassie became unpopular with their peoples, Idris because he was thought to be too pro-West, and Haile Selassie because he made no attempt to modernize Ethiopia and did little to improve living standards of his people. He also made the mistake of cancelling Eritrea's right of self-government (1962), which prompted the Eritreans into launching a war for independence. King Idris was overthrown in 1969 by a revolutionary movement which nationalised the oil industry and began to modernise the country. Haile Selassie was overthrown in 1974. New leaders soon emerged – Colonel Gaddafi in Libya and Colonel Mengistu in Ethiopia, both of whom turned to USSR for economic aid. Mengistu seemed to have the more serious problems. He made the mistake of refusing to come to terms with the Eritreans and was faced with other provinces – Tigre and Ogaden – also wanting independence. As he struggled to suppress all these break away movements, military expense soared and his country sank into even deeper poverty and famine.

Study the following time chart that shows the year countries in Asia and Africa received independence.

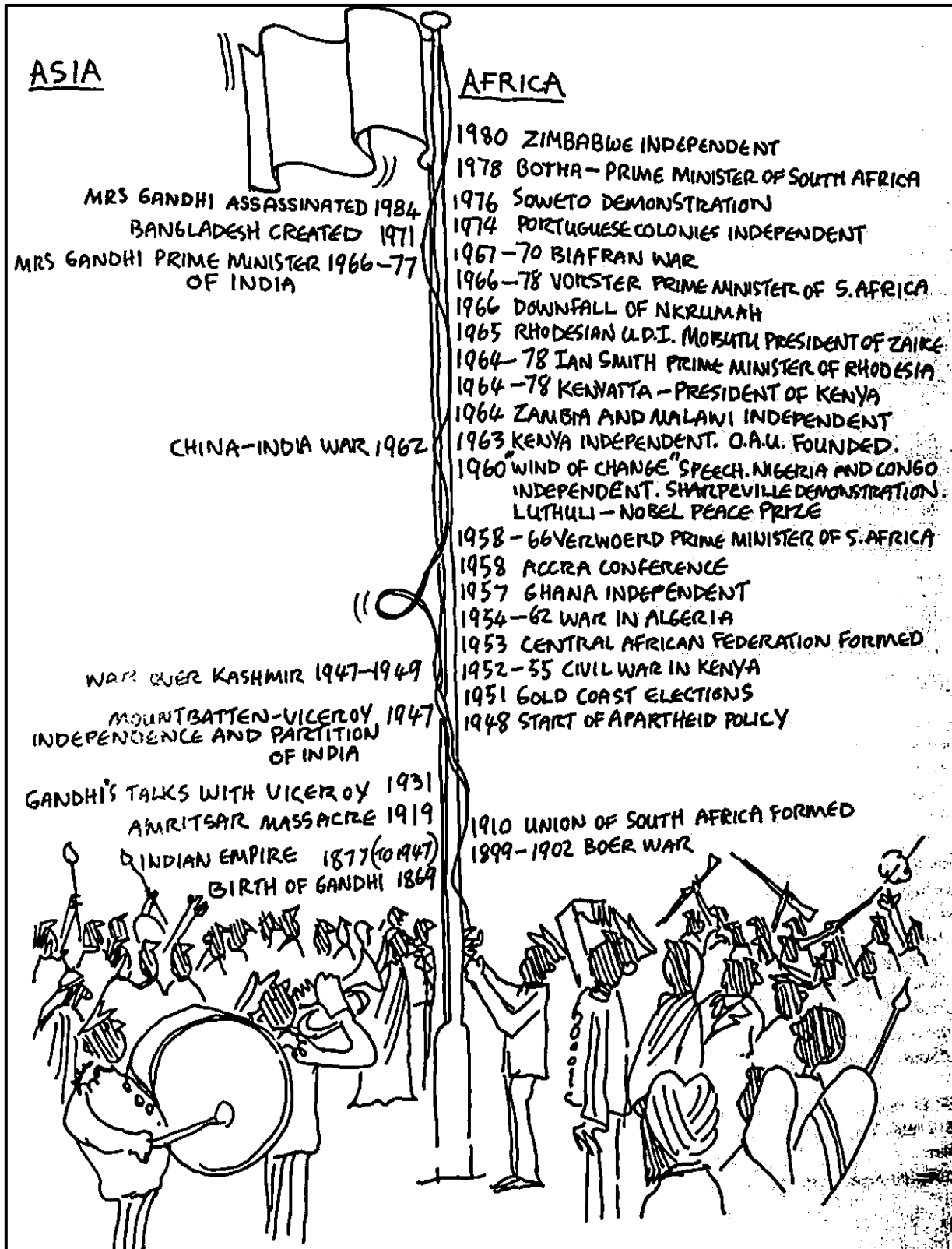


Figure Illustration 12.1.1.4i: Time chart – Former Asia and African Colonies Becoming Independent

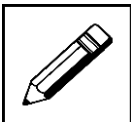
Now read the summary.



## Topic Summary

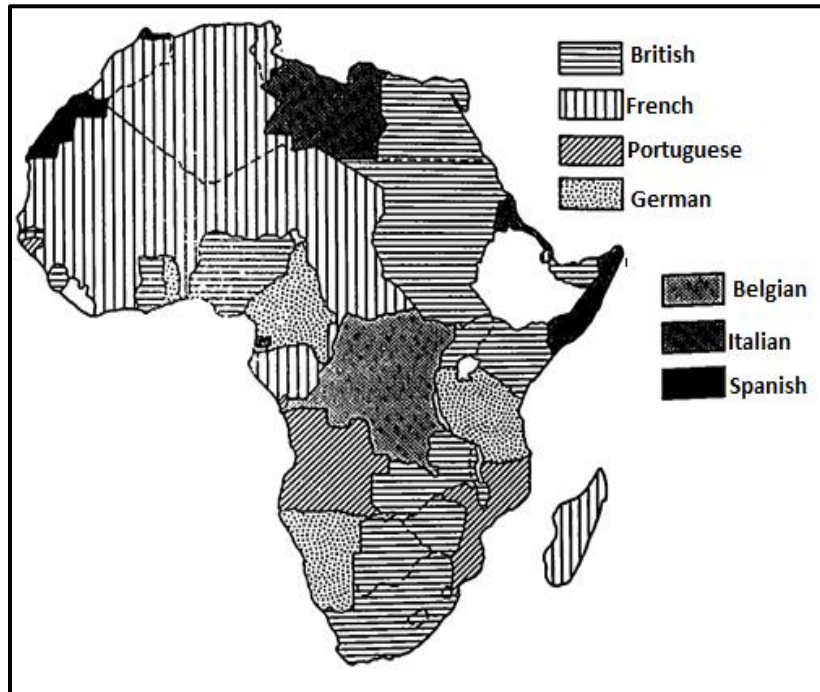
- Although some states particularly Britain, handled decolonisation better than others, in general it was not a pleasant experience for the colonies. There were some gains for the new states, which now had much more control over what went on inside their frontiers; and there were some gains for ordinary people, such as advances in education and social services. On the other hand *there were new problems to be faced*.
- *Neo-colonialism* meant that Western European Countries and the USA still exerted a great deal of control over the new states, which continued to need the markets and the investment that the west could provide.
- *Many new states, especially in Africa, had been badly prepared or not prepared at all for independence*. Their frontiers were often forced on them by the Europeans and there was little incentive for different tribes to stay together in Nigeria and Belgian Congo - tribal differences help to cause civil war. When the British withdrew from Nyasaland (Malawi) there were only three secondary schools for 3 million Africans, and not one single industrial factory. When the Portuguese were forced to withdraw from Mozambique, they deliberately destroyed installations and machinery in revenge.
- *In most cases, the governments which took over were run by the local political elite groups*: there was no social revolution and no guarantee that ordinary people would be better off. In countries where new governments were prepared to introduce socialist policies (nationalising resources or foreign business), or where governments showed any sign of supporting communism, the Western countries disapproved. This happened in Indo-China, Indonesia, East Timor, Chad, Angola, Mozambique, Zaire and Jamaica.
- *All the Third World states faced the problem of intense poverty*. They were economically underdeveloped and often relied on exports of one or two commodities. Loans from abroad left them heavily in debt. Africa was worst hit: it was the only area of the world where in 1987; incomes were, on average, lower than in 1972.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.1.4

1. Use the following Map to answer questions.



a) Name four former German Colonies in Africa.

- i) \_\_\_\_\_ (iii) \_\_\_\_\_  
 ii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iv) \_\_\_\_\_

b) Who was the former European colonial ruler of the island country on the Southern tip of Africa? \_\_\_\_\_

c) Who was the former colonial master of Zaire? \_\_\_\_\_

2. When did these countries gain independence? (refer to the Time-chart, p: 47)

- |            |       |                |       |
|------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| a) Nigeria | _____ | (d) India      | _____ |
| b) Ghana   | _____ | (e) Bangladesh | _____ |
| c) Kenya   | _____ | (f) Uganda     | _____ |

3. What were the 3 former colonies of Portugal?

- i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_ (iii) \_\_\_\_\_

4. Define these following terms.

- a) Decolonisation

---

---

b) Nationhood

---

---

---

c) Neo-colonialism

---

---

---

d) Federation

---

---

---

e) Commonwealth

---

---

---

---

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.1.**



## ANSWERS TO ACTIVITIES 12.1.1

### Activity 12.1.1.1

1. Countries on the Map of Europe labeled A – J.
 

A. Britain	D. Italy	G. Hungary	J. Yugoslavia
B. Spain	E. Germany	H. Czechoslovakia	
C. France	F. Poland	I. Austria	
2. The eight main reasons why European power's dominance declined at the end of WWII was:
  - i) Enormous destructions
  - ii) There was no all-inclusive peace settlement
  - iii) The war stimulated important social changes
  - iv) The war caused the production of nuclear weapons
  - v) Europe's domination of the rest of the world ended
  - vi) Emergence of the super-powers
  - vii) Decolonisation
  - viii) Formation of The United Nations Organisation (UNO)
3. According to Fig. 12.1.1.1b, the exact number of casualties for
  - (a) Yugoslavia: 1.7 million casualties
  - (b) Italy: 420,000 casualties
  - (c) Hungary: 410,000 casualties
4. There was No "an all-inclusive peace settlement" mainly because of the distrust which had re-emerged between the USSR and the west in the final months of the war made agreement on many points impossible.
5. The most prominent social change that eventuated as a result of the war was the migration of refugees.
6. The four leading western European states in the first half of the twentieth Century were:
 

(a) Britain	(b) French	(c) Germany	(d) Italy
-------------	------------	-------------	-----------
- 7.

Countries	Ideas encouraged
United States	Capitalism
USSR	Communism

8. Apart from other things, the Second World War greatly affected the move towards De-colonisation.
9. The main aim of the UN was to try to maintain world peace.
10. The Holocaust was the deliberate murder in extermination camps of over 5 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jews, mainly in Poland and Russia by the Nazis between the 1930s and 1940s.
11. The economic idea that encourages private ownership for the profit motive is Capitalism.

**Activity 12.1.1.2****1. PUZZLE**

I	N	D	O	C	H	I	N	A	J	K	L	M
T	C	A	B	C	S	E	R	I	P	M	E	N
S	G	O	D	E	F	C	G	H	I	C	U	O
I	P	H	M	T	S	O	R	Q	N	P	R	A
L	P	A	A	M	U	L	V	E	W	X	O	I
A	A	M	N	N	O	O	D	N	I	A	P	S
N	L	R	D	B	A	N	A	Z	Y	V	E	E
O	E	U	A	C	E	I	W	D	I	E	A	N
I	S	B	T	P	N	S	R	E	G	F	N	O
T	T	G	E	D	H	E	T	Y	A	I	J	D
A	I	D	I	Q	P	N	O	N	S	L	K	N
N	N	A	F	R	A	N	C	E	L	M	T	I
I	E	S	R	M	A	I	R	E	G	I	N	H

**2. MATCHING**

- (a) Neo-colonialism
- (b) Nationalist
- (c) Mandate
- (d) Liberalism

**3. SHORT ANSWERS**

- (a) The former British colonies retained their link with Britain by joining the Commonwealth.
- (b)
  - British:
    - i) -Palestine
    - ii)- Trans-Jordan (Note: Iraq can also be accepted)
  - French:
    - i) -Syria
    - ii) -Lebanon
- (c) Indonesia
- (d) The general feeling amongst colonial peoples was that they were being exploited by the Europeans, who took most of the profits from their partnership.
- (e) Japanese success in the early part of the year (i.e.1942) capturing the British colonies of Burma, Malaya, and Singapore showed that it was possible for non-European armies to defeat the Europeans.

**Activity 12.1.1.3**

1. The Trusteeship councils' purpose was to govern the territories and prepare them for independence.
2. One failure of the League of Nations' was that it proved incapable of restraining aggressive dictators like Hitler and Mussolini.
3. The two points mentioned at the 1941 Atlantic Charter are;
  - i) Nations should not expand by taking territory from other nations
  - ii) All peoples should have the right to choose their own form of government.
4. The United Nations officially came into existence in October, 1945.
5. The USA assisted to secure South Korea in the Korean War. Though this was claimed by the west as a great UN success, it was in fact, very much an American operation – the vast majority of troops and the commander-in-chief, General MacArthur, were American, and the US government had already decided to intervene with force the day before the Security Council was taken.
6. The different motives behind American intervention in the process of decolonisation were;
  - i) that delays in granting independence to European colonies in Asia and Africa would encourage the development of communism in these areas.
  - ii) that newly –independent nations were optional markets to establish both economic and political influence.
7. The aims of the UN are to:
  - i) Preserve peace and eliminate war;
  - ii) Remove the causes of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in underdeveloped countries;
  - iii) Safe-guard the rights of all individual human beings, and the rights of peoples and nations.
8. List down the five permanent members of the United Nations.
  - i) United States of America
  - ii) Russia
  - iii) China
  - iv) Great Britain
  - v) France
9. Veto refers to the absolute power possessed by all of the five (5) permanent members to oppose any decision made by the UN.
10.
  - i) ILO – International Labour Organisation
  - ii) WHO – World Health Organisation.
  - iii) FAO – Food and Agricultural Organisation
  - iv) UNICEF – United Nations International Children Emergency Fund
  - v) UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
  - vi) UNRWA – United Nations Relief and Works Agency

**Activity 12.1.1.4**

1. The former German colonies were:
    - a) Cameroun
    - b) Togo
    - c) Tanzania (Tanganyika)
    - d) Namibia
  2. The former French colony at the southernmost tip of Africa is Madagascar (Malagasy)
  3. Belgium was the former colonial master of Zaire.
  4. 

a) Nigeria:	1960	d) India:	1947
b) Ghana:	1957	e) Bangladesh:	1971
c) Kenya:	1963	f) Uganda:	1962
  5. The three (3) former colonies of Portugal are;
    - a) Angola
    - b) Mozambique
    - c) Guinea Bissau (Portuguese Guinea)
  6.
    - a) Decolonisation-is the achieving of independence by former colonies.
    - b) Nationhood- the process of a nation/ state or country achieving Independence and becoming a sovereign nation for all its' citizens.
    - c) Neo - colonialism- the practice of exercising influence over former colonies after independence by Economic means.
    - d) Federation– is when a number of states join together under a central or federal government which has over all authority; each of the states has its own separate parliament which deals with internal affairs.
    - e) Commonwealth- is made up of all the former colonies of the British Empire, these countries recognise the Queen of England as their Queen and she is represented by the Governor General of the country.
- 

**You have completed Subunit 12.1.1. Now go on to subunit 12.1.2.**



## 12. 1.2: Pathway to Independence

---

### 12.1.2.1: Resistance, Negotiations and External pressures

Welcome to Topic 1. This is the first topic of the Grade 12 Sub unit 2 Course on 'Pathway to Independence'. This is a follow up of the first unit and you will start by looking at 12.1.2.1: Resistance, Negotiations and External pressures these decolonised countries had encountered most of them after they had been granted Independence.

By the end of this sub unit students can;

- define resistance, negotiations and external pressures.
  - using a map to identify and name some countries that have gone through resistance and negotiations.
  - summarise the role of external pressures - advantages and disadvantages.
- 

The process of becoming de-colonised and securing Nationhood was not as easy as it seemed, not for all those newly independent countries anyway. Each nation had its' own share of problems, and hardships towards securing independence.

Nevertheless, it proved far easier for Third World nationalists to throw of colonial rule than to build a secure future for them and to satisfy the hopes that people had invested in independence - hopes for prosperity and freedom. Most of the newly independent countries included people of different nationalities, tribes or religions, speaking different languages, and often bitterly hostile to each other. Consequently, the struggles for liberation had tended to unite non-European peoples against white rulers, but independence brought conflict, and, in some instances, separatists' movements dragged the new states into civil wars.

For the purpose of our topic, we shall discuss several countries that had under gone the stages of resistance, negotiations, and even external pressures before finally becoming independent. In any case, there are several reasons why these situations eventuated resulting in internal civil crisis, some even after the country had been granted independence by their former European colonial rulers.

### **Problems of Independence and Non-Alignment in the Third World**

#### Separatists Movements

In Africa, the causes of conflict were mainly tribal disputes. Zaire, for example included 150 major tribes speaking 38 different languages; and Nigeria's numerous small tribes are dominated by three major ones - the Yoruba, the Hausa and the Ibo- each at odds with the others. Both countries experienced bloody civil wars. Between 1960 and 1963 the prosperous province of Katanga, led by Moise Tshombe and supported by Belgian mining interests, attempted to break away from Zaire, which was then known as Congo. In Nigeria between 1967 and 1970 the Ibo leader, Colonel

---

Ojukwu, led his people's struggle to make the Eastern Region of the country (Biafra) independent of the Hausa dominated federal state.

Zaire and Nigeria survived those attempts to break away; but tribal conflicts continued to dominate their internal politics, as they did in most Black African states. The hostility between rival tribes was one major reason why parliamentary democracy seemed almost unworkable in Africa; and the single-party regimes and military dictatorships, which took over almost all the new states in the continent shortly after independence, generally meant arbitrary rule by one tribe over all the others.

Africa also saw conflicts, on national and religious lines, of a kind which were more typical of Asia and the Middle East. In the Sudan, there was a conflict between the Arab Muslim peoples of the north and the black Africans of the southern province, who resisted northern rule by guerilla warfare in the 1960s and by full-scale civil war between 1963 and 1972. For the Muslims of north east Kenya, and of the Ogaden and Eritrea in Ethiopia, independence simply didn't come. The Somalis of the Ogaden and of Kenya continued their struggle to join the independent state of Somalia, which supported their cause; while Arab states backed the Eritreans in their struggle for independence. In the late 1970s these nationalist struggle in the Horn of Africa, were poisoned by great power politics when the Soviet Union first supported the Somalis and then provided the Ethiopians with massive military aid.

The rise of militant nationalism stretched to breaking point the age-old tensions between Hindus and Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, and between Muslims and non-Muslim people in the Eastern Mediterranean, chiefly the Jews in Palestine, and the Christians in the Lebanon. Cyprus too had no hope of a peaceful independent existence after the British left in 1960. Conflict between the Christian Greek majority and the Muslim Turkish minority led to civil war in 1963 and to an invasion by Turkey in 1974 when the Greek colonels and Cypriots army officers tried to unite the island with Greece.

In Asia and the Middle East, a number of countries faced attempts by aggrieved minority peoples to break away, and had to fight to preserve the unity of their states. The Kurds of northern Iraq fought for independence from 1961 to 1970; and the Naga tribes of north-east India rebelled against Indian rule between 1956 and 1969. They both failed but the Bengalis of East Pakistan successfully broke away from a state dominated by the more prosperous Punjabis of West Pakistan. East Pakistan became, with Indian help, the independent state of Bangladesh in 1971.

The belief in the right of national self-determination, which had inspired anti-colonial liberation movements, proved impossible to apply in countries of mixed nationality as well as posing other problems. For the people who had supported nationalists movements had expected independence to bring in its' train a new prosperity and national regeneration. As Kwame Nkrumah told his followers, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and everything else shall be added unto you". But independence did not change the facts of life.

### **Economic difficulties**

Most of the new states were extremely poor countries, with little manufacturing industry and backward agriculture and they faced a difficult future in a world, dominated by the technology and

capital of the developed states. It was an unfortunate paradox that Western medicine added to their problems by reducing mortality rates and causing massive population growth throughout the Third World. The prices paid to primary producers for their mineral exports and cash crops were fixed in world markets – and prices often fluctuated wildly from year to year, giving rise to uncertainty and frequently to real hardships. The only way the new states hoped to escape from poverty and from dependency on the powerful foreigners who bought their primary products, was by industrialising and modernising. Yet, many of them were desperately short of capital, technical and the business know-how. Population growth drained their resources and made it all the harder to accumulate capital without help from foreign investors and governments. The foreigners who had exploited their resources in the past stood for colonialism, and the nationalists wanted to be rid of them; and rid only of the white oil-men and mining bosses and plantation owners, but also of the non- Europeans, such as the Asians, who dominated the trade of Kenya and Uganda, and the Chinese who controlled business in Malaya.

Sometimes, the new governments took over foreign capital by nationalisation. The government of Zaire, for example, nationalised foreign businesses in the late 1960s, including the Union Miniere which controlled Katanga's copper resources. In other cases, foreign businessmen were expelled – most by President Idi Amin Dada of Uganda, who in 1972, threw out all Asians who had not given up British citizenship. But such nationalist policies set back economic growth, and most Third World governments eventually accepted that they could not develop their economies without foreign capital and expertise.

### **Political difficulties**

Most of the former British and French colonies began their independent lives with parliamentary forms of government. Such regimes stood little chance of success in deeply divided countries with low literacy rates and grave economic problems. Very few survived as genuine democracies, and most were either quickly changed into single-party regimes, which retained a democratic front but banned all organised opposition (for example, Nkrumah's Ghana, and Nyereres' Tanzania), or they were taken over by their armies. Between 1958 and 1969, twenty-two out of thirty-eight African states, were taken over by military regimes. The new professional armies of the Third World had an advantage over civilian politicians on imposing their wills on divided peoples. But some were more brutal than even the worst of the old colonial regimes.

Marxism was also influential in Third World politics. In a few special cases, nationalists' movements were taken over by Marxists leaders. Castro's regime in Cuba turned to Soviet Union for support against American anxiety. North Vietnam and Cambodia were near enough to Mao's China to draw inspiration from her example, and suffered terribly in war against the USA. In Africa in the 1970s, there emerged a number of regimes controlled by hard-line Marxists and supported by Soviet and Cuban aid- in Angola, Mozambique, Somalia and Mengistu's Ethiopia- but it remained unclear whether Soviet-styled communism would last in those countries. In a Black Africa dominated by tribal rather than class divisions, and in the Middle East and Asia, where religion continued to have great social and political importance, Marxism did not easily take root.

Many Third World regimes were attracted instead by socialism, which justified government intervention in the workings of a country's economy. Leaders like Nyerere and Nasser made it clear they were not adopting the alien ideas of Marxism, but rather developing new forms of 'African

socialism' and 'Arab socialism' to suit the needs of their peoples. Regimes such as those in Tanzania and Egypt did not ban all private enterprise, but nationalised some large industries, introduced measures of land and tax reform and tried to plan economic development.

Kwame Nkrumah proved less competent as a pioneer of African Socialism than as a leader of the struggle against African colonialism. In Ghana, between 1961 and 1966, his government came near to bankruptcy as one of Black Africa's most prosperous countries. Massive corruption, mismanagement of nationalised industries, and the waste of funds prestige projects Stopped Ghana's economic growth and burdened the country with huge oversea debts. On the other hand, socialist planning was successful in Nehru's India; and in the poor country of Tanzania, Nyerere established a genuinely fair society.

### **The Non-aligned Movement**

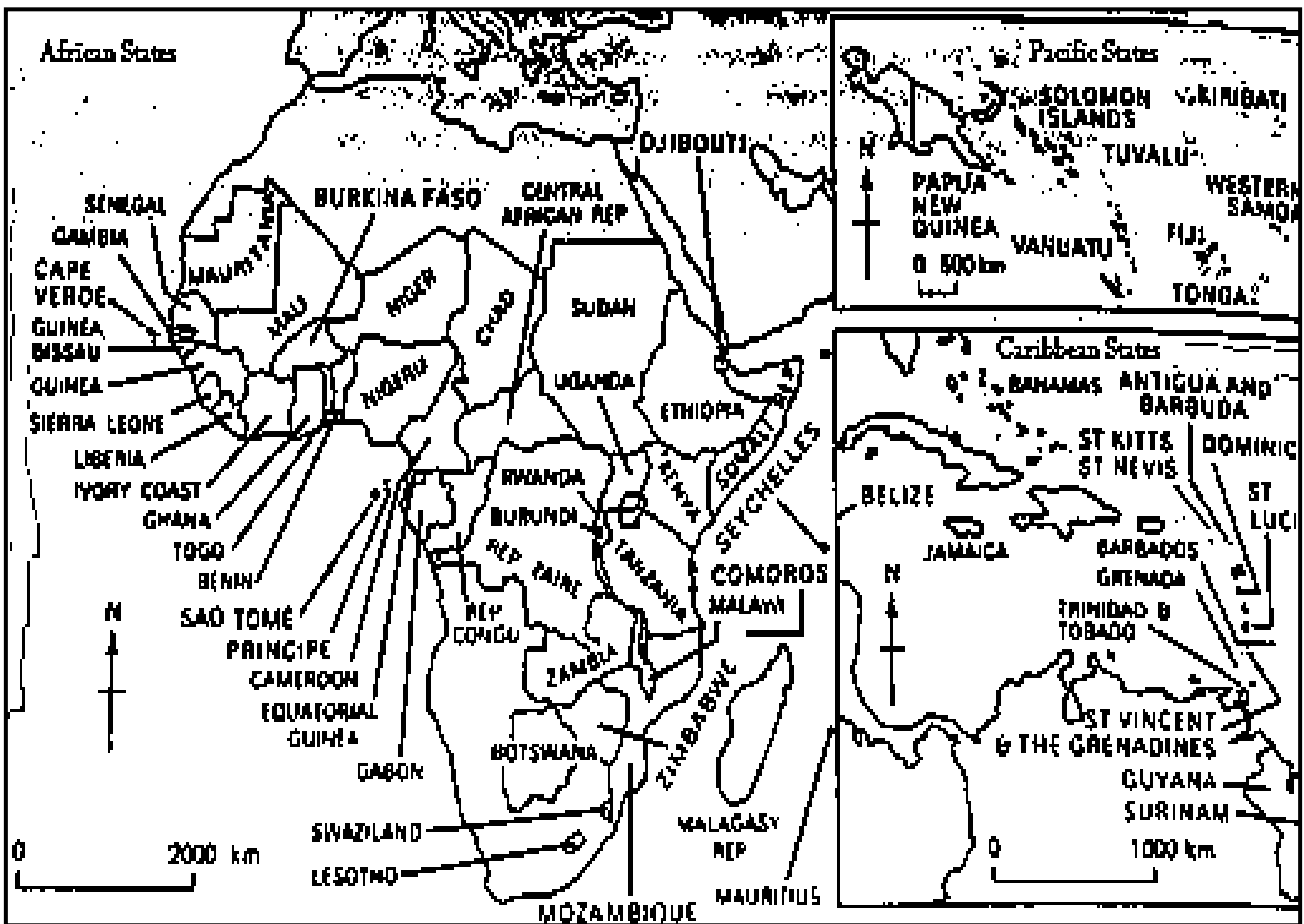
In international relations, the countries of the Third World tried to find ways of asserting their independence of the Eastern and Western power blocs. Regional organisations were formed in the Middle East and Africa to promote solidarity between the nationalist regimes. The Arab League was set up in 1945, and the organisation of the African Unity was created in 1963. Both organisations set out to co-ordinate policies especially on regional problems-the Arab struggle against Israel, the black African opposition to South Africa.

In 1955, a more ambitious attempt was made to combine the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia in a third, non-aligned, bloc. Alarmed by the growth of American influence in Asia and the Middle East, Sukarno and Nehru called the representatives of twenty-nine countries to a conference in Bandung in Indonesia. The participants were unable to reach agreement on what 'non-alignment' as such meant in practice.

Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, visited Bandung and tried to persuade the anti-colonial powers to follow the lead of China-a poor Asian country, which had thrown out the imperialist but had no plans, so he said, to use communism as a means to worldwide domination. He influenced some of those present, and although others remained hostile to any brand of communism, Nehru's hope that the Third World would remain neutral between East and West, was slowly eroded as communist influence increased in the next few years. At the second conference of 'non-aligned' countries, held in Belgrade in 1961, the mood of those present was clearly anti-Western.

Behind such divisions among the new states of the Third World lay, not only political differences, but also bread and butter issues which prevented them from acting independently of the Eastern and Western blocs. Poor countries needed economic and technical aid; countries at war with their neighbours needed arms. East and West competed to provide both in strategically important areas. The new states needed trading partners too, as markets for their exports. Most of the former British colonies remained within the Commonwealth after gaining their independence, chiefly for the economic advantages it offered. They were also able to exert some influence on the Commonwealth policies; in 1961, for example, they forced South Africa to leave by their attack on apartheid. In addition, in 1975 no fewer than forty-six African, Caribbean and small Pacific states signed the Lome Convention which gave them a valuable trading connection with the European Community.

Study the following map on the Lome Convention in Africa.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.1a: Showing Members countries of the Lome Convention in 1985

The hope that the Third World might form a third power bloc, or even maintain united and effective regional leagues, was doomed to fail. The new states achieved their greatest international impact from the UN where, by the late 1960s, they had a large majority in the General Assembly. Yet little was achieved by UN resolutions against colonialism, even though they were passed by massive votes, combining Afro-Asian support with that of the Communist countries. The UN could only denounce: it could not use force against states intent on maintaining alien rule. The military role of the UN in Third World conflicts was therefore confined to supplying peace-keeping forces to hold rival armies apart in Zaire, Cyprus and the Middle East.

In the 1980s, many observers of the international scene drew a distinction between the 'Third World' of developing countries, many of which were relatively prosperous, and a 'Fourth World' of desperately poor and declining nations. The least fortunate of these were the **Sahelian states**, the nine countries south of the Saharan and Egyptian deserts which constituted a 'famine belt' stretching across the whole of Africa. In these countries a combination of factors like; drought, the encroachment of the desert, civil wars, and poor government. All these factors, combined to produce a state of continuous famine. In Ethiopia and Sudan, the worst affected of the Sahelian states, more than three million people starved to death from 1984 to 1985.

Study the following illustrations on starvation in parts of Africa.

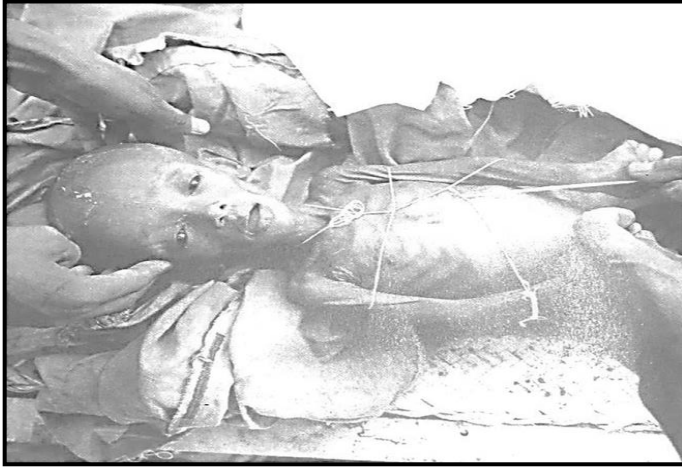


Illustration 12.1.2.1b: The 'Fourth World' El Fau refugee camp in Tigaray province, Ethiopia, February, 1985. This little boy, who had lost the ability to eat through starvation, died in front of the camera as a doctor tried to attach a nasal drip.



Illustration 12.1.2.1c: An EEC 'mountain' of barley in a Lincolnshire ware house, in 1980.

Other observers of the international scene have criticised the idea of First, Second, Third and Fourth Worlds as misleading. The 'North-South Report' produced by the Brandt Commission in 1980, for example, drew attention to the interdependence of the fairly prosperous northern hemisphere and the much poorer southern hemisphere. For each to survive certain economic disaster in the future, the 'North-South Report' argued for a massive transfer of financial resources from the north (i.e. the developed countries) to the developing countries. These financial assistance should be used for; a world food programme, a global energy strategy, and for a reformed international economic system. But by the mid-1980s it seemed that no progress had been made towards achieving any of these objectives.

In 1985, however, European governments in the EEC spent more (£265 million) on destroying surplus food as part of the Common Agriculture Policy than on providing emergency aid to the Sahelian states.

<p><b>E. E. C- European Economic Community</b>  <b>C. A. P- Common Agricultural Policy</b></p>
--

Now read the summary.

## Topic Summary

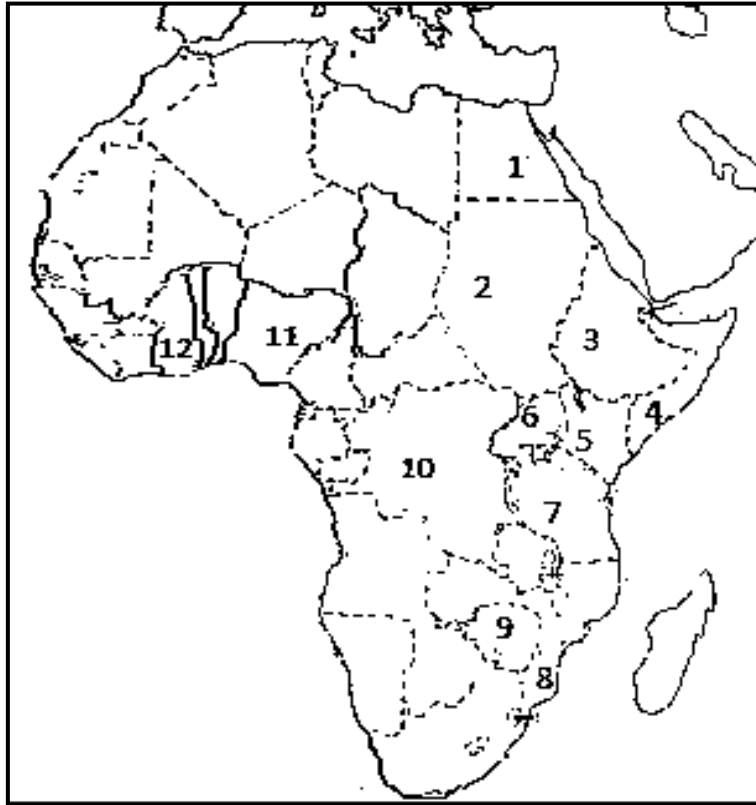
- Most of the newly independent countries included people of different nationalities, tribes or religions, speaking different languages, and often bitterly hostile to each other.
- The struggles for liberation had tended to unite non-European peoples against white rulers; but independence brought conflict, and, in some instances, separatist movements dragged the new states into civil war.
- In Africa the causes of conflict were mainly tribal disputes and sometimes continued to dominate their internal politics. Africa also saw conflicts on national and religious lines, of a kind which were more typical of Asia and the Middle-East.
- The hostility between rival tribes was one major reason why parliamentary democracy seemed almost unworkable in Africa; and the single-party regimes and military dictatorships which took over almost all the new states in the continent shortly after independence generally meant arbitrary rule by one tribe over all the others.
- The belief in the right of national self-determination, which had inspired anti-colonial liberation movements, proved impossible to apply in countries of mixed nationalities as well as posing other problems.
- Most of the new states were extremely poor countries, with little manufacturing industry and backward agriculture and they faced a difficult future in a world still dominated by the technology of the developed states. This contributed to their economic difficulties.
- Most of the British and French colonies began their independence lives with parliamentary forms of government. Looking back, it is clear that such regimes stood little chance of success in deeply divided countries with low literacy rates and grave economic problems.
- Very few survived as genuine democracies, and most were either quickly changed into single-party regimes, which retained a democratic front but banned all organised opposition or they were taken over by their armies forming military regimes.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.2.1

- Using the Map of Africa correctly label the countries numbered from 1 to 12 including their former European colonial ruler and year of Independence in the table provided. Zaire (Congo), Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Egypt, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia.



Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		
6.		
7.		
8.		



9.		
10.		
11.		
12.		

1. From your readings on the topic, state the six (6) main reasons why these African countries experienced complications in their 'Pathways' to reaching 'Nationhood'?

- a) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) \_\_\_\_\_
- d) \_\_\_\_\_
- e) \_\_\_\_\_
- f) \_\_\_\_\_

3. Answer these questions.

a) Which two African countries experienced civil wars between 1960 and 1963?

\_\_\_\_\_

b) What was the main reason why parliament democracy seemed almost 'un-workable' in Africa?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

c) Who was the Ugandan Leader that notoriously expelled foreign business men in 1972 from Uganda?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. Name the three non-African countries that had tried to introduce 'Marxism' as a viable system of Government in Africa?

- a) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) \_\_\_\_\_

5) Define EEC.

---

6) What was the significance of the Lome Convention and when was it held?

---

---

---

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.**

### **12.1.2.2: Territories striving for Independence, New Caledonia and West Papua**

In Topic 1, you looked at the 'Pathways' that many of these newly independent states had encountered. Tragically, most these occurred after these states had been granted Independence by their former European rulers. In this topic we will study some states that have yet to become Independent. Thus, are regarded as territories of these European countries.

By the end of this sub unit students can;

- confidently identify the location of these countries using a map of the Pacific.
- name the minorities still fighting for Independence and full autonomy.
- discuss and compare New Caledonia and West Papua struggle.
- outline the roles and support of United Nations in supporting and maintaining peace negotiations in these territories.

---

#### **New Caledonia**

The earliest traces of human presence in New Caledonia dates back to the Lapita period. The Lapita were highly skilled navigators and agriculturists with influence over a large area of the Pacific.

British explorer Captain James Cook was the first European to sight New Caledonia, on 4 September 1774, during his second voyage. He named it "New Caledonia", as the northeast of the island reminded him of Scotland. The west coast of Grande Terre was approached by Jean-François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse in 1788, shortly before his disappearance, and the Loyalty Islands were first visited in 1796. From then until 1840, only a few sporadic contacts with the archipelago were recorded. Contacts became more frequent after 1840, because of the interest in sandalwood from New Caledonia. As trade in sandalwood declined, it was replaced by a new form of trade, "black birding", a euphemism for enslaving people from New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands to work in sugarcane plantations in Fiji and Queensland. The trade ceased at the start of the 20th century. The victims of this trade were called "Kanakas", like all the Oceania people, after the Hawaiian word for "man".

The first missionaries from the London Missionary Society and the Marist Brothers arrived in the 1840s. In 1849, the crew of the American ship Cutter was killed and eaten by the Pouma clan. Cannibalism was widespread throughout New Caledonia.

#### **French Dependency**

On 24 September 1853, under orders from Napoleon III, Admiral Febvrier Despointes took formal possession of New Caledonia and Port-de-France (Nouméa) was founded on 25 June 1854. A few dozen free settlers settled on the west coast in the following years. New Caledonia became a penal colony, and from the 1860s until the end of the transportations in 1897, about 22,000 criminals and political prisoners were sent to New Caledonia, among them many Communards arrested after the failed Paris Commune, including Henri de Rochefort and Louise Michel. Between 1873 and

1876, 4,200 political prisoners were "relegated" in New Caledonia. Only 40 of them settled in the colony; the rest returned to France after being granted amnesty in 1879 and 1880.

In 1864, nickel was discovered on the banks of the Diahot River and with the establishment of the Société Le Nickel in 1876, mining began in earnest. The French imported laborers to work in the mines, first from neighboring islands, then from Japan, the Dutch East Indies, and French Indochina. The French government also attempted to encourage European immigration, without much success.

The indigenous population was excluded from the French economy, even as workers in the mines, and they were ultimately confined to reservations. This sparked a violent reaction in 1878 as High Chief Atal of La Foa managed to unite many of the central tribes and launched a guerrilla war which cost 200 Frenchmen and 1,000 Kanaks their lives. The Europeans brought new diseases such as smallpox and measles. Many people died as a result of these diseases. The Kanak population declined from around 60,000 in 1878 to 27,100 in 1921, and their numbers did not increase again until the 1930s. In June 1940, after the fall of France, the Counsel General of New Caledonia voted unanimously to support the Free France government, and in September the pro-Vichy was forced to leave for Indochina. In March 1942, with the assistance of Australia, the territory became an important Allied base, and Nouméa the headquarters of the United States Navy and Army in the South Pacific. The fleet which turned back the Japanese navy in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 was based at Nouméa. American troops counted up to 50,000 men, the equivalent of the contemporary population.

### French Overseas Territory

In 1946, New Caledonia became an overseas territory. By 1953, French citizenship had been granted to all New Caledonians, regardless of **ethnicity**.

The European and Polynesian populations gradually increased in the years leading to the nickel boom of 1969–1972, and the Melanesians became a minority, though they were still the largest ethnic group. Between 1976 and 1988, New Caledonia adopted five statutes. Each became a source of discontent and serious disorder, ending in 1988 with a bloody hostage-taking in Ouvéa. The Matignon Agreements, signed on 26 June 1988, ensured a decade of stability. The Nouméa Accord signed 5 May 1998, set the ground work for a 20-year transition that will gradually transfer competences to the local government.



Illustration 12.1.2.2a: Two Kanak warriors posing with penis gourds and spears, around 1880.



Illustration 12.1.2.2b: Chief "King Jacques" and his Queen

**Politics**

New Caledonia is a *sui generis* collectivity to which France has gradually transferred certain powers. It is governed by a 54-member Territorial Congress, a legislative body composed of members of three provincial assemblies. The French State is represented in the territory by a High Commissioner. At a national level, New Caledonia is represented in the French Parliament by two deputies and two senators. At the 2012 French presidential election, the voter turnout in New Caledonia was 61.19%. For 25 years, the party system in New Caledonia was dominated by the anti-independence The Rally–UMP. This dominance ended with the emergence of a new party, Avenir Ensemble, also opposed to independence, but considered more open to dialogue with the Kanak movement, which is part of the Kanak and Socialist National Liberation Front, a coalition of several pro-independence groups.

**Customary Authority**

The Kanak society has several layers of customary authority, from the 4,000-5,000 family-based clans to the eight customary areas (aires coutumières) that make up the territory. Clans are led by clan chiefs and constitute 341 tribes, each headed by a tribal chief. The tribes are further grouped into 57 customary chiefdoms (chefferies), each headed by a head chief, and forming the administrative subdivisions of the customary areas.

The Customary Senate is the assembly of the various traditional councils of the Kanaks, and has jurisdiction over the law proposals concerning the Kanak identity. The Customary Senate is composed of 16 members appointed by each traditional council, with two representatives per each customary area. In its advisory role, the Customary Senate must be consulted on law proposals "concerning the Kanak identity" as defined in the Nouméa Accord. It also has a deliberative role on law proposals that would affect identity, the civil customary statute, and the land system. A new president is appointed each year in August or September, and the presidency rotates between the eight customary areas.

Kanak people have recourse to customary authorities regarding civil matters such as marriage, adoption, inheritance, and some land issues. The French administration typically respects decisions made in the customary system. However, their jurisdiction is sharply limited in penal matters, as some matters relating to the customary justice system, including the use of corporal punishment, are seen as clashing with the human rights obligations of France.

**Status**

Since 1986, the United Nations Committee on Decolonisation has included New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories. An independence referendum was held the following year, but was rejected by a large majority. Under the Noumea Accord, signed in 1998 following a period of secessionist unrest in the 1980s and approved in a referendum, New Caledonia is to hold a second referendum on independence between 2014 and 2018.

The official name of the territory, Nouvelle-Calédonie, could be changed in the near future due to the accord, which stated that "a name, a flag, an anthem, a motto, and the design of banknotes will have to be sought by all parties together, to express the Kanak identity and the future shared by all parties." To date, however, there has been no consensus on a new name for the territory.

New Caledonia has increasingly adopted its own symbols, choosing an anthem, a motto, and a new design for its banknotes.

In July 2010, New Caledonia adopted the Kanak flag, alongside the existing French tricolor, as dual official flags of the territory. The adoption made New Caledonia one of the few countries or territories in the world with two official national flags. The decision to use two flags has been a constant battleground between the two sides and led the coalition government to collapse in February 2011.

### **West Papua**

The History of West Papua, as a region and not a province, refers to the history of the Indonesian western half of the island of New Guinea and other smaller islands to its west. The eastern half of the island is Papua New Guinea.

Human habitation is estimated to have begun between 42,000 and 48,000 years ago. Trade between New Guinea and neighboring Indonesian islands was documented as early as the seventh century and archipelagic rule of New Guinea by the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Netherlands made claim to the region and commenced missionary work in nineteenth century. The region was incorporated into the Indonesian republic in the 1960s. Following the 1998 commencement of reforms across Indonesia, Papua and other Indonesian provinces received greater regional autonomy. In 2001, "Special Autonomy" status was granted to the region, although to date, implementation has been partial. The region was divided into the provinces of Papua and West Papua in 2003.

### **Pre-colonial history**

Papuan habitation of the region is estimated to have begun between 42,000 and 48,000 years ago. Austronesian peoples migrating through Maritime Southeast Asia settled several thousand years. These groups have developed diverse cultures and languages in situ; there are over 300 languages and two hundred additional dialects in the region.

At the beginning of the seventh century, the Sumatra-based Empire of Srivijaya (7th century–13th century) engaged in trade relations with western New Guinea, initially taking items like sandalwood and birds-of-paradise in tribute to China, but later making slaves out of the natives. The rule of the Java-based Empire of Majapahit (1293–1527) extended to the western fringes of New Guinea.

On 13 June 1545, Ortiz de Retez, in command of the San Juan, left port in Tidore, an island of the East Indies and sailed to reach the northern coast of the island of New Guinea, which he ventured along as far as the mouth of the Mamberamo River. He took possession of the land for the Spanish Crown, in the process giving the island the name by which it is known today. He called it Nueva Guinea owing to the resemblance of the local inhabitants to the peoples of the Guinea coast in West Africa.

### **Netherlands New Guinea**

In 1660, the Dutch recognised the Sultan of Tidore's sovereignty over New Guinea. New Guinea thus became notionally Dutch as the Dutch held power over Tidore. In 1793, Britain attempted to establish a settlement near Manokwari, however, it failed and by 1824 Britain and the Netherlands

agreed that the western half of the island would become part of the Dutch East Indies. In 1828 the Dutch established a settlement in Lobo (near Kaimana) which also failed. Almost 30 years later, Germans established the first missionary settlement on an island near Manokwari. While in 1828, the Dutch claimed the south coast west of the 141st meridian and the north coast west of Humboldt Bay in 1848, they did not try to develop the region again until 1896; they established settlements in Manokwari and Fak-Fak in response to perceived Australian ownership claims from the eastern half of New Guinea.

Great Britain and Germany had recognised the Dutch claims in treaties of 1885 and 1895. At much the same time, Britain claimed south-east New Guinea, later known as the Territory of Papua, and Germany claimed the northeast, later known as the Territory of New Guinea.

Dutch activity in the region remained in the first half of the twentieth century, notwithstanding the 1923 establishment of the Nieuw Guinea Beweging (New Guinea Movement) in the Netherlands by ultra-right-wing supporters calling for Dutchmen to create a tropical Netherlands in Papua. This pre-war movement without full government support was largely unsuccessful in its drive, but did coincide with the development of a plan for Eurasian settlement of the Dutch Indies to establish Dutch farms in northern West New Guinea. This effort also failed as most returned to Java disillusioned, and by 1938 just 50 settlers remained near Hollandia and 258 in Manokwari. The Dutch established the Boven Digul camp in Tanahmerah, in Dutch New Guinea, as a prison for Indonesian nationalists.

## **World War II**

The region became important in the War in the Pacific upon the Netherlands' declaration of war on Japan after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In 1942, the northern coast of West New Guinea and the nearby islands were occupied by Japan.

In 1944, forces led by American general Douglas MacArthur launched a four-phase campaign from neighbouring Papua New Guinea to liberate Dutch New Guinea from the Japanese. Phase 1 was the capture of Hollandia (now Jayapura). Involving 80,000 Allied troops, it was the largest amphibious operation of the war in the southwest Pacific. Phase 2 was the capture of Sarmi and was met with strong Japanese resistance. The capture of Biak to control the airfield and nearby Numfor was Phase 3. Hard battles were fought on Biak which was exacerbated by Allied intelligence underestimating the strength of Japanese forces.

The fourth and final phase was the push to Japanese airbases on Morotai and towards the Philippines. The Allies also fought for control of Merauke as they feared it could be used as a base for Japanese air attacks against Australia.

With local approval, the United States constructed a headquarters for Gen. Douglas MacArthur at Hollandia (now Jayapura) and over twenty US bases and hospitals intended as a staging point for operations taking of the Philippines. West New Guinean farms supplied food for the half million US troops. Papuan men went into battle to carry the wounded, acted as guides and translators, and provided a range of services, from construction work and carpentry to serving as machine shop workers and mechanics.

Following the end of the war, the Dutch retained possession of West New Guinea from 1945. See the map of West Papua given here.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.2c: *The Morning Star*, flag of West Papua, was designed by the New Guinea Council in 1961. Its display is prohibited in some circumstances in Indonesia.

### West Papua within Indonesia

From the first days of Indonesian occupation, the people of West Papua refused to be part of Indonesia and the vast majority of them have pushed for independence ever since. There are regular mass protests throughout West Papua in support of independence but the Indonesian military and police often use lethal force to disperse them.

The Free Papua Movement (OPM) was set up to provide a formal resistance towards Indonesian rule. Local and international protest followed the impact of human rights abuses and transmigration by other Indonesians into the region. Since the 1960s, consistent reports have filtered out of the territory of government suppression and terrorism, including murder, political assassination, imprisonment, torture, and aerial bombardments.

The Indonesian government disbanded the New Guinea Council and forbade the use of the West Papua flag or the singing of the national anthem. There has been resistance to Indonesian integration and occupation, both through civil disobedience (such as Morning Star flag raising ceremonies) and via the formation of the Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM, or Free Papua Movement) in 1965.

In almost all estimates, under International law the death toll amounts to genocide of the people of West Papua by Indonesia. A Sydney University academic has estimated more than 100,000 Papuans, one sixteenth of the population, have died as a result of government-sponsored violence against West Papuans, while others had previously specified much higher death tolls. An increasingly common figure being used is 500,000 people.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Indonesian state accelerated its transmigration program, under which tens of thousands of Javanese and Sumatran migrants were resettled to Papua. Prior to Indonesian rule, the non-indigenous Asian population was estimated at 16,600; while the Papuan population were a mix of Roman Catholics, Protestants and animists following tribal religions. The transmigration program officially ended in the late 1990s. An independence congress in 2000 again calling for independence resulted in a military restriction on independence supporters.

During the Abdurrahman Wahid administration in 2000, Papua gained a "Special Autonomy" status, an attempted political compromise between Papuans and the central government that has weak support within the Jakarta government. Despite lack of political will of politicians in Jakarta to proceed with real implementation of the Special Autonomy, which is required by law, the region



was divided into two provinces: the province of Papua and the province of West Papua, based on a Presidential Instruction in January 2001, soon after President Wahid was brought to court by the Parliament and replaced by Vice President Megawati Sukarnoputri. However, most Papuans refuse any promises of autonomy from Indonesia as they instead demanded independence and a free **referendum** for all Papuans to determine whether they choose independence or not.

Now read the summary.

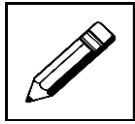
### Topic Summary

- The earliest traces of human presence in New Caledonia date back to the Lapita period. The Lapita were highly skilled navigators and agriculturists with influence over a large area of the Pacific.
- British explorer Captain James Cook was the first European to sight New Caledonia, on 4 September 1774, during his second voyage. He named it "New Caledonia", as the northeast of the island reminded him of Scotland.
- Contacts became more frequent after 1840, because of the interest in sandalwood from New Caledonia. As trade in sandalwood declined, it was replaced by a new form of trade, "black birding".
- The first missionaries to New Caledonia were from the London Missionary Society and the Marist Brothers (Catholic) arrived in the 1840s.
- On 24 September 1853, under orders from Napoleon III, Admiral Febvrier Despointes took formal possession of New Caledonia and Port-de-France (Nouméa) was founded on 25 June 1854.
- In March 1942, with the assistance of Australia, the territory became an important Allied base, and Nouméa the headquarters of the United States Navy and Army in the South Pacific. The fleet which turned back the Japanese navy in the Battle of the Coral Sea in May 1942 was based at Nouméa.
- In 1946, New Caledonia became an overseas territory. By 1953, French citizenship had been granted to all New Caledonians, regardless of ethnicity.
- Since 1986, the United Nations Committee on Decolonization has included New Caledonia on the United Nations list of Non-Self-Governing Territories.
- The History of West Papua, as a region and not a province, refers to the history of the Indonesian western half of the island of New Guinea and other smaller islands to its west. The eastern half of the island is Papua New Guinea.
- On 13 June 1545, Ortiz de Retez, in command of the San Juan, sailed to reach the northern coast of the island of New Guinea. He took possession of the land for the Spanish Crown. He called it Nueva Guinea owing to the resemblance of the local inhabitants to the peoples of the Guinea coast in West Africa.
- In 1660, the Dutch recognised the Sultan of Tidore's sovereignty over New Guinea. New Guinea thus became nationally Dutch as the Dutch held power over Tidore. By 1824 Britain

and the Netherlands agreed that the western half of the island would become part of the Dutch East Indies.

- In 200 the Abdurrahman Wahid administration, Papua gained a "Special Autonomy" status, which is stipulated by law, the region was divided into two provinces: the province of Papua and the province of West Papua.
- However, most Papuans refuse any promises of autonomy from Indonesia as they are instead demanding independence, and a free referendum for all Papuans to determine whether they choose independence or not.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.2.2

---

Answer the followings questions below.

1. Who was the first European to sight New Caledonia in 1744?

---

2. As trade in sandalwood declined, what sort of trading replaced it?

---

3. Explain 'Black birding'.

---

---

4. What happened in 1949?

---

---

5. When did Napoleon III issue orders to the formally making New Caledonia become a French possession?

---

6. In what year did Ortiz de Retez sail the San Juan and reach the northern coast of the island of New Guinea?

---

7. Name the country that was the former European ruler of West Papua?

---

8. During WW II, the American forces led by General Mac Arthur led a four-phase campaign to Liberate Dutch New Guinea. Briefly explain each phase:

Phase 1: \_\_\_\_\_

Phase 2: \_\_\_\_\_

Phase 3: \_\_\_\_\_

Phase 4: \_\_\_\_\_

9. What does the abbreviation 'OPM' stand for?

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Who was the Indonesian President when West Papua gained a "Special Autonomy"?

\_\_\_\_\_

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.**

**12.1.2.3: Case Studies: France in Indo China, East Timor, Morocco, Angola**

In the previous topic you looked at colonies that are still striving for Independence. We studied and discussed Case studies on New Caledonia and West Papua. In this topic we will look at Case studies on France (Indo-China), East Timor, Morocco and Angola.

By the end of this topic, the students can;

- define Decolonisation and Nationhood
- name the factors that caused decolonisation
- explain why some countries reached nationhood earlier than others.
- draw the map of Africa, Asia and the Pacific and correctly show the countries and their dates of independence.

---

**France Indo-China**

Indo-China, which consisted of three areas, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was part of the French empire in south-east Asia and was the scene of the almost non-stop conflict from the end of the Second World War. In the first phase of this conflict, the peoples of these areas fought for and won their independence from French. The second phases (1961-1975) began with civil war in South Vietnam; the USA intervened to prevent the further spread of communism, but eventually had to admit failure.

**(a) 1946 - 1954**

From 1946 until 1954, the Vietnamese were fighting for independence from France. Indo-China was occupied by the Japanese during the war. Resistance to both Japanese and France was organised by the *League for Vietnamese Independence (Vietminh)*, led by the communist Ho Chi Minh, who had spent many years in communist Russia learning how to organize revolutions. The Vietminh, though led by communist, was an alliance to all shades of political opinion which wanted an end to foreign control. At the end of the war in 1945, Ho Chi Minh declared the whole of Vietnam independent; when it became clear that the French had no intention of allowing full independence, the Vietminh attacked them in Hanoi. This began an eight-year struggle which ended with the French being defeated at Dien Bien Phu (May 1954). The Vietminh were successful partly because they were masters of guerrilla tactics and had massive support from the Vietnamese people, and because the French, still suffering from the after-effects of the world war, failed to send enough troops. The decisive factor was probably that from 1950, the new Chinese communist government supplied the rebels with arms and equipment. The USA also became involved: seeing the struggle as part of the Cold War and the fight against communism, she supplied the French with military and economic aid; but it was not enough.

By the **Geneva Agreement** (1954), Laos and Cambodia were to be independent; Vietnam was temporarily divided into two states at the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh's government was recognised in North Vietnam. South Vietnam was to have a separate government for the time being, but elections were to be held in 1955 for the whole country, which would then become united. Ho Chi

Minh was disappointed at the partition, but was confident that the communist would win the national elections. As it turned out, the elections were never held; a repeat performance of the Korean situation seemed likely. A civil war gradually developed in South Vietnam which eventually involved the north and the USA.

***(b) What caused the civil war in South Vietnam and why did the USA become involved?***

1. The South Vietnamese government under President Ngo Dinh Diem (chosen by a national referendum in 1955) refused to make preparations for the elections for the whole of Vietnam. The USA, which was backing his regime, did not press him for fear of a communist victory if the elections went ahead. *US President Eisenhower (1953-1961)* was just as worried as Truman had been worried about the spread of communism. He seemed to become *obsessed* with the '*domino theory*'- if there is a line of dominos standing on end close to each other and one is pushed over, it will knock over the next one in line, and so on. Eisenhower thought this could be applied to countries in a region 'fell' to communism, it would quickly 'knock over' all its neighbours.
2. Although Diem began energetically, his government soon lost popularity: he came from a wealthy Roman Catholic family, whereas three-quarters of the population were Buddhist peasants who thought themselves discriminated against. They demanded land reform of the type carried out in China and North Vietnam. Here, land had been taken away from wealthy landowners and redistributed to the poorer people; but this did not happen in South Vietnam. Diem also gained a reputation, perhaps not wholly deserved, for corruption, and he was unpopular with nationalists who thought he was too much under American influence.
3. In 1960, various opposition groups, which included many former communist members of the Vietminh, formed the National Liberation Front (NLF). They demanded a democratic national coalition government which would introduce reforms and negotiate peacefully for a united Vietnam. A guerrilla campaign was started, attacking government officials and buildings; Buddhist monks had their own special brand of protest- committing suicide in public by setting themselves on fire. Diem's credibility declined further when he dismissed all criticism, however reasonable, and all opposition as communist inspired. In-fact, the communist were only one section of the NLF. Diem also introduced harsh security measures. He was overthrown and murdered in an army coup (1963), after whom the country was ruled by a succession of generals, of whom President *Nguyen Van Thieu* lasted the longest (1967-1975). The removal of Diem left the basic situation unchanged and the guerrilla war continued.
4. When it became clear that Diem could not cope with the situation, *the USA decided* supporting the regime since 1954 with military aid and economic advisers, and it accepted Diem's claim that communists were behind all the trouble. Having failed to defeat communism in North Korea and Cuba, the USA felt a strong stand must be made. Both Kennedy and his successor Lyndon Johnson were prepared to go further than economic aid and advisers. In public the Americans said their intervention was to protect the Vietnamese people, but the real reason was to keep the country securely in the non-communist bloc.
5. The Americans were strengthened in their resolve by the knowledge that the Vietcong (as the guerrillas were now known) were receiving supplies, equipment and troops from North Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh believed that such aid was justified: given South Vietnam's refusal to agree to national elections, only force could unite the two halves of the country.

***(c) The phases of the war***

These correspond to successive American presidencies, each of which saw the introduction of new policies.

1. *Kennedy (1961-1963)* tried to keep American involvement down to an anti-guerrilla campaign. He sent about 16, 000 'advisers' plus helicopters and other equipment, and introduced the '*safe village*' policy in which local peasants were moved en masse into fortified villages, leaving the Vietcong isolated outside. This was a failure because most of the Vietcong were peasants who simply continued to operate inside the villages.
2. *Johnson (1963-1969)* was not deterred by reports from American advisers in 1964 that the Vietcong and the NLF controlled about 40 per cent of South Vietnamese villages and that the peasant population seemed to support them. He assumed that the Vietcong were controlled by Ho Chi Minh and decided to bomb North Vietnam (1965) in the hope that he would call off the campaign. Over the next seven years a *greater tonnage of bombs was dropped on North Vietnamese cities than fell on Germany during the Second World War*. In addition, over half a million American troops arrived in the south. In spite of these massive efforts, the Vietcong still managed to unleash an offensive in February 1968 which captured something like 80 per cent of all towns and villages. Although much ground was lost later, this offensive convinced many Americans of the hopelessness of the struggle. Great pressure was put on the government by public opinion in the USA to withdraw from Vietnam. However, Johnson had no intention of withdrawing, though he did suspend the bombing of North Vietnam in March 1968.
3. *Nixon (1969-74)* realised that a new approach was needed, since public opinion would hardly allow him to send any more American troops. Early in 1969 there were half a million Americans, 50, 000 South Koreans and 750, 000 South Vietnamese against 450, 000 Vietcong plus perhaps 7, 000 North Vietnamese. *Nixon's new idea was known as 'Vietnamisation'*. This meant that the Americans would re-arm and train the South Vietnamese. This army looked after the defence of South Vietnam that would allow a gradual withdrawal of American troops (in fact about half had been sent home by mid-1971). On the other hand, Nixon began the heavy bombing of North Vietnam again, and also began to bomb the *Ho Chi Minh Trail* through Laos and Cambodia along which supplies and troops came from North Vietnam.

It was to no avail: at the end of 1972, the Vietcong controlled the entire western half of the country. By now Nixon was under pressure both at home and from world opinion to withdraw. Several feelings caused revulsion of feeling against the war:

- the terrible bombing of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia
- the use of chemical to destroy jungle foliage and of flammable napalm jelly which burnt people alive
- the death of thousands of innocent civilians.

The most notorious incident took place in March 1968, when American soldiers rounded up the inhabitants of the hamlet of My Lai, including old people carrying young children; they were all shot and buried in mass graves; between 450 and 500 people were killed. Even Russia and China, who were helping the Vietcong, were looking for a way out. Eventually, a cease fire was arranged

for January 1973. It was agreed that all Vietnam troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam and both north and south would respect the frontier along the 17th parallel. However, the Vietcong continued their campaign and without the Americans. President Thieu's government in Saigon soon collapsed as his badly led armies crumbled. In April, 1975 Saigon was occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong. *Vietnam was at last untied and free from foreign intervention - under a communist government.* In the same year communist governments were also established in Laos and Cambodia. American policy of preventing the spread of communism in south-east Asia had ended in complete failure.

**(d) Why did the Americans fail?**

1. The main reason was that *the Vietcong and the NLF had widespread support among ordinary people*, who had genuine grievances against an efficient government which failed to introduce necessary reforms. When the NLF was formed in 1960, the communist were only one of several opposition groups; by ignoring the rightness of the NLF case and choosing to prop up such an obviously deficient regime in their obsession with the fight against communism, the Americans actually encouraged the spread of communism in the south.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.3a: The wars in Vietnam

2. *The Vietcong like the Vietminh before them, were experts at guerrilla warfare* and were fighting on familiar territory. The Americans found them much more difficult to deal with than the conventional armies they faced in Korea. With no distinguishing uniform, guerrillas

could easily merge into the local peasant population. It proved impossible to stop supplies and reinforcements moving down the Ho Chi Minh Trail.

3. *The Vietcong received help* from North Vietnam in the way of troops, and from China and Russia who supplied arms. After 1970, the Russian contribution was vitally important and included rifles, machine-guns, long-range artillery, anti-aircraft missiles and tanks.
4. *The North Vietnamese were dedicated to eventual victory and the unification of their country.* They showed amazing resilience; in spite of appalling casualties and damage during the American bombings, they responded by evacuating city populations and rebuilding factories outside the cities.

***(e) The effects of the war were wide-reaching***

Vietnam was united but the problems of reconstructions were enormous, and the new government's policies had unpleasant aspects such as concentration camps for opponents and no freedom of speech. As well as being a blow to American prestige, their failure had a profound effect on American society; involvement in the war was seen in many circles as a terrible mistake, and this, together with the Watergate scandal which forced Nixon to resign, shook the confidence in a political system which could allow such things to happen. Future American governments would have to think very carefully before committing the country so deeply in any similar situation. The war was a victory for the communist world, though both the Russians and the Chinese reacted with restraint and did not boast about it to any great extent. This perhaps indicated that they wished to relax international tensions, though they now had another powerful force on their side in the Vietnamese army.

**East Timor**

At the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago lies the island of Timor. For 500 years the Portuguese had been the rulers of the eastern half of the island, thus making it a former Portuguese colony. East Timor was the eastern half of the small island in the East Indies; the western half belonged to Holland and became part of Indonesia in 1949. In 1974 a revolution in Portugal brought an end to its colonial empire. Independence was immediately granted to its overseas territories. Unfortunately, East Timor was left without clear government. Several East Timorese political parties emerged with different political parties and plans for the future.

In 1975 civil war broke out in East Timor a nationalist movement (FRETILIN) won a short civil war against the ruling group, which wanted to stay with Portugal (September 1975). The US denounced the new government as Marxist, which was not entirely accurate; after only a few weeks, Indonesian troops invaded, over-threw the government and declared the territory to be part of Indonesia.

On the morning of 7 December 1975, Indonesia armed forces invaded East Timor. Thousands were killed, mostly unarmed Timorese civilians, in the early days of fighting. An Estimated 200, 000 people – one third of the population – were killed during Indonesia's subsequent occupation of twenty-four years. A chilling measure of the extent of the tragedy was given in a statement released by the Central Conference of America Rabbis in 1997. (Rabbis are the religious leaders of the Jews, a people whose history synonymous with tragedy.) The article



claimed that 'no people on earth [have] seen a greater portion of its population perish under tyranny since the nightmare of the European Holocaust. (Australian Senate Inquiry, 1999)

Study the following map on the Indonesian archipelago.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.3b: Timor in the Indonesian Archipelago

Since 1975, a guerilla war for independence from Indonesia has continued in East Timor. The Timorese guerillas of the Fretilin party claim the war has resulted in the deaths of over 100, 000 of the 700, 000 Timorese people. To Indonesia an unstable East Timor is a threat to Indonesian security. President Suharto's government believed that making East Timor a part of Indonesia was the best alternative for a piece of territory lacking in the resources necessary for independent nation-hood.

The USA continued to supply military goods to the Indonesians, who were guilty of atrocities both during and after the war. It is estimated that about 100, 000 people were killed, while another 300, 000 were put into detention camps. Resistance was still continuing in the early 1990s, but although the UN condemned Indonesia's action, East Timor was too small and, unlike Kuwait, too unimportant to authorise any sanctions being applied against Indonesia.

On 12 November 1991, an event known as the Dili massacre reminded the world of the depth of the conflict in East Timor. Whilst taking part in a demonstration against Indonesia control, over 100 unarmed Timorese civilians were massacred by the Indonesian army. The Timorese continued to protest about the Indonesian occupation of their land and fight for independence.

East Timor was welcomed into the international community as the world's youngest nation in 2002, with its first president, Xanana Gusmao. Nationhood, however, came at great price. During the Indonesia occupation of East Timor from 1975 to 1999, one-third of the population was killed and much of the rest was brutalised.

### **Morocco**

A former French protectorate it had a Muslim king, Muhammad V. But nationalist resented French control and had been campaigning for independence, since before the Second World War. The situation was complicated by the presence of large numbers of European settlers who were more numerous than in Kenya and Rhodesia. Morocco had about 300,000 expatriate population in 1945, they were committed to maintaining the connection with French which guaranteed their privileged position.

The pattern of events in Morocco was remarkably similar to those of the other French territories. Since France was adamant about giving independence to her former colonies. There was a nationalist party calling itself *Istiqlal* (independence) and King Muhammad himself seemed to be in the forefront of to the French. The new trade unions also played an important role.

The French disposed the king (1953), provoking violent demonstrations and a guerrilla campaign. Faced with the prospect of yet another long and expensive anti-guerrilla war, the French decided to give way. The king was allowed to return and Morocco became independent in 1956.

### **Angola**

Now it was the turn of Angola to become a victim of outside interference and the 'Cold War'. South African troops immediately invaded the country in support UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence) while General Mobutu of Zaire, with American backing, launched another invasion in support of the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola). The Americans thought that a joint Angolan government of these two groups would be more amenable and open to western influence than the Marxist MPLA. The MPLA received aid in the form of Russian weapons and Cuban army; this enabled them to defeat both invasion forces by March 1976, and Neto was accepted as president of the new state. This proved to be only a temporary respite –future invasions followed and Angola was torn by civil war right through into the 1990s.

#### **(a) *Civil war escalates***

Angola was engulfed by civil war immediately after gaining independence from Portugal in 1975. Part of the problem was that, there were three different liberation movements which started to fight each other almost as soon as independence was declared.

- The MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was a Marxist-style party which tried to appeal across tribal divisions to all Angolans. It was MPLA which claimed to be the new government, with its leader, Agostinho Neto, as president.

- UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) with its leader, Jonas Savimbi, drew much of its support from the Ovimbundu tribe in the south of the country.
- FNLA (National Liberation Front); much weaker than the other two, it drew much of its support from the Bakongo tribe in the northwest.

The USA, did not like the look of the Marxist MPLA. The Americans therefore decided to back the FNLA (which was also supported by President Mobutu of Zaire) to attack MPLA. UNITA also launched an offensive against the MPLA. Cuba sent troops in from Zaire to the north-east of Angola. There would have been fighting and bloodshed, but outside interference and the extension of the Cold War to Angola, made the conflict much worse.

### **(b) Angola and Namibia**

The problem of Namibia also complicated the situation. Lying between Angola and South Africa, Namibia (formerly German South West Africa) had been handed to South Africa in 1919 at the end of the First World War, to be prepared for independence. The white South African government ignored UN orders and delayed handing Namibia over to black majority rule as long as possible. The Namibian liberation movement *SWAPO* (South West African People's Organisation) and its leader, *Sam Nujoma*, began a guerilla campaign against South Africa. After 1975 the MPLA allowed SWAPO to have bases in the southern Angola, so it was not surprising that the South African government was so hostile to MPLA.

### **(c) The Lisbon Peace Accords (May 1991)**

The civil war dragged on right through the 1980's until changing international circumstances brought the possibility of peace. In December 1988, the UN managed to arrange a peace settlement in which South Africa agreed to withdraw from Namibia, provided that the 50 000 Cuban troops left Angola. This agreement went ahead: *Namibia became under the leadership of Sam Nujoma (1990)*. The end of the Cold War and of communist rule in Eastern Europe meant that all communist support for the MPLA ceased, all Cuban troops had gone home by June 1991, and South Africa was ready to end her involvement. The UN, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), the USA and Russia all played a part in setting up peace talks between the MPLA government of Angola and UNITA in Lisbon (the capital of Portugal). It was agreed that there should be a ceasefire followed by elections, to be monitored by the UN.

### **(d) The failure of the peace**

*At first, the* ceasefire held and elections took place in September 1992. The MPLA won 58 per cent of the seats (129) in parliament, UNITA only 31 per cent (70 seats). Although the presidential election was much more close – MPLA president Jose' Eduardo Dos Santos won 49.57 per cent of the votes, with Jonas Savimbi (UNITA) taking 40.07 per cent – it was still a clear and decisive victory for the MPLA.

*However, Savimbi and UNITA refused to accept the result, claiming that there had been fraud, even though the elections were monitored by 400 UN observers; the leader of the UN team reported that the elections had been 'generally free and fair'. Tragically UNITA, instead of accepting defeat gracefully, renewed the civil war, which was fought with increasing bitterness. By the end of January 1994, the UN reported that there were 3.3 million refugees and that an average of a*

thousand people a day, mainly civilians were dying. The UN had only a few personnel in Angola to bring the fighting to an end. This time, the outside world could not be blamed for the civil war: this was clearly the fault of UNITA. *However, many observers blamed the USA for encouraging UNITA:* Shortly before the Lisbon agreement, President Reagan officially recognised the MPLA government instead of a rebel leader. At the same time, the USA had not officially recognised the MPLA as the legal government of Angola, even after the elections; it was not until May 1993, six months after UNITA had resumed the war, that the USA finally gave recognition to the MPLA government. *A ceasefire was eventually negotiated in October 1994 and peace agreement reached in November.* UNITA, which was losing the war by that time, accepted the 1992 election result, and in return was allowed to play a part in a coalition government. Early in 1995, 7, 000 UN troops arrived to help enforce the agreement and supervise the transition to peace.

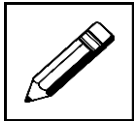
Now read the summary.

### Topic Summary

- Indo-China, consisted of three areas, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was part of the French empire in south-east Asia.
- The fighting in Indo-China had two phases. In the first phase (1946 -1961) of this conflict the peoples of these areas fought for and won their independence from French.
- The second phases (1961-1975) began with civil war in South Vietnam; the USA intervened to prevent the further spread of communism, but eventually had to admit failure.
- The USA also became involved: seeing the struggle as part of the Cold War and the fight against communism, she supplied the French with military and economic aid.
- In April, 1975 Saigon was occupied by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong.
- At the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago lies the island of Timor. For 500 years the Portuguese had been the rulers of the eastern half of the island, thus making it a former Portuguese colony.
- East Timor was the eastern half of the small island in the East Indies; the western half belonged to Holland and became part of Indonesia in 1949.
- In 1974 a revolution in Portugal brought an end to its colonial empire. Independence was immediately granted to its overseas territories.
- East Timor was welcomed into the international community as the world's youngest nation in 2002, with its first president, Xanana Gusmao.
- Morocco was a former French protectorate it had a Muslim king, Muhammad V. But nationalist resented French control and had been campaigning for real independence since before the Second World War.

- The pattern of events in Morocco was remarkable similar to those of the other French territories. Since France was adamant about giving independence to her former colonies.
- The French deposed the king (1953), provoking violent demonstrations and a guerrilla campaign. Faced with the prospect of yet another long and expensive anti-guerrilla war, the French decided to give way.
- The king was allowed to return and Morocco became independent in 1956.
- Angola was a former Portuguese colony that was granted independence in 1975, but was engulfed by civil war immediately after gaining independence.
- South African troops invaded the country in support of UNITA, while General Mobutu of Zaire, launched another invasion in support of the FNLA.
- The MPLA received aid in the form of Russian weapons and Cuban army; this enabled them to defeat both invasion forces by March 1976, and Neto was accepted as president of the new state.
- A ceasefire was negotiated in October 1994 and peace agreement reached in November. UNITA, accepted the 1992 election result, and in return allowed to play a part in a coalition government.

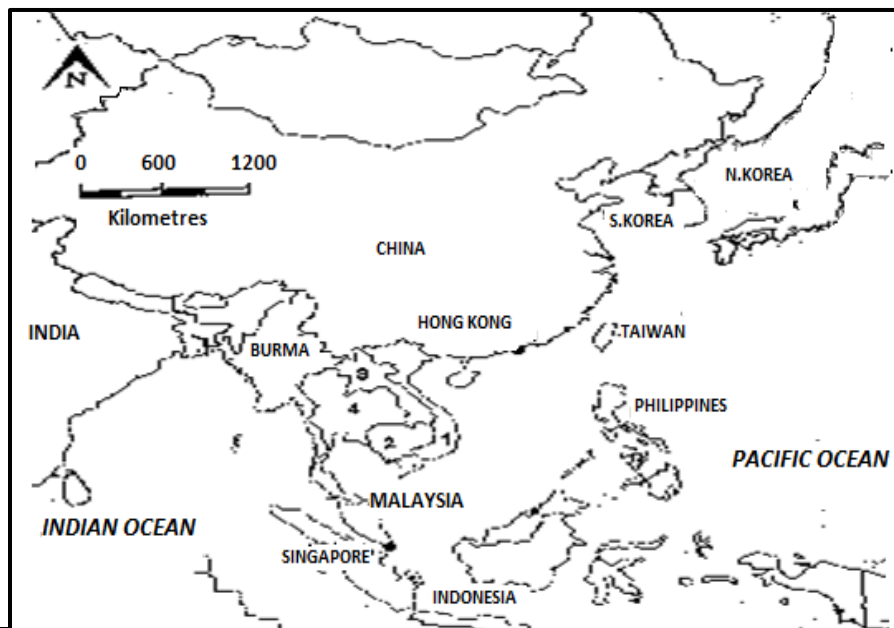
Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.2.3

1.

a) Study the Map below and correctly name the countries numbered from 1 to 4.



1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

2. During the 'phases of the war' which American President introduced the idea 'Vietnamisation'?

\_\_\_\_\_

3. When and where did the eight-year struggle end?

\_\_\_\_\_

4. In what year was the Moroccan King disposed of by the French because he was seen to be in the fore-front of the resistance against the France government?

\_\_\_\_\_

5. Explain how Angola became a victim of the Cold War?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6.

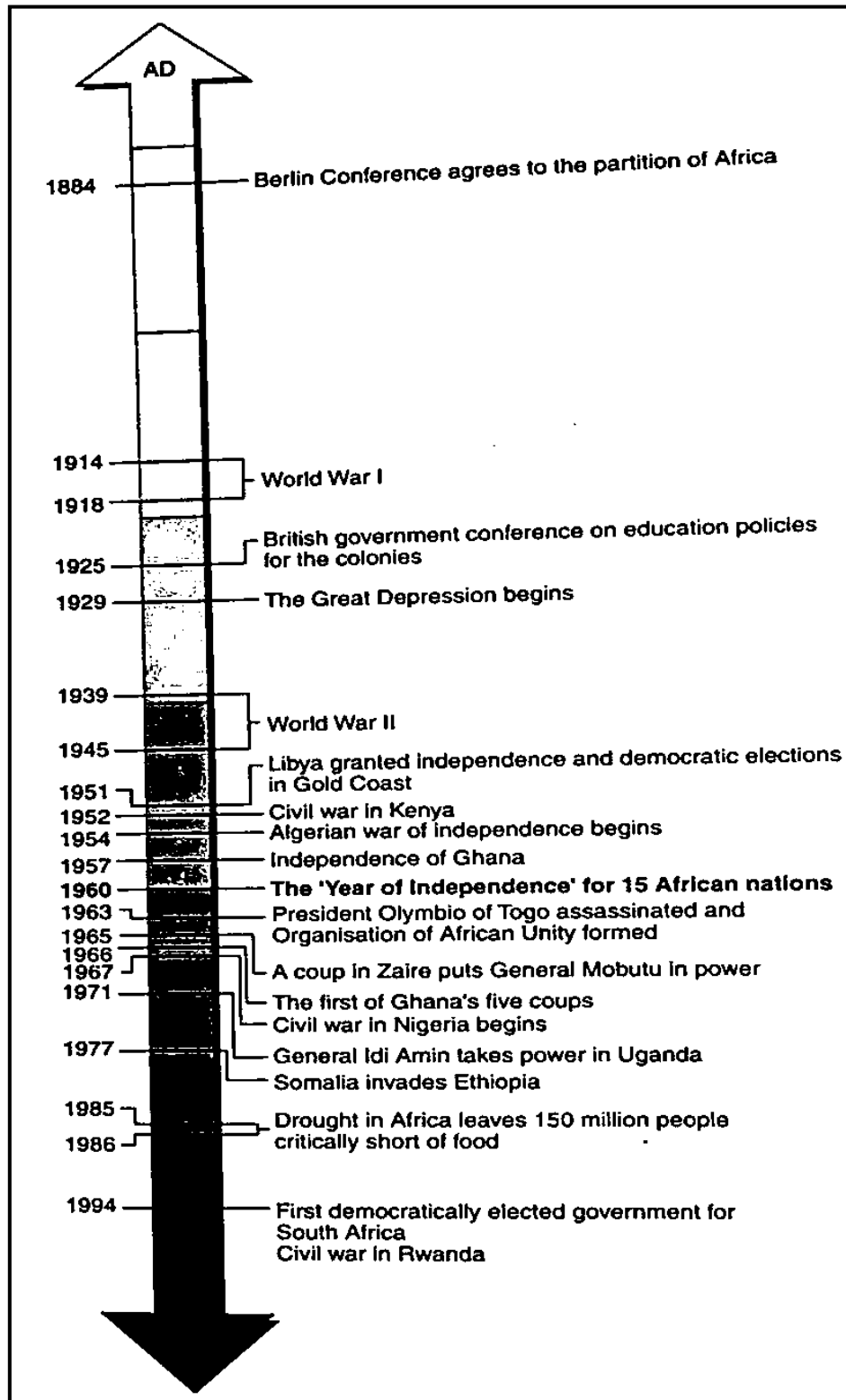
(i) Complete the timeline (given on the following page).

(ii) After you have completed (i) above, fill in this table below.

Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
1. Vietnam		
2. Laos		
3. Cambodia		
4. East Timor		
5. Morocco		
6. Angola		

Study the timeline and complete the table.

### Timeline – Showing some Important Events in Africa



Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.

### 12.1.2.4: British India and Ghana

In the previous sub topic you looked Case studies France Indo-China, East Timor, Morocco and Angola. In this topic we will look at Case studies on British India and Ghana.

By the end of this sub topic, students will be able to:

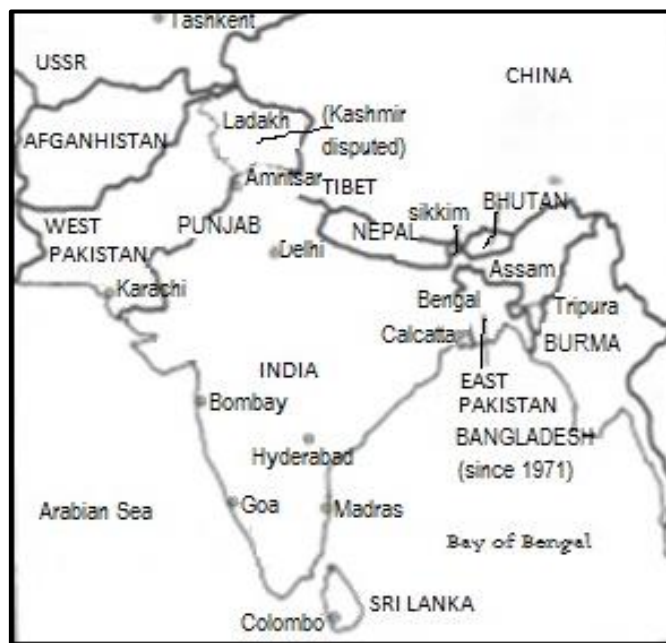
- locate India and Ghana on the World Map
- discuss and compare India and Ghana's' paths to independence

## British India

### 1. Indian independence and partition.

The British had promised the Indian **'dominion status'** as soon as the war was over. This meant becoming more or less independent, though still acknowledging the British monarch as head of state. The Labour government, newly elected in 1945, wanted to show that it disapproved of exploiting the Indians and was anxious to press ahead with independence. Ernest Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, had earlier delayed independence for a few years to enable Britain to finance a development programme for India.

This idea was dropped because the Indians would be suspicious of any delay, and because Britain did not want to wait for long. Bevin and Clement Attlee, the Prime Minister, therefore decided to give India full independence, allowing the Indians to work out the details for themselves. This turned out to be far more difficult than had been expected: the problems were so complex that the country ended up having to be divided into two states – India and Pakistan.



**(a) Why was the partition of India necessary?**

Map Illustration 12.1.2.4a: India and Pakistan



- *Religious hostilities between Hindus and Muslims*

This is the main problem. Hindus made up about two-thirds of the 400 million populations, and the rest were mostly Muslims. After their victories in the 1937 elections when they won eight out of the eleven states, the Hindu National Congress Party unwisely called on the Muslim League to merge with Congress. This alarmed the Muslim League, who was afraid that an independent India would be dominated by Hindus. The Muslim leader, M.A Jinnah, demanded a separate Muslim state of Pakistan, and adopted his own slogan 'Pakistan or Perish'.

- *Compromise attempts failed*

Attempts to draw up a compromise solution acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims failed. The British proposed a federal scheme in which the central government would have only limited powers, while those of the provincial governments would be much greater. This would enable provinces with a Muslim majority to control their own affairs and there would be no need for a separate state. Both sides accepted the idea in principle but failed to agree on the details.

- *Violence broke out in August 1946*

This happened when the Viceroy (the kings' representative in India), Lord Wavell, invited the Congress leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, to form an interim government, still hoping that details would be worked out later. Nehru formed a cabinet which included two Muslims, but Jinnah was convinced that the Hindus could not be trusted to treat the Muslims fairly. He called for a day of 'direct action' in support of a separate Pakistan. Fierce rioting followed in Calcutta, where 5000 people were killed, and it soon spread to Bengal where Muslims set about slaughtering Hindus. As Hindus retaliated, *the country seemed on the verge of civil war.*

- *Mountbatten decides on partition*

The British government, realizing that they lacked the military strength to control the situation, announced early in 1947 that *they would leave India no later than January 1948.* The idea was to shock the Indians into adopting a more responsible attitude. Lord Louis Mountbatten was sent as the new Viceroy, and he soon decided that partition was the only way to avoid civil war. He realized that they would probably be bloodshed whatever solution was tried; but that partition would produce less violence than if Britain tried to insist on Muslims remaining part of India. Within a short time Mountbatten would draw out a plan for dividing the country up and for the British withdrawal. This was accepted by Nehru and Jinnah, although M.K. Gandhi, known as the Mahatma ('Great Soul'), the other highly respected Congress leader, who believed in non-violence, was still hoping for a united India. Afraid that delay would cause more violence, Mountbatten brought the date for British withdrawal forward to August 1947.

***(b) How was partition carried out?***

The Indian Independence Act was rushed through the British parliament (August 1947), separating the Muslim majority in the north-west and north-east from the rest of India to become the independent state of Pakistan. The new Pakistan unfortunately, consisted of two separate areas over a thousand miles apart (see Map inserted). Independence day for both India and Pakistan was 15 August, 1947. Problems followed immediately.

- It had been necessary to split the provinces of the Punjab and Bengal which had mixed Hindu and Muslim populations. This meant that millions of people found themselves on the wrong side of the new frontiers – Muslims in India and Hindus in Pakistan.
- Afraid of being attacked, millions of people headed for the frontiers, Muslims trying to get into Pakistan and Hindus into India. Clashes occurred which developed into near hysterical mob violence, especially in the Punjab, where about 250, 000 people were murdered (see Illus. 12.1.2.4b). Violence was not so wide spread in Bengal where Gandhi still preaching non-violence and toleration, managed to calm the situations.



Illustration 12.1.2.4b: Victims of the many clashes in New Delhi, in 1947 lying dead on the streets.

- Violence began to die down before the end of 1947, but in January 1948 Gandhi, was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic who did not accept Muslims. It was a tragic end, but the shock brought people to their senses, so that the new government of India and Pakistan began to think about their other problems. Attlee argued that, Britain could not be blamed for the violence; this was due to the failure of the Indians to agree among them. V.P Menon, a distinguished Indian political observer, believed that British decision to leave India ‘not only touched the hearts and stirred the emotions of India, it earned for Britain universal respect and goodwill’.
- In the longer term, Pakistan did not work very well as a divided state, and in 1971 East Pakistan broke away and became the independent state of Bangladesh.

## **Ghana**

Ghana was previously known as Gold Coast and was a former British colony. Gold Coast was the first black African state south of the Sahara to win independence after the Second World War, taking the name Ghana in 1957. It was achieved fairly, but with some incidents. The nationalist leader Kwame Nkrumah, educated in London and the USA and since 1949, leader of the Convention People's Party (CPP), organised the campaign for independence. There were boycotts of European goods, violent demonstrations and a general strike in 1950, and Nkrumah and other leaders were imprisoned for a time. But the British realising that he had mass support, soon released him and agreed to allow a new constitution which included:

- the vote for all adults
- an elected assembly
- an eleven-person Executive Council of which eight were chosen by the assembly.

In the 1951 elections, the first under the new constitution, the CCP won 34 seats out of 38. Nkrumah was released from prison, invited to form a government and became the Prime Minister in 1952. This was self-government, but not yet fully independent. The Gold Coast had a small but well-educated group of politicians and other professionals who, for the next five years, gained experience of government under British supervision. In 1957, Ghana, received full independence. Kwame Nkrumah ruled Ghana from independence in 1957 until his removal by the army in 1966.

### ***(a)His initial achievements were impressive***

Nkrumah was a socialist in outlook and wanted his people to enjoy a higher standard of living that would come from efficient organisation and industrialisation. Production of cocoa (Ghana's main export) doubled; forestry, fishing and cattle-breeding expanded. And the country's modest deposits of gold and bauxite were more effectively exploited. The building of a dam on the Volta River that begun in 1961, provided water for irrigation and hydro-electric power, producing enough electricity for the towns as well as for a new aluminum smelting plant. Government money was provided for village projects in which local people built roads and schools.

Nkrumah also gained prestige internationally: he strongly supported the *pan Africa movement*, believing that only through a federation of the whole continent could African power make itself felt. As a start, an economic union was formed with Guinea and Mali, though nothing much came of it. He supported the *organisation of African unity* (set up in 1963), and usually played a responsible role in the world affairs, keeping Ghana in the commonwealth while at the same time forging links with the USSR and China.

Unity for the people of independent Africa was a dream of the nationalist. Kwame Nkrumah believed that together, the small African states could become a new voice in world affairs. This movement for unity was called pan-Africanism. In 1958, the first pan-African conference was held in the newly independent Ghana. The conference declared war on colonialism and stated the intention of the African states to remain independent of the quarrel between the world superpowers.

**(b) Why was Nkrumah overthrown?**

He tried to introduce industrialisation too quickly and borrowed vast amounts of capital from abroad, hoping to balance the budget from increased exports. Unfortunately Ghana was still uncomfortably dependent on cocoa exports, and a steep fall in the world price of cocoa left her with a huge balance of payments deficit. There was criticism that too much money was being wasted on unnecessary projects, like the ten-mile stretch of motorway from Accra (the capital) to Tema.

*Probably the most important reason for his downfall was that he gradually began to abandon parliamentary government in favour of one-party state and personal dictatorship.* He justified this on the grounds that the opposition parties, which were based on tribal differences, were not constructive and merely wanted more power in their own areas. They had no experience of working a parliamentary system, and as Nkrumah himself wrote: 'Even a system based on a democratic constitution may need backing up in the period following independence by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind'.



Illustration 12.1.2.4c: Kwame Nkrumah

From 1959 onwards, opponents were deported or imprisoned for up to five years without trial. Even the respected opposition leader, J.B. Danqua, was arrested in 1961 and died in prison. In 1964, all parties except Nkrumah's were banned, and even within his own party no criticism was allowed. He began to build up the image of himself as the 'father of the nation'. Slogans such as, 'Nkrumah is our Messiah, Nkrumah never dies', were circulated, and numerous statues of the saviour were erected. This struck many people as absurd, but Nkrumah justified it on the grounds that the population could identify itself better with a single personality as leader than with vague ideas of the state. All this, plus the fact he was believed to have amassed a personal fortune through corruption, was too much for the army, which seized control when Nkrumah was on a visit to China (1966).

The military government promised a return to democracy as soon a new constitution could be drawn up, complete with safeguards against a return to dictatorship. The constitution was ready in 1969 and the elections returned *Dr. Kofi Busia*, leader of the Progressive Party, as the new prime minister in October, 1969.

### **(c) Kofi Busia**

Dr. Busia only lasted until January 1972 when he too was overthrown by the army. He was an academic who had studied economics at Oxford. In power in the first place only by permission of the army, he had to produce quick results. Yet, the problems were enormous – rising unemployment, rising price and massive debts to be repaid. Canada and USA were prepared to wait for repayment, but other countries, including Britain, were not sympathetic. Busia, who had a reputation for honesty, genuinely tried to keep up payments, but these were using up about 40 per cent of Ghana's export profits. In 1971 imports were limited and currency devalued by nearly 50 per cent. Busia was troubled by the tribal squabbles which re-emerged under conditions of democracy, and the economic situation worsened rapidly that in January 1972, he was removed from power, by Colonel Ignatius Acheampong, who headed a military government until July 1978.

### **(d) J.J. Rawlings**

As Ghana continued to struggle in the middle of her economic problems, Acheampong was himself removed from power by General Fred Akuffo, for alleged corruption. In June 1979, a group of junior officers led by 32-year old Jerry J Rawlings, an air force officer of mixed Ghanaian and Scottish parentage, seized power on the grounds that corrupt soldiers and politicians needed to be weeded out before a return to democracy. They launched what was described as a 'house-cleaning' exercise in which Acheampong and Akuffo were executed after secret trials. In July, elections were held, as a result Rawlings returned Ghana to civilian rule with *Dr. Hillalman* as President (September 1979).



Illustration 12.1.2.4d: J.J. Rawlings

*Hillalman* was no more successful than previous leaders in halting Ghana's economic decline. Corruption was still rife at all levels, and smuggling of basic goods was commonplace. During 1981, inflation was running at 125 per cent, and there was widespread labour unrest as wages remained low. *Hillalman* was removed in a military coup (December 1981). And *Flight –Lieutenant Rawlings* became chairman of a *Provisional National Defence Council*. He was rare among military leaders: the army did not want power, but simply to be 'part of the decision-making process which would change Ghana's whole economic and social system.

Though Rawlings remained leader, the PNDC appointed a civilian government of well-known figures from political and economic circles. Ghana suffered badly from the drought in 1983, but there was ample rainfall in 1984, bringing a good maize harvest. The new recovery programme seemed to be working, production rose by 7 per cent, and early in 1985 inflation was down to 40 per cent. As Ghana celebrated 30 years of independence (March 1987), she was still on course for recovery, and Rawlings and the PNDC, were running apparently successful campaigns to unite the

12 million Ghanaians solidly behind them. Yet for many people, there remained one big criticism: there was no progress towards representative democracy. *Rawlings responded in 1991 by calling an assembly to draw up a new constitution, and promised democratic elections in 1992.* These duly went ahead (November) and Rawlings himself was elected president for a four-year term, with over 58 per cent of the votes. He was both head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Now read the summary.

### Topic Summary

- Clement Attlee was the then British Prime Minister, who decided to give India full independence in 1947, allowing the Indians to work out the details for themselves. Sadly this turned out to be far more difficult than had been expected: the problems were so complex that the country ended up having to be divided into two states – India and Pakistan.
- Religious hostilities between Hindus and Muslims were the main problem. Hindus made up about two-thirds of the 400 million populations, and the rest were mostly Muslims.
- M.K. Gandhi, known as the Mahatma ('Great Soul'), the other highly respected Congress leader, who believed in non-violence, was still hoping for a united India.
- In the longer term, Pakistan did not work very well as a divided state, and in 1971 East Pakistan broke away and became the independent state of Bangladesh.
- Gold Coast was a former British colony becoming first black African state south of the Sahara to win independence after the Second World War, taking the name Ghana (1957).
- In 1957 Ghana, as it became known received full independence. Kwame Nkrumah ruled Ghana from independence in 1957 until his removal by the army in 1966.
- He was a socialist in outlook and wanted his people to enjoy a higher standard of living that would come from efficient organisation and industrialisation.
- Nkrumah also gained prestige internationally: he strongly supported the *pan Africa movement*, believing that only through a federation of the whole continent could African power make itself felt.
- Probably the most important reason for his downfall was that he gradually began to abandon parliamentary government in favour of one-party state and personal dictatorship.
- Political squabbles continued until J.J. Rawlings himself was elected president for a four-year term, with over 58 per cent of the votes in 1992. He was both head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

Now do Activity.

**Activity 12.1.2.4**

---

Now answer the following questions.

1. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, had earlier toyed with the idea of delaying independence for a few years to enable Britain to finance a development programme for India however, this did not eventuate.

Explain why this idea was dropped?

---

---

---

---

2. Who was the British Prime Minister when India was given Independence?

---

3. What was the main reason for the partition of India?

---

4. Who was Mountbatten? \_\_\_\_\_

5. Name the non-violent activist leader in India who was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic?

---

6. Give the previous name of Ghana before independence. \_\_\_\_\_

7. In a sentence write a brief background of Kwame Nkrumah

---

---

8. In March 1987, what was J.J Rawlings response to the 'one big criticism' people had?

---

---

---

9. Complete the table below.

Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
India		
Ghana		

10. List 2 similarities and 2 differences between India and Ghana.

	India	Ghana
<b>Similarities</b>	i) _____	
	ii) _____	
<b>Differences</b>	i) _____	
	ii) _____	

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.**



**12.1.2.5: USA support for Independence for Indonesia and Philippines**

In the previous topic you looked at Case studies on British India and Ghana, both were former British colonies. In this topic, we will move on and look at USA's support for Independence for Indonesia and Philippines.

By the end of this sub topic, students should be able to:

- locate Indonesia and Philippines on the world map
- discuss and compare Indonesia and Philippines' paths to independence.

---

**Dutch sovereignty was transferred to the United States of Indonesia on November 2nd, 1949**

When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the East Indies nationalists seized the opportunity to throw off the Dutch and proclaim the independent state of Indonesia which the Japanese had promised them. Neither Communism nor Islam much appealed to the nationalists, who were led by Achmed Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta. Sukarno had little time for religion or ideology and believed himself a man of destiny. He had been imprisoned and exiled by the Dutch. So had Hatta, a Sumatran with a Rotterdam University degree in economics. Both, had collaborated with the Japanese and helped to organise a Japanese-backed Indonesian army.

Equipped with Japanese weapons, the nationalists waged an armed struggle against the Dutch, who had powerful economic reasons for recovering the East Indies and believed that most Indonesians wanted them to return. Dutch forces made substantial headway in Java and Sumatra, but there was fierce criticism in the United Nations, and the United States pressed for a negotiated solution. Eventually a conference of 120 delegates, assembled at The Hague in August 1949 under the chairmanship of the Dutch Prime Minister, Willem Drees. The nationalist delegates were skillfully led by Hatta.

On November 2nd, 1949, after ten weeks of negotiating, the conference reached an agreement which transferred Dutch sovereignty to the United States of Indonesia; with Queen Juliana of the Netherlands as so-called head of a new Netherlands-Indonesian Union, Sukarno as Indonesian president and Hatta as prime minister. The Dutch released thousands of political prisoners before independence was formally celebrated on December 27<sup>th</sup>, 1949. The new Indonesia immediately became an important factor in the Southwest Pacific.

**Philippines*****History and Background***

In 1896, the Philippine Revolution began. In December 1897, the Spanish government and the revolutionaries signed a truce, the Pact of Biak-na-Bato, requiring that the Spanish pay the revolutionaries 800,000 pesos and that Aguinaldo and other leaders go into exile in Hong Kong. In April 1898, Commodore George Dewey aboard the U.S.S. Olympia, sailed from Hong Kong to Manila Bay. On May 1, 1898, the United States defeated the Spanish in the Battle of Manila Bay.

Emilio Aguinaldo decided to return to the Philippines to help American forces defeat the Spaniards. The U.S. Navy agreed to transport him back aboard the USS McCulloch, and on May 19, he arrived in Cavite.

### **The Proclamation on June 12**

Independence was proclaimed on June 12, 1898, in the afternoon in Cavite at the ancestral home of General Emilio Aguinaldo. The event saw the unfolding of the National Flag of the Philippines, the national anthem, which was composed by Julián Felipe and played by the San Francisco de Malabon marching band.

### **Struggle for independence**

The declaration was never recognised by either the United States or Spain. Later in 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in the 1898 Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War.

The Philippines Revolutionary Government did not recognise the treaty or American sovereignty, and later fought and lost a conflict with United States, originally referred to by the American forces, but now generally called the Philippine-American War, which ended when Emilio Aguinaldo was captured by U.S. forces, and issued a statement acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States over the Philippines.

Following World War II, the US granted independence to the Philippines on 4 July 1946 via the Treaty of Manila. July 4 was observed in the Philippines as Independence Day until August 4, 1964 when, President Diosdado Macapagal signed into law Republic Act No. 4166 designating June 12 as the country's Independence Day. June 12 had previously been observed as Flag Day and many government buildings are urged to display the Philippine Flag in their offices.

### **Current location of the Declaration**

The Declaration is currently housed in the National Library of the Philippines. It is not on public display but can be viewed with permission like any other document held by the National Library.

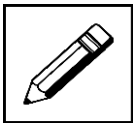
Now read the summary.

### **Topic Summary**

- When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, the East Indies nationalists seized the opportunity to throw off the Dutch and proclaim the independent state of Indonesia which the Japanese had promised them.
- Equipped with Japanese weapons, the nationalists waged an armed struggle against the Dutch led by Achmed Sukarno and Muhammad Hatta.
- Dutch forces made substantial headway in Java and Sumatra, but there was fierce criticism in the United Nations, and the United States pressed for a negotiated solution.

- On the 27th of December, 1949; Queen Juliana of the Netherlands as so-called head of a new Netherlands-Indonesian Union, granted Indonesia independence with Sukarno as Indonesian president and Hatta as prime minister.
- Philippines a former Spanish colony, was handed over to America after the Spanish - American War of 1898.
- The declaration was never recognised by either the United States or Spain. Later in 1898, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States in the 1898 Treaty of Paris that ended the Spanish-American War.

Now do Activity.



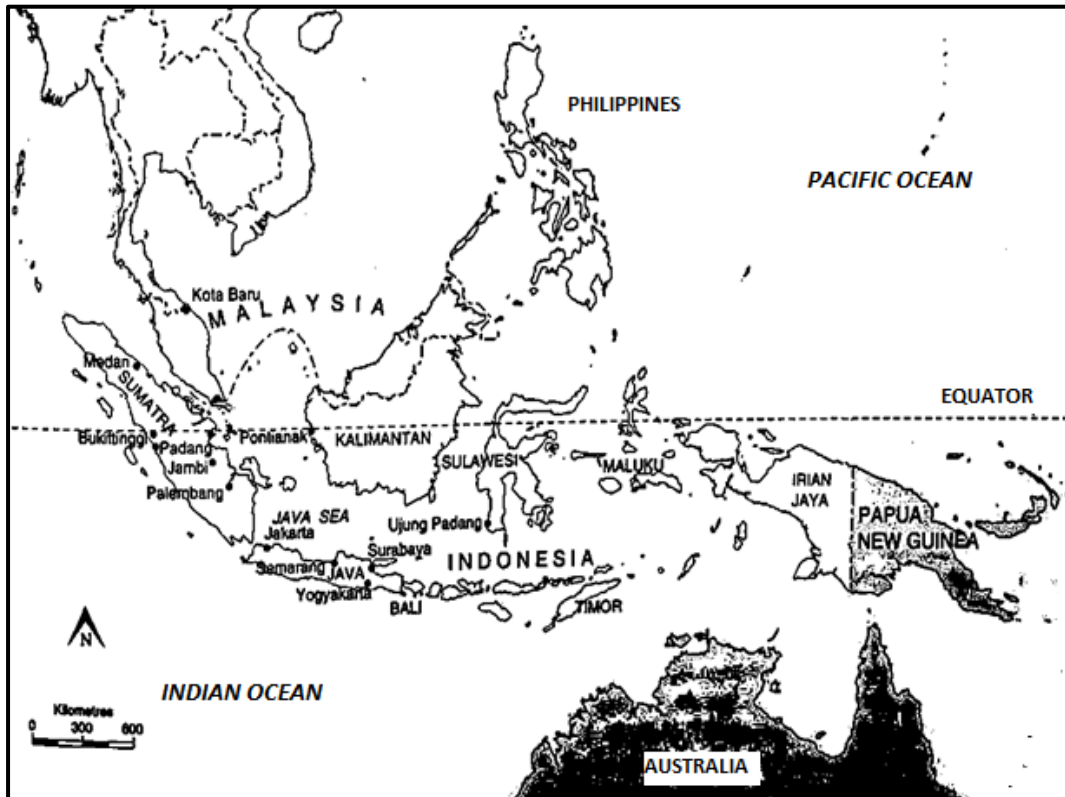
### Activity 12.1.2.5

---

Read and answer the questions.

1. Look up a map of Indonesia, and make a list of its seven main islands.

- a) \_\_\_\_\_
- b) \_\_\_\_\_
- c) \_\_\_\_\_
- d) \_\_\_\_\_
- e) \_\_\_\_\_
- f) \_\_\_\_\_
- g) \_\_\_\_\_



2. How did America assist Indonesia in securing her independence?

---



---

3. Name the 2 leading nationalists who were vocal about Indonesian independence?

a) \_\_\_\_\_ (b) \_\_\_\_\_

4. Which European country was the initial coloniser of the Philippines? \_\_\_\_\_

5. When was the Spanish-American war fought? \_\_\_\_\_

6. What were the immediate consequences of the Spanish-American War?

---

7. Complete the table below.

Country	Colonial Power	Year of independence
Indonesia		
Philippines		

Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.

**12. 1.2.6: Australian handover to New Guinea**

In the previous sub topic you looked at Case studies on British India and Ghana. In this topic you will study about the Australian handover to New Guinea.

By the end of this sub topic, students should be able to:

- draw a timeline clearly outlining the dates and events to do with the topic.
- discuss and explain various maps of the country and when each one was in use.

---

**British and German colonial powers in New Guinea****British New Guinea 1884 - 1906 and German New Guinea 1884 -1914**

The British interest in Papua was mainly strategic; they saw little economic advantage to be gained from their colonial possession. In consequence they alienated very little land and did little to encourage settlers. The colonial authority was very poorly funded and could not afford to establish a marked physical presence, except in Port Moresby. The main Christian denominations opened mission stations in areas agreed upon between themselves and the colonial authority and provided the few health and education services available to the people.

The German, however, saw New Guinea as an economic venture and hoped to establish profitable trading companies and produced cash crops through the exploitation of cheap local labour. The missions were seen as channels for the introduction of German culture as well as Christianity. The Germans hoped to see the colony become a substantial economic asset and establish a durable presence on the lowlands. The villagers were uncooperative and serious clashes in which the Germans were the victors occurred.

Although the motives for the establishment of the colonies were different, neither colonial power consulted the indigenous peoples when making decisions that had an overwhelming effect on their land and their lives.

**Papua 1905 - 1940**

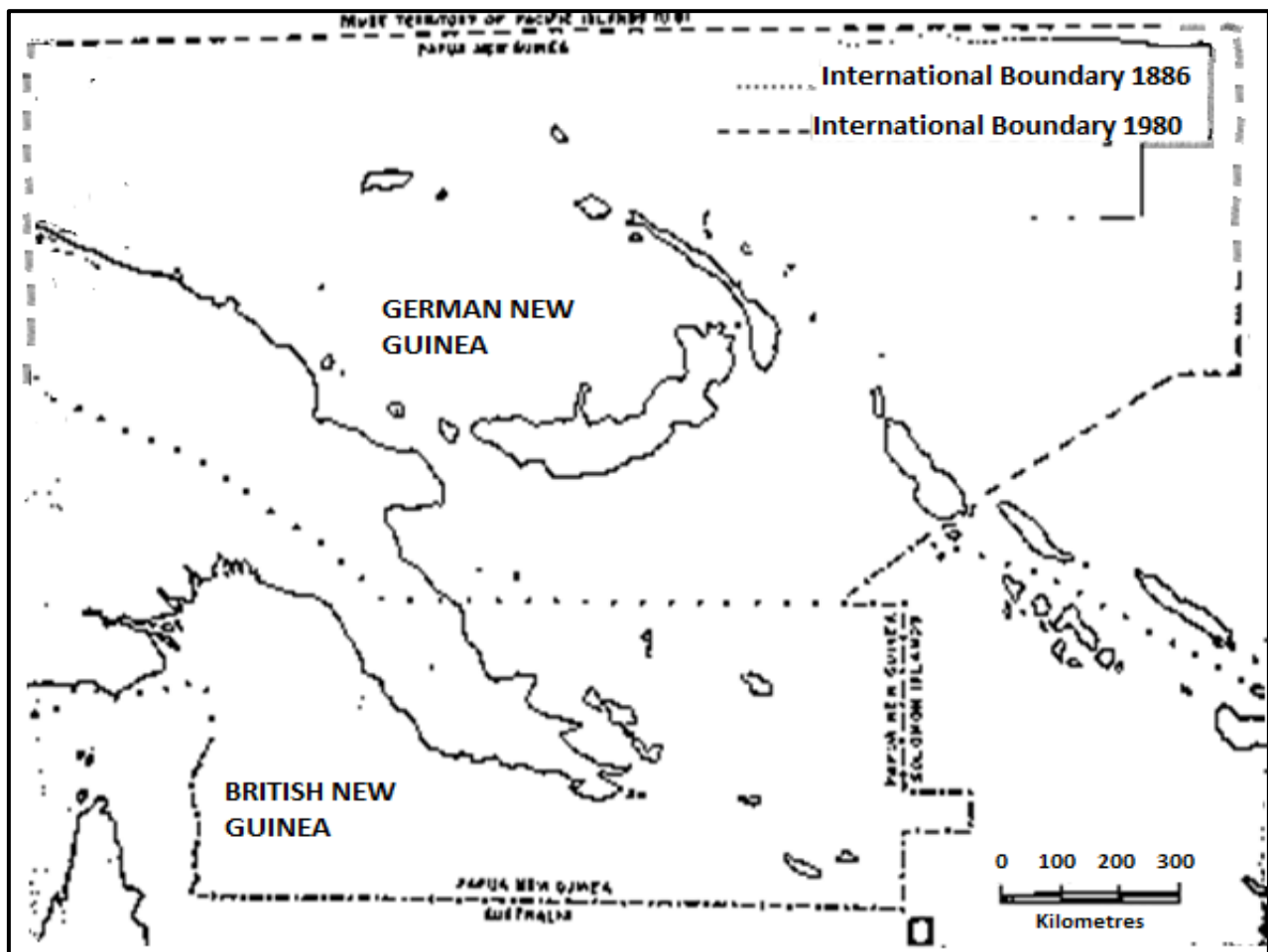
In 1906, Australia formally took over Papua, and appointed a royal commission to advise on the suitability of the region for European economic development. The advocates of rapid economic development clashed with those who believed the interests of the indigenous people should be paramount. The commission adopted a compromise position and appointed Hubert Murray as administrator, who could, they believed, implement a compromise policy.

In practice, Murray's paternalistic position on and labour continued MacGregor's policy of the protectorate period. Under Murrays' rule, gold and copper production grew, and transport, communication and health services, as well as the commercial sector expanded. However, the agriculture sector suffered and little attention was paid to the education of the people.

Murray mounted a number of successful exploratory expeditions for the Europeans; substantially extended European influence through patrols, and established village councils which allowed the local people a very limited degree of participation in governance. Murray encouraged the missions, to whom he gave the responsibility for what little schooling there was for the people.

Murray's administration met with a mixed reaction from the people. On the whole, his paternalistic policies were tolerated and in some areas well accepted. However, his policies were sometimes resented. While Murray believed in disturbing the indigenous people as little as possible, European contact unavoidably disrupted traditional societies and by 1940 Papuans in those areas under the colonial authority's control, were being led into the Western world.

Study the map below of German and British New Guinea protectorates.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.6a: British New Guinea and German New Guinea.

### **Australian military rule 1914-1942**

Australia took over the German colony in 1914 at the beginning of the First World War and established a military rule which was replaced in 1921 by a League of Nations Mandate administration which lasted until 1942.

Under the military regime, the previous German attempts to build up the economy were abandoned and harsher labour laws were introduced. In the Mandate period, colonial authority was officially the responsibility of the appointed administrators -however, in practice, power lay with an Expropriation Board which sold plantations established under the German rule to British and Australian capitalists.

Until the 1930s, the main export was copra, followed by cocoa, rubber and coffee grown mainly in foreign-owned plantations. In the 1933, following important finds in the Wau-Bulolo area, gold supplanted copra and the administrative headquarters was moved from the copra based town of Rabaul to Lae, which was better placed geographically to take advantage of the economic activity generated by the gold discoveries and the penetration of the highlands.

A major problem for the colonial authority continued to be recruitment of labour for the plantations and the mines, and in an effort to increase the labour supply, some protective legislation was introduced which provided for minimum wages and conditions of employment. While the provisions of this legislation were frequently ignored, improved conditions did attract a greater number of labourers into the work force. When able bodied men were recruited to work away from home, the women in the village were disadvantaged by having to undertake a number of tasks that were normally the men's responsibility.

Western medical and educational services were inadequate or non-existent and the people depended almost entirely upon traditional medicines and the nursing care provided by village women.

The small white population took strong measures to ensure that they maintained their positions of economic, political and social supremacy and, on the assumption that the New Guineans were an inferior race, introduced and policed a wide range of discriminatory legislation.

When the Australians were driven out of the Territory by the Japanese in 1942, they left a colony in which foreign settlers and gold companies had, on the whole, prospered, and a native population much further integrated into the cash economy and European culture than had been the case in 1921.

### **The Pacific war and the wind of change 1939 -1960**

After the Japanese captured Rabaul, the Australians used colonial administrative officers and planters to establish military units to administer those parts of Papua New Guinea not occupied by the Japanese. In April 1942, these units combined to form the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU), which operated until the establishment of a Provisional Administration in October 1945. ANGAU's main functions were to provide all requirements for fighting and to maintain law and order. Papua New Guineans were recruited into war service as carriers, stretcher bearers, road workers, air field construction workers and plantation labourers.

Some of these recruited by ANGAU were in the Kokoda campaign in 1942 and on the Eloa Trail (Bulldog Track), as the Australian army pushed the Japanese back from Kokoda during 1944.

After the war the Australian government administered Papua and New Guinea as a single entity, and Canberra assumed a greater degree of direct control over the affairs of the territory. Under Eddie Ward, Minister for External Territories, the post war Labour Government committed

Australia to a New Deal for Papua New Guinea, under which, substantial funding was provided to accelerate economic development, improve living standards and greatly expand social services. Plans were made to allow Papua New Guineans a greater degree of involvement in governance.

In an attempt to implement this policy, Colonel Murray created a public service; abolished the indentured labour system and repatriated thousands of labourers back to their villages; paid war damage compensation; and promoted significant expansion in education, health and public works, post and telegraph and civil aviation services. The colonial authority also facilitated the exploration of the Territory for mineral and timber resources by organising a detailed topographic, geological and forestry survey. After the war, land which had not already been taken, was seen as the property of the people however, there continues to be conflicts between the interests of landowners and foreigners who sought to use the land to expand the cash economy. Copra and cocoa continued to be produced on foreign-owned plantations. The Department of Agriculture's attempts to encourage the local people to grow cash crops in the lowlands were largely unsuccessful. To allow a greater degree of participation in governance, a Legislative Council was established, with mainly advisory powers and which encouraged the establishment of village councils.

These policies were continued under Cleland whose appointment coincided with the appointment of Hasluck as Minister for External Territories in the newly elected Liberal Country Party coalition government. Under Cleland, colonial control was extended to the Central Highlands, a massive labour scheme brought highlanders to work on coastal plantations and hastened developments in the highlands. The success of highland cash cropping was partly due to the relatively high market price of coffee and the labour supplied by the highlands woman. However, the backbone of the economy continued to be the subsistence sector, in which, the vast majority of the people lived and worked. Christian missionary activity of both established churches and newly introduced sects expanded greatly. By 1960 Papua New Guinea was basically a Christian country, in which Christianity coexisted with the belief in the spirits.

The substantial social change which accompanied these developments, profoundly affected the lives of the people, and some societies, such as Manus, reacted by developing radical new social structures and processes, which had some of the characteristics traditional cults. However, on the whole, the people accepted and adapted to these changes and by 1960 the economic and social changes had paved the way towards independence.

### **Transition to independence 1961-1975**

By 1961, the Australian government was under pressure from international agencies, the Australian parliamentary opposition and groups within Papua New Guinea to prepare the country for independence.

In 1962, a United Nations Mission recommended Australia put in train economic, political, constitutional, legal, administrative and social measures to allow PNG to expedite the transition to independence. Between 1962 and 1972, Australia carried out the main recommendations of the report. The most important single economic development was the establishment, despite some opposition from the landowners, of the Bougainville Copper mine by the subsidiary of the transnational Conzinc Riotinto. Other overseas companies such as the Jant Timber Company, were



involved in commercial timber projects. Cash cropping in copra, cocoa and coffee, and indigenous involvement in cash cropping grew rapidly in the 1960s.

In spite of the expansion of the cash economy and the extension Western social, cultural and political influence, the great majority of the people still lived outside the cash economy, were mainly dependent upon subsistence agriculture, followed many traditional customs and were not directly affected by the economic, social, cultural and political changes of those fifteen years.

The emergence of educated elite to take over the management of the country and establish business interests was made possible by the rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary education. The educated elite included very few women, and those women who entered the paid workforce were usually in the health and teaching services, clerks, shop assistants, or domestic servants. In the 1960s, racially discriminatory law was canceled, and in 1972, a Human Rights order banned discrimination on the grounds of race, tribe, political opinion, colour, creed and sex.

One response to social change was the development of a group of creative artists -writers, painters, and musicians - who tried to link traditional concepts and values with the newly emerging Westernised society.

There were a number of significant political developments in this period. An avenue through which some Papua New Guineans achieved political awareness was the local government councils. The first House of Assembly, elected in 1964, established a committee to draft a constitution. Six political parties contested the 1968 elections and Canberra began to devolve power to the national parliament. Devolution occurred in two stages: self-government, under which Canberra handed over all powers except those relating to foreign affairs, defence and the legal system; and complete independence, under which all powers reside with the national parliament.

Not everyone in Papua New Guinea supported early self-government and independence. Expatriates who were concerned with protecting their commercial interests and highland groups, who were afraid that an independent country would be dominated by the lowlands sought to keep the Australian presence. However, Michael Somare, the adroit leader of the largest and most influential political party, the Pangu Party, persuaded the House to move rapidly towards freeing the colony from Australian control. After 1972, he was assisted by the newly elected Labour government in Australia, which was committed to early self-government and independence.

Conservative elements were not the only ones advocating delaying independence. Radical members of parliament who came to dominate the Constitutional Planning Committee argued that more time was needed to develop a fully 'home-grown' constitution. The provisions of the constitution were the subject of considerable debate which was resolved by compromise. Separatists' movements in Bougainville, East New Britain and Papua were unsuccessful. The country won self-government in December 1973 and complete independence in September 1975.

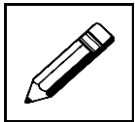
Now read the summary.

## Topic Summary

- The British interest in Papua was mainly strategic; they saw little economic advantage to be gained from their colonial possession. In consequence they alienated very little land and did little to encourage settlers.
- The main Christian denominations opened mission stations in areas agreed upon between themselves and the colonial authority and provided the few health and education services available to the people.
- The German, however, saw New Guinea as an economic venture and hoped to establish profitable trading companies and produced cash crops through the exploitation of cheap local labour.
- Although the motives for the establishment of the colonies were different neither colonial power consulted the indigenous peoples when making decisions that had an overwhelming effect on their land and their lives.
- In 1906, Australia formally took over Papua, and appointed a royal commission to advise on the suitability of the region for European economic development.
- Under Murrays' rule, gold and copper production grew and transport, communication and health services and the commercial sector expanded. However, the agriculture sector languished and little attention was paid to the education of the people.
- Murray mounted a number of successful exploratory expeditions for the Europeans; substantially extended European influence through patrols, and established village councils which allowed the local people a very limited degree of participation in governance.
- Australia took over the German colony in 1914 at the beginning of the First World War and established a military rule which was replaced in 1921 by a League of Nations Mandate administration which lasted until 1942.
- In April 1942, these units combined to form the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU) which operated until the establishment of a Provisional Administration in October 1945. Its functions were to provide all requirements for fighting and to maintain law and order.
- Some of these recruited by ANGAU were in the Kokoda campaign in 1942 and on the Eloa Trail (Bulldog Track) as the Australian army pushed the Japanese back from Kokoda during 1944.
- The small white population took strong measures to ensure that they maintained their positions of economic, political and social supremacy and, introduced and policed a wide range of discriminatory legislation.
- 1962 a United Nations Mission recommended Australia put in train economic, political, constitutional, legal, administrative and social measures to allow PNG to expedite the transition to independence.

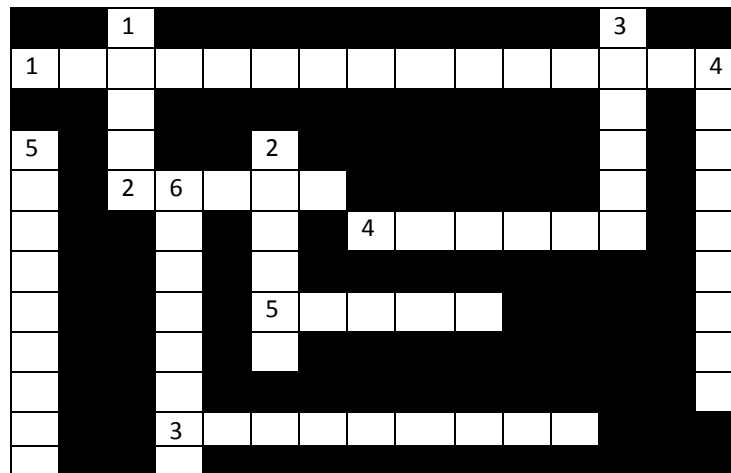
- In the 1960s racially discriminatory legislation was repealed and in 1972 a Human Rights Ordinance banned discrimination on the grounds of race, tribe, political opinion, colour, creed or sex.
- The most important single economic development was the establishment, despite some opposition from the landowners, of the Bougainville Copper mine by the subsidiary of the transnational Conzinc Riotinto.
- The country won self-government in December 1973 and complete independence in September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1975.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.2.6

1. Complete the puzzle below.



#### Clues:

##### **Down**

1. The area in New Guinea governed by the British.
2. The European power that controlled northern New Guinea
3. An outpost of one country in someone else's land.
4. The main reason the British interest in Papua.
5. Missions that believe in JESUS as the son of God.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ symbol of PNG is the Bird of Paradise.

**Across**

1. The international body set up at the end of WWI, to maintain world peace.
2. The use of force to take over another country.
3. The country that had military control over PNG from 1914 to 1942.
4. He was appointed as Administrator over Papua in 1906.
5. Initials for Australia New Guinea Administrative Unit.

**Check your answers at the end of subunit 12.1.2.**

### 12.1.2.7 Condominium administration of New Hebrides

In the last sub topic, you have discussed and learnt about the Australian Handover to New Guinea, elaborating on the means and ways used to prepare New Guinea for independence and the eventual independence itself. In this sub topic, you study the Condominium Administration of New Hebrides, present day Vanuatu.

By the end of this sub topic, students should be able to:

- confidently explain what a Condominium is
  - explain how New Hebrides came about to be a Condominium
  - clearly locate which region in the Pacific New Hebrides is in
  - identify which two European nations enjoyed joint custody of New Hebrides why
- 

#### **New Hebrides Condominium**

During the late nineteenth century, planters as well as missionaries began to colonise the islands that had become known as the New Hebrides. English Men of' War patrolled the waters irregularly, to safeguard settlers and monitor the sandalwood trade. In 1875, Tannese settlers, mostly Catholics, wrote to the French government suggesting that the islands be annexed by the (Catholic) French Government. In 1876, planters in Efate sent an identical submission. Presbyterian missionaries saw this as a threat and promptly waged a press campaign in Australia and England, for the New Hebrides to be annexed by the British. The French and British governments sent each other assurances that neither wishes to annex the islands. Ten years passed while French planters bought up almost all the useable land in an effort to take economically what they could not yet control politically. Meanwhile, the Presbyterians continued their campaign with even more vigor. Finally, France suggested to Britain that it would exchange any English claims to the French claimed Leeward Islands and Newfoundland, in exchange for the New Hebrides. Britain did not agree and things stood at an impasse.

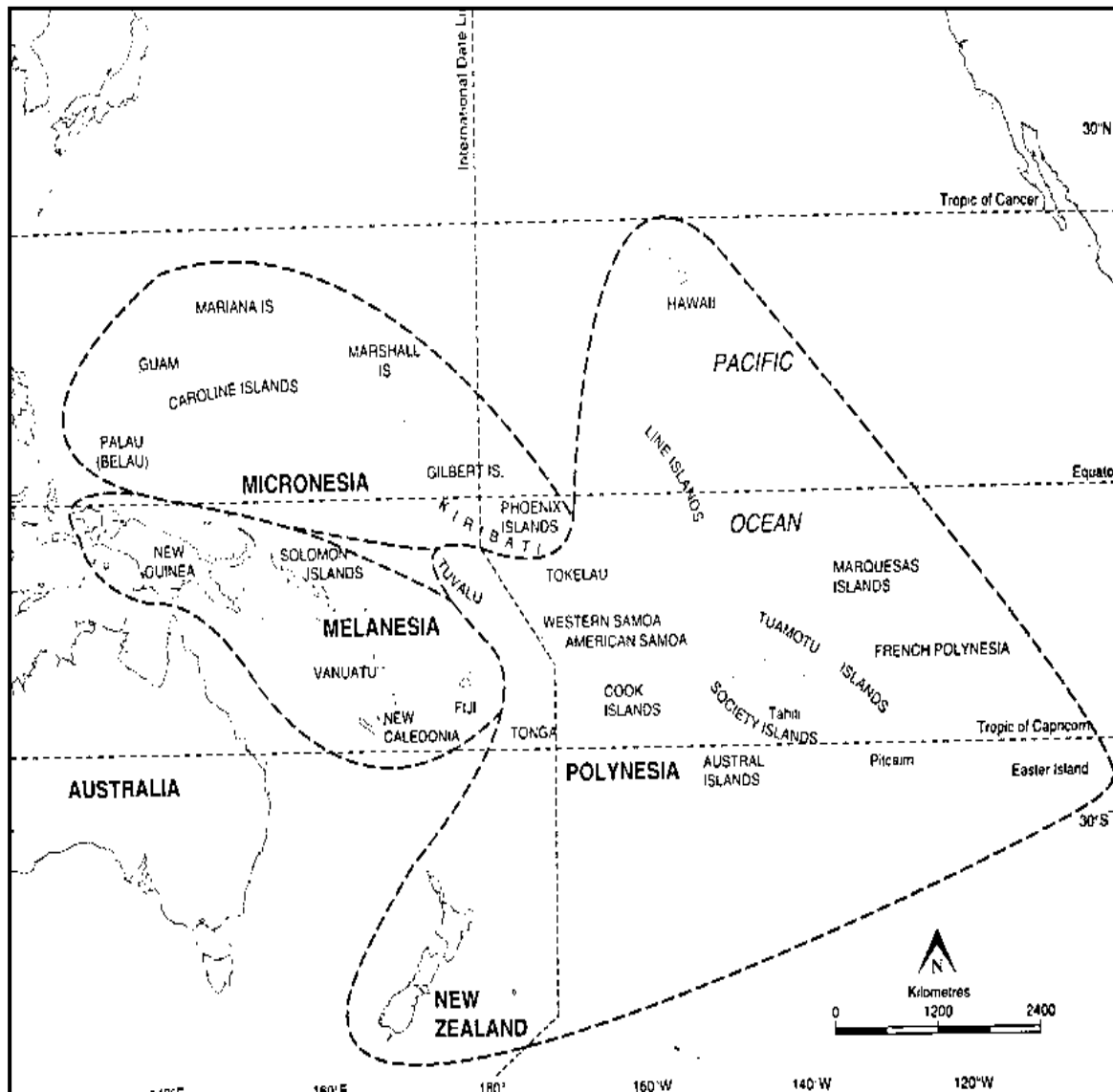
However, between 1882 and 1886, around twenty Europeans were killed by local villagers. Clearly, in the eyes of France, the English Men o' War were unable to maintain peace. France sent detachments of troops from New Caledonia, to set up stations in Port Havannah, North Efate Island and Port Sandwich on Malekula.

This Joint Naval Commission proved reasonably effective in maintaining order, until France and English began playing serious political footsies with the New Hebrides. Each in turn sent consuls, High Commissioners and Governors to assume some sort of control of the islands. Each began a game of one-upmanship that finally, in 1906, resulted in the necessity for some form of agreement. Finally, a joint agreement to rule was invoked.

It was called the Condominium. It became known as Pandemonium and was probably the single most inappropriate form of rule any group of peoples had to live under.

The New Hebrides Condominium comprised of a joint court ruled over by a Spanish judge who spoke neither French nor English, a Dutch registrar and completely dual functioning bureaucracies. It meant passing through two sets of Customs on arrival, dealing with two law systems based on quite different principles, two jails, two hospitals, two of everything. It was grossly inefficient, and incredibly costly. Towards the end of its life, Vanuatu was effectively ruled by the heads of state of Britain and France, the British Queen and the French President.

Study the map below of the Pacific Region.



Map Illustration 12.1.2.7a: The three Regions of the Pacific

### World War II during the Time of Our Play

With the fall of France in WWII, the French side of the Condominium was from the Vichy point of view, technically at war with the other half - Britain. Back in France, when World War II came, the German First Panzer Army used Gaullist tactics against France, and sent the country down, and

Charles de Gaulle managed to flee to Britain, where he started and commanded the Free French Movement, putting a death warrant on his head by the German occupation. He fought with the allies during this time, commanding the French to victory. In 1940, the French population of the New Hebrides immediately declared their support for General De Gaulle's Free French Forces. In fact they were the first of France's Pacific colonies to do so.

Perhaps for the only time in the life of the Condominium, the French and British were not at complete odds with one other.

With France under German rule, the French Ambassador was placed in a difficult position with no support structure in terms of a properly functioning French government. But concerns over such matters were overshadowed by the fast approaching Japanese forces.

In early 1942, the Japanese reached the nearby Solomon Islands and New Guinea, intent on invading New Zealand and Australia. The New Hebridean's lived in real fear that they would be next. The Americans, however, arrived first, in May 1942.

It is a sight that can only be imagined; to wake up and glance out in the dawn light to the vast expanse of Mele Bay - filled with warships. A good number of the Vila population fled into the hills in the belief that the Japanese had arrived. It took some time to convince everyone otherwise.

The Americans took over. The U.S. through its U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built infrastructure to support their introduced military population and the necessary equipment to wage a counter offensive. They brought in tonnes of machinery, built barracks and hospitals, a road around the entire island, airstrips and wharves. They were in a desperate need to push back the Japanese. This left the France and Britain in shame for all they had not done for the islands.

In Espiritu Santo, 100,000 troops arrived in short order, doubling the population of the country almost overnight. And throughout the islands an interesting social phenomena took place. Indigenous New Hebridean's were astounded at the apparent equality with which black and white military personnel were treated. And when these New Hebridean's natives went to work for the Americans, they received respect and wages far in excess to anything they had ever experienced before. The typically generous Americans would also look at the native New Hebridean's living conditions and give the natives, clothes and beds, ice boxes and furniture.

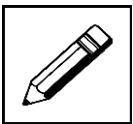
Vanuatu was attacked only once by a Japanese plane (that was shot down). Thus, they never experienced the horrors of Japanese occupied New Guinea or Solomon Islands. They saw only fair treatment, better living conditions, modern medical aid, economic growth and a vast expansion of facilities, many of which are still in use with only minimal upgrading, fifty six years later.

Now read the summary.

## Topic Summary

- During the late nineteenth century, planters as well as missionaries began to colonise the islands that had become known as the New Hebrides.
- These planters and missionaries were either from France or Britain.
- In 1875, Tannese settlers, mostly Catholics, wrote to the French government suggesting that the islands be annexed by the (Catholic) French Government.
- In 1876, planters sent an identical submission. Presbyterian missionaries saw this as a threat and waged a press campaign in Australia and England, for the New Hebrides to be annexed by the British.
- Ten years passed while French planters bought up almost all the useable land in an effort to take economically control of what they could not yet control politically.
- France suggested to Britain that it would exchange any English claims to the French claimed Leeward Islands and Newfoundland, in exchange for the New Hebrides. Britain did not agree and things stood at an impasse.
- Between 1882 and 1886, around twenty Europeans were killed by local villagers. France sent detachments of troops from New Caledonia.
- A joint agreement to rule was raised. It was called the Condominium. It became known as Pandemonium and was the single most inappropriate form of rule, any group of peoples had to live under.
- As a result of World War II throughout the islands, indigenous New Hebridean's were astounded at the equality with which black and white military personnel were treated.

Now do Activity.



### Activity 12.1.2.7

Now do the following Exercises.

1. Refer to Map illustration 12.1.2.7a and write in the names of the countries in each of the three regions of the Pacific.



Melanesia	Micronesia	Polynesia
i) _____	i) _____	i) _____
ii) _____	ii) _____	ii) _____
iii) _____	iii) _____	iii) _____
iv) _____	iv) _____	iv) _____
v) _____	v) _____	v) _____
vi) _____	vi) _____	vi) _____
vii) _____	vii) _____	vii) _____
viii) _____	viii) _____	viii) _____
ix) _____	ix) _____	ix) _____
x) _____	x) _____	x) _____

2. What is a Condominium?

---



---

3. Name the two (2) European countries that together shared claim over New Hebrides.

i) \_\_\_\_\_ (ii) \_\_\_\_\_

4. What is the '*present day*' name of New Hebrides? \_\_\_\_\_

5. During World War II on whose 'head' did the Germanys put a death warrant on?

---

6. Describe in a sentence what positive effect WWII had on New Hebrides.

---



---



---



---



---

**YOU HAVE COME TO THE END OF SUBUNIT 12.1. NOW GO ON TO SUBUNIT 12.2.**

## ANSWERS TO ACTIVITIES 12.1.2

### Activity 12.1.2.1

1)

Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
1. Egypt	British	1922
2. Sudan	French	1960
3. Ethiopia	Italian	1947
4. Somalia	Italy/ Britain	1960
5. Kenya	British	1963
6. Uganda	British	1962
7. Tanzania	British	1961
8. Mozambique	Portugal	1975
9. Zimbabwe	British	1980
10. Zaire/ Congo	Belgium	1960
11. Nigeria	British	1960
12. Ghana	British	1957

2) From your readings on the topic, state the six (6) main reasons why these African countries experienced complications in their 'Pathways' to reaching 'Nationhood'?

- |                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| i) Separatist movements    | (iv) ethnic clashes       |
| ii) Economic difficulties  | (v) religious differences |
| iii) Political differences | (vi) Non-aligned Movement |

3. a) Zaire (Congo) from 1960-1963 and Nigeria from 1967-1970.

- b) The main reason why parliament democracy seemed almost 'un-workable' in Africa was because of 'deeply rooted Ethnic conflicts'.
- c) The Ugandan Leader that notoriously expelled foreign business men in 1972 from Uganda was President Idi Amin. Dada

4. a) China      (b) Russia      (c) Cuba

5. Define EEC- European Economic Community

6. The significance of the 'Lome Convention' that was held in 1975 was that it gave valuable trading connection with the European Community.

**Activity 12.1.2.2**

1. The first European to sight New Caledonia in 1744 was Captain James Cook.
2. As trade in sandalwood declined, it was replaced by 'Black-birding'.
3. 'Black birding' is the practice of forcefully taking/ kidnapping labourers to go and work in overseas plantations.
4. On 24 September 1853, Napoleon III issue orders to the formally making New Caledonia become a French possession.
5. On 13 June 1545, Ortiz de Ratez sail the San Juan and reach the northern coast of the island of New Guinea.
6. The former European ruler of West Papua was the Netherlands / Holland or the Dutch
7. During WW II, the American forces led by General Mac Arthur led a four-phase campaign to Liberate Dutch New Guinea. Briefly explain each phase;
  - Phase 1: was the capture of Hollandia (now Jayapura).
  - Phase 2: was the capture of Sarmi and was met with strong Japanese resistance.
  - Phase 3: was the capture of Biak to control the airfield and nearby Numfor.
  - Phase 4: was the push to Japanese airbases on Morotai and towards the Philippines.
8. What does the abbreviation 'OPM' stand for? Organisasi Papua Merdeka (OPM, or Free Papua Movement).
9. During the Abdurrahman Wahid administration in 2000, West Papua gained a special autonomy.

**Activity 12.1.2.3**

1.
  - a) Vietnam
  - b) Cambodia
  - c) Laos
  - d) Thailand
2. President Nixon (1969-74) was the one who introduced 'Vietnamisation'.
3. This began an eight-year struggle which ended with the French being defeated at Dien Bien Phu (May 1954).
4. 1953
5. South African troops invaded the country in support UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence) while General Mobutu of Zaire, launched another invasion in support of the FNLA.

6. Complete the table.

Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
1. Vietnam	French	1975
2. Laos	French	1975
3. Cambodia	French	1975
4. East Timor	Portuguese	2002
5. Morocco	French	1956
6. Angola	Portuguese	1975

#### Activity 12.1.2.4

1. This idea was dropped because the Indians would be suspicious of any delay, and because Britain could not afford to wait.
2. Clement Attlee, was the British Prime Minister, when India was given independence.
3. The main reason for the partition of India was because of the hostilities between Muslims and the Hindus.
4. Mountbatten was the new British Viceroy to India at the time of Indian independence.
5. Mahatma Gandhi was the non-violent activist leader.
6. The previous name of Ghana before independence was 'Gold Coast'
7. The nationalist leader Kwame Nkrumah, educated in London and the USA and since 1949 leader of the Convention People's Party (CPP), organised the campaign for independence.
8. Rawlings responded in 1991 by calling an assembly to draw up a new constitution, and promised democratic elections in 1992.
9. Complete the table.

Country	Former Ruler	Year of Independence
India	British	1947
Ghana	British	1957

10. List 2 similarities and 2 differences between India and Ghana.

	India	Ghana
<b>Similarities</b>	i) Both are former British colonies ii) Both are the first in their 'Regions' to get independence.	
<b>Differences</b>	i) Asian country	African country
	ii) Strong 'Religious' differences	Became independent 10 years later.

### Activity 12.1.2.5

- Find a map of Indonesia, and list Indonesia's 7 main islands.
  - Sumatra
  - Java
  - Kalimantan
  - Sulawesi
  - Bali
  - Irian Jaya
  - Maluku
- America assist Indonesia is securing her independent by assisting the United Nations in putting immense pressure on the Dutch to give Indonesia independence.
- Name the 2 leading nationalists who were vocal about Indonesian independence?
  - Achmed Sukarno
  - Muhammad Hatta.
- Which European country was the initial coloniser of the Philippines? Spain
- When was the Spanish-American war fought? It was fought in 1898.
- What were the immediate consequences of the Spanish American war? The immediate consequence was that Spain had to hand the Philippines over to America.
- Complete the table.

Country	Colonial Power	Year of independence
Indonesia	Dutch	1949
Philippines	Spain/America	1946

**Activity 12.1.2.6**

1.

**Activity 12.1.2.7**

1. Refer to Map illustration 12.1.2.7a, and write in the names of the countries in each of the 3 regions in the Pacific.

<b>Melanesia</b>	<b>Micronesia</b>	<b>Polynesia</b>
i) Papua New Guinea	i) Mariana Islands	i) Hawaii
ii) Solomon Islands	ii) Marshall Islands	ii) Marquesas Islands
iii) Vanuatu	iii) Gilbert Islands	iii) French Polynesia
iv) Fiji	iv) Guam	iv) Line Islands
v) New Caledonia	v) Palau (Belau)	v) Tokelau
vi) West Irian	vi) Caroline Islands	vi) Western Samoa
	vii) Phoenix Islands	vii) American Samoa
	viii) Kiribati	viii) Society Islands
		ix) Cook Islands
		x) Tuamotu Islands
		xi) Austral Islands
		xii) Easter Islands
		xiii) Tonga
		xiv) New Zealand

2. What is a Condominium? A 'Condominium' when an area/country is ruled/controlled by two different countries at the same time.

3. Name the two (2) European countries that together shared claim over New Hebrides.

- i) British      (ii) French

4. The '*present day*' name of New Hebrides is Vanuatu.

5. During World War II the Germans put a Death warrant on Charles de Gaulle's 'head'.

6. Indigenous New Hebridean's were astounded at the apparent equality with which black and white military personnel were treated. And when these New Hebridean's natives went to work for the Americans, they received respect and wages far in excess to anything they had ever experienced before.
- 

**YOU HAVE COME TO THE END OF UNIT 12.1. CHECK YOUR WORK AND SEND IT TO YOUR CENTRE'S PROVINCIAL COORDINATOR.**

## Glossary

<b>Black Birding</b>	is the practice of forcefully taking/ kidnapping labourers
<b>Bureaucracies</b>	the system of official rules and ways of doing things that a government or an Organisation has, especially when these seem to be too complicated.
<b>Cannibalism</b>	is the practice of killing other people and eating them.
<b>Capitalism</b>	economic system that allows private ownership of businesses for profit motive.
<b>Communism</b>	a one party political system where the state owns everything.
<b>Dominion</b>	meant becoming more or less completely independent, though still acknowledging the British monarch as head of state.
<b>Domino theory</b>	if there is a line of dominos standing on end close to each other and one is pushed over; it will knock over the next one in line, and so on.
<b>Ethnicity</b>	the fact of belonging to a particular race; e.g. Afro-American
<b>Federation</b>	is when a number of states join together under a central or federal government which has over all authority, each of the states has its own separate parliament which deals with internal affairs.
<b>Holocaust</b>	the deliberate murder in extermination camps of over 6 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jews, mainly in Poland and Russia by the Nazis between 1930s and 1940s
<b>Hindus</b>	are followers of Hinduism that is the main religion of India and Nepal which includes the worship of one or more gods and belief in Reincarnation.
<b>Imperialism</b>	is the acquiring and building up empires and owning colonies.
<b>Industrialisation</b>	occurred between the 18 <sup>th</sup> and 19 <sup>th</sup> centuries in Europe and the US machines were invented and used to do work leading to the rapid growth of industries.
<b>Liberalism</b>	is the desire/belief in individual freedom and constitutional government
<b>Mandate</b>	areas placed under the Leagues' instructions to be prepared for independence.
<b>Muslims</b>	are followers of Islam, based on the belief in one God revealed through Muhammad as the prophet of Allah.



<b>Nationhood</b>	is the process of a nation/ state or country achieving Independence and becoming a sovereign nation for all its' citizens.
<b>Nationalism</b>	a strong desire/belief by a group of people to form a country of their own.
<b>Nationalists</b>	are people with a very strong desire to expel foreign rulers so they can have a government run by people of their own nationality.
<b>Negotiations</b>	are formal round table discussions between people who are trying to reach a decision about someone or something.
<b>Neo-colonialism</b>	is the practice of exercising influence over former colonies after independence by Economic means.
<b>Outside Pressures</b>	refers to any external pressure that is applied by any outside group or countries to influence a decision.
<b>Pan-Africanism</b>	Unity for the people of independent Africa.
<b>Proclamation</b>	is an official statement or declaration about something important that is made to the public; the act of making an official statement.
<b>Protectorate</b>	is a country which was officially independent with its own ruler, but which was under the `protection' or guardianship of the mother country.
<b>Referendum</b>	an occasion when all the people of a country can vote on an important issue
<b>Resistance</b>	refers to the act of using force to oppose something or someone.
<b>Sahelian states</b>	the nine countries south of the Saharan and Egyptian deserts which constituted a 'famine belt' stretching across the whole of Africa.
<b>Self- determination</b>	the right of a country and its' people to be independent and to choose their own government and political system.
<b>Totalitarian</b>	a system of government whereby only one man dictates authority over the running of the country.
<b>'Vietnamisation</b>	an idea by US President Nixon for the Americans to re-arm and train the South Vietnamese army to look after the defence of South Vietnam; that would allow a gradual withdrawal of American troops during the Vietnam war.

## References

- Condon, C. (1987). *The Making of the Modern World*. MacMillan: Melbourne.
- Heater, D. (1982). *Our World this Century*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Howarth, T. (1987). TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY *The World Since 1900*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (by Brooman Josh): Longman Inc., New York.
- Lawrence, J. (1986). *The Modern World Emerges*: Jacaranda press: Queensland.
- Low, N. (1982). *Mastering Modern World History*. 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Palgrave MacMillan: New York.
- Mason, J. (2001). *Modern World History to GCSE*: Oxford University Press: New York.
- Hoepper, B. et al. (2005). *Global Voices Historical inquiries for the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. Jacaranda Press: Queensland.
- Low, A. et al. (1996). *Modern Quest*. Jacaranda Press: Queensland
- Wikipedia (2015) google. com.au. *Indonesia*. Retrieved; 2011-2013. en.wikipedia.org//
- Wikipedia (2015) google. com.au. *New Caledonia*. Retrieved; 2011-2013 .en.wikipedia.org//
- Wikipedia (2015) google. com.au. *New Hebrides*. Retrieved; 2011-2013. en.wikipedia.org//
- Wikipedia (2015) *Philippines*. googles.com.au. Retrieved 2011-2013. en.wikipedia.org//
- Wikipedia (2015) googles.com.au. *West Papua*. Retrieved; 2011-2013. en.wikipedia.org//

## FODE PROVINCIAL CENTRES CONTACTS

PC NO .	FODE PROVINCIAL CENTRE	ADDRESS	PHONE/FAX	CUG PHONES	CONTACT PERSON		CUG PHONE
1	DARU	P. O. Box 68, Daru	6459033	72228146	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229047
2	KEREMA	P. O. Box 86, Kerema	6481303	72228124	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229049
3	CENTRAL	C/- FODE HQ	3419228	72228110	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229050
4	ALOTAU	P. O. Box 822, Alotau	6411343 / 6419195	72228130	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229051
5	POPONDETTA	P. O. Box 71, Popondetta	6297160 / 6297678	72228138	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229052
6	MENDI	P. O. Box 237, Mendi	5491264 / 72895095	72228142	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229053
7	GOROKA	P. O. Box 990, Goroka	5322085 / 5322321	72228116	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229054
8	KUNDIAWA	P. O. Box 95, Kundiawa	5351612	72228144	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229056
9	MT HAGEN	P. O. Box 418, Mt. Hagen	5421194 / 5423332	72228148	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229057
10	VANIMO	P. O. Box 38, Vanimo	4571175 / 4571438	72228140	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229060
11	WEWAK	P. O. Box 583, Wewak	4562231/ 4561114	72228122	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229062
12	MADANG	P. O. Box 2071, Madang	4222418	72228126	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229063
13	LAE	P. O. Box 4969, Lae	4725508 / 4721162	72228132	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229064
14	KIMBE	P. O. Box 328, Kimbe	9835110	72228150	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229065
15	RABAUL	P. O. Box 83, Kokopo	9400314	72228118	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229067
16	KAVIENG	P. O. Box 284, Kavieng	9842183	72228136	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229069
17	BUKA	P. O. Box 154, Buka	9739838	72228108	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229073
18	MANUS	P. O. Box 41, Lorengau	9709251	72228128	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229080
19	NCD	C/- FODE HQ	3230299 Ext 26	72228134	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229081
20	WABAG	P. O. Box 259, Wabag	5471114	72228120	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229082
21	HELA	P. O. Box 63, Tari	73197115	72228141	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229083
22	JIWAKA	c/- FODE Hagen		72228143	The Coordinator	Senior Clerk	72229085

## SUBJECT AND GRADE TO STUDY

GRADE LEVELS	SUBJECTS/COURSES
Grades 7 and 8	1. English
	2. Mathematics
	3. Personal Development
	4. Social Science
	5. Science
	6. Making a Living
Grades 9 and 10	1. English
	2. Mathematics
	3. Personal Development
	4. Science
	5. Social Science
	6. Business Studies
	7. Design and Technology- Computing
Grades 11 and 12	1. English – Applied English/Language & Literature
	2. Mathematics - Mathematics A / Mathematics B
	3. Science – Biology/Chemistry/Physics
	4. Social Science – History/Geography/Economics
	5. Personal Development
	6. Business Studies
	7. Information & Communication Technology

### REMEMBER:

- For Grades 7 and 8, you are required to do all six (6) courses.
- For Grades 9 and 10, you must study English, Mathematics, Science, Personal Development, Social Science and Commerce. Design and Technology-Computing is optional.
- For Grades 11 and 12, you are required to complete seven (7) out of thirteen (13) courses to be certified.

Your Provincial Coordinator or Supervisor will give you more information regarding each subject.

## GRADES 11 & 12 COURSE PROGRAMMES

No	Science	Humanities	Business
1	Applied English	Language & Literature	Language & Literature/Applied English
2	Mathematics A/B	Mathematics A/B	Mathematics A/B
3	Personal Development	Personal Development	Personal Development
4	Biology	Biology/Physics/Chemistry	Biology/Physics/Chemistry
5	Chemistry/ Physics	Geography	Economics/Geography/History
6	Geography/History/Economics	History / Economics	Business Studies
7	ICT	ICT	ICT

**Notes:** You must seek advice from your Provincial Coordinator regarding the recommended courses in each stream. Options should be discussed carefully before choosing the stream when enrolling into Grade 11. FODE will certify for the successful completion of seven subjects in Grade 12.

CERTIFICATE IN MATRICULATION STUDIES		
No	Compulsory Courses	Optional Courses
1	English 1	<b>Science Stream:</b> Biology, Chemistry, Physics
2	English 2	<b>Social Science Stream:</b> Geography, Intro to Economics and Asia and the Modern World
3	Mathematics 1	
4	Mathematics 2	
5	History of Science & Technology	

### REMEMBER:

You must successfully complete 8 courses: 5 compulsory and 3 optional.