CHAPTER V

NAM AND DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA

Africa, the second largest continent of the world, lies to the south-east of Eurasia. It has had many ancient civilizations such as the Egyptian and the Carthaginian. It was little known until the nineteenth century. Hence, it was called the 'Dark Continent'. The Europeans explored the interior parts of Africa during the nineteenth century. The natural wealth of Africa such as gold (in Transval, Rhodesia, Congo and Ghana), diamond (in Cape Province, Congo and Rhodesia), copper (in Congo and Cape Province), coal (in Natal, Cape Province, Transvaal and South Rhodesia), iron (in Algeria), lead (in the Atlas region) and salt (in Western Sahara) attracted the Europeans' attention. The Caucasians (Arabs, Berbers and Egyptians) inhabit the northern and north-eastern parts of the continent whereas the Negroes live in its west and south-west. Bantus (Zulus and Kaffirs) occupy areas south of the Equator, white Hottentots and Bushmen live in the Kalahari desert. The British, the Dutch and Indians have settled in the south. The population is dense only in Egypt, the Sudan, Morocco, Algeria and the fertile parts of South Africa.

Political development in Africa began in the early twentieth century. By 1914, practically the whole of Asia and Africa had come under the control of the European powers. Their exploitation made the African people poor, backward and illiterate. They became short-sighted and even unaware of the political developments in the world. Due to these handicaps of theirs the Europeans, who were far more advanced, hated the Africans and the Asians and believed that they themselves belonged to a race whose destiny it was to govern others. The African people were barred from high posts in business and government. They had to live far from the European localities and had no access to their clubs and hotels.

The Europeans preached equality and democracy but they established a segregational and dictatorial rule and denied basic rights to the local people. The African people could not brook these injustices very long and their movement against imperialism assumed transnational
dimensions. An intensive study of the political developments in Africa, with particular reference to the role of Non-aligned Movement in decolonization, is given below. This account excludes Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, which have been taken up with the Middle East (in Chapter IV of the present work) as these countries are closer and have greater relation with the Middle East rather than with other parts of Africa.

(A) **WEST AFRICA**

West Africa comprises Benin, Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana(formerly Gold Coast), Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Upper Volta and Western Sahara.

(1) **BENIN**

In July 1883, French protectorate was established over Petit Popo, Grand Popo, Porto Securo and Agoue. In 1894, the French colonised Dahomey and its dependencies. From 1934 to 1936, Lt. Governor of Dahomey was also the Commissioner of Togo. After the Second World War, Tito, Nehru and Nasir got the leaders of the colony freed and a number of political parties were established there when the French empire started declining. The nationalists demanded independence. In 1956, Deferre-Boigny Act (Framework Law) granted partial autonomy to the French colonies. In the 1958 referendum, called by President de Gaulle, the people of the territory by a majority decided to join the French Community of Nations and proclaimed themselves an autonomous republic in the same year. On August 1, 1960, Dahomey became independent. In November, 1970, the government proclaimed its Marxist-Leninist orientation and in 1975, Dahomey was renamed Benin. The decolonization was welcomed by the NAM countries and Benin joined the Colombo NAM Conference held in August, 1976.

(2) **CAPE VERDE**

Cape Verde Islands occupy a strategic position, being situated

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2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
at a key point on the Atlantic coast. Five centuries of Portuguese colonialism brought new ideas to Cape Verde, but its people suffered from exploitation by the colonizers and there were continual drought in the colony, which killed about 210,000 people between 1901 and 1959. The Portuguese converted it into an air and naval base. Though this group of islands lies some 500 km off the western coast of Africa, its people could not escape the influence of the Non-aligned Movement. Consequently, the Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) emerged in 1956. After the overthrow of the Salazar dictatorship, the Portuguese declared it an overseas province of Portugal.

The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) expressed full support for the struggle of the people of Cape Verde to achieve national independence. The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) condemned the "worst forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism" and commended the heroic struggle of the people of Cape Verde Islands for independence and the PAIGC preparation to declare the State of Guinea-Bissau. The Conference further condemned Portugal's persistent refusal to grant independence to the Islands. It also denounced the NATO countries for supplying arms to Portugal. The Conference called upon all the members of NAM "to bring about by diplomatic means the expulsion or suspension of Portugal from membership in NATO" until she granted independence to Cape Verde.

Due to pressure of the freedom struggle launched by the PAIGC, the Portuguese agreed to transfer power to the PAIGC. The Havana Ministerial meeting (1975) hailed the victory of the freedom fighters of this Portuguese colony. The Republic of Cape Verde came into being on July 5, 1975. The country joined the Non-aligned Movement in August, 1976, at its Fifth Summit Conference held at Colombo.

(3) GAMBIA

In 1888, Gambia became a colony of British West Africa. In 1889, boundary lines between Gambia and the French colony, Senegal, were drawn

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5. Ibid., p. 72.
6. Ibid., p. 95.
7. Ibid., p. 112.
8. Ibid., p. 113.
9. Ibid., p. 131.
10. Ibid., p. 189.
up. During the 1950s, under the influence of the spreading ideas of non-alignment and the decolonization process, political parties emerged and sought majority representation in the British Governor's Advisory Council. Consequently, the British granted internal autonomy to Gambia and it became independent on February 8, 1965, and participated in the informal meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the NAM countries held in New York in September, 1969.

(4) GHANA

Sometime after 1901, the northern part of Ghana became a Crown Protectorate, and after the defeat of Germany in the First World War, Togoland and Ghana, both were joined with the Gold Coast, forming the state of New Ghana. With the rise of nationalism, political parties emerged in 1920, and African representation was introduced in the Governor's Legislative Council. Italy's invasion of Ethiopia (1935-37) intensified pan-African liberation movements in the British colonies of the continent. The Declaration of the Colonial People, drafted by Nkrumah and adopted by the Fifth Pan-African Congress at Manchester in 1945, demanded "immediate and unconditional liquidation of the colonial system of imperialism". Nkrumah, after spending twelve years in Great Britain and the United States, returned to Ghana and became Secretary-General of the United Convention Party of the Gold Coast (UCGC), which demanded "autonomy for the colony within the shortest possible time". He founded the Convention People's Party (CPP), which won the 1951 elections and he became the head of the first "responsible government of the Gold Coast. In 1952, Ghana was granted internal autonomy. On March 6, 1957, it achieved independence and on July 1, 1960, the Republic of Ghana was proclaimed. Nkrumah joined the First Summit Conference at Belgrade in 1961, and became a very vigorous supporter of the NAM policy for decolonization.

(5) GUINEA (RPR)

In 1881, France established a protectorate over Fouta Djalon

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11. Ibid., p. 31.
12. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 249.
13. Ibid.,
15. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 28.
and started penetration into the interior. A.S. Toure, the tribal chief, fought the colonialists for eighteen years in spite of the superior French army. In 1895, the French colonised New Guinea. In 1904, the French West Africa was constituted by joining Mauritania, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, New Guinea and Niger. Like other French colonies, Guinea also became an overseas territory in 1946. As a result of the growing national awareness, created by the founders of the NAM, a number of political parties came up in the colony. In May, 1957, France conceded some autonomy under *loi cadre* (Framework Law) by setting up government councils comprising Frenchmen and the local peoples. In 1957, the Guinean Democratic Party (PDG) won the elections and Ahmed Sekou Toure became its Vice-President. In 1958, for the final liquidation of colonial system, Guinean youth movements were unified. As 95% of the people, in a referendum, opposed admission of Guinea into the French Community (earlier French Union) and demanded immediate independence, the Republic of Guinea was proclaimed on October 2, 1958. Guinea became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement and has been taking part in its deliberations since the Cairo NAM meeting held in June, 1961. In 1978, the country was renamed the People's and Revolutionary Republic of Guinea.

(6) **GUINEA-BISSAU**

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese had got hold of the territory. Later, the French, the British and the Dutch came into conflict with them. The local people, conscious of their exploitation, began to rebel against the imperialist domination. After the Second World War, under the influence of the political developments in Asia, they started their liberation struggle. In 1954, the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands joined hands to intensify anti-colonial struggle, under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, who on September 19, 1956, founded the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC). This party led the armed struggle against the colonisers and in 1961 planned direct action and sabotage operations against the Portuguese in the north and the south. From February 13 to 17, 1964, PAIGC held its first Congress in the liberated areas and

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17. Ibid.
formed the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARP). President Tour attended the NAM Summit Conference held at Cairo in 1964, and played an important role in the liberation movement of the territory. The Lusaka Summit Conference (1970) supported their struggle for independence and condemned Portugal for waging colonial war of suppression.

The Portuguese unleashed a wave of repression. The war of liberation started and in 1966, the FARP liberated more than half of the colony. Portugal, being the poorest and most backward nation in Europe, was unable to bear the war expenses alone, which rose to about $800 million annually. The NATO powers, especially the United States and Germany supplied arms to Portugal in the hope of controlling iron and bauxite mines in the country.

The Georgetown NAM Foreign Ministers' Conference (1972) inspired the people of the territory to intensify their struggle for independence and welcomed the UN recognition of the liberation areas under the control of PAIGC. Though the PAIGC's Secretary, Amilcar Cabral, was shot dead by the Portuguese secret service on January 20, 1973, the PAIGC's anti-aircraft missiles destroyed 36 Portuguese aeroplanes and held its second Congress from July 18 to 22, 1973, in the liberated areas of Guinea-Bissau, and established a Permanent Secretariat. The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) commended the heroic struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau for independence and noted that large areas of the colony had been liberated. The PAIGC held its first Assembly at Boe on September 23 and 24, 1973, and proclaimed the independence of Guinea-Bissau. The Algiers meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) welcomed the proclamation of independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which was recognised by a large number of countries. Ultimately, on September 12, 1974, Portugal recognised the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

19. Ibid., p. 28.
20. Ibid., p. 53.
21. Ibid., p. 72.
22. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 274.
23. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 95.
25. Ibid., p. 124.
(7) IVORY COAST (COTE D'IVOIRE)

In 1889, the French established a protectorate in Ivory Coast and, in 1893, they turned it into a colony. The rebel tribes resisted those moves and could not be subdued until 1912. The people, inspired by the rising forces of Non-alignment, formed the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI) and the Democratic African Union (RDA). In 1956, Felix Houphouet-Boigny drew up the "Framework Law", under which the French gradually granted autonomy to its colonies. In 1958, the Ivory Coast was proclaimed an Autonomous Republic associated with the French Community and Boigny was appointed its Premier. In 1959, the Ivory Coast together with Dahomey (now Benin), Niger and Upper Volta formed a Council of Entente, which was later joined by Togo. Ivory Coast was proclaimed independent on August 7, 1960, and Boigny became the first President of the country. Ivory Coast became a member of the NAM at the Algiers Summit Conference in 1973.

(8) LIBERIA

Between 1822 and 1892, some 16,400 former black slaves from the south of the United States (known as 'Americo-Liberians') were settled in different places along the Grain Coast under the patronage of the American Colonization Society. They were joined by some 5,700 Africans liberated from slave ships by the British and American warships. The Society bought a land of 12,800 sq.km in area from the local tribal chieftains. The area was colonised by the black colonists. In July, 1847, the people (former black slaves and Africans) held a Congress, elected Joseph J. Roberts as President, demanded independence and adopted a constitution and a flag similar to that of the United States. During the Second World War, under a treaty, the United States stationed troops and constructed airfields in Liberia and, in 1944, it established permanent naval and military bases. Liberia became a member of the NAM at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

President William V. Tubman, who attended the NAM Cairo Conference (1964), died in 1971, and President William Richard Tolbert, who had

27. Ibid., p. 341.
28. Ibid., p. 424.
29. Ibid., p. 425.
attended the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) came to power. He participated in the Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) and established ties with the United States. Liberia also participated in the Colombo Summit Conference (1976) and Havana Summit Conference (1979) of the NAM. As Tolbert continued to open the door of his country to foreign investments, the interests of great masses of her people suffered. As a result, disturbances occurred which Tolbert suppressed brutally, killing hundreds of men in street battles in Monrovia. On April 12, 1980, Sergeant Major Samuel Doe overthrew and executed Tolbert and established a government with a Council of People's Redemption, which now governs the country.

(9) MALI

In 1892, the French colonized Upper Senegal completely and in 1904, they established the Union of French West Africa consisting of Senegal, Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Senegal and Niger. Upper Volta was separated from Upper Senegal and what remained was named the French Sudan in 1920. Like most of the other French colonies, the French Sudan also assisted in the war efforts of France during the First World War.

During the Second World War, like most other colonies of the French West Africa, the French Sudan remained loyal to the Nazi government in Vichy until 1943, when the French Committee of National Liberation denounced colonialism. In 1946, a powerful upsurge of African nationalism followed the foundation of the African Democratic Union (RDA), which included nationalists from the French West Africa and the French Equitorial Africa, under the presidency of F.H. Boigny of the Ivory Coast. The Sudanese Union was led by Mamadou Konate, who died in 1956. He was succeeded by Modibo Keita, who was elected member of the French National Assembly. Under the Framework Law with the support of the Sudanese Union, slow decolonization of the territory began.

After a referendum in 1958, Mali was granted autonomy. As a result of the 1959 elections Keita returned as Prime Minister. This was the

30. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 61.
31. Ibid., p. 120
32. Ibid., p. 246.
33. Ibid., p. 401.
34. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 425.
period when the Non-aligned Movement was gaining momentum. On June 20, 1960, the French Sudan and Senegal formed the Mali Federation, but due to differences between President L.S. Sengor and Premier Keita, it broke in August of the same year. On September 22, 1960, the territory became independent, and Keita was elected President of the Republic of Mali. It joined the Belgrade Summit Conference of the NAM as a member in 1961.

(10) MAURITANIA

The French established their rule over the French West Africa in 1817, and over Mauritania in 1920. The Moors persistently resisted the French domination but were unsuccessful in their efforts. Morocco, which became independent in March, 1956, claimed sovereignty over Mauritania, claiming it to be a Moroccan 'province', while the French, in the same year, granted autonomy to it under the Loi cadre (Framework Law). The Mauritanian Progressive Union (UPM), founded in 1947, was supported by France, and was joined in 1956 by Ould Daddah, who later founded the Mauritanian People's Party (PPM) in 1958. The Non-aligned Movement inspired the Mauritanian people to aspire for independence, as a result of which Mauritania intensified its struggle against the French rule and was proclaimed independent on November 28, 1960. It joined the Cairo Summit Conference of the NAM as a member in 1964.

(11) NIGER

The French colonized Niger by force in 1921. Inspired by liberation struggle of the people of Asian countries, a liberation movement started in this country. To counter its influence, Paris established a Union of Associated States, which gave Niger the status of an overseas territory with a National Assembly. Leaders of the Niger Progressive Party (PPN) founded in 1946, collaborated with the French as a result of which the Niger Democratic Union (NDU) brought about the fall of this party. The NDU renamed itself the Liberation Party (Sawaba) and joined the African Socialist Movement (ASM). The Framework Law gave Niger internal autonomy in 1957. The ASM demanded independence, but the French responded to this demand with fierce repression and

35. Ibid., p. 462.
36. Ibid., p. 473.
persecution and forced the Sawaba President, Djibo Bakary, to resign and appointed PPN's Hamani Diori in his place. The PPN agitated for independence by "peaceful means", outlawed the Sawaba Party in 1959, and imprisoned its leaders. However, on August 3, 1960, Niger, along with ten other African states, obtained its independence. It became an active member of the NAM when President Hamani Diori joined its Algiers Summit Conference in 1973.

(12) NIGERIA

The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) recognised different parts of Nigeria as areas of British influence. In 1914, the north and south of the country were combined as the Protectorate and Colony of Nigeria. In the 1920s, the anti-colonial movement, led by middle class people, demanded representation of the local population in the Legislative Council of the country. The British introduced a system of "indirect administration" by making certain concessions to feudal chiefs in the north, who opposed British colonialism strongly. In contrast, the south, highly emancipated, had five times more educated men than the north.

After the Second World War, increased unemployment and workers' strikes resulted in the birth of three political parties between 1945 and 1951. The objectives of these parties differed on regional basis. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), renamed the National Council of Nigerian Citizens, was a pan-African organisation, leading the people of south-eastern Nigeria. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) was conservative. It was dominated by the Hausa and the Fulani communities. The Action Group of the Yoruba (AGY) represented the people of south-western Nigeria. The NCNC and the Action Group strove for independence. As a result, the western and eastern regions of the south achieved internal autonomy in 1957, and the north got this status in 1959. After the elections, the Federal Republic of Nigeria, under the leadership of Tafawa Balewa, came into existence on October 1, 1960. Nigeria participated as a member in the Cairo Summit Conference of the NAM in 1964, and has been taking an active part in its activities.

37. Ibid., p. 529.
38. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 120.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., p. 536.
42. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 17.
(13) SENEGAL

The French completed the colonization of Senegal in 1890 and named it French West Africa in 1904. During the First World War, the Moors, who had been recruited to fight in Europe, rebelled against the colonial exploitation of their country. In 1948, the Senegalese Democratic Bloc, which was later renamed as the Senegalese Progressive Union (UPS), was founded. In 1957, the Marxist African Independence Party, which intensified the struggle for independence, was established. The Non-aligned Movement, which was then taking shape, supported this liberation movement. General Charles de Gaulle held a referendum, which resulted in the formation of the French Community in 1958, with an option to claim complete independence. All the French territories in Africa, except Guinea, chose to stay within the French Community. In 1959, Senegal joined the French Sudan to form the Mali Federation, which soon broke up. Senegal was granted independence on August 20, 1960, and joined the Non-aligned Movement at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964. It has since been an active member of the organization.

(14) SIERRA LEONE

In 1896, the territory was made a British protectorate. The British administered an indirect government through tribal chiefs. The leaders of the NAM inspired the people of the country to fight for their independence. As a result, the British granted some political concessions to them. In 1945, a new constitution was granted to the country and political parties were allowed to function. The Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), founded in 1951, favoured collaboration with the British. Siaka Stevens founded the All People's Congress (APC) in 1960. Sierra Leone became independent on April 27, 1961. She participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964 and has been an active member of the Movement since then.

(15) TOGO

During the First World War, the British and the French, having occupied this German "model colony", administered the western and the
eastern region respectively. The inhabitants of the country opposed this division. The National Congress of West Africa and the Circle of Friends of France demanded their reunification, but the movement of the people was brutally crushed by the French during 1935 and 1936. The "Cry of Togo" condemned the repression. The Committee for Togolese Unity (CUT), led by Sylvanus Olimpio demanded reunification, while the Togolese Progressive Party (PTP), led by Grunitzky - a French tool, wanted the country to be associated with the French Union. In 1956, through a plebiscite, the British Togo (western part) opted for union with the Gold Coast (now Ghana). The French Togo (eastern part) became an autonomous republic within the French Union. However, as the United Nations did not accept this arrangement, an election was held in April, 1958, which was won by the CUT and Olimpio became Prime Minister. The independence of Togoland was proclaimed on April 27, 1960. Togo participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964, and it has since been its active member.

(16) UPPER VOLTA (BURKINA FASO)

In 1919, Upper Volta was separated from French West Africa, with which it had been united in 1904, and was renamed as Upper Volta. Many Africans had served in the French army during the First World War. These former soldiers emancipated the people and, in 1946, the Voltaic Democratic Union was founded, as a segment of the African Democratic Union (RDA), under the leadership of Maurice Yameogo. The Loi cadre (Framework Law) granted partial autonomy to Upper Volta. Elections held in 1957 were won by Yameogo. The movement of the Non-aligned countries inspired the struggle of the people of Upper Volta for independence and sovereignty. However, Charles de Gaulle offered to them to choose by referendum either to join the French Community or to retain the status of an overseas territory. He also offered to them the option of independence with all its consequences. Winning the elections of 1959, Yameogo became Prime Minister. The same year saw the foundation of the Republican Independence Party led by Nazi Boni, who demanded independence. In 1960, through a referendum, Upper Volta opted for independence and so France made it free on August 5, 1960. The President of the Republic, Sangouie

47. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 694.
48. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n.4, p. 17.
49. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 728.
Lamizama, participated in the NAM Algiers Summit Conference held in 1973. The country is an active member of the organization.

(17) **WESTERN SAHARA**

Spanish and Portuguese colonization of Western Sahara began in the sixteenth century. The Treaty of 1912, between Spain and France, which fixed their respective areas of influence, brought Sahara under the colonial rule of Spain. After the First World War the fires of nationalism swept across the region, after the Second World War, the people of the country began to agitate for independence.

The NAM Algiers Summit Conference (1973) considered it "urgent to put an end to the colonial presence in the so-called Spanish Sahara" and urged to lend "an active support to the armed struggle of African liberation movement". The NAM meetings and conferences continued to assert the independence of Western Sahara and, encouraged by this, the POLISARIO stepped up the struggle for liberation. Although Morocco had recognised the national identity of the Saharan people, it staged what is known as the 'Green March' in November, 1975, and penetrated 15 km into the Saharan region, while Morocco withdrew its forces. However, under an agreement between Spain, Morocco and Mauritania, Western Sahara was ceded to Morocco and Mauritania. Mauritania received the region of Rio de Oro, and Spain the right to exploit the waters. In March, 1978, Ould Daddah was overthrown. In July, 1978, Morocco rejected the demand of the independence of the Western Sahara.

In the middle of the year 1978, economic crisis gripped the area. Maroc Soir, the official daily, noted: "the country was entering a new and acute stage after the feeling of unity, generated by the so-called Green March into the Sahara, had been dissipated". In August, 1979, Mauritania signed a peace treaty with POLISARIO and recognised the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and withdrew cooperation with Morocco. Moroccan military started military operations against the POLISARIO forces. In July, 1980, Moroccan planes bombed Mauritanian territory. Moroccan troops fighting POLISARIO forces became very weak. So Morocco started receiving assistance from the

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50. *Two Decades of Non-Alignment*, n.4, p. 121.
53. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 489.
United States, France and Saudi Arabia to cover the expenditure of the costly war against the Saharan people. In January, 1981, the French premier visited Morocco and extended military assistance to it, while the United States gave it military equipment.

The New Delhi-NAM Summit Conference (1983) "felt concern over the risks to be peace and stability of the region in any foreign intervention and internationalization of the problem". The Luanda NAM Conference (1985) asserted that "the question of Western Sahara constituted a problem of decolonization and could only be solved when the people of Western Sahara exercised their inalienable right to self-determination and independence". To end the conflict between Morocco and POLISARIO Front, the Conference proposed "to create the necessary conditions for a just and peaceful referendum of self-determination for the people of Western Sahara".

However, the country is still struggling for its independence.

(B) CENTRAL AFRICA

Central Africa comprises eleven states - Burundi, Cameroons, Central African Empire, Chad, Congo, Gabon, Equitorial Guinea, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principe and Zaire.

(1) BURUNDI

From the sixteenth century until 1959, Burundi shared its history with Rwanda. Between 1959 and 1960, about twenty political parties emerged in the country, particularly the Unity and National Progress Party (UPRONA), which, under the leadership of Prince Louis Rwagasura, demanded independence. The Prince himself belonged to the family of Tutsi rulers who were supported by the (Belgian) administration and were

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55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.; see also Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), Vol. XXXVII, No. 875, September 20, 1986, p. 49.
58. See for details Rwanda.
thus able to maintain their aristocratic position". The Tutsi rulers were not pleased with the Belgian "policy towards the local chiefs", the objective of which was "to diminish or neutralise their power and rule through their own appointed functionaries", reducing the rulers to mere agents, while they wanted to regain their lost position and power. With the rise in the tide of the movement for political emancipation, they felt that their fall was imminent and, hence, they rebelled against the Belgians away. To counter the moves of the Tutsi rulers the colonialists sponsored a rival force in the form of the Christian Democratic Party. The Tutsi comprised only 14 per cent while the Bantu constituted 85 per cent of the population of Burundi. However, the Tutsi Prince was supported by both the tribes - Tutsi as well as Bantu. As a result, the UPRONA won the elections held under the UN supervision from September 18 to 25, 1961, and Prince Rwagasore (son of a King Mwanbuta) was appointed Prime Minister. On October 13, 1961, he was assassinated by pro-Belgian reactionary forces. However, the country obtained independence on July 1, 1962, and, subsequently, it was divided into the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi. Burundi participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference held in 1964, and has since been following the policy of Non-alignment.

(2) CAMEROONS

In 1920, under the mandate system of the League of Nations, Britain got the western part of the Cameroon and the French took charge of the eastern one. In 1946, it became a UN Trust Territory. The principles of neutrality, peaceful co-existence and national independence advocated by the Non-aligned Movement inspired the people to start a movement to overthrow the foreign yoke; but the upsurge of nationalism was brutally suppressed by the colonialists who indulged in large scale massacre of the people in 1955. They banned the Cameroon Peoples' Party

60. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 152.
61. Sometimes called also Watutsi who constituted the feudal system in the country, which still persists.
62. Sometimes called Hutu or Bahutu, who came in the country before Batutsi tribes.
63. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 152.
64. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 109.
65. Ibid.
66. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.
which started armed struggle and guerilla warfare against the French regime and took refuge in forests. The eastern Cameroons achieved independence on January 1, 1960, the northern part of which joined the Federation of Nigeria while the south preferred to establish the United Republic of Cameroon. The Republic joined the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964. The United Republic of Cameroon was proclaimed on May 20, 1972.

(3) CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

In 1885, the Berlin Conference confirmed France in her possession of the French Equitorial Africa. The French suppressed the uprisings of the Baya tribe and had by 1910, settled themselves in the territory. The Ubangi peoples continued their fight against the French occupation for over thirty years. The nationalists, inspired by the movement of non-aligned countries, founded the Movement for the Social Emancipation of Black Africa (MESAN), led by Boganda. The colony, accepting General de Gaulle's offer in 1958, opted for the status of an autonomous republic within the French Community rather than that of a fully independent state. It was named the Central African Republic, with Boganda as Prime Minister, who died on March 29, 1959, in an accident under suspicious situation. His nephew, David Dacko, who succeeded him, adopted an openly pro-French policy, which led to the formation of the Movement for the Democratic Evolution of Central Africa (MEDAC), under the leadership of Abel Goumba. Dacko imprisoned its leaders since they followed the principles of Boganda. The colony became independent on August 13, 1960. A Minister of the Dacko government participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964.

(4) CHAD

By the end of the nineteenth century, the French, after crushing the resistance of the people of Chad, established their control in the south of the country, while the Islamic north continued to resist them. During the First World War, Chad contributed to the French War efforts.
and during the Second World War, as Felix Eboue supported de Gaulle against the Nazi Vichy government, he was appointed Governor-General of the entire French Equitorial Africa. Democratic and anti-colonialist ideas, spread by the Chad soldiers, led to the formation of the African Democratic Reunion (RDA) in 1946, under the leadership of F.H. Boigny of the Ivory Coast and the Chad Progressive Party (PPT), led by Gabriel Lisette. Being inspired by the NAM, the nationalist movement started gaining strength. To retain their hold over Chad, the French supported Boigny, who had broken off relations with the French Communist Party, but Lisette continued to lead the anti-colonial movement. Elections were held under the provisions of Loi cadre (Framework Law) and Lisette became the first head of the government of Chad. Ultimately, France granted independence to Chad on August 11, 1960, and Tombalbaye was elected President. Chad participated in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964, as a member.

(5) CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

In 1885, the Berlin Conference confirmed France in her possession of the French Equitorial Africa. In 1888, Gabon and Congo were separated and the former territory was renamed French Congo (or Central Congo). In 1913, Congo was again divided and was left with the territory of Oubangui. Between 1902 and 1934, the local people were dispossessed of their lands and were forced to work for the construction of the Congo-Ocean Railway Line, which was built in ten years at the cost of thousands of lives. This was followed by continual revolts and uprisings against the colonial rule.

However, as a result of the Brazzaville Conference (1944), the people of Congo were allowed share in the local government; and in 1956, the country was granted 'partial autonomy'. Under the provisions of Loi cadre (Framework Law), in a referendum, Congo voted to be a French Community, but Ahmed Sekou Toure, leader of the Democratic Party of Guinea, demanded complete independence. After a long political agitation Congo obtained independence on August 15, 1960, and the country was

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72. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 134; see also E.A. Boatenq, n. 57, p. 144.
73. Two Decades of Non-Aligbment, n.4, pp. 17 and 28.
74. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 148.
75. Ibid., p. 149.
renamed as the People's Republic of Congo (Brazzaville). C. Adoula, Prime Minister, and A. Gizenga, Deputy Prime Minister of Congo, participated in the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference in 1961.

(6) EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Spanish occupation of Equatorial Guinea was recognised under the Treaty of Paris (1900). Due to the harsh Spanish rule and being inspired by the Non-aligned Movement the people of the territory fought against the imperial power during the 1950s. Faced with the rising discontent and upheavals, the Spanish Cortes granted the territory autonomous status on November 28, 1963, under the Basic Law. The government, which was set up after attaining this status in July, 1964, could not achieve the independence of the country. Therefore, a struggle for attaining independence was started by three main parties - the National Union Movement of Equatorial Guinea (MUNGE), the Movement for the National Liberation of Equatorial Guinea (MONALIGE) and the Popular Independence for Equatorial Guinea Party (IPGE). The parties and the people of Congo demanded complete independence. After a stormy election campaign, under UN supervision, Equatorial Guinea was granted independence on October 12, 1968. The country participated in the New York NAM meeting (1969) and Dar es Salaam meeting (1970) and was admitted as a member of the NAM at its Lusaka Summit Conference (1970).

(7) RIO MUNI, FERNANDO POO AND ANNOBON

Rio Muni, the mainland enclave, two estuarine islets of Corisco and the Elobeys (Great and Small), two small volcanic islands - Fernando Poo (now renamed Bioko or Macias Nguema Biyego), Annobon (now renamed Pagalu) and some more islets were formerly parts of Equatorial Guinea. The different political and cultural backgrounds of the people of these territories created serious problems, which caused political upheavals resulting in the demand for their independence which was backed by the NAM members. At last, Spain granted independence to these islets on October 12, 1968.

76. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 11.
77. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 219.
78. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 31.
79. Ibid., p. 33.
80. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 797.
81. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 155.
82. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 218.
(7) **GABON**

The Berlin Conference (1884-85) recognised the French occupation of Gabon and the "people of Libreville, now the capital of Gabon, became French subjects" in 1893. In 1910, the territory became part of the Federation of French Equitorial Africa under the name of Gabon. In 1946, France enacted a new constitution, under which Gabon became an overseas territory of the French Union. Ten years later, under the pressure of the liberation movement, which was inspired and supported by the NAM, a titular Government Council was formed with the colonial government at its head and with Leon M'ba as Vice-President. M'ba became head of the government when the Territorial Assembly of Gabon proclaimed a so-called Autonomous State within the French Community. On July 15, 1960, the provisional government signed a mutual assistance treaty with France, which continued to control the territory's defence, external affairs, economy, communications and culture. Inspired by the NAM, the people demanded full freedom. As a result, independence of the Republic of Gabon was proclaimed on August 17, 1960. Gabon participated as a member of the NAM at its Lusaka Summit Conference in 1970.

(8) **RWANDA**

The Treaty of Versailles (1919) gave this German colony to Belgium and, in 1920, the League of Nations confirmed the Belgian mandate over it. In 1946, the United Nations transformed Ruanda-Urundi into a Trust Territory. Since the Belgians brutally oppressed the local population and exploited the natural wealth of the territory, people revolted against the Belgian regime, but their rebellion was crushed in 1928. The freedom movements of other colonies and the principle of Non-alignment adopted by many newly independent nations inspired the people to strive for independence. To pacify the people, the Belgians divided Ruanda-Urundi into two kingdoms, each headed by a Mwami, who had no effective power. In 1953, the Belgians established Superior Councils, each headed by the respective Mwami, who were pro-government. The purpose behind handing over political, judicial and religious powers to the Mwamis and the Superior Councils was "to give the impression

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83. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 145.
84. Iv Dvorak, n. 1, p. 237.
85. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 45.
that Brussels intended to give Ruanda-Urundi its first proper government and independence". Next to the Mwamis in power and influence were the Tutsi "cattle raisers and warriors", further down the social ladder were the farming Hutu and at the bottom were the pygmy Twa hunters and foragers.

In 1959, the Rwandese National Union (UNAR) of the Tutsi, headed by Mwami Kigeri V, and the Democratic Association of Rwanda (RADER) were formed. To counter and crush the national movement, the Belgians propped up the Party of the Movement for the Emancipation of the Bahutu (PARMEHUTU) and provoked clashes between Tutsi and Hutu groups. In July, 1960, elections were won by PARMEHUTU with the help of fraud, violence and intimidation, in which it was secretly assisted by the Belgians. The UNAR refused to accept the results and continued the freedom struggle. On the pretext of maintaining peace, the colonialists carried out a coup and proclaimed a Republic under Belgian protection, which move was condemned by the United Nations.

The Tutsi formed only 9 per cent while the Hutu constituted 91 per cent of the population of the territory. The Belgians, in the name of administrative reforms, ensured to the Hutu a greater share in the management of the affairs of the territory. Such an attempt on the part of the Belgians came too late. However, it created hostility between the Tutsi and the Hutu people. Before the actual transfer of power, elections were held again in August, 1960. PARMEHUTU (the party of the Hutus) swept the polls and "the people in a national referendum decided to abolish the office of Mwami or Head of State", which for centuries had been a Tutsi preserve. The territory proclaimed its independence on July 1, 1962, and was divided into the Republic of Rwanda and the Kingdom of Burundi. Rwanda joined the Dar es Salaam meeting of the NAM in April, 1970, as a member of the Non-aligned Movement.

(9) SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

The Portuguese merchant Fernando Gomez discovered Sao Tome, Principe and Annobon in 1970, in the Bight of Biafra and his countrymen

86. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 581.
88. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 581.
89. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 33.
90. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 136.
had completed their colonisation of these territories by 1493. In February, 1953, the Portuguese massacred more than a thousand people of the territory, which caused mass indignation. The emerging force of the NAM gave inspiration and strength to the people of these colonies and, in September, 1960, a Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (CLSTP) was founded in Conakry, with its headquarters in Libreville, the capital of Gabon.

The objectives of the Cairo NAM meeting (1961) enunciated the "rights of peoples and nations to self-determination" and affirmed its support for "struggle against imperialism" and for the "liquidation of colonialism and neo-colonialism". This encouraged and inspired the people of these colonies to intensify their struggle for achieving independence. The declaration of the Belgrade Summit Conference (1961) that "all nations have the right of unity, self-determination and independence" prompted the people to intensify their freedom struggle still more and CLSTP took part in the establishment of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. The Non-aligned countries spoke in the UN General Assembly in favour of the independence of the territory in 1962. The demand for independence of the territory was also supported at the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) and the Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries (1972). In June, 1972, CLSTP changed its name to the Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP). The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) reaffirmed "the inalienable right to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples" of the territory. In 1975, talks between MLSTP and Portugal resulted in the grant of independence to the territory. The Havana Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the NAM (1975) hailed the decisive victory of the freedom fighters of Sao Tome and Principe and paid glowing tribute to their liberation movement. So, after about a decade of armed struggle, Sao Tome and Principe emerged as an independent nation.

91. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 2.
92. Ibid., p. 17.
93. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 593.
94. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 53.
95. Ibid., p. 70.
96. Ibid., p. 112.
97. Ibid., p. 131.
98. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 593.
on July 12, 1975, and joined the Colombo NAM Summit Conference in 1976.

(10) ZAIRE

The Berlin Conference (1884) recognised the Congo basin as the personal empire of King Leopold II and the region was named the Belgian Congo. In 1908, under the pressure of outraged international opinion against Leopold's oppressions, the Belgian government took over the territory from the King and began to administer it as a Belgian colony. On October 18, 1908, Belgium adopted a law (Colonial Code), which was intended to legalise cruelty and exploitation perpetrated by Belgian corporations. After the First World War, several resistance movements were started in the country, the most powerful of which was the one led by Kigangu, who was imprisoned. Frightened by the repression, plantation workers, in 1931, fled to the forests and killed a Belgian officer. The Belgian troops killed hundreds of Congolese in front of the women and children. As a result, 4,000 Congolese took up arms to drive out the Belgians.

Kigangu's death in 1951 in prison was followed by a number of political and religious movements, uprisings and armed attacks on the Belgians from a stronghold on Mt. Mitumba. After the Second World War, in 1955, King Boudouin visited Congo to stop the upsurge resulting from the emancipation movement. On July 1, 1956, the nationalists published the Manifesto of African Consciousness, which called for the independence of the country. On August 23, 1956, Joseph Kasavubu's Bakongo Association (ABAKO) demanded right to form political parties. The Confederation of Tribal Associations (CONAKAT), led by Moise Tshombe, suggested the white colonialists, while the National Congolese Movement (MNC), led by Patrice Lumumba, fought for independence. The Belgians settled in Congo opposed the independence movement and stepped up their repressive activities. Encouraged by the leaders of the Non-aligned countries the Congolese intensified their struggle for freedom. As a result, the Belgians held the Brussels Conference (1960), which set June 30, 1960, as the date for Congolese independence. After its independence, Congo (Leopoldville) was renamed as the Democratic Republic of Congo.

100. For instance, between 1890 and 1904, about 3,000,000 Africans died due to illness and maltreatment.

In October, 1971, the Republic was renamed Zaire and it is an active member of the Non-aligned Movement since its independence.

(C) EAST AFRICA

East Africa is the smallest of the political regions of Africa and is made up of three countries - Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda and two small islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

(1) KENYA

The British proclaimed East Africa (Kenya-Uganda) and the adjoining coast of Kenya and Zanzibar their Protectorate in 1885 and 1890 respectively, in spite of protests of and resistance from the local population. In 1901, the East Africa Lands Order in Council created the White Highlands of Kenya. In 1904, "a number of African reserves" were established "mostly on less attractive land within and around the White Highlands" marked by intense overcrowding, while the best lands (41,474 sq. km) were assigned to the Europeans. This caused widespread dissatisfaction among the local population, especially the Kikuyu. Further, in the same year, a Legislative Council was constituted representing the European settlers only.

In the 1920s, the Association of Kikuyu Youth (AKY) launched the first militant movement against the colonial rule to avert any possibility of Indians' control over the Highlands. In 1923, the British issued the famous Devonshire Declaration proclaiming the 'paramountcy of native interests', but this "failed disastrously to safeguard the

102. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 33.
103. Ibid., p. 68.
104. Two Dvorak, n.1, p. 218.
105. E.A. Boating, n. 57, p. 199.
106. Ibid., p. 203.
107. Ibid., p. 205.
proper interests of the Africans\textsuperscript{108}. The Government outlawed the AKY and took strong measures to suppress it. In 1932, the Land Commission recommended that "no Africans or non-Europeans should be permitted to hold land in the area and that any such persons already there should be removed" which generated countrywide discontent among the Africans.

After the Second World War, soldiers who had returned home after fighting with the Allied forces supported the AKY leader, Jomo Kenyatta, who demanded independence. The Kenya African Union (KAU) was founded in 1943. In 1952, Mau-Mau rebellion broke out, in which 15,000 Africans were killed and 80,000 were sent to concentration camps. The KAU was replaced by the Kenya African National Union (KANU), which won the April, 1980 elections. While the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), a pro-colonialist party, demanded a federated state, KANU called for a centralized power. However, Kenya, getting the support of the NAM Belgrade Summit Conference (1961), which demanded elimination of colonialism and imperialism in all their manifestations, continued its struggle for independence. Kenya became independent on December 12, 1963, and on December 12, 1964, the Republic of Kenya was proclaimed. Kenya joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

(2) TANZANIA

In 1891, Germany declared Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika) a German Protectorate. After the First World War, Tanganyika was placed under the British mandate and after the Second World War, it became a Trust Territory of the United Nations under Britain. Rising agitation for political emancipation led the Governor Sir Donald Cameron (1925-1931) to introduce a 'novel philosophy of indirect rule' and establishment of a Legislative Council composed of British officials, Europeans and unofficial Indian members, which set the country on the road to political development.

In 1929, the Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was formed. The Mau-Mau uprising, which began in 1952, forced the British government

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., p. 206.
\textsuperscript{109} Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 275.
\textsuperscript{110} Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.
\textsuperscript{111} E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 209.
to recognise "the need to concede to the Africans a fair and equitable share in the government". In July, 1954, the organisation was renamed Tanganyika National Union (TANU), under the Chairmanship of J.K. Nyerere, which continued the fight for independence. Tanganyika was granted independence on December 9, 1961.

While Tanganyika was struggling for independence Zanzibar was also passing through political upheavals as a result of the independence movement inspired by the independent Asian nations. In 1956, two important political parties came up in the country. The Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), representing the ruling Arab minority, and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), representing the African majority as well as the Shirazi community of Persian origin. After the Second World War, Sultan Said exercised mandate over Zanzibar under the British rule. However, after electoral manoeuvres, ZNP took over power on December 10, 1963, and Zanzibar got independence. The government was a constitutional monarchy under Sultan Said. After a popular uprising on January 12, 1964, a new government was formed and a Revolutionary Council was established. Under an agreement, Tanganyika and Zanzibar were merged along with the islands of Pemba and Mafia and the newly established country was named Tanzania.

The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

(3) Uganda

In 1896, the territory was proclaimed a British protectorate. By 1914, "the whole country was effectively under British administration and its boundaries were fixed". From 1900 to 1950, Indian settlers brought from their home country the news of its freedom movement. As a result, in the 1950s, political parties demanding decolonization were formed in Uganda. They included the Democratic Party formed by the "modernizing" Baganza petty-bourgeoisie, the Uganda People's Congress led by Milton Obote and supported by the ethnic minorities, the

112. Ibid., p. 211.
113. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 685.
114. Ibid., p. 686.
115. Two Decades of Non-Alingement, n. 4, p. 17.
intelligentsia and the peasants, which had a platform typical of the "Pan-African Socialism"; and the Kabaka Yeka ("Only the King"), a conservative party championing the Buganda monarchy. As a result of their freedom struggle of its people, inspired by the Belgrade NAM Declaration in 1961, the country gained independence on October 9, 1962. Uganda participated as a member in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference held in 1964.

(D) NORTH-EAST AFRICA

North-East Africa consists of the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and the Territory of the Affars and Issas (now the Republic of Djibouti), called the 'Horn of Africa'.

(1) DJIBOUTI

The British captured Aden in 1839, while the French seized Obock in 1862, and moved to Djibouti in 1886. Conflict between the British and the French grew after the construction of the Suez Canal was completed in 1869. In 1896, France named the territory under its control 'French Somali Coast and Dependencies' and extended its rule to a number of interior areas by 1924. As a result of the Second World War, nationalist consciousness rose. Confronted with agitations, France conceded some reforms, giving the territory the status of an 'Overseas Territory' in 1947, and established representative councils of two ethnic rival groups - the Affars and the Issas. Due to the rise of African nationalism under the influence of the wave of decolonization created by the Non-aligned Movement, the territory got some autonomy and political parties were formed in it. In 1958, President de Gaulle announced that the territory could opt to remain within the French Union as a colony or as an autonomous state or become independent. In 1964, the NAM meeting in Cairo demanded the independence of Aden and the Protectorates.

118. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 17.
120. Ibid., p. 198.
121. Ibid., p. 637.
122. See for details Chapter IV.
123. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.
The Republic of Djibouti joined the Non-aligned Movement as a member at its Havana Summit Conference held in 1979.

(2) ETHIOPIA

Under the Treaty of Ucciali (1889) with Ethiopia, Italy got some foothold in Eritrea and declared it an Italian colony in 1890. Italians also claimed Ethiopia as an Italian protectorate until they were defeated by the Ethiopian army at the Battle of Adowa in 1896. Subsequently, though the British, the Italians and the French recognised Ethiopia's sovereignty, they forcibly "divided it up into spheres of influence under a tripartite agreement" signed in 1906. King Menelik II did not recognise this agreement, which was calculated to give the three powers the right to interfere in the internal affairs of his country.

On November 2, 1930, Haile Selassie I was crowned in Addis Ababa. In 1932, Italians invaded Ethiopia "using Eritrea as their spring-board". An Ethiopian complaint to the League of Nations, which it had joined in 1923, produced no result. France and Britain, however, announced an embargo on the supply of armaments to both parties, but this had no effect on the aggressive Italian policy of expansion. To avenge their defeat of Adowa, the Italians launched a "totally unprovoked attack" on Ethiopia in 1935 and occupied it within a few months, forcing the emperor to "seek refuge abroad" until 1941. In 1938, the Peitian recognised the Italian conquest. Though the League of Nations found Italy guilty, it did not impose any sanctions against it, as it was dominated by the western powers, which wanted to have some control over Ethiopia. The people's resistance, the assassination of General Graziani in 1937, Mussolini's declaration of war on France and Great Britain, invasion of the country by the Allied forces and fall of Addis Ababa in April, 1941, led to the signing of an Anglo-Ethiopian treaty in January, 1942, which brought Haile Selassie back to power. In 1952, the Italian colony of Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia by the United Nations. The British left the eastern areas in 1954. Haile Selassie allowed BS base in Asmara.

135. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 223.
136. Ibid., p. 226.
137. Ibid., p. 223.
138. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 227; see also E.A. Boateng, Ibid., p. 228.
The Emperor participated in the Cairo NAM preparatory meeting (June, 1961), its Belgrade Summit Conference (September, 1961) and its Cairo Summit Conference (1964). A number of NAM conferences and meetings denounced neo-colonialism and inspired movements for independence from foreign domination. As a result, the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces overthrew the Emperor in June, 1974.

In December, 1974, the Committee declared socialism as its political philosophy and launched a programme of nationalization in 1975. General Teferi Banti, President of the Provisional Military Government, participated in the Colombo NAM Summit Conference in 1976.

In 1977, with the US and NATO assistance, Somalia seized some 320,000 sq. km. in Ogaden Province; but Ethiopia, with the assistance of the Soviet Union and Cuba, drove away the aggressors. In June, 1980, the Organizing Commission of the Ethiopian Working People's Party (OCPWP) reflected the unity of the vanguard of the Ethiopian revolution. In September, 1984, Ethiopia became a "Communist state with a ruling Marxist-Leninist party, and closely allied to the USSR". The Oromos rebelled against the Communist rule. The Oromos Liberation Front (OLF) wanted to create 'the People Democratic Republic of Oromio'. It had 5,000 armed men on the eastern front and 500 on the western front besides 5,000 - 7,000 peasants organized into a People's Defence Force. Efforts to get the EPLF, IPLF, OLF and other groups reunited have not yet made much headway.

However, at present, Ethiopia faces in the main two problems - Eritrea wants to be recognised as a separate state and the Somali minorities, who are carrying on guerrilla activity, demand association with Somalia.

139. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 1.
140. Ibid., p. 5.
141. Ibid., p. 246.
142. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 6, 1984; see also The Hindustan Times (New Delhi), January 7, 1986.
143. The Times of India (New Delhi), July 6, 1984.
144. Ibid.
145. Ibid.
(3) SOMALIA

In 1886, the British occupied the northern part of Somalia and named the colony the British Somaliland. In 1884, the French established a protectorate in the country after gaining "a foothold at Obock on the northern shore" and named the territory the Somali Coast. Later, the French "transferred the capital of the protectorate to Djibouti". In 1905, the Italians constituted the Italian Somalia (to the south of the British Somaliland) including the area around Massawa on the Eritrean coast in the north "leaving the French in control of the tiny protectorate they had established around the port of Obock".

During the Second World War, fascist Italy seized the British Somaliland but, after the defeat of Italy in 1941, Eritrea as well as the British and the Italian Somaliland came under British military administration. In 1950, the United Nations placed the Italian Somaliland under the Trusteeship of Italy "with the stipulation that it should be prepared for self-rule by 1960". The French Somaliland remained under France. It subsequently became independent as the Republic of Djibouti.

In the Italian Somalia, the Somali Youth League (SYL), established in 1943, rapidly intensified anti-colonial movement with a powerful popular base. In 1947, the SYL asked the United Nations for the independence of the British Somaliland, which caused a breakdown of negotiations between the SYL and the British Administration. The British encouraged the tribes to form their separate organisations to oppose the SYL. Meanwhile, the wave of Non-alignment and independence spurred political consciousness in the country. In 1956, under de Gaulle's "Loi cadre", a certain degree of autonomy was granted to French Somalia. In 1958, when de Gaulle made his offer of independence, French Somaliland chose to remain with the French Union.

On June 1, 1960, Italy granted independence to Italian Somalia, and on June 26, 1960, Britain declared British Somaliland free, transferring the Northern Frontier District (NFD) to Kenya against the

146. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 22.
147. Ibid.
148. Ibid., p. 226.
wishes of the Somalis. Thus, "the southern sector of Somalia's border with Ethiopia to the point of intersection with Kenya border has still not been properly delimited", which has led to strains in Somalia's relations with Ethiopia and Kenya.

On July 1, 1960, following a plebiscite, the two Somalias formed the Somali Republic, and on July 12, a new government was set up there. President Osman of the Republic took part in the Cairo NAM Summit Conference in 1964.

(4) SUDAN

Sudan is the largest country in Africa. During the second half of the nineteenth century, Britain and Egypt began to exploit the legendary gold mines of the impoverished country. Between 1881 and 1885, Mehdi routed the British-Egyptian armies but, in 1898, they re-occupied Sudan. The British helped in the restoration of the country to Egypt under a condominium agreement (1899), with the provision of British share in the government and signed a series of agreements with France, Belgium and Italy to define the country's boundaries along the west, south and east.

In 1922, when Egypt became independent, Britain maintained status quo in Sudan. After the Egyptian armies had mutinied against the British, an Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed in 1946, which confirmed "the status of Sudan in favour of British interests".

In 1948, the National Front called for a union with Egypt, while the Independence Front opposed it. In December, 1951, the Legislative Assembly demanded self-determination and on December 19, 1955, it called for immediate independence and declared the country as a fully sovereign Republic. It received formal recognition as a sovereign country from Britain and Egypt on January 1, 1956. Sudan joined the Non-aligned Movement at its Belgrade Summit Conference in 1961 and attended its Cairo Summit Conference in 1964.

149. Ibid., p. 227.
150. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 637.
151. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 29.
152. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 221.
154. Two Decades of Non-Aligment, n. 4, p. 11.
155. Ibid., p. 29.
Southern Africa consists of ten political divisions - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Rhodesia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zambia.

(1) ANGOLA

By 1915, the Portuguese were fully in control of Angola. Between 1910 and 1920, political parties were formed. In 1951, Portugal's dictator, Dr. Salazar, transformed the political status of the overseas territories from colonies to overseas provinces, while "illiteracy... and forced and contract labour continued to be exacted under the most inhuman conditions". The Party of the United Struggle of Angolan Africans (PLAU) founded in 1953, and the Movement for the National Independence of Angola established in 1956, united between 1957 and 1958, and formed the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). This new organisation demanded complete independence and carried an armed rebellion against the Portuguese rule from 1961 to 1974, when its "repercussions on Portugal's economy and on the morale of the Portuguese army culminated in the overthrow of the Portuguese government in Lisbon. The new government immediately started negotiations "to grant independence to the local population".

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned Portugal "for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the people... to self-determination and independence" and urged the member states to afford financial and military support to the freedom fighters of "the Revolutionary Government of Angola in exile", to break off diplomatic relations with Portugal and to appeal to the western powers to withdraw their aid and assistance to Portugal. In 1967, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) was founded under the leadership of Holden Roberto, and when his influence began to decrease, Jonas Savimbi broke away from it and founded UNITA in 1974 with the assistance of the South African regime.

158. Ibid., p. 194.
159. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 19.
The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) reiterated the resolutions of its Cairo Summit (1964). The NAM resolutions and assistance to freedom movements inspired the people of Angola. The Georgetown NAM conference of Foreign Ministers (1972) encouraged the Angolan people "to intensify their armed struggle against the racist and fascist South Africa. The Algiers Summit Conference (1973) commended the heroic struggle of the people, praised their courageous struggle for independence and observed that "enormous regions have been liberated and a new life is being constructed" in the country. The Conference condemned the NATO Powers - "the United States, France, the United Kingdom and the FRG and Japan for continuing to extend assistance to Portugal in its colonial war" and called on them to stop such aid.

In August, 1974, the MPLA guerilla forces founded the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA), which undertook to overthrow the Portuguese yoke in spite of the fact that FNLA and UNITA had foreign support. Portugal agreed to grant independence to Angola on November 11, 1975. Meanwhile, FNLA and UNITA, prompted by the Western Powers, opposed the MPLA in the transition to independence. As planned by the Americans, Zairean and FNLA forces, along with the South African and UNITA armies tried to prevent the independence of Angola by attacking the country in August, 1975. However, the MPLA, backed by the Soviet Union, repulsed the invaders. The South African troops, with tanks and artillery, invaded Angola again in October, 1975, but with the help of Cuban forces they were repulsed and UNITA and FNLA were completely suppressed. Angola was declared an independent Republic on November 11, 1975.

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) expressed satisfaction over the liberation of the country. The colonialists led a coup attempt in May, 1977, but the MPLA troops routed the enemies. In December,1977,

160. Ibid., p. 72.
161. Ibid., p. 95.
162. Ibid., p. 109.
163. Ibid., p. 113.
164. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 196.
165. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 41.
166. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 194.
Agostinho Neto, the founder of MPLA, was elected President. He adopted a socialist policy and thanked the Soviet Union, Cuba and other NAM countries for their assistance to his country. Angola became an active member of the Non-aligned Movement in October, 1964.

(2) BOTSWANA

In the middle of the nineteenth century, Khama I of Botswana became a Christian because that was the only way left to him to save his realm as a British protectorate, while Cecil Rhodes thought of forming "a vast area of British influence running from the Cape to Cairo". In 1910, its political future hung in the balance because South Africa claimed it as its natural territory as 25 per cent of its male population worked in South Africa.

The Non-aligned Movement inspired the people of the country to struggle for independence. Elections to the Legislative Council were held in 1961, to ten seats each for 3,200 Whites and 317,000 Africans in which no political party of the local population participated, although the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP), led by K.T. Motsete and M. Mpho had been founded in 1960. The Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP), founded in 1962, by Seretse Khama, won wide support of the African tribes as well as the Whites. When Botswana achieved its independence on September 30, 1966, Khama became Head of State. The country joined the New York NAM Foreign Ministers meeting in 1969, and started participating in NAM conferences and meetings.

(3) LESOTHO

In 1884, Lesotho (formerly Basutoland) became a British colony. The British made the local chiefs Governors of their tribes and members of the Basutoland Council, which was established in 1910, with the British exercising executive power. In 1959, a constitution was promulgated and the British announced that "the country was under its protection and that it would not permit the self-proclaimed Republic of South Africa to govern it". The National Party of Basutoland won the April, 1965 elections. Further, since the British attitude towards

167. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 96.
168. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 175.
169. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n.4, p. 31.
170. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 419.
the political aspirations of the people became increasingly liberal, the country obtained its independence on October 4, 1966, adopting the name Lesotho. The country joined the Dar es Salaam preparatory meeting of non-aligned countries for the third Summit in April, 1970, as a member.

(4) MALAWI

The British colonised Malawi in 1897 after crushing stiff resistance of the local population. The first struggle of independence of the people of the country was suppressed by the British in 1915. The African National Congress Party was founded in 1944. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, formed on August 1, 1953, helped the British crush the national movement in the region. However, in spite of severe repressive measures, the Movement of the Non-aligned countries inspired the people to intensify their struggle for independence. This, ultimately, forced the colonialists to grant greater representation of the people in the Advisory Council and to hold elections in April, 1956, which were won by the ANCP, led by H.K. Banda. After a number of rebellions, elections were held again in August, 1961, which were won by the Congress Party of Malawi. In consequence, in November, 1962, the British approved a new constitution and promised internal autonomy to the territory in February, 1963. However, the Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) inspired the people to press for complete independence. In consequence, independence of Malawi was proclaimed on July 6, 1964. Though the Malawian ambassador joined the Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964), Banda, who had become Head of the Government of Malawi, secretly backed the colonialists, refused to join the OAU and favoured relations with South Africa, suppressed Chiziza guerrilla forces and assisted Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique and racists in Southern Rhodesia.

(5) MOZAMBIQUE

The Berlin Conference (1884) recognised Mozambique as a Portuguese colony. After the Second World War, the country's ruler, Dr. Salazar, changed the political status of the overseas territories of Portugal from colonies to overseas provinces. The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference

171. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 176.
172. Ivo Dvorak, n. 4, p. 419.
173. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 33.
175. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 17.
176. }
inspired the people to fight for their independence. The Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), founded in June, 1962, started armed struggle against repressive measures of the Portuguese in 1964.

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned the government of Portugal "for its obstinate refusal to recognize the inalienable right of the people of Mozambique to self-determination and independence." In repelling the FRELIMO guerrilla attacks, Portugal was assisted by South Africa and its NATO allies. FRELIMO held its second Congress in June, 1968, in the liberated area of Niassa province in which it has introduced revolutionary changes. The President and founder of FRELIMO, E. Mondlane, was assassinated on February 3, 1969 at the instance of the colonialists.

The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) condemned the presence of South African forces in Mozambique, which posed a "further and continuing threat to the human rights and fundamental freedom". The Conference demanded their "immediate and unconditional withdrawal" and called upon the member states to "extend their moral and material assistance" to the people of Mozambique. The Georgetown Conference of Foreign Ministers of NAM countries (1972) fully supported the struggle of the people of Mozambique for achieving national independence. The Kabul NAM meeting (1973) reiterated its earlier resolutions, while its Algiers Summit Conference (1973) noted with concern that Mozambique was subject to "the worst forms of exploitation, oppression and destruction, inflicted by the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism which enjoy the political, economic and military support of some western governments and international capitalism". The Conference welcomed the fact that "enormous regions have been liberated and a new life is being constructed" there and commended the people for their "heroic armed struggle for national liberation". The war of liberation,

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177. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.
178. Ibid., p. 52.
179. Ibid., p. 53.
180. Ibid., p. 72.
181. Ibid., p. 95.
182. Ibid., p. 109.
183. Ibid., p. 112.
waged by the people of Mozambique, between 1961 and 1974, had "repercussions on Portugal's economy and on the morale of the Portuguese army". When the Armed Forces Movement in Portugal overthrew the fascist regime on April 25, 1974, the guerrilla activities were intensified in Mozambique and consequently Portugal granted the country independence on September 7, 1974. The Lima NAM Conference welcomed the independence of Mozambique. It joined the Colombo NAM Summit Conference as a member in 1976.

(6) NAMIBIA

The Germans began colonizing South-West Africa (now Namibia) in 1884. Defeating the Germans, South Africa seized Namibia in 1914. The League of Nations placed the country under the mandate of "His British Majesty, so that it should be administered as an integral part of the Union of South Africa". In 1945, when the United Nations replaced the League, Namibia became "a Trust Territory ... like all the former Mandated Territories of the League of Nations", but instead of surrendering its control, South Africa passed the South West African Affairs (Amendment) Act of 1949, incorporating the territory into its own administrative system.

Thrice - in 1950, 1955 and 1956, the International Court of Justice affirmed that "South Africa had no legal claim to maintain its control of the territory". Inspired by the NAM's call for the liberation of the dependent countries, the people of Namibia formed the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) in 1960, which started anti-colonial struggle and demanded independence of Namibia, the last colony of Africa.

In 1965, the Odendaal Commission recommended the splitting of the local population into twelve ethnic groups and the establishment

184. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 194.
185. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 497.
186. Two Decades of Non-Aligned Movement, n.4, p. 144.
187. South West Africa was renamed Namibia in June, 1968, by a decision of the United Nations.
188. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 502.
189. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 172.
190. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 503.
autonomous reservations (Bantustans). South Africa drove the local people to the deserts, imposed racial segregation and other laws of its own government based on apartheid. Pressed by the NAM, South Africa "has accepted the need for change in Namibia" and the principle of self-determination for the people.

Founded in August, 1966, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) - the armed branch of SWAPO, launched armed struggle against colonialism and racism with renewed strength in the face of brutal repression by the South African troops. In 1969, the PLAN guerrillas started carrying out sabotage operations, ambushes and mining of communication lines. To counter these, the South African army set up a chain of military supply bases in Namibia. In 1973, the PLAN launched a new offensive. In retaliation, South Africa attacked SWAPO transit bases and Namibian refugee camps in Zambia.

The Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970) adopted a 13-point resolution, which, among other things, reaffirmed the people's inalienable right to self-determination and independence and urged the transport, maritime, banking and other commercial firms and agencies "to refrain from giving any help" to South Africa.

In 1972, the PLAN attacked the Kamenga base with heavy weapons and artillery so violently that it was completely destroyed. Alarmed by this attack, South Africa began to use Namibians to act as spies against the guerrillas. The Georgetown NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1972) observed that the Namibians are left with no other alternative but to intensify their armed struggle. The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) commended the Namibians for their courageous struggle undertaken in most adverse and in very difficult conditions. According to it apartheid is "more than a system of racial discrimination; it is primarily a form of colonialism based on the fascist oppression of a people by a minority of foreign colonists; an oppression that exploits the people and deprives them of their basic rights; scorning the most elementary human values". The Conference noted with anxiety the presence of a consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany in Namibia in violation of UN resolutions.

192. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 54.
193. Ibid., p. 95.
194. Ibid., p. 109.
195. Ibid., p. 114.
In 1975, SWAPO recruited thousands of Namibians for military training in Angola, Zambia and Tanzania. The agents of BOSS, the South African Secret Service, also joined them. The BOSS and the West German Secret Services distributed pamphlets to alienate the people from liberation struggle, to undermine SWAPO and to destroy the PLAN from within. However, their plan was discovered and traitors were removed. PLAN penetrated as deep as 150 km. into Namibia forcing the White colonists to flee. The South African Prime Minister, B.J. Vorster, personally assured the White colonists of his support and pleaded with them not to leave the country. To counter the increasing PLAN attacks, the South African government launched an operation code-named "Cobra" while an Israeli battalion arrived to assist it. Thousands of African peasants and inhabitants were herded into camps, tortured and detained and their villages were levelled to the ground. The Angolan counter-revolutionaries from UNITA carried out "sabotage and terror against the defenceless population, posing as SWAPO fighters". However, the people were not deceived and gave shelter to the SWAPO fighters, who carried out sabotage operation in the capital (Windhoek). To counter the danger, South Africa invited mercenaries from Europe and the United States.

The Havana NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1975) condemned "the transplanting of ignoble "Bantustan" policies in the territory". The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) reiterated its earlier resolution on the issue, which its Colombo Summit Conference (1976) noted with satisfaction that "relentless armed struggle was being waged by the oppressed masses against the most vicious manifestations of imperialism, Apartheid and Zionism". The Conference cautioned that the imperialists were "endeavouring to create divisions in the anti-colonialist fronts and liberation movements" with the evil intention of establishing spurious independence in Namibia. The NAM considered the struggle and an uprising in Namibia, "the final and decisive phase in the liquidation of the tyrannical racist minority regimes".

196. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 506.
197. Two Decades of Non-Aligned, n. 4, p. 132.
198. Ibid., p. 193.
199. Ibid.
200. Ibid., p. 194.
The Conference also condemned the "so-called Windhoek constitutional talks as calculated to frustrate the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people".

In 1977, South Africa made Walvis Bay part of its Cape Province. Faced with protests from SWAPO, South Africa, Britain, United States, West Germany and Canada met in New York on February 9-13, 1978, but their proposals sidetracked the question of the annexation of Walvis Bay. In April, 1978, the South African Foreign Minister, P. Botha, expressed refusal of his government to withdraw from Namibia. In December, 1978, South Africa held elections in Namibia unilaterally, which were to be held under UN supervision. As expected, these elections were won by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, fostered by the Pretoria regime in 1977. Sam Nujoma, President of the Committee leading SWAPO, declared: "South Africa understood only the language of arms and that his organization saw the necessity of stepping up the revolutionary struggle for the final and total independence of Namibia". SWAPO rejected the manoeuvres of the "contact group" of the Western powers.

Regarding the proposal of "free" elections supervised by the Western powers, SWAPO held that soldiers of these powers "would be used under the guise of "democratism" to help the racists and their guising Turnhalle Democratic Alliance participate in Namibia's government". SWAPO continued its struggle for independence.

The Havana Ministerial Meeting of the NAM (1978) observed that the racist regime had "become ever more aggressive and provocative" in its attitude towards the people. The Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) paid tribute to the heroic struggle waged by the people of Namibia. The New York NAM extraordinary meeting (1978) demanded early declaration of the "independence of Namibia through free and fair elections under United Nations supervision and control" and admitted SWAPO as its full-fledged member. It paid tribute to the people for "their courageous battle to eradicate colonialism, racism

201. Ibid., p. 195; see also np. 224-29.
203. Ibid., 195.
204. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 277.
205. Ibid., p. 306.
206. Ibid., p. 356.
and Apartheid" in Namibia. The Maputo extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1979) condemned "the bogus elections held in Namibia on December 4, 1978, by South Africa", which were recognised by the Five Western Powers who "endorsed the South African scheme to deprive the Namibian people of their genuine independence". The meeting declared that Walvis Bay was an integral part of Namibia and denounced "the manoeuvres aimed at establishing a neo-colonial regime in Namibia and legitimizing South Africa's illegal annexation of Walvis Bay". It decided to support the training programmes of the liberation movement and to establish "a Special Non-Aligned Fund for SWAPO". The Colombo Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of NAM (1970) condemned "South Africa for the establishment of a fraudulent and illegal 'national assembly' in Namibia designed to achieve recognition for its puppets" to perpetuate its occupation and to exploit its natural resources. It also condemned South Africa for "arbitrary arrests and detentions of SWAPO leaders and members in its desperate attempt to wipe out the liberation movement and frustrate the aspirations" of the people. The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) condemned the racist forces for launching a wave of violent repression against the Namibians "in reprisal for the people's increasing support of the liberation war", thus, forcing the people "to abandon their country and find refuge in neighbouring States". The New Delhi Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned countries (1981) reiterated the decisions of its earlier conferences. The New York NAM meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (1981) noted with regret and concern that "the Security Council had failed short of its fundamental responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security when the Resolutions proposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa under Chapter 7 of the Chapter of the United Nations met with the veto of the three Western Permanent Members of the Council, on April 30, 1981" and commended the ANC for "the intensified mass political mobilization and armed action against strategic installations".

207. Ibid., p. 357.
208. Ibid., p. 364.
209. Ibid., p. 365.
210. Ibid., p. 374.
211. Ibid., p. 410.
212. Ibid., p. 543.
The meeting denounced the "attempts to link the Independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola" and noted that it was "incompatible with United Nations Resolution 435(1978)". The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) reaffirmed the Namibian's right to independence of "a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other adjacent offshore islands" and renewed the pledge of its member countries to assist SWAPO in the intensification of its "armed struggle to secure the total liberation for Namibia". The New York meeting of NAM (1983) condemned the Pretoria regime for establishing a State Council in Namibia to draw up a constitution for the territory in violation of the Security Council Resolution 439(1978). The meeting, reiterating its earlier resolutions, noted that "this year marks the hundredth year of colonialism in Namibia".

Taking over from Tanzania's Julius Nyerere, Robert Mugabe, the Marxist Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, assumed the leadership of six front-line states - Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, which openly attacked the American and South African policies describing them as 'fraudulent'.

The Western powers and South Africa "sought to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of the 30,000 Cuban troops from Angola. The front-line States "rejected the linkage outright" as it was "violative of Angolan sovereignty", while the American Assistance Secretary of State for Africa, Chester Crocker, met the leaders of the front-line states and spoke of "renewed optimism".

The Multi-party Conference (MPC) of the South Africans supported the NITA with the objective of forming "an interim government in Namibia as a prelude to independence". The MPC's key demand was that a constitution should be adopted for Namibia which must be agreed upon by all parties "representing significant constituencies". Mugabe

213. Ibid., p. 597.
214. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 23;
216. Ibid., p. 114.
217. The Times of India (New Delhi), February 16, 1985.
218. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 8.
219. The Times of India (New Delhi), February 16, 1985.
220. Ibid., see also Ibid., March 13, 1985.
221. Ibid., February 16, 1985.
222. Ibid.
condemned the United States and South Africa for their unwillingness "to free our Namibian brothers" and their "illogical insistence" as linking Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban forces, which were called by the Angolan government to repel the South African invasion.

At an international convention on Namibia in New York several African delegates suggested that the OAU and UN efforts should be supplemented with a more active role by the Non-aligned Movement. Since India was the Chairman of NAM at that time, its Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was urged to initiate action. The NAM analysed the causes which prompted the Western powers to oppose the independence of Namibia. Of the "90 multinational companies operating in Namibia, which continue to be under South African occupation, 64 have headquarters in Western Europe and North America and the rest in South Africa". Thus, foreign economic interests hold a monopoly over major economic sectors in Namibia, especially over mining, fisheries and agriculture. Namibia has "large deposits of diamond and other precious stones, uranium, copper, lead, tin, magnesium and other ores of economic and strategic importance". It is estimated that "the net capital transfer of the foreign companies amounts to 36 per cent of Namibia's gross national product", which prompted the UN Committee for Decolonisation to call it "outright plunder".

According to NAM, South Africa was subverting all negotiations with regard to independence of Namibia because it did not accept SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people although SWAPO has had the stamp of approval from the United Nations. The NAM denounced the installation of the so-called interim government in Namibia by the racist South African regime. The NAM conferences held in New Delhi (1983) and Harare (1986) proclaimed its "total resistance to any attempt to impose a puppet regime on the people of Namibia and called for global sanctions against South Africa" describing the new regime another "brazen affront" to the people of Namibia and the world community.

223. Ibid.
224. The Times of India (New Delhi), October 21, 1984.
225. Ibid., June 18, 1985.
The New York NAM meeting (1985) reiterated the earlier resolutions of its conferences. The Eighth Summit Conference of the Movement held at Harare (1986) also reiterated the NAM positions and endorsed the "Declaration and Programme of Action" adopted by the Extraordinary Ministerial meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Nonaligned Countries on Namibia held in New Delhi, India, from April 19-21, 1985. The Conference called upon the member States "to contribute to the solidarity Fund for Namibia in order to enhance SWAPO's capability to wage the national liberation struggle. It reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Namibian people "to self-determination and independence within an untruncated territory, including Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands" and all adjacent offshore islands" in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions.

On August 1, 1986, Pretoria regime promised to implement the UN 'Settlement Plan' but since this promise was not fulfilled, the NAM Summit Conference (1986) called it a 'propaganda gimmick' and categorically rejected "persistent attempt by the United States Administration and racist South Africa to link the implementation of the United Nations Plan with irrelevant and extraneous issues, such as the presence of Cuban troops in Angola". The Conference strongly condemned "the racist Pretoria regime for the installation in Namibia of a so-called interim government in violation of Security Council resolution 435(1978) and urged all States "not to accord any form of recognition to the illegal act by the racist South African regime it purports to have established".

Since the Africans constitute the overwhelming majority - about 656,000 out of a total Namibian population of 746,000, they "play a key role in the national economy as the principal source of labour and exercise considerable influence on the economy as a result of their purchasing power", they should boycott the white products and work only to keep themselves alive, which would weaken the Government and would also avert a possible bloodbath resulting from an all-out racial war. However, elections held in November, 1989, have marked independence of Namibia.

226. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade), n.56, p. 46.
227. Ibid., pp. 44-49.
228. Ibid., p. 47.
229. Ibid.
After the Portuguese were massacred by the local inhabitants, the Dutch settled at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652. With about a hundred soldiers and sick sailors they left the ships of the Dutch East India Company, who, by 1795, had "expanded to some 15,000 colonists". The settlers, entirely males, married Hottentot women and the mixed stock of the two races came to be known as the Cape Coloureds. The Dutch move towards the fertile lowlands of Natal was resisted by Bantu people and finally culminated in the battle of the Great Fish River (1779). During the Napoleonic Wars (1805-1815), the British forces occupied the Cape. They were reinforced by some 5,000 British immigrants in 1820. The British imposed restrictions on the Dutch. The Dutch regarded the black heathens "with the utmost contempt and hatred". After defeating the Bantus, the Dutch established "two virtually independent Dutch republics, the Transvaal and Orange Free State", while the British controlled the Cape Colony and Natal. The Bantus could not be completely eliminated. They were forced to concentrate in Natal and Cape Province and in various other parts of the country, which have now been turned into Native Reserves or Bantustans.

The British refused to recognise the two 'Boer republics' established by the Dutch and regarded them subject to the British government, while the Boers refused to allow the British "a fair share of the wealth from the rich diamond and gold deposits" in the Orange Free State and Transvaal, discovered between 1867 and 1886 by the British. A war, known as the Boer War (1899-1902) broke out between the Dutch and the British forces. The Boers were defeated and the Act of Union (1909) joined the Dutch republics with the Cape and Natal as provinces, forming the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Boers had debarred the blacks from the franchise in their republics. The Act allowed this system to continue, but it made an exception of Cape non-whites (Cape Coloureds), who were of European ancestry. Soon racial conflicts started between the whites and the non-whites and between the British and the Boers. The Boers formed the majority of white population. The Africans, mostly

231. Ibid., p. 159.
232. Ibid., p. 162.
233. Ibid.
234. Ibid., p. 163.
Bantus, challenged the supremacy of the white's discriminatory racial laws, which deprived them of their lands, reducing them to the status of "second class citizens". The Boers, who form the majority of the white population "have come to dominate the country's political life" and have deprived the blacks of all their political rights and have enforced "stringent racial laws".

Today, there are some 264 separate African units or Homelands in South Africa. In 1970, there were nearly 15 million blacks, 2 million Coloureds, 614,000 Asians and 3.5 million whites. The blacks have only 33% of the total area of land in Natal, 18.7% in Transvaal, 9.2% in Cape Province and 1% in the Orange Free State, while the Europeans, mostly urbanised, possess 87% of the total area of the country.

The Policy of Apartheid

In 1948, Prime Minister Malan declared his government's "racial policy as one of apartheid", which resulted in "an unbelievable nightmare of senseless oppression". The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949) made intermarriage between whites and non-whites a punishable offence. The Group Areas Act of 1950 (amended in 1957) provided separate housing areas for the different racial groups. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) prescribed separate transport facilities for different races. The Immorality Act (1957) made "all forms of sexual relations across racial barriers an offence".

Tribal Homelands

In 1950s, the Government decided to create a number of tribal Homelands or Bantustans out of the existing 264 African Reserves to force the Africans to withdraw "from the white areas and establish semi-autonomous states of their own, run along traditional lines under their own traditional rulers or tribal chiefs. In 1960, a number of Bantustans, such as, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Ciskei, Venda, Swazi, Basotho Qwa-Qwa and Ndebele were set up in the Transkei and

235. Ibid., p. 164.
236. Ibid., p. 167.
237. Ibid.
238. Ibid., p. 168.
239. Ibid.
240. Ibid., p. 170.
Zululand, which have the most extensive areas of African Reserves. The younger generation, inspired by the Non-aligned Movement, and the OAU, rejected the idea of the Homelands. In 1960, as a result of mounting hostility from the newly independent African and Asian states, which form a majority "within the Commonwealth family of nations", South Africa "decided to become a republic and to leave the Commonwealth".  

The Belgrade NAM Summit Conference (1961) resolutely condemned "the policy of Apartheid practised by the Union of South Africa" and demanded "immediate abandonment of this policy". The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) emphasised that Apartheid violated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the principle of the equality of peoples and constituted a "threat to international peace and security". The Conference gave a call for the boycott of all South African goods, to break diplomatic relations with the country and "to deny airport and overflying facilities to aircraft and port facilities to ships proceeding to and from South Africa" and demanded "the release of all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions". The Conference appealed to the OAU "for the application of sanctions against South Africa". In the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference (1970), the members criticised the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, "which by their political, economic, and military collaboration"with the Government of South Africa, encouraged and incited the Government "to persist in its racist policy" and condemned the activities of the Bureau of State Security (BOSS), which constituted the "most sinister documents in history". The Conference appealed the Non-aligned countries to "contribute financially and materially" to assist the people fighting against colonialism.

The New York NAM meeting (1971) expressed deep concern over "the continued obstruction to the process of decolonization and the intensifying aggressiveness of the forces of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racialism, particularly in Southern Africa". The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) urged upon its members "to launch a resolute, concerted drive

241. Ibid., p. 172.
242. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n.4, p. 7.
243. Ibid., p. 20.
244. Ibid., p. 52.
245. Ibid., p. 53.
246. Ibid., p. 64.
render material aid to all African movements of national liberation, speed up the emancipation process of these territories, mobilize world public opinion in favour of their cause, and unmask and isolate those powers which continue to give their support to Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. The Conference adopted a concrete resolution on decolonization. The Kabal NAM meeting (1973) reiterated the earlier resolutions of its conferences and meetings.

The Algiers NAM Summit Conference (1973) welcomed the 'Action Programme' adopted at the international conference in Oslo "for the support of the victims of the colonialism and Apartheid in South Africa". The Conference observed that the Pretoria regime was "making maximal efforts in close cooperation with monopolistic corporations, with a view toward coordinating the economic exploitation of all South Africa". The Conference also decided "to organise world public opinion campaigns, especially in Western countries, to expose the support given by Portugal, Rhodesia and Israel to South Africa, and denounced "the permanent economic, financial and military aid" extended to South Africa by some NAM powers. The Conference felt that the policy of Bantustans was meant "to Balkanize that territory and divide the people into ethnics, which is contrary to the idea of true Africanism". The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1974) noted that diplomatic relations between South Africa and Tel Aviv constitute "a irrefutable evidence of the common identity and ideological collusion" between them.

The Lima NAM Ministerial Conference (1975) said that the Pretoria regime was a product of colonial conquest and was "operating as a fullfledged fascist power bent on perpetuating the ruthless domination of the indigenous people". It condemned France, the United States, the
United Kingdom and the Federal Republic of Germany "for their stepped-up military alliance with the Pretoria regime in its frantic armament race designed for international repression and aggression against independent Africa". The members observed that the "repeated triple "veto" exercised by the United States, France and United Kingdom to save South Africa from expulsion from the UN Security Council "testify to their well-known commitment to the side of the South African racist regime". The Algiers NAM meeting of the Coordinating Bureau (1976) expressed concern over the decision of France to supply nuclear reactors to South Africa and called upon the French government to reconsider its decision. The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) called upon the Non-aligned countries "to contribute generously to the Support and Solidarity Fund of Southern Africa".

In October, 1976, South Africa declared Transkei an 'independent republic of South Africa', which was independent only in name.

The Belgrade NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1978) called upon the people of South Africa to continue "country-wide underground mobilization" for sustained action and struggle, condemned the "so-called independence of tribal creations as null and void", denounced the so-called "independence of Transkei and Bophuthatswana", appreciated the UN Security Council Resolution 418 of November 4, 1977, concerning "arms embargo against South Africa" and UN proclamation of the year "beginning March 21, 1978, as the International Anti-Apartheid Year" and condemned continued "killings of peaceful demonstrators, the torture and murders of patriots in detention, the trials of freedom fighters under obnoxious racist laws, and the establishment of new Bantustans". The Conference adopted a 13-point resolution on South Africa, which, among other things, envisaged a study of the problems of unity of the ANC and PAC and to find an acceptable formula that will ensure the unification of all the fighting forces in that country and "to take necessary steps towards the imposition of economic sanctions, the withdrawal of investments, the oil embargo and the strict implementation of the Security Council Resolution 418 on mandatory arms embargo" and also "to give maximum publicity to the secret trial of Zerh Mothopeng".

257. Ibid.
258. Ibid.
259. Ibid., p. 181.
260. Ibid., p. 224.
and the TSETHAL 18 and all African nationalists in South Africa with a view to exposing the travesty of justice which the trials entail".

The Maputo NAM extraordinary Ministerial meeting (1979) condemned the Apartheid based on "institutionalized racism", calling it "crude effort to diffuse the decisive revolutionary struggle of the people" and denounced the repressive measures of the South African government which included "arrests, political assassinations and massacres". The meeting denounced the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Northern Ireland, FRG, Israel, Japan, Belgium and Italy, which assisted South Africa by giving it "political, diplomatic, military, economic, material and financial support".

The New Delhi NAM Summit Conference (1983) demanded "unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners, six of whom are in the twentieth year of their life imprisonment". It strongly condemned "the recent confirmation of death sentences imposed by the apartheid regime on six freedom fighters" and "called for an intensified world campaign to save their lives". The Conference condemned the US policy of constructive engagement aimed at "countering the international campaign for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa", and denounced the efforts of Latin American countries "to form a so-called South Atlantic Treaty Organization (SATO) in conjunction with the racist regime of South Africa".

The New York NAM meeting (1983) denounced "the brutal repression, torture, hangings and systematic murder of captured freedom fighters" and vehemently condemned "the hanging of three members of the ANC. The heads of delegation also strongly condemned the collaboration of certain Western countries with South Africa, especially the United States for "granting of the request by seven United States based transnational corporations to provide technical and maintenance services to the South African nuclear power installation". The New York NAM meeting (1984) expressed indignation against the regime's imposition of a new racist constitution under the guise of constitutional reform.

261. Ibid., p. 349.
262. Ibid., p. 365.
263. Ibid., p. 366.
264. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 24.
265. Ibid., p. 100.
in a bid to dispossess the African majority, divide the oppressed people and to entrench apartheid. The meeting expressed grave concern over the "violence and repression" of the racist regime against those who protested and resisted by the "killing and wounding of hundreds of people, including children and detention of many leaders". Reiterating earlier NAM resolutions, the meeting demanded release of Nelson Mandela, Zephania Mothopeng and all other political prisoners and granting prisoner-of-war status to freedom fighters in accordance with the Geneva Convention. The meeting held the US policy of "constructive engagement" responsible for South African aggressive policy and blackmail against the neighbouring non-aligned countries. They deplored South Africa's "rapidly increasing military arsenal and, in particular, its acquisition of nuclear weapons capacity". It condemned military and nuclear collaboration between South Africa on the one hand, and Israel, the United States, France and West Germany, on the other. The meeting deplored the visit of South African Premier to the United Kingdom, FRG, Belgium, Austria, Italy, the Holy See, Switzerland and Portugal, to undermine the international campaign against South Africa and lauded the anti-apartheid campaign of the people in these countries. They commended the people in the United States who took "concrete action towards the divestment of public funds from banks, companies and other institutions doing business with racist South Africa" and the people of Europe for promoting "the campaign for the international isolation of the apartheid regime". They lauded the action of New Zealand for "closing racist South Africa's Consulate in the country".

A leading anti-apartheid figure and executive member of the National Indian Congress (NTC), Mewa Ramgobin, a grandson-in-law of Mahatma Gandhi of India, who, after a "three-week sit-in-protest against the country's detention-without-trial legislation" was detained on October 5, 1984. He was not allowed to get a private doctor in prison and was tortured. His wife, Ela, a grand-daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was shocked to see his condition when he was rushed to hospital.

The new reform constitution was supposed to start a process of racial reconciliation, but the Government reversed its policy, which

266. Ibid., p. 113.
267. The Times of India (New Delhi), November 23, 1984.
268. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 114.
269. The Times of India (New Delhi), November 23, 1984.
caused a wave of unrest and a spontaneous outburst. The organised black resistance made some townships virtually ungovernable. Earlier, the important black trade unions had been avoiding political involvement, but the Government's heavy-handedness and raids on townships moved them and they too joined the political call for a two-day protest strike, which inflicted "serious damage on the (Government's) economy". In November, 1984, China denounced South Africa for using "constitutional reforms" to strengthen its military suppression on the blacks and "hoodwink world opinion". Inspired by the NAM, Nobel Laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu criticised Reagan's policy, which, he said, "has worsened the situation in South Africa". In a meeting with President Reagan, he proposed the holding of a "national convention" including black leaders to develop a "blueprint for a new kind of society in South Africa". Reagan said: "We have made sizeable progress there in expressing our repugnance for apartheid and in persuading the South African Government to make changes, and we're going to continue".

At the New Delhi NAM meeting (1985), Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India said: "Some countries have sworn by racial equality with their left hand, but with their right hand supported the Pretoria regime. It is their continuing collaboration in the political, economic, military and nuclear fields that has reinforced South African belligerence".

On May 20, 1985, in London, South African Foreign Minister, "Pik" Both stressed that "his government was willing to free the jailed nationalist leader, Mr. Nelson Mandela, if he renounced violence as a way of achieving his political aim". He felt that this was a "reasonable attitude". Nelson Mandela, Life President of the anti-Apartheid African National Congress (ANC), who was jailed for life in 1964 for "terrorist activities" refused to comment on Botha's offer. The Observer reported: "the South African authorities had made life difficult for Mandela

271. Ibid.
273. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 162.
274. The Times of India (New Delhi), May 21, 1985.
since he refused an offer of freedom conditional on his going to live in the black homeland of Transkei".

South Africa upgraded the Community Councils to the status of White Town Councils in 1983. Due to the ANC's violence, the local governments collapsed. The ANC accused the Councillors of being "co-oppressors". The widespread unrest forced hundreds of the Councillors to resign "in the face of violent attacks on their lives and properties". The Councillors were burnt and knifed to death, their families were victimised at school and work and their houses were petrol-bombed and destroyed. The violence was so intense that "scores promptly joined anti-apartheid organisations in a bid to save their skins". They realised that "local government for the African majority was a complete failure". This reflects the impact of the Non-aligned Movement in the mobilising success of the African black majority.

The South African government declared 'emergency'. The ANC warned against mass detentions and decided to intensify the freedom struggle until the White government was overthrown. A spokesman of the movement said that the proclamation of emergency would not deter the people in their fight against apartheid. In 1961, they said, "it was aimed at breaking the back of the ANC but it did not and this time Pretoria is trying to browbeat people into submission but it won't succeed".

President Reagan was opposed by the House of Representatives and the Senate. In July, 1985, the former passed a Bill for sanctions against South Africa by 295 votes to 127, while the latter passed it by 16 votes to one, urging upon the South African government "to stop the abhorrent treatment of the black majority". The Bill stipulated prohibition of new US bank loans to the South African government and prevention of sales of US computers and technology that South African military or police could use in enforcing racial laws.

On July 17, 1985, foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries attending a meeting of OAU "called for imposition of embargo on all air flights and sea voyages to South Africa and praised recent US efforts to impose sanctions against the Pretoria regime". To control the situation

275. Ibid.
278. Ibid., July 8, 1985.
the Government imposed "emergency" on July 21, 1985, on 36 black areas, and Mandela's wife's house was set on fire. The Scandinavian Airways system jointly owned by Sweden, Denmark and Norway had already discontinued its flight to Johannesburg. However, Reagan's spokesman, Charles Redman, said: "The President, the Secretary (of State) and other officials in the administration remain firmly committed to our basic policy objectives in southern Africa". These objectives were "promotion of peaceful change away from South Africa's policy of apartheid, reducing border violence, independence for South African-ruled Namibia and withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola". As a protest against the state of emergency, France recalled its ambassador from racist South Africa. As Rajiv Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, hoped EEC countries and Canada followed the example of France.

However, real economic pressure could only be applied by the British and Americans who had by far the heaviest economic stakes in South Africa. On the other hand, the young and militant blacks, inspired and supported by the NAM, "believe more and more in methods of violent agitation and struggle". The biggest union of black miners (150,000) gave a strike call on August 25, 1985, against the state of emergency which crippled production in gold mines, hitting the South African economy hard and its currency tumbled to a record low. Botha said "apartheid cannot be reformed". Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC's guerrilla movement, warned: "Many white people will lose their lives as the black people have been doing already". Bishop Desmond Tutu was almost in tears when he said: "I think the chances of peaceful change are virtually nil".

The constitutional measures effected in 1984 by the Botha regime created further divisions among the blacks, the mixed races and the Indian community. The tricameral parliament consisting of the Whites, the Coloureds and the Indians reflected this division. The constitution,

while extending political rights to these three communities, deprived the blacks "constituting about 70 per cent of the population of such rights". Such humiliations compelled the blacks to resort to violent resistance. In view of the chaotic conditions in South Africa, it may be inferred that the talk of western economic sanctions, recalling of ambassadors from Pretoria, advising Botha to lift emergency and extending minor political concessions to blacks were all vague. The ANC and SWAPO "called upon the western countries to put an end to all relations with the South African regime and to take economic measures against it".

Though he was not a Communist, Nelson Mandela on August 22, 1985, said: "Communist system would be "better" than the apartheid regime of racial segregation" because under Communism everybody would be living better as the system "gives equal opportunity to everybody". He reiterated his refusal "to renounce violence in order to win his freedom". He said: "I can't fold my arms. I want to live like a free human being ... There is no alternative to taking up arms. There is no room for peaceful struggle". In view of the continued efforts of NAM for peace and security, S.S. Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, said: "Sooner or later the U.S. would change its stand on mandatory economic sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa and follow world opinion".

The Luanda NAM Conference of Foreign Ministers (1985) paid tribute to the growing anti-apartheid movement in Western Europe, North America and Australia. It condemned the "military and nuclear collaboration between South Africa and certain NATO member countries and Israel". The Conference noted that as a result of the anti-apartheid movement in the world, "the South African economy is in the throes of collapse". The meeting welcomed consumer boycott by the oppressed people of South Africa "as a weapon in their campaign for the withdrawal of troops from the townships".

288. Ibid.
291. Twentyfive Years of the Nonaligned Movement, n. 54, p. 177.
292. Ibid., p. 195.
293. Ibid., p. 239.
On September 4, 1985, Khurshed Alam Khan, The Indian Minister of State for External Affairs, said that comprehensive mandatory sanctions and the moral duty of states "to sever all links with Pretoria were the only answer to force South Africa to end its apartheid policy". He said: "It is clear South Africa could not persist in its defiance of the will of the international community for so long". However, the struggle of the South African people encouraged by the NAM "has galvanised global opinion against apartheid".

On September 9, 1985, there was a great victory of the South African people when President Reagan announced limited sanctions against South Africa. Had he not done so, the Congress would have passed a resolution imposing much stricter sanctions. The sanctions announced by Reagan included "a qualified ban on bank loans to South Africa, a prohibition on the import of South Africa gold coin, Krugger Rand, and restrictions on the export of computers".

At the Conference of Commonwealth Countries held in Nassau on October 20, 1985, the British Prime Minister Mrs. Margaret Thatcher was criticised by other members of the Commonwealth for her refusal to join the Asian, African and Caribbean delegates on the issue of recommending economic sanctions against South Africa. Leaders of the African countries said that Mrs. Thatcher could not be allowed to exercise "a veto on the will of the majority in the Commonwealth". They agreed to the scheme, suggested by the Australian Prime Minister, Robert Hawke, which involved "graduated sanctions" and a mechanism for "dialogue between the White majority regime and the blacks to suggest ways and means to end apartheid". Mrs. Thatcher refused to negotiate.

Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma, the Vice-President of India, said: "The regime should see the writing on the wall unless it wishes to see South Africa engulfed in further bloodshed and violence". He warned: "Apartheid cannot be reformed but must be dismantled entirely. The days of white supremacy are over and the winds of change are blowing with increasing intensity". The Harare NAM Summit Conference reiterated the earlier resolutions in 1986.

294. The Times of India (New Delhi), September 5, 1985.
296. Ibid.
297. Ibid., October 21, 1985.
298. Ibid.
299. Review of International Affairs (Belgrade) n 36 n 198.
(8) SWAZILAND

The British colonialists, settled in 1878, established provisional government in 1890, in Swaziland, and after the Boer War in 1902, the colony became a British protectorate. The British assumed a "paternalistic" attitude and established British administration in the country in 1907. The Swazi King, Sobhuza II, called "The Lion" demanded the restitution of his right to the country's mineral wealth, but this demand of his was turned down by the British. A Constitutional Committee, appointed jointly by the British and the King in 1960, consolidated the economic and political rights of the colonialists, which was reaffirmed by them in constitutional talks in London in 1963.

The independence movement, launched by the NAM in Africa, inspired the emergence of political parties in the country. The Swaziland Progressive Party was founded in 1960, the Swaziland United Front and the Ngwane National Liberation Congress in 1962, and the Imbokodvo National Movement in 1964. As a result of the people's revolt, the British granted political independence to the colony on September 6, 1968. It joined the Lusaka NAM Summit Conference as a member in 1970.

(9) ZAMBIA

Zambia was proclaimed a British protectorate to be administered by the British South Africa Company in 1888. When the mining monopoly of the Company expired in 1924, Northern Rhodesia became a Crown Protectorate.

In 1949, Harry Nkumbula founded the African National Congress (ANC). In 1950, there were moves to introduce a policy of outright racial discrimination, ending all effective African participation in the government. Measures were adopted to keep the Africans out of the skilled and highly paid jobs. The British amalgamated Northern and Southern Rhodesias and Nyasaland in August, 1953, which led to strong African opposition. The Africans of Northern Rhodesia hoped "to escape from the control of the Colonial Office" and were wedded to the British idea of the "paramountcy of native interests". The federation was opposed by Kaunda, who was imprisoned. When he was released, he formed the

301. Ivo Dvorak, n. 1, p. 669.
To have strong hold over the region, the colonialists federated the North and South Rhodesias and Nyasaland in September, 1953, but matters affecting the day-to-day life of the inhabitants remained "under the control of the respective territorial governments".

The Africans formed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1957, whose members, among others, included Robert Mugabe and Rev. N. Sithole, who demanded independence and establishment of a majority government in Rhodesia. The government took repressive measures and banned the ANC in February, 1959. In 1960, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan admitted the strength of the new political forces (created by the NAM), which "were sweeping the countries of Black Africa irresistibly towards independence".

The ANC re-emerged with the name of the National Democratic Party, which was banned in 1961. The nationalists then founded the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), which was outlawed in September, 1962. Sithole split away from ZAPU in 1964 and formed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). As the people suffered from detentions, executions and exiles, they formed guerrilla troops to fight against their rulers. On the other hand, South Africa began to help Southern Rhodesia militarily.

However, the federation was dissolved in December, 1963. As a result, in 1964, Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi) became independent and Southern Rhodesia "reverted to its former status as a self-governing territory".

The Cairo NAM Summit Conference (1964) condemned the "policy of the racist minority regime" and urged all States "not to recognize the independence of Southern Rhodesia" and instead "to give favourable consideration to according recognition to an African nationalist government in exile".

The more the nationalist guerrilla armed struggle was intensified, the more the Rhodesian police and army geered up the machinery of repression. Robert Mugabe was imprisoned. Influenced by the NAM resolutions, the British imposed economic and political sanction against

310. Ibid., p. 182.
311. Ibid., p. 187.
312. Ibid., p. 185.
313. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 19.
Rhodesia, but Ian Smith remained unaffected by these due to assistance from South Africa, Portugal and the Western firms.

On November 11, 1965, a new government was formed in the territory elected almost exclusively by White voters and Ian Smith unilaterally declared independence of Rhodesia and the Whites held all the reins of power, in complete defiance of Britain.

The Georgetown NAM Conference (1972) decided to launch a resolute, concerted drive to render material aid to all African movements of national liberation, speed up the emancipation process of these territories, mobilize world opinion in favour of their cause, and unmask and isolate those powers which continued to give their support to Portuguese colonialism and the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury.

Since Zambia, Mozambique and Angola assisted the patriots in Zimbabwe, the Rhodesian troops attacked their territories. It clamped a curfew over the country and penned up the rural population in so-called "protected villages" and turned the houses of the White into virtual fortresses. Smith released some of the African leaders for a negotiated solution in 1975, but the discussions failed. The visit of Henry Kissinger to Pretoria and Salisbury in April, 1976, led to the White regime conceding some demands of the Africans but not at the cost of the Western interests.

The NAM, OAU and the people of Rhodesia demanded "equitable share in the government", but the Whites opposed this as they numbered only 243,000, out of the country's total population of 5,400,000, and hence they knew that "any government elected on truly democratic lines will be dominated by Africans".

The Colombo NAM Summit Conference (1976) observed that the independence of Mozambique and Angola had changed the geopolitical situation and had given a new impetus to the struggle for freedom and inspired and steeled the determination and resistance of the oppressed black masses of South Africa against the inhuman and criminal system of Apartheid and racial discrimination. The Conference condemned the

315. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 72.
316. E.A. Boateng, n. 57, p. 188.
cold blooded and indiscriminate murders of school children, women and innocent bystanders in Sweto, Langa" and other towns by the racist minority regime. The Conference reaffirmed the alienable right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence, supported "using all means" including "armed struggle to achieve majority rule" and called for "consolidation of their unity under the leadership of the African National Council of Zimbabwe".

A conference attended at Geneva by Britain, the Rhodesian regime and four African delegations failed to reach a settlement due to Smith's intransigence. In October, 1976, ZANU and ZAPU jointly created the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (PFZ) to intensify the guerrilla fighting, which spread over all the parts of Rhodesia and when reached the suburbs of Salisbury, Smith negotiated with Muzorewa and so-called 'internal settlement' was signed by them on March 3, 1978.

The Belgrade NAM Conference of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (1978) totally condemned the "internal settlement" and considered it as "a sham, fraudulent and treacherous attempt to consolidate racist minority military, economic and political power and give some political status to the unrepresentative and opportunist elements that were party to it", and called upon all member states "to refrain from according any recognition to the Smith-Muzorewa regime". Further, the Conference sharply condemned Salisbury "every attempt to impose neo-colonialist domination upon the people of Zimbabwe" and declared that only such solution was possible "based on the wishes of the majority, as represented by the Patriotic Front", which was waging a popular and heroic armed struggle to liberate the entire country. Thus, the Conference demanded "total transfer of power from the minority to the people of Zimbabwe" and called upon the international community to assist the Patriotic Front. The Conference observed that Smith continued his aggression receiving oil from some oil exporting countries such as Iran.

317. Two Decades of Non-Alignment, n. 4, p. 194.
318. Ibid., p. 195.
319. Ibid., p. 308.
320. Ibid., p. 373.
321. Ibid., p. 308.
322. Ibid., p. 349.
However, elections were held under Martial Law in June, 1979, and with government support Muzorewa became Prime Minister, whose government was not recognized by PFZ and guerrilla operations continued.

The Havana NAM Summit Conference (1979) reiterated that "Rhodesia was still a British colony, illegally governed by a clique of racists and traitors." An election was, however, held again on February 27, 1980, and Mugabe was elected Prime Minister by an overwhelming majority. Mugabe hosted the Eighth Summit Conference of the NAM at Harare in 1961. He is one of the greatest exponents of the Movement of Non-aligned countries.

Conclusion

Ethiopia regained her kingdom in 1942. The countries, which became independent under the influence of the idea of non-alignment were Sudan, which achieved independence in 1956, Guinea RPR in 1958, Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Upper Volta in 1960, and Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania and Uganda in 1961. The countries, which became independent under the impact of the Non-aligned Movement after the First Summit in 1961, were Liberia and Malawi, which became independent in 1964, Gambia in 1965, Botswana and Lesotho in 1966, Equitorial Guinea, Rio Muni, Fernando Poo and Annobon and Swaziland in 1968, Guinea-Bissau in 1973, Mozambique in 1974, Angola, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe in 1975, Djibouti in 1977 and Zimbabwe in 1978. Namibia is expected to gain complete independence soon. POLISARIO Front is struggling for independence of Western Sahara. There are revolutionary movements to overthrow the racist regime of South Africa. All the independent nations of West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, North-East Africa and South Africa, except Western Sahara, Namibia and South Africa, are members of the Non-aligned Movement.

323. Ibid., p. 408.