Online Appendix for "Critical Junctures: Independence Movements and Democracy in Africa"

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A Accounting for Pre-colonial Institutions

The form of the anti-colonial insurgency may well be correlated with pre-colonial institutions and experiences that could shape post-colonial government. Similarly, the ruggedness of terrain may be correlated with pre-colonial institutions and experiences that affect the prospects for democracy. To further assess the validity of either rough terrain or rural insurgency, we show that our main findings hold even after controlling for pre-colonial institutions.

In table A.1, we show that our main result, the effect of rural insurgency on democracy, is robust to the inclusion of a measure of "pre-colonial institutions," which we define as the number of jurisdictional hierarchies at the local and beyond the local community during pre-colonial times, based on Murdock's classification [1959]. We also show, in Table A.2, that rough terrain is a strong predictor of rural insurgency, even after controlling for pre-colonial institutions, and that our measure of pre-colonial institutions does not seem to be significantly correlated with rural insurgency. Note that Murdock's coding is only available for 40 countries, which substantially reduces the number of observations in the analysis. Compared to column (1) of Table 3, we lose almost one-fifth of our sample. More specifically, we lose the following countries: Cape Verde, Comoros, Congo, Eritrea, Gambia, Mauritius, Sao Tome & Principe, Seychelles, and Swaziland.

TABLE A.1: RURAL INSURGENCY AND DEMOCRACY — OLS ESTIMATES

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	POST-1990 POLITY IV				POST-1990 FREEDOM HOUSE			
Rural insurgency	-0.12*	-0.16***	-0.16*	-0.29***	-0.15*	-0.20***	-0.15*	-0.26**
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Pre-colonial institutions	-0.13**	-0.17***	-0.15*	-0.11	-0.15**	-0.23***	-0.19**	-0.17*
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Geographic controls?		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Colonial controls?			✓	✓			✓	✓
Contemporaneous controls?				✓				✓
N	40	40	40	38	40	40	40	38
R^2	0.16	0.45	0.50	0.63	0.15	0.50	0.56	0.65
σ	0.20	0.18	0.19	0.18	0.24	0.21	0.21	0.21

Notes: Estimates are based on OLS regressions. Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. The *pre-colonial institutions* variable measures the average number of jurisdictional hierarchies at the local and beyond the local community during pre-colonial times, based on Murdock's classification [1959]. Geographic, colonial, and contemporaneous controls include those reported in Tables 2 and 3. *** is significant at the 1% level; ** is significant at the 5% level; and * is significant at the 10% level.

TABLE A.2: ROUGH TERRAIN AND RURAL INSURGENCY — OLS AND LOGIT ESTIMATES

DV IS RURAL INSURGENCY	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rough terrain	0.21***	1.11***	0.19***	1.18***	0.20***	1.12***	0.18**	1.85***
	(0.04)	(0.37)	(0.05)	(0.34)	(0.06)	(0.42)	(0.06)	(0.63)
Pre-colonial institutions	-0.15	-0.80	-0.24	-1.84**	-0.21	-1.19	-0.30*	-4.68**
	(0.11)	(0.73)	(0.14)	(0.81)	(0.13)	(0.81)	(0.17)	(1.95)
Geographic controls?			✓	✓			✓	✓
Colonial controls?					✓	✓	✓	✓
Estimation	LPM	Logit	LPM	Logit	LPM	Logit	LPM	Logit
N	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
R^2	0.33		0.42		0.38		0.48	
σ	0.43		0.44		0.44		0.46	

Notes: Estimates are based on Linear Probability Models (LPM) and logistic regressions (Logit). Robust standard errors are shown in parentheses. *** is significant at the 1% level; ** is significant at the 5% level; and * is significant at the 10% level.

B CODING OF INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

Here, we provide a quick overview of the cases analyzed for the paper. Where possible, we have compiled these brief summaries using the Historical Dictionary of the country from the Historical Dictionaries of Africa series as well as at least one other reference. We have also used primary resources, specifically colonial archive documents from both France and England, in order to complement and confirm the information from secondary sources.

ALGERIA

Algeria's struggle for independence was an extraordinarily violent episode that resulted in about 200,000 deaths (Lacina and Gleditsch 2005). Algerian anti-colonial movements took the form of both large-scale guerilla warfare and urban uprising. Nevertheless, most insurgent groups relied heavily on guerilla tactics in their attempt to achieve their goals. It was the War of Liberation, declared by the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) on November 1, 1954, that sparked the move towards independence. The initially rural-based FLN created a military wing, the Armée de Libération Nationale (ALN), which evolved into a disciplined fighting force by gaining control in strategic regions and by perpetrating violence against civilians. Their aim was the restoration of a sovereign Algerian state, within the framework of the principles of Islam (see Hollingworth 1962). The leadership of the FLN sprang largely from two sources: the lower working classes of urban Algeria and the peasantry. However, at the outset, the rebellion was mostly rural, concentrated mainly in mountainous terrain. By 1957, the FLN had gained control in certain sectors of the Aurès, the Kabylia, and other mountainous areas around Constantine and south of Algiers and Oran. While expanding its rural bases, the FLN also decided to bring the conflict to the cities and called a nationwide general strike. This new urban campaign would evolve into the so-called Battle of Algiers, a brutal crusade of guerrilla warfare from late 1956 to late 1957. By 1958, the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic had been established in Tunis. During the same year, President De Gaulle organized a vote for the Algerian people. The Algerians chose independence and France engaged in negotiations with the FLN, leading to the March 1962 Evian Accords, which resulted in the independence of Algeria. The FLN took control of the country.

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ANGOLA

Angola saw the rise of three rural rebellion movements that fought the Portuguese colonizers between 1961 and 1975 in the Angolan War of Independence: the Union of Peoples of Northern Angola (UPA) (later National Front for the Liberation of Angola, FNLA), the Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Holden Roberto, whose aim was to gain independence for Angola, formed the UPA in 1954. The UPA was based mainly in the northern mountains. The Union received support from Zaire, the U.S., and South Africa. The MPLA was founded in the city of Luanda in December 1956 by Agostinho Neto and also sought independence for Angola. In constrast with the UPA, the MPLA had communist roots and was funded by the former Soviet Union, some Eastern bloc countries, and Cuba. Finally, the UNITA was formed in 1966, when Jonas Savimbi, the former representative of the Ovimbundi people in the UPA, which became the FNLA, left the organization. The UNITA received support from China, the U.S. and South Africa. The war began in the north with the cotton pickers' rebellion of Guerro de Maria. After the MPLA's offensive in Luanda, the group moved to the rural, mountainous region of Dembos. The FNLA conducted attacks in the Dembos mountains as well. The Battle of Quifangondo was the last in the Independence War. By 1975, en estimated 79,000 soldiers and civilians died in the conflict (Lacina and Gleditsch 2005). After independence, the MPLA reorganized itself as a political party; the FNLA did it in 1992; and the UNITA in 2002.

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BENIN

Benin experienced some small-scale rebellions against colonial rule in the early 20th century, such as the rebellion of Kaba from 1916-1917 (see Grätz 2000), but most anti-colonial sentiments were channeled through vibrant urban protests. In 1923, Islamic religious leaders and an emerging Western-educated elite led protests to the colonial capital of Porto Novo. Criticisms were made against the unjust system of wealth repatriation from Dahomey to Dakar (the capital of French West Africa in Senegal) as well as the favoritism shown to French businesses at the expense of the Dahomean people. The colonial regime responded to these protests with brutal repression. The Second World War served as the impetus for a resurgence of the anti-colonial movement. State and missionary school-educated bureaucrats joined forces with war veterans and urban workers to form the Union Progressiste Dahoméene (UPD). Nationalist pressure yielded a handful of colonial concessions. In 1946, Dahomey was granted a territorial assembly and representation in the French National Assembly. Ten years later, the loi cadre was passed and introduced more reforms, including the expansion of territorial assembly power. During decolonization, the nationalist movement fragmented into three regionally and ethnically-based political parties. Three leaders emerged in a political scene where: Hubert Maga's Rassemblement Démocratique du Dahomey (RDD) in the north; Justin Ahomadegbé-Tomêtin's Dahomey Democratic Union (UDD) in the south; and Sourou-Migan Apithy's Parti Républicain du Dahomey (PRD) from Porto Novo. In 1958, a referendum was posed to the people on whether or not they wanted complete independence or wished to remain a protectorate in a French Community. Benin opted for the latter and gained administrative autonomy. Complete independence from French rule was granted on August 1, 1960. Hubert Maga became the nation's first president.

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BOTSWANA

Botswana, a southern landlocked country, achieved independence without generating a significant African nationalist movement. In 1951, a rise in nationalist spirit and many of the exiled Sereste Khama's urban supporters organized political movements. After his return from exile in 1956, Khama agreed to be a candidate in the elections for the Legislative Council. He won the election and was also appointed to the Executive Council. Meanwhile, events in South Africa were unfolding and an influx of refugees into Botswana led to a rapid spread of political consciousness. In 1960, Mr. K.T. Motsete, a teacher from Malawi, along with South African refugees Motsamai Mpho of the African National Congress (ANC) and Philip Matante, affiliated with the Pan-Africanist Congress, founded the first modern party, the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP). The party's immediate goal was independence. It later spilt into the multiracial African National Congress Alliance and the Pan-African Congress, later to become the influential Botswana People's Party. In 1965, elections were held under a pre-independence Constitution granted by Britain, the BDP won, and Khama became PM. In 1966, the country became the Republic of Botswana, with Seretse Khama as its first president.

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BURKINA FASO

Burkina Faso, formerly Upper Volta, experienced an anti-colonial war and an anti-colonial movement in the early 20th century. Both of them revolved around the issues of taxation, forced labor and conscription by the French colonizers. In 1908, when the Upper Volta was still part of the colony of Haut-Sénegal-Niger, the Mossi people started a short-lived anti-colonial movement by opposing taxation and marching towards the city of Ougadougou. In turn, in November 1915, WWI conscription instigated the Volta-Bani War, which has been contested as the largest resistance movement in Africa during this time. As planned by leaders of 11 villages, the movement began when the village of Bouna announced it would resist military conscription. The resistance spread in the west to various ethnic groups mostly associated with the Mande minorities in the west and eventually included approximately 1000 villages. Fighting between rebels and a coalition between the French and the Mossi went on for a year, leading to the victory of the latter because of their superior weaponry. (Saul and Royer 2001). At the height of the insurgency in 1916, some 80-90,000 French West Africans were somehow involved in the war and the rebels had mobilized as many as 20,000 soldiers. Because major battles were poorly documented, the rough estimate of African casualties is at least 30,000. Casualties on the colonial side remain unknown. In 1919, the French made Upper Volta a separate colony, and then divided it among Sudan, Côte d'Ivoire and Niger in 1932. In the post-WWII period, the Mossi elites' negotiations with the French colonizers gained them a privileged position in the political arena after independence was granted to the country.

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CAMEROON

Cameroon achieved independence through The Union des Populations du Cameroun (UPC), created in 1948, a radical left wing party that demanded the unification of French and British Cameroons and total independence. On 13 July 1955, France outlawed the UPC, following widespread riots in the Bamileke

country, the Bassa country, Douala, Nkongsamba, and Yaounde between May 22 and May 30, 1955. This prompted a long guerrilla war and the eventual assassination of Ruben Um Nyobé, the leader of the UPC. Despite being forced underground by the Administration, the UPC had largely remained peaceful up until 1956. In a congress organized by leaders of the UPC, the Jeunesse Démocratique Camerounaise (JDC – the UPC youth movement) adopted a motion recommending the sabotage of voting booths, and the use of direct action and terrorism. This was carried out on December 18 and 19, 1956. This was the beginning of the Cameroonian rebellion, which lasted nearly a decade. By December 1957, the UPC splinter groups reorganized and carried out several terrorist attacks in the Sanaga-Maritime region. At the end of 1958, a confrontation took place between the armed branch of the UPC and the French troops, which had numerous victims. In the end, the deadline of the March 1958 UN debates and the announcement of the independence of Nigeria, slated for October 1, 1960, pressed France to change policies and adopt the option of independence for Cameroon. Consequently, on January 1, 1960, independence was granted, and Ahmadou Ahidjo from the Cameroon Union party became the first prime minister.

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CAPE VERDE

The independence movement in Cape Verde was closely tied to that of Guinea-Bissau. Both Portuguese colonies and their clandestine anti-colonial movements were united under the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde), led by Amilcar Cabral. The PAIGC movement began as a series of peaceful demands for improvement in economic, social, and political conditions. Armed rebellion against the Portuguese began in 1961. During the Pijiguita Massacre in 1959, the Portuguese military opened fire on a group of protesting dockworkers, killing fifty protestors. Following this violent repression the PAIGC

decided that the only way to achieve independence was to transform itself into an armed, rural-based resistance movement. Most of the armed resistance occurred in the dense, jungle regions of Guinea-Bissau rather than the Cape Verde archipelago. In June of 1975 the first National Assembly was elected, allowing for a transition to full independence from Portugal in July of the same year. Aristides Pereira, PAIGC secretary general, became the first president of the newly independent republic, while military commander Pedro Pires became the first prime minister.

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CHAD

Historians have documented recurrent violent clashes during colonial rule (1900-1960), between French troops and local populations opposed to forced labor and predatory fiscal policies. Because the country was arid and difficult to exploit, the country was left to miliary commanders and adventurers (Azevedo and Nnadozie 1998). The Bouma war (1928-1929) of armed resistance to tax-collection was the bloodiest episode of the conflict: more than 25,000 of villagers were killed, and the district was reduced in ashes. There were similar conflict in Logone (1952) after a government official, attempting to arrest a villager for not paying taxes, fired a gun into a crowd and killed a number dozens of demonstrators. Despite the creation of political parties after War War II, the country is plagued with political instability and ethnic violence involving Sara people supporting the Parti Progressist Tchadien and the Muslims supporting the Action Sociale Tchadienne (AST) or the Mouvement Socialiste Africain (MSA).

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DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The DRC experienced one major urban anti-colonial movement between 1959 and 1960, headed by the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) and the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO). The MNC was founded in 1956 by leftist and pan-Africanist Patrice Lumumba, in Leopoldville. It had a national base and it was established as a pro-independence political organization in October 1958. The MNC primarily operated in urban centers and employed political tactics to garner support. Nevertheless, as it was the case of the pro-independence ABAKO, though neither had an armed wing, supporters of the independence movement participated in violent rallies organized by both organizations. ABAKO, led by Joseph Kasavubu, was the most important ethno-religious organization. It had close ties to the Kimbanguist Church, strong in the lower Congo. ABAKO was dominant in the urban polls in 1957. However, its bargaining position with the administration was not enough to control the de facto power structure and unrest that grew in the countryside's local sections as anti-colonial protests increased. On 4 January 1959, ABAKO, in response to government neglect, led a riot in Leopoldville. The Belgian response was violent and led to hundreds of casualties. A week later, Belgian King Baudouin announced the transition to independence. When order was restored, 49 Congolese deaths were officially reported. Later in October 1959, Lumumba was arrested for organizing a rally in Stanleyville where 30 people were killed. Local elections were organized in December 1959. The MNC won a substantial majority and was invited in January 1960 to Brussels, to a roundtable discussion of independence that resulted in the decision to hold elections in May 1960. Lumumba's MNC formed a coalition government with ABAKO.

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EGYPT

Egypt's path toward decolonization was relatively peaceful. Shortly after the First World War, a delegation of Egyptian nationalists organized around the Wafd Party, and, led by Saad Zaghlul, made a request to High Commissioner Reginald Wingate to end the British Protectorate in Egypt and Sudan. Meanwhile, a mass movement for the full independence of Egypt and Sudan was being organized at a grassroots level, mainly relying on civil disobedience tactics. Wafdist emissaries went into towns and villages to collect signatures authorizing the movement's leaders to petition for the complete independence of the country. Seeing the popular support that the Wafd leaders enjoyed, the British arrested Zaghlul and three other movement leaders on March 9, 1919 and exiled them to Malta. This sparked the beginning of a revolution. Over the following months, students, civil servants, merchants, peasants, workers, religious leaders and women throughout the country conducted demonstrations and strikes. By July 25, 1919, about 800 Egyptians were dead, and 1,600 others were wounded. In 1921, when it was clear that Britain was losing its grip on Egypt, it exiled Saad Zaghlul, which led to new strikes, riots and demonstrations. General Edmund Allenby, Britain's High Commissioner, was able to persuade the cabinet to declare Egypt's independence. London issued a unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence on February 22, 1922. When the Wafd organized itself as an official political party after independence, Saad Zaghlul became the country's prime minister. He resigned in 1924 and thus the first era of Wafdist rule ended.

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EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Equatorial Guinea did not see the rise of a rural or urban insurgency because its independence from Spain was a smooth transition backed only by a small group of nationalists and pressure from the United

Nations. Few nationalist sentiments took root during the colonial time until 1959, when Spanish Guinea was recognized as two provinces of overseas Spain. Citizens of the new provinces were given the same rights as those in Spain and electoral representatives from the provinces were seated in the Spanish parliament that same year.It was only then that some semblance of nationalism began to take hold in Spanish Guinea. Using their new seats in the parliament, elected representatives pushed for autonomy. The Basic Law was enacted in December of 1963, which granted limited autonomy to the provinces. It established the Equatorial Guinean General Assembly, which had the ability to formulate laws and regulations. Five years later in March of 1968, small groups of Equatorial Guinean nationalists backed by the United Nations began to pressure Spain for complete independence. The groups were small and fragmented; significant political parties failed to emerge because of an inability to reconcile ethnic and ideological differences. With the help of the U.N. the nationalists succeeded without much resistance, and a constitution was drawn up and ratified by referendum on August 11, 1968. (Chandler 1970). Violence only ensued after the country gained independence and elected President Francisco Macias Nguema, who immediately installed a repressive, one party government.

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ERITREA

Soon after Eritrea was made a federal state of Ethiopia in 1950, political and economic marginalization by Ethiopia spurred the 1960 transition of the Eritrean Liberation Movement, a political organization, into the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF), a primarily Muslim militant group. The uprising against Ethiopian authorities began on 1 September 1961 and ended in May 1991. Factions of the ELF broke away to form the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), a guerrilla organization, headed by Ramadan Mohammed

Nur and Isaias Afewerki. Both the EPLF and ELF were organized into a strict hierarchy with pseudo-state structures, and controlled most land routes in Eritrea. The mountainous region meant not only that traditional warfare and air raids were less effective, but that guerrilla warfare committed by those familiar with the land could seriously hurt a large army. The decisive Eritrean victory at Afabet in March 1988 victory represented the beginning of the end for the Derg. With the onset of peace talks in Washington D.C. facilitated by the United States, the EPLF won a military victory and Mengistu resigned in May 1991. There were over 200,000 casualties, 60,000 were Eritrean resistance fighters, and more were civilian deaths.

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ETHIOPIA

The Ethiopian resistance to the Italian occupation continued immediately after the Italians won the second Italo-Abyssinian War in May 1936 and continued until May 1941 when a combined British and Ethiopian force ousted the Italian government. Until 1937 the resistance movement existed in small, separate cells, which attacked Italian forts in the countryside. On 19 February 1937, the Viceroy of Italian East Africa, Rodolfo Graziani, survived an assassination attempt and subsequently ordered several weeks of mass violence on Ethiopians all over the country. The Italian military issued arrests, committed systematic rape, killed civilians in the street, and displayed bodies and heads of the Arbegnoch in villages. There were about 30,000 Ethiopian casualties in a month, and Graziani has since become known as the Butcher of Ethiopia. The nature of the resistance movement shifted dramatically in late 1940 when British and Ethiopian soldiers fought the Italians in the rural periphery outside of the capital, and then moved in to eventually take back Addis Ababa in April 1941. Italy surrendered in 1941 having incurred 289,000 casualties.

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GAMBIA

Gambia's path towards independence was one of the most peaceful in all of Africa. While it was a British colony until 1965, it experienced a relatively large degree of freedom. There were a number of notable political parties that developed following the Second World War, mostly led by Western educated members of an emerging middle class. Lawyer Pierre Sarr Njie, for example, founded the United Party (UP), while M. Garba-Jahumpa started the GMC (Gambia Muslim Congress), and Rev. John C. Faye gave rise to the Democratic Alliance Party. British law restricted these parties to operating in urban areas and focusing solely on urban matters. Dawda Jawara, a Scottish educated native of rural Gambia, founded the

People's Progressive Party (PPP) as an alternative to the existing urban-focused parties. Before long, the PPP became the leader in the movement for independence from Britain, which was gained on February 18, 1965 by a vote in the British Parliament. The only violent act in independent Gambia came in the form of a weeklong coup d'état in 1981. It was led by alternative political candidate Kukoi Sanyang and resulted in hundreds of deaths before the government successfully put it down.

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GHANA

Mass protests and peaceful demonstrations in urban settings were at the core of anti-colonial mobilization in Ghana. The push for autonomous rule intensified after World War II, when over 65,000 Ghanaian soldiers returned home to poverty and unemployment after fighting on behalf of British. Social unrest was generated against the colonial rule because the government failed to meet demands from a working class largely affected by the rise of food prices and the suspension of salary increases. The government's repressive response was the breaking point that unleashed the Accra Riots on February 28, 1948. This incident is seen as the beginning of the process of independence. Groups such as the UGCC (United Gold Coast Convention) and the Convention People's Party (CPP) led urban-based movements based on civil disobedience. Kwame Nkrumah emerged as the most influential leader. He promoted boycotts, strikes, and civil disobedience as acceptable forms of protest, and his "positive action" campaigns gained the support of both rural and working class people. In 1950, he was arrested and sentenced to three years in prison for leading the CPP campaigns, which only served to increase his recognition, prestige, and status as a martyr. One

year later a new constitution was passed, creating an assembly that allowed for greater representation while still keeping executive power in British hands. Nkrumah won a seat in the newly formed Assembly while still in prison, and worked within the Assembly in order to negotiate the government's transformation into a full parliamentary system. In 1956, Britain agreed to grant Ghana its independence if two thirds of the newly formed legislature voted in favor. The vote was a success, and on March 6, 1957, Ghana gained independence from Britain. Nkrumah became Ghana's first prime minister and later its first president.

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GUINEA

Like most French West African movements for independence, the independence movement in Guinea generally developed in the context of the Cold War Era. Resistance emerged as newly formed unions and political parties demanded greater political autonomy. In 1945, Guinean Communist-educated elites Sékou Touré and Joseph Montlouis founded the African postal, telegraph and telephone (PTT) workers' union and organized a strike from 1945-46. Two years later, these men helped establish the Guinean branch of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, a PCF (Parti Communiste Française)-allied political party that would grow to be the biggest in Africa. In Guinea, the deeply rooted RDA—an organization aiming to transcend class, gender, and ethnicity—was structurally a grassroots campaign. By 1955, the RDA dominated Guinean politics, urban and rural, with a close network of teachers, trade unionists, students, nurses and women's groups. The RDA emerged victorious in nearly every elected body in the new local government, and eventually led the push for independence in 1958.

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IVORY COAST

The independence movement in Ivory Coast was an urban-based movement instigated by the events of WWII and the government's discriminatory legislation to marginalize African cocoa planters, such as denying them access to forced labor. Such deprivations coincided with the fact that World War II had exposed the myth of white European superiority to the African colonies. In 1944, the African planters in Côte d'Ivoire organized the Syndicat Agricole Africain (SAA), a farmers' union led by Félix Houphouët-Boigny. That same year, the SAA became a political party called the Parti Démocratique de la Côte d'Ivoire (PDCI). In October 1946, Houphouët-Boigny founded the Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine (RDA), a pan-African movement for francophone nations. Whereas the SAA was a nationalist movement led by cash-crop farmers, the PDCI-RDA was a mass movement embracing various sectors of the population. By 1950, the party had 700,000 members and was the largest political organization in Africa. Between 1949 and 1950, the colonial administration opened a reign of terror to counter the growing popularity of the RDA and began falsifying election results, creating opposition parties, arresting RDA leaders, persecuting supporters, shutting down newspapers, and shooting demonstrators. The RDA retaliated with hunger and workers' strikes, as well as boycotts of French firms. In September 1958, new President de Gaulle ordered a referendum in the African colonies to vote on a federation, self-governing statehood within the French community or independence and on August 7, 1960, Côte d'Ivoire became independent.

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KENYA

Kenya experienced one major rural anti-colonial insurgency, commonly known as the Mau Mau uprising (1952-1960). This insurgency against the British Empire is regarded as Africa's first modern guerrilla war, and set the stage for Kenyan independence. The insurgent movement was ethnically based. The Kikuyu, based in Central Kenya, were Kenya's largest and arguably most politically active ethnic group. Their shared grievances were both political and economic; they argued for political representation and land reforms that would diminish both the privileges of white settlers and the rate of displacement and landlessness among Kikuyu. The Mau Mau employed typical guerrilla tactics. The rebels operated in the forests around Mount Kenya and the Rift Valley and focused their attacks on rural locations like settler-owned farms and loyalist villages. Their geography allowed for clandestine operations and easily hidden headquarters throughout the conflict. Mau Mau fighters were almost entirely uneducated peasants. The tactics employed by the British included military offensives, deprivation of resources, arrests, interrogations, and intense psychological manipulation in detention camps. The British administration was focused on reducing the political and economic grievances and ridding Kenya of radical activists. The British lifted the ban on regional political organizations, except in the central provinces, and slowly allowed for more and more political representation. Though the Mau Mau uprising ended in a military defeat for the Kikuyu, it set the stage for Kenyan independence. Jomo Kenyatta, presumably linked to the Mau Mau, became prime minister of independent Kenya on 12 December 1963 and president of the new Kenyan republic in December 1964. Though the numbers are debated, the Kikuyu suffered around 10,000 casualties plus thousands of civilian deaths at the hands of the Home Guard. The British suffered about 600 casualties and minor civilian deaths. Kenya loyalists suffered around 1800 casualties (see Throup et al. 2012).

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LIBYA

With the rise of fascism in 1922, there was an increase in the priority of military occupation and dispelled conciliatory politics. In 1923 Umar al-Muktar, a Sanusi chief, took charge of the resistance movement in Libya. Mukhtar's surprise attacks at night and the fact that he had gained the support of the whole population who provided the necessary arms, food and hideouts, enabled the success of the resistance despite having only 2-3000 guerillas. In 1924, in the mountainous region of Ghebel Akhdar ("Green Mountain"), Italian Governor Ernesto Bombelli created a counter-guerrilla force that hindered the rebel forces. In June 1929, Italian authorities and the rebels agreed to a two-month truce but eventually the Italians broke off negotiations. Tens of thousands of people were deported to concentration camps and he forced local people to execute many rebels, to break up popular support. The deportation involved around 90-100,000 people and 50,000 people died during the repression. Graziani also blocked the passage of supplies and volunteers from Egypt. In September 1931, Umar al-Mukhtar was captured and hanged in front of 20,000 deportees at a concentration camp. This scattered the remaining fighters and in January 1932, the pacification of Libya was announced. From 1932, people were repatriated, but only to areas where they could be controlled and did not interfere with the colonization development plans. The Italian authorities were finally driven from Libya during World War II by the British in 1943, but it took until 1951 for the United Kingdom of Libya to finally be established.

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MADAGASCAR

Madagascar was annexed into the French colonial empire in 1896. The island obtained the statute of French territory of overseas after World War II. Despite these institutional reforms, economics concerns,

forced labor, black market scandals, and renewed ethnic tensions generated political instability and led to the emergence of the Mouvement Democratique de la Renovation Malagache (MDRM), a nationalist political party created in 1946. The goal of the MDRC was the violent overthrow of the colonial rule. Starting on March 29, 1947, Malagasy nationalists initiated an armed rebellion in the eastern part of the island. The first base of the insurrection was the triangle Ambila-Sahasinaka-Ampasimanjeva. The insurrection immediately reached Manakara and Moramanga, and spread to several other parts of the country over the following months. The rebels seized the eastern and central regions of the country before the French soldiers in Madagascar received reinforcements. It was not until after reinforcements from France arrived that the colonial authorities were able to restore order in Madagascar. The rebellion was brutally crushed. By November 1948, the French armed forces had extinguished every single outbreak of rebellion. French authorities originally alleged only between 8,000 and 10,000 casualties, a number that is now proven to be far from accurate. Depending on the sources, reliable estimates range from 30,000 to 100,000 deaths. In 1956, France's government initiated additional political reforms that provided for universal suffrage in the colony. Madagascar was granted its independence from France 4 years later, on June 25, 1960.

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MALAWI

Malawi's path to democracy followed a smooth, nonviolent route. A British colony for over a century, Malawi eventually achieved independence in 1964 by way of organized political pressure and strong leadership. Nationalist sentiments began to take root when the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) was formed in 1944. Their sole goal was to promote local interests to the British government in favor of independence. Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, a European trained doctor and native Malawian, returned to Malawi to lead the nationalist NAC movement in 1958. Banda proved to be extremely influential and effective with promoting nationalist sentiments throughout the country. He was soon elected president of the NAC and formed

the Malawi Congress Party (MCP), which eventually held a majority in the legislative council. Banda was elected Prime Minister in 1963 when the federation dissolved. On July 6, 1964, Malawi officially gained independence from Britain.

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MALI

After WWII, Mali (formerly French Soudan) experienced one urban anti-colonial movement. The main protagonist of the latter was the Soudanese Union - African Democratic Rally (Union Soudanese- Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine, US-RDA). It was the Soudanese affiliate of the RDA, and it integrated the Soudanese Bloc of the teacher union's leader, Mamadou Konaté, the Democratic Party of another teacher, Modibo Keïta, and a dissident wing of the Soudanese Progressive Party (Parti Progressiste Soudanese, PPS). Nationalists opposing French rule and pan-Arabist groups formed the Soudanese Union (later Soudanese Bloc) in the early 1930s. In turn, the RDA was created in Bamako during a conference held in 1946 by several African nationalist parties active in the anti-colonial struggle and it included various Communist Study Groups of the French Constituent Assembly. In its beginning, the RDA was linked to the French Communist Party, but its leader, the Ivorian labor activist Felix Houphouët-Boigny took a moderate, pro-French stance. Konaté headed the US-RDA until his death in 1956, when Keïta assumed the leadership. That same year, the PPS, which had been undefeated to that point of the colonial history, was beaten by the US-RDA in the elections for the National Assembly. In 1958, France granted autonomy to the French Soudan (then named Sudanese Republic). The next year, the Sudanese Republic and Senegal formed the Mali Federation, which collapsed in August of 1960. On September 22, the US-RDA proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Mali and became the sole political party. In addition to the organized political resistance, railway workers began a particularly militant strike from October 1947 to March 1948; steamship and electric company

workers went on strike in 1954 and 1955, respectively; Soudanese consumers staged a boycott to protest taxation on dried fish in 1956. There are no reported casualties.

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MAURITANIA

Mauritania's independence movement was largely peaceful and urban-based. Beginning during the post-war period, a politicized national movement emerged. There were two naturally opposing factions: progressives with socialist sympathies and nationalist rhetoric and conservatives with a penchant for traditional chieftaincies and continued relations with France. The young, progressive Horma Ould Babana was elected the Mauritanian delegate to the National Assembly. In 1948, Ould Babana launched the Entente Mauritanienne. That same year, the more conservative Union Progressiste Mauritanienne (UPM) emerged as an opposition party and won all general elections in 1951. The mid-1950s saw a proliferation of political parties in Mauritania. The UPM's older leadership and its failure to represent all segments of the population resulted in the formation of the Association de la Jeunesse Mauritanienne (AJM), a more youthful pro-independence party. However the AJM's Arab inclinations alarmed non-Arabs, who then formed the Bloc Democratique du Gorgol (BDG). An even more explicitly Arab party—the Nahda al-Wataniyya al-Muritaniyya Party—advocated closer ties with Morocco. In light of such widespread political fragmentation, UPM leader Mokhtar Ould Daddah called for unity and organized the Congress of Aleg in May 1958. As a result of the Congress, the Parti du Peuple Mauritanien (PPM) was created to represent a broader spectrum of the population. In October 1958, Mauritania became an autonomous territory within the French Union and gained full independence on November 28, 1960.

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MAURITIUS

Mauritius' move toward independence was more of a natural progression than a true independence movement. During the decolonization wave in post-World War II Europe, many former British colonies like Mauritius were given partial autonomy. In 1947 The British established a new Legislative Assembly in Mauritius; the elections provided a first step toward self-rule in the country. An independence campaign quickly began when the British promised additional self-government in 1961, with eventual independence thereafter. A political coalition of independence supporters formed, including the Mauritian Labor Party (MLP), the Muslim Committee of Action (MCA), and the Independent Forward Bloc (IFB). Together they succeeded in winning the majority of seats in the Assembly during the 1967 election, defeating their main opposition, the Mauritian Social Democratic Party (DMSD). Through internal political pressure and British cooperation, Mauritius achieved full independence from Britain on March 12, 1968.

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MOROCCO

Morocco experienced several mainly rural resistance movements against the French and the Spanish. The Berber tribal forces in Northern Morocco's Rif Mountains constituted the greatest resistance to the Spanish, and used tactics such as strikes, rioting and armed resistance. However, at the cost of 2,517 casualties, in 1910 Spain subdued it for the most part. Nevertheless, since 1912 numerous tribes from Marrakesh to Senegal rallied support in the mountains for the armed resistance movement (Al-Fasi 1954). From 1920 to 1927, the Third Rif War took place. It ended with the dissolution of the self-proclaimed independent Rif Republic by French and Spanish forces in 1926. (Naylor 2009). By July 1925, French losses were considered around

3,000. Formed in 1944, the Istiqlal (Independence) Party led the nationalist movement from that point. Sultan Muhammad supported it. Strikes and violent demonstrations between 1951 and 1952 resulted in several hundred Moroccan and some European deaths. (Naylor, 2009) In the mid-1950s, Allal al-Fasi broke with the Istiqlal, which preferred diplomatic solutions, and sided with armed revolutionaries and urban guerrillas. After Muhammad was deposed in 1953, terrorist acts began against pro-French Moroccan informers and French citizens and infrastructure. The terrorists formed the Secret Organization in urban areas and the Liberation Army in the countryside. The first devastating attack was the explosion in Casablanca's central market on Christmas Eve 1952, which killed 26 people. When the new Moroccan Communist Party and the Istiqlal were outlawed, emerged the Organization for Anti-Terrorist Defense, a counter-terrorist group. It attacked pacifist liberals. In turn, when the Secret Organization was repressed, the resistance changed tactics and formed the Moroccan Liberation Army in the Spanish zone. In the spring of 1955, emerged the Union Marocaine du Travail, another nationalist organization that allied with the Istiqlal. Muhammad returned in November 1955 and on March 2, 1956, Morocco was granted independence. Muhammad ruled as king, with the Istiqlal in the opposition. The Moroccan Liberation Army remained as a force until 1958 when it was overcome by French and Spanish forces. After independence Allal al-Fasi reintegrated with the Istiqlal and by 1959 he became its president.

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MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique experienced one major rural anti-colonial rebellion. The main protagonist of the independence war (1964-1974) was the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO). After WWII, the country saw two decades of a reinforced presence of Portuguese settlers who controlled the African's physical mobility, denied to all social classes the growing economic opportunities, and harshly repressed any form of political dissent. The roots of the anti-colonial movement thus grew outside of the country, in the political groups exiled in Tanzania and the African workers and students living outside the country. These formed the FRELIMO in 1962, being presided by Eduardo Mondlane and congregating various anti-colonial political groups. It was based in Tanzania, and its cadres were trained and armed by African and Soviet-bloc supporters. While it operated in the north of the country, the guerrilla mass in the extreme north coalesced with cadres coming from the extreme south. After internal discussions, in September 1964, FRELIMO started its armed activity and the Independence War with its attacks in the north of Mozambique (Carbone 2005) When Mondlane was killed in 1969, FRELIMO proved able to substitute him quickly with Samora Michel. Its small-scale guerrilla tactics made possible for the Front to have free movement in the north and to infiltrate central Mozambique by 1974. When in April that year there was a military coup in Portugal, FRELIMO had leverage to negotiate a cease-fire. By 1975, almost all settlers had left Mozambique and by June the country became independent. FRELIMO was the leading force in a single-party state, while Machel became President.

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NIGER

After officially joining French West Africa in 1922, Niger experienced relative economic prosperity under a civilian administration based in Dakar, Senegal. However a major famine in 1931 in the western part of the country, caused by the exploitative administration itself, led to the deaths of approximately 29,000 people and the migration of 30,000 others. Furthermore, education, health services and other infrastructure remained limited. Significant change began in 1946. For one, the new French constitution decentralized power and granted limited political participation via local assemblies. That same year, the Parti Progressiste Nigérien (PPN) became a section of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain (RDA), a pan-West African party. Party proliferation in the 1950s saw the creation of the Union Nigérienne des Indépendants et Sympathisants (UNIS), Le Bloc Nigérien D'action (BNA), and the Union Démocratique Nigérienne (UND). The UND and BNA merged to form the Mouvement Socialiste Africain (MSA), which later created the Convention Africaine. In 1957, the CAF—led by left-wing unionist Djibo Bakary later became a section of the Parti du Regroupement Africain (PRA). Leading up to Charles de Gaulle's 1958 referendum on membership in a French Community, Bakary campaigned on behalf of a minority that favored independence. The French government worked with the colonial administration, PRA opposition and traditional chiefs in order to successfully garner a Nigerien vote in favor of a French Community. Niger became independent on August 3, 1960.

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NIGERIA

Nigeria, the most populous country in Africa, experienced a relatively smooth anti-colonial movement despite its many ethnic and regional tensions. A British protectorate since 1914, Nigeria was home to Pan-African, nationalist sentiments following World War II. In 1934 the Nigerian Youth Movement emerged

and its members won elections in the legislative council, giving a political voice to the pro-independence rhetoric. Regional groups like the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC), headed by advocates of reform and unity such as Abubakar Balewa, rapidly emerged. Popularity grew across the country, and soon Herbert Macaulay and Nnamai Azikiwe established the National Council of Nigeria and Camaroons (NCNC), which united over forty different anti-colonial groups backed by students, former soldiers, the media, educators, women, and workers. The newly consolidated anti-British forces were used to mobilize against the United Kingdom vis-à-vis political parties and coalitions. From internal self-government by region the country achieved complete independence from Britain on October 1, 1960.

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THE REPUBLIC OF CONGO

The Republic of Congo, once known as Moyen-Congo, was one of three colonies that comprised French Equatorial Africa (FEA). Anti-colonial sentiments were strengthened by the freedom France granted to the Catholic Church in the FEA. André Matswa originally inspired the independence movement that helped win political emancipation and later prevailed in national elections. Stressing education, aid, and elevation of Africans to equal status as Euopeans, the organization quickly spread to the Lari community in Moyen Congo. Matswa returned to the colony in 1930 to campaign for his organization, but was arrested and deported by the nervous colonial government. Matswa's deportation inspired riots and strikes among workers in Brazzaville and garnered more support for his movement in urban and rural environments throughout the 1930s and 40s. Matswa followers continued to upset French authorities, but eventually these and other nationalist activists in the northern and coastal regions inspired French reforms. The Brazzaville Conference of 1944 put Congolese and French at equal statuses and promised economic reform. The loi cadre in 1956

paved the way for limited self-rule and emerging political parties to compete in elections. A multiparty system emerged and full independence was granted on 15 August 1960.

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RWANDA

Following World War II, Rwanda became part of a UN Trust Territory Ruanda-Urundi under Belgium, whose administration was charged with preparing Rwanda for independence. The governing Belgians favored the Tutsi elite who wanted independence from the Belgians without shifting the authoritative structure in nation. As early as 1956, Tutsi Mwami (King) Rudahigwa asked for independence from Belgium. Hutus in Rwanda, whose grievances extended from political representation to economic and educational freedom, contested the Tutsi view of independence. Hutus wanted a shift in administration that would not only reflect the Hutu majority in the nation, but also compensate for ongoing Tutsi injustices against Hutus. Grégoire Kayibanda emerged as the leader of the Hutu emancipation movement and in 1957 created a political party called the Party of the Hutu Emancipation Movement (PARMEHUTU). The main political rival of PARMEHUTU was the Rwanda National Union (UNAR), which called for immediate independence. After November 1959, Belgium placed Rwanda under military rule, and put Belgian Colonel Guy Logiest in charge. Logiest continued to favor the Hutu rebels and systematically replaced Tutsi chiefs with Hutus. Local support for Hutus grew throughout the country, and in January 1961, PARMEHUTU staged a coup d'état in Gitarama and deposed Tutsi Mwami Kigeli Ndahindurwa. Mbonyumutwa became the president of a provisional Hutu government until democratic elections in September 1961 put PARMEHUTU in power with Kayibanda as president. UNAR had no political representation in the national government. On 1 January 1962, Belgium granted internal autonomy to Rwanda. The UN General Assembly granted independence to Rwanda effective 1 July 1962.

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SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE

Sao Tome and Principe, an island colony of Portugal since 1493, achieved its independence with minimal bloodshed. Even when the slave trade from the colony slowed and slavery was officially abolished in 1876, forced labor continued on the island plantations. Brutal treatment and unspeakable working conditions led to a labor revolt in 1953 known as the Batepa Massacre. Several hundred African laborers were killed before the Portuguese crushed the revolt. While the Batepa Massacre didn't immediately bring reform and independence to Sao Tome and Principe, it marked the beginning of a real independence movement in the country. The Movement for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (MLSTP) gained strength after the 1953 massacre and served to mobilize the new nationalist sentiment in the region. While they were largely based in urban centers of nearby Gabon, the MLSTP fought solely for the independence of Sao Tome and Principe. While popular, the group consisted of a limited number of exiles who were unable to launch damaging guerilla attacks on the Portuguese. This limited their activities to civil, organized grievance. After the overthrow of the Caetano regime in Portugal in 1974 however, the new Portuguese government wasn't interested in maintaining overseas colonies, and soon entered into a series of negotiations with MLSTP leaders in order to implement a transition government. This led to Sao Tome and Principe achieving full independence on July 12, 1975.

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SEYCHELLES

Democratic independence in Seychelles followed an organized and peaceful path. Following the Second World War in 1964, two political parties were formed. The Seychelles Progressive Party (SPP), led by France-Albert René, promoted socialism and independence from Britain. In contrast, James Mancham's Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) campaigned on behalf of businessmen and endorsed closer ties with Britain. In March 1970, representatives of Seychelles met in London for a constitutional convention. The SDP won every general election later that year and Mancham became Chief Minister of the colony under the new constitution. Four years later, another general election was held where both parties ran on an independence platform. Following the 1974 elections, negotiations for independence began with the British. In June 1975, the SDP and SPP formed a coalition government with Mancham as president and René as prime minister. The coalition government was officially titled the Progressive Front of the Seychelles People following independence on June 29, 1976.

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SENEGAL

Senegal experienced one major urban anti-colonial movement. The French gave political privileges to the residents of Dakar, Gorée, Rufisque, and Saint-Louis, against the rest of the Senegalese (called originaire), who were subject to forced labor and forced conscription. In 1938, Lamine Guèye (an originaire) founded the Senegalese chapter of the French Socialist Party (SFIO). In the WWII period, the Communes' residents temporarily lost their privileged status. Furthermore, in 1944 the colonial government repatriated about 12,000 French African soldiers. Having not received payments or pension, they rebelled on December 1. French authorities crushed the uprising and left 35 veterans dead and 35 more wounded. Thus, anti-colonial political activity resumed along racial lines. After the war, Guèye was the unofficial political leader of Senegal. In 1946, France extended Constituent Assembly membership to rural residents. Guèye

and his new running-mate, Léopold Sédar Senghor, were elected to the Assembly. Both concentrated on extending full French citizen rights to the entire Senegalese population. However, Senghor soon broke with Guèye and in 1948 founded his own political party, the Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais, with Mamadou Dia. Senghor's BDS (later the Bloc Populaire Sénégalais) became dominant. In 1957, the BPS won the territorial assembly elections (established after the loi cadre in 1956) and Dia became the African vice president of the new government council. In 1958, de Gaulle issued an independence referendum in the colonies. Senghor and Dia, fearing the French withdrawal of aid, favored the membership within the French Community. A year later, Senegal and Mali formed the Fédération du Mali in an attempt to increase bargaining power with France. On June 20, 1960, Senegal gained independence through cooperation with France, almost while the federation fell apart. Senghor became President and Dia was elected Prime Minister. Nevertheless, they disagreed the socialist reforms conducted. In 1962, a failed coup d'état sent Dia to jail.

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SIERRA LEONE

Sierra Leone experienced one urban anti-colonial movement that lasted from approximately 1951 to 1961. The first move towards independence was to unify under the same constitution and governing system the colony and the portion of the country that had been given protectorate status in 1896. The champion of this cause was the leading protectorate politician Sir Milton Margai, who won over the protectorate elites, and later the more moderate citizens in the colony. The new constitution drafted in November 1951 united the colonial and protectorate legislatures and granted Sierra Leone local ministerial powers for its dealings with Britain. This unification set the stage for future decolonization efforts. After Margi was elected Chief Minister of the newly unified Sierra Leone in 1953, he continued to push for complete independence from Britain. His charisma and astute politics once again proved successful; Sierra Leone gained a parliamentary

system within the Commonwealth in 1957 and full independence from the United Kingdom in 1961. Thousands of citizens took to the streets to celebrate the victory; there was no serious violence in opposition. In 1962 the first general elections took place with Margai winning in a landside for Prime Minister. The SLPP (Sierra Leone's Peoples Party) became the primary backing of support as it had formed and grown during the move towards independence.

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SOMALIA

The first major resistance movement took place in 1899 and was led by Mohammed Hassan. He acquired weapons from the Ottoman Empire, Sudan, and other Islamic and/or Arabian countries, and appointed ministers and advisers to administer different areas or sectors of Somalia. In addition, he gave a clarion call for Somali unity and independence, in the process organizing his forces. Hassan's Dervish movement had an essentially military character, and the Dervish state was fashioned on the model of a Salihiya brotherhood. It was characterized by a rigid hierarchy and centralization. Though Hassan threatened to drive the Christians into the sea, he executed the first attack by launching his first major military offensive with his 1500 Dervish equipped with 20 modern rifles on the British soldiers stationed in the region.

Taleex was the capital of the Dervish State. He repulsed the British in four expeditions and had relations with the Central Powers of the Ottomans and the Germans. In 1920, the Dervish state collapsed after intensive aerial bombardments by Britain, and Dervish territories were subsequently turned into a protectorate.

Twenty years after former leader Muhammad Abdile's movement ended in a military defeat, a nationalist movement was born in Somalia and a successful anti-colonial struggle began. Modern Somali nationalism did not have a military wing like that of the earlier resistance, but focused instead on political agitation. In 1943, the Somali Youth League (SYL) was founded in Mogadishu in Italian Somaliland. The foremost goals of the SYL were the independence and union of all Somali territories. A similar political organization was founded in 1935 in British Somaliland called the Somali National League (SNL).

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SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa, independence and political equality were achieved through a series of transformations. In 1948 the National Party (NP), the party of apartheid, secured a parliamentary majority and began work to restructure South African society. In response to the NP's racist policies and years of oppression, the African educated elite in the country had formed the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. The ANC's founding members were all college- educated or prominent men in the South African community. The group was formed to promote the rights and freedoms of the African people and equality for all other groups before the law through the use of civil disobedience. In 1952, the ANC, in collaboration with the South African Indian Congress, organized the first large-scale political mobilization known as the "Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws.". The campaign led to a surge in ANC membership from 7,000 to 1000,000, making it the leading anti-apartheid movement in the country and it put the spotlight on Nelson Mandela, the president of the ANC's Youth League and the Chief Volunteer of the campaign. In 1960, in the township of Sharpeville, 67 unarmed protestors were killed in a demonstration organized by the Pan- Africanist Congress (PAC), a militant offshoot of the ANC. The massacre fueled riots throughout the country, and in 1961, the ANC formed a military wing "Spear of the Nation" under the leadership of Mandela. The aim was to force the government to negotiate by attacking white-owned property but avoiding harm to people. In 1976, a protest organized by schoolchildren initiated one of the largest rebellions, the Soweto Uprisings. Police responded by opening fire on the unarmed students, triggering rioting throughout South Africa. Order was not restored until the end of the year and by then thousands of students had been arrested or fled across the border. Eventually, after several confrontations between the government and the various political groups (both peaceful and militant), elections were held in April 1994 with the ANC winning a majority and Mandela elected as president.

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SUDAN

There was no one resistance movement in Sudan that brought about independence. In fact, there were few overt Sudan nationalist uprisings before independence, but the British nevertheless became increasingly uncertain of their grip on the country. There were internal struggles however, the first conflict lasting from 1955 to 1972. This was between the northern part of Sudan and the southern Sudan region that demanded representation and more regional autonomy. Half a million people died over the 17 years of war. The resistance movement began with the mutiny of units of the Equatoria Corps, the all-southern section of the Sudan army, because they had been asked to move to the north. It was suppressed by the Khartoum government however, but survivors led an uncoordinated insurgency in rural areas. However, it gradually developed into a secessionist movement composed of the 1955 mutineers and southern students, called the Anyanya. They operated in the bush and attacked military targets. In the early 1960s, they were joined by trained and partly educated men such as policemen, non-commissioned officers (NCOs), and prison wardens, who increasingly felt the weight of suspicion and discrimination under the military regime and joined the resistance. The resistance continued until 1972 when the Addis Ababa Accords were signed, granting the south a certain degree of autonomy. Southern Sudan Autonomous Region was abolished in 1983, which led to the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005). However, it was ultimately the Egyptian revolution of 1952 rather than this internal agitation in Sudan that brought independence. Egypt publicly supported Sudan's right to self-determination and an agreement was signed to this effect in 1953. During the next three years Sudan moved towards full independence, as Britain "sought to contain" Egypt by pushing for Sudanese independence and eventually, on January 1, 1956, Sudan became independent.

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SWAZILAND

Swaziland's path to independence was tied up in the fate of neighboring South Africa and the British Empire as a whole. Historically a country that was used as a territorial pawn by either the British or the Boers, Swaziland developed rural, militia armies as a means of protection. The political affairs of Swaziland became much more complicated during the years of South African apartheid rule. The Swazis were subject to the same segregation as the citizens of South Africa and neighboring countries like Namibia. When pressure began to mount against the British Empire as a whole during the 1960s, Britain began to prepare Swaziland for independence. During the lead up to full independence in 1968, several political parties were formed in Swaziland. These parties were formed in both rural and urban areas, even though the majority of Swazis lived in the rural areas of the country. A traditional Swazi leader, King Sobhuza II formed the Imbokdvo National Movement (INM), which emphasized a traditional Swazi identity. When the British colonial government scheduled an election in 1964 (following a constitution for limited self government the previous year), INM competed with four other parties but won all twenty-four elective seats in the legislature. Upon winning the legislative majority, INM lead a strong push for immediate independence from Britain. On September 6, 1968, Swaziland gained complete independence from Britain. .

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TANZANIA

Tanzania's path toward independence began violently during the beginning of the twentieth century but eventually dissolved into organized political negotiations and peaceful anti-colonial demonstrations fifty years later. The Maji Maji revolt began in July 1905 when the self-professed prophet Kinjikitile Ngwale fueled discontent among several different ethnic groups in Tanganyika, part of today's Tanzania. The German colonial military employed a scorched-earth policy and forced a famine on the peoples of Tanganyika by burning crops and villages to the ground. Many scholars say that 75,000 rebels died both in combat and from famine, although the number of casualties has also reached 200,000. The Maji Maji revolt culminated in a military defeat for the rebels as well as hundreds of thousands of displaced civilians. Though this initial resistance was defeated, the Maji Maji revolt was invoked by Tanganyikan nationalist leader Julius Nyerere in his creation of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in 1954. The modern nationalist movement in Tanganyika came about following WW2 when motivated veterans and students combined with an effective, international anti-government campaign to fight the displacement of villages in Meru. Kirilo Japhet and then Nyerere were the dynamic presidents of the anti-colonial organization, the Tanganyila African Association (TAA). TAA became TANU in 1954 and solidified its mission to fight for independence. Nyerere and other leaders including Bibi Titi Muhammad organized the territory and gained support from the masses culminating in a total electoral victory in February 1959. Nyerere's popularity and riots in Nyasaland forced British support of responsible government in 1960 and independence on 9 December 1961. TANU became the party of government led by Prime Minister Nyerere.

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TOGO

Togo's path toward independence was nonviolent and followed a peaceful, procedural progression. In the 1930s, anti-colonial unrest began with two popular protests: a market-women's revolt in 1933 and the suppression of a pro-German organization called the Bund der Deutschen Togoländer. To combat this sort of resistance, the French brought together elite Togolese to form a pro-French group called the Cercle des Amitiés Françaises. In 1945, the organization's first vice-president, Sylvanus Olympio, turned the group into a pro-independence party called the Comité de l'Unité Togolaise (CUT). In 1957, a UN-sponsored referendum resulted in British Togoland joining the newly independent Ghana. Two years prior, French Togoland had become part of the French union by statute, but still retained its UN trusteeship status. On September 10, 1956, a constitutional referendum resulted in the election of Nicholas Grunitzsky (leader of a conservative party that opposed CUT) as prime minister of the Republic of Togo. However, due to irregularities during the referendum, an unsupervised election was held two years later and CUT leader Sylvanus Olympio emerged victorious. On April 27, 1960, Togo seamlessly severed its formal ties with France, departed with its UN trusteeship status, and became a fully independent nation under the leadership of President Olympio.

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TUNISIA

Tunisia's path toward independence was characterized by a serious of long political strikes and opposition that often turned violent. In 1936 a revolutionary sentiment built up in Tunisia after Habib Bourgiba, former leader of the since dissolved Young Tunisian party, had been freed from jail. A new and powerful force joined the nationalist movement, the UGTT (Tunisian General Trade Union), which was the first exclusively Tunisian trade union federation. In August 1945, a strike broke out in Sfax, troops fired on crowds and many were killed. The militant group Neo Destour numbering 100,000 members joined together with the student unions and Trade Union Movement, and became a powerful force. On December 16, 1951, the national organizations sent a message of protest to the French government, and decided to go on a three-day general strike. On January 18, 1952, the Party's leader Habib Bourguiba, along with some twenty other nationalist militants, were arrested and deported to the south of the country. This gave rise to demonstrations in all the towns and villages of Tunisia. These events caused many deaths and injuries among the demonstrators. By December 1952, the head of the Trade Union Movement, Ferhat Hached, had been murdered and by 1954 the nationalist violence peaked. In March 1954, the first Tunisian freedom fighters, the fellaghas, appeared in the mountains led by laborer Lazhar Cheraiti. From early 1952 these Tunisian guerrillas enjoyed considerable popular support and conducted operations primarily in the south. Their activities consisted mainly of acts of sabotage and coercion against the French community as well as against Tunisians who sympathized with the French authorities. However, they were never able to muster a unified and cohesive force and by early 1956 most of their bands were deactivated. However, the widespread resistance across Tunisia ultimately culminated in French concessions when independence was granted to Tunisia on March 20 1956.

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UGANDA

Uganda experienced a wave of riots in the 1940s, followed by an urban political movement in the next decade. Because of the privileges the Buganda received from the British, the nationalist sentiment either praised the Bugandan nation or reflected the discrimination to the other ethnic groups. However, the economic discrimination to the petit-bourgeois groups and the workers were the real triggers for the anti-colonial sentiment in the WWII period. As a response to the austerity program introduced by the Bugandan in the 1930s, the low wages and wartime inflation, in January 1945 there were riots in several Ugandan towns. At the end of that year, the Bugandan king was assassinated. Disturbances followed during the following years. In 1952, Milton Obote founded the Uganda National Congress (UNC) with the slogan "self-government now". It was primarily supported by non-rich cash-crop-growing farmers, and led by traders, teachers, and civil servants. In 1955, the Governor Cohen threatened the existence of Uganda as a unitary state and deported the Bugandan king, the Kabaka, to Britain. This broke the alliance between the Bugandan and the British, and the Bugandan farming elite joined the UNC between 1953 and 1955. That year the Kabaka returned and the Bugandan elites left the Congress to form the organization Kabaka Yekka (KY). Meanwhile, the Uganda Peoples' Congress (UPC) was formed as successor of the UNC, representing the traders. Most of those that were not yet represented joined the Democratic Party (DP) of Benedicto Kiwanuka, which used a catholic discourse to attract the elites left out by the Protestant-dominated UPC, but ended up attracting people from inside and outside Buganda. Nevertheless, the Ugandan nationalism did not surpass ideological and regional divisions. When Uganda obtained its independence in 1962, a coalition formed by the UPC and KY the governed. (Mazrui and Wondji, 1993)

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ZAMBIA

The movement for independence in Zambia employed organized political strategy as opposed to militant action. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) began as a nationalist movement opposed to federation with what we know as Malawi and Zimbabwe under indirect British rule. Generally, UNIP employed political strategies both to gain widespread support for the independence cause and to negotiate changes to the constitution. By 1960, general opposition to federation led to the Monckton Commission, which reported that federation had not been kind to Zambians and that Constitutional changes were needed. Colonial Secretary Ian McLeod backed the recommendations of the Commission in September and subsequently conferences were held in late 1960 and 1961. Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, refused to give legislative majority to Zambians. In response, in July 1961, UNIP began a campaign of civil disobedience in the northern and eastern provinces of Zambia called the Cha cha cha campaign. Organized largely by Lewis Changufu, UNIP programming leadership, the campaign lasted until 1962 and, consisting of violence against government property rather than against European civilians, boasted few casualties. Political strategy continued as negotiations towards Zambian independence ensued, and on 23 January 1964. Zambia became an independent republic within the British Commonwealth in 1964 with UNIP the governing political party.

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ZIMBABWE

Zimbabwe followed a violent, rural-based path toward independence. To begin with, the Rhodesian Bush War (or Second Chimurenga) was a civil war in the former country of Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) fought from July 1964 to 1979. The Rhodesian government under Ian Smith and Zimbabwe-Rhodesian government under Abel Muzorewa fought against Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union

(ZANU) and Joshua Nkomo's Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) was the military wing of ZANU, a militant African nationalist organization while the Zimbabwe People's Revolution Army (ZIPRA) was the military wing of ZAPU. From 1972 onwards, ZANLA adopted Maoist guerrilla tactics that had been used with success by FRELIMO in Mozambique: infiltrating combatants into the country, politicizing the peasantry and participating in 'hit-and-run' ambush operations. The war and its subsequent settlement ultimately led to the implementation of universal suffrage, the end of the white minority ruled Rhodesia and the short-lived government of Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, which were the goals of the militant groups. Ultimately, the transfer of power to black nationalists took place not by the military take-over expected by ZAPU/ZIPRA, but by a peaceful and internationally supervised election. It also resulted in the creation of the Republic of Zimbabwe under the leadership of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

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