

**The Independence of the British
Colonies During the Era of Macmillan
(Cyprus - Nigeria - Kenya - and Sierraleone)
Model**

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Abstract:

Britain's relationship with African colonies dates back to the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese had a monopoly on the slave trade, which was considered a strong support for the success of agricultural exploitation, as well as to the gold trade that Africa was famous for, ivory, palm oil and other African products. The British began arriving on the shores of Africa and then to establishing its colonies within the African continent.

The reason for their orientation was the elimination of the slave trade and compensation for their loss to the American markets after the American War of Independence. The economic factor was the reason for their orientation in the first place, but after the Second World War, despite the victory of Britain, it came out economically exhausted, and these colonies began to constitute an economic burden more than their benefit to Britain. So, Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, decided after the Winds of Change speech in 1960 to grant these colonies independence while making political efforts to prevent military confrontations with the colonists.

Keywords: Britain, decolonization, Macmillan and Winds of Change.

Introduction:

The issue of decolonization was one of the most important issues that Macmillan faced in his second cabinet from 1959-1963, so the first thing he did was to form the Colonial Policy Committee in order to prepare

reports on the profits and losses of African colonial companies. He appointed Ian Macleod as Secretary of the Colonies. He had a role in the process of decolonization. The topic of research is identified with the reasons for the change in Macmillan's colonial policy and his orientation to Africa and his speech 'The Winds of Change' in 1960.

It is the first step to start the process of decolonization. The importance of research lies in Macmillan's knowledge of the internal and international conditions of Britain, and accordingly he decided to grant independence. The reason for choosing the topic of research is to shed light on the African colonies that Macmillan granted independence. Through the research, historical events were traced chronologically as a sequence, so through the research topic, some questions were raised? These questions are:

- 1- What are the reasons for the change in Macmillan's colonial policy?
- 2- Why did Macmillan decide to travel to Africa?
- 3- What is the content of the speech on 'The Winds of Change'?
- 4- How did Macmillan grant independence to Cyprus?
- 5- What are the reasons for the British colonization of Nigeria and how Macmillan decided to grant them independence while giving them financial aids?
- 6- How did Macmillan face the Kenyan people's demands for independence?
- 7- How did Macmillan confront the Sierra Leonean People's Party's demands for independence?

For this reason, the research plan was put into four sections. The first topic deals with the reasons for the change in Macmillan's colonial policy and his journey to Africa. It also deals with the speech of 'The Winds of

Change'. The second topic discusses the independence of Cyprus. The third topic addresses the independence of Nigeria, Macmillan and financial aids. The fourth topic includes the independence of Kenya. The fifth topic includes the independence of Sierra Leone, then the conclusion and the margins.

The First Topic

Reasons for the Change in Macmillan's Colonial Policy

After World War II, Britain came out with neither military power nor economic capabilities to enable it to manage its African colonies. The reason for the increase in African political awareness and Britain's desire to use its colonial possessions in order to improve the economic situation and reduce its financial dependence on the United States and its fear of the growth of communism, which is easy to spread to the African continent⁽¹⁾. This would expose it to the risk of losing the production of the economically important East oil. Therefore, Macmillan had to adopt a new policy that would ensure that Africa remained loyal to the West or at least remained neutral. The main reason for the change in colonial policy is the massacre of Hila Camp and Enoch Powell's speech before the British House of Commons on May 27, 1959⁽²⁾. He accused government of evading responsibility for the massacre and was the only voice that refused to blame the camp commander who ordered the attack, stressing the responsibility of the colony chiefs.

At the same time, the colonial government in Nyasaland was practicing violence and repression and imposed a state of emergency that led to the

killing of 51 Africans and the capturing more than 1,000 without trial⁽³⁾.

All these reasons led to Britain rethinking the way of independence for its colonies while maintaining a good relationship for its economic interests in the African continent⁽⁴⁾.

Macmillan's Travel to Africa

Macmillan decided to travel by himself to the African continent to study the causes closely in order to grant them independence, so he began his tour from January 5 to February 15, 1960. His wife (Dorothy), Cabinet Secretary Sir Norman Brook, Tim Bligh, Macmillan's private secretary, John Wyndham, James Hugh Robretson, Director of the Colonial Office, and Sir David Hunt, officials from the Commonwealth and the Colonial Office were with him. The first stop was Ghana, which gained independence in 1957⁽⁵⁾. Its prime minister was Kwame Nkrumah who moved towards the establishment of a one-party state while retaining its membership in the British Commonwealth⁽⁶⁾.

He was such a strong personality that Macmillan admired him. At an official meeting held in the capital, Accra, Macmillan used the phrase "the winds of change are blowing on Africa". No one noticed it at the time, but that phrase would be the basis for granting independence to the countries of South and West Africa. After six days, Macmillan left Ghana for Nigeria, the largest country in Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and his trip ends in Cape Town⁽⁷⁾. Thus, Macmillan is the first prime minister in British history to visit Africa.

The main problem was in East and Central Africa, where a large number of European settlers lived permanently, and the goal of the Macmillan

government was to prevent these countries from following the example of South Africa. After a week, Macmillan arrived Cape Town in February 1960, he settled with Ferwerd at his official residence on the west of Shore⁽⁸⁾. He began by interviewing opposition figures in Parliament, such as Joost de Blank, Anglican Archbishop, Patrick Wolkan, Margaret Bellinger, and others.

They were non-black liberal opponents and the government did not allow the parliamentary opposition to meet Macmillan despite all its efforts⁽⁹⁾.

The South African government's actions provoked a number of demonstrations against Macmillan's presence in Africa⁽¹⁰⁾.

Macmillan discussed the issue of introducing universal suffrage, but this proposal could lead to the persecution of European settlers by the black majority⁽¹¹⁾.

During his trip, he met the leaders of the political parties and discussed with them the idea of creating a republic in South Africa in the future. The program of his trip was managed by the host country, including a tour in the town of Midulander and he met with the President of the Panchus at Turfloop University in the North of Transvaal. He met with the Prime Minister of South Africa Hendrik Verwoerd⁽¹²⁾.

Speech of 'The Winds of Change'

Macmillan had the opportunity to deliver his speech 'The Winds of Change' in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the Parliament of South Africa on February 3, 1960 in the capital, Cape Town⁽¹³⁾. His speech is considered a watershed point in his government's position on the

policy of decolonization in Africa. The main message of his speech was to acknowledge the ever-increasing rise of African nationalism. He said, "The winds of change are blowing across this continent, whether you like it or not⁽¹⁴⁾."

The aim of the speech was to distance Britain from the policy of apartheid and the racism associated with it, although Macmillan addressed primarily non-black South Africans, not only the British but the international audience as well⁽¹⁵⁾.

The United States was the biggest critic of British colonialism, and the speech was also directed at whites in Central and East Africa and the newly independent countries, who viewed apartheid as a symbol of colonialism⁽¹⁶⁾.

Macmillan began his speech by expressing his happiness to be in Africa and said, "It is a great honor to be invited to address the members of Parliament in the Union of South Africa, and it is a privilege to do so in 1960, half a century after the birth of the Parliament of the Union⁽¹⁷⁾." He explained that he was grateful to Prime Minister 'Henrik Verwerdd' in particular to invite him to visit his country, especially that he is the first British Prime Minister to visit the African continent⁽¹⁸⁾. During the period of his short visit, he was able to get an idea of the beauty of the countryside and its farms and its clear skies. He also saw some prosperous cities and thanked them for their kind reception which was on good friendship and affection not only to him and his staff but to all the British people⁽¹⁹⁾.

Then he spoke about awakening national consciousness in Africa and that the European settlers were the first to establish their new state in Africa, so this political reality must be accepted, otherwise the balance of East and West will be exposed to the danger of world peace⁽²⁰⁾.

From Macmillan's perspective, the world is divided into three parts: first, the Western forces in South Africa, and Britain belongs to this group, which is known in Europe and the United States as the "other world."⁽²¹⁾ "

Secondly, the communist world, which includes Russia and its satellites in Europe and China, and thirdly, non-aligned countries, meaning neither communism nor Western ideas⁽²²⁾.

Macmillan refused to boycott the markets of South Africa, as he praised their importance for the export of its goods to Europe, and realized his fear of increasing unemployment in Britain. Macmillan's view of giving independence was to benefit, meaning that if the costs of acquiring a particular country exceed the benefits, it must be independent. This was Macmillan's rule for giving the independence for some countries⁽²³⁾.

After Macmillan's speech, a reaction was expected from the other side, as South African Prime Minister Henrik Verwerdd thanked Macmillan for his remarks on the importance of the Union of South Africa. His style was meticulous and he emphasized that the trend in Africa was to become an independent country and to seek justice for all, not just for blacks but also to the white men in Africa who call themselves Europeans, but in fact they represent the white men in Africa who brought civilization, development, education and industrial development without which there is no development for African nationalism⁽²⁴⁾.

Macmillan's speech led to powerful events in South Africa. On March 21, 1960, there was a massacre of 6000 thousands of black residents in a protest outside the Sharpegel police station, killing 69 protesters and wounding 180 others. Similar demonstrations also took place in different parts of the country that led the government to declare a state of emergency and martial law and the African National Congress (ANC) was banned⁽²⁵⁾.

Events intensified when David Pratt, a British farmer, attempted on April 9, 1960, to kill Ferrerward. The reaction of members of the Conservative Party to Macmillan's speech was different, as Lord Kilmoire who is one of the members of the Cabinet said, "The whole of the speech concerns on the subject of decolonization, which had many consequences including the deterioration of the relationship between the settlers and the British government⁽²⁶⁾.

In describing the speech, Lord Epgrimont, Macmillan's private secretary, said, "It is a diagnosis of the current situation, and that Macmillan did not bring anything new, and that this speech is similar to a speech he gave three years ago in Bedford 1957, whose expression was different, but the ideas are identical, as in both speeches he talks about nationalism which has become a wave rising from Asia to Africa⁽²⁷⁾.

In the same year, Macmillan visited Africa and three countries gained their independence from Britain, and these countries are Cyprus, Nigeria in West Africa and Kenya⁽²⁸⁾. The speech of 'The Winds of Change' had accelerated the independence process, which was the result of long negotiations between the British government and the local figures of each country⁽²⁹⁾.

The Second Topic: the Independence of Cyprus

The island of Cyprus is located in the Mediterranean Sea. With its location, it is considered the third largest island after Sicily and Sardinia. It has an area of 9251 square kilometers and borders with Greece to the southeast, Turkey to the south, Lebanon to the west and Egypt to the north, thus it is adjacent to three continents which are Asia Africa and Europe.⁽³⁰⁾ Cyprus has been under British rule since 1878 under the Cyprus Agreement signed on June 4, which stated that military assistance to the Ottoman Empire in its war with Russia must be provided in return for Britain's administration of the island⁽³¹⁾.

Britain's interest in Cyprus was due to two main reasons, firstly, to protect the region from Russian expansions that were trying to control the Ottoman Empire. Secondly⁽³²⁾, the island's location represented a strategic base and a point of contact for monitoring its colonies in Suez, India and the Far East. As a result of the Ottoman Empire's entry into World War I in 1914 alongside Germany officially announced the annexation of Cyprus⁽³³⁾.

In 1915, Britain offered Greece to give it Cyprus in exchange for their participation in the war on the side of the allies, but Greece refused to do so. Under the Treaty of Lausanne 1923⁽³⁴⁾. The Ottoman Empire ceded Cyprus to Britain and in 1925 Britain announced that Cyprus had become a British colony. Because of the colonial policy in imposing its control on Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots established the Ethniki Organosis Kypriakou Agonos (EOKA) in 1955 under the leadership of George Griffis, who carried out violent attacks against the British and also the Turkish Cypriots, which led to the outbreak of a civil war. The war between the EOKA and

the British took the form of a guerrilla war. Britain arrested Makarios III (and exiled him to the island of Seychelles) in the Indian Ocean⁽³⁵⁾.

However, the revolution increased, forcing the British authorities to release him. After the release of Makarios III and the cessation of the civil war, Macmillan proposed on June 16, 1958 a plan for peace in Cyprus known as Macmillan's Plan⁽³⁶⁾. It stated that there was a partnership between the Greek and Cypriot societies for Britain to participate in the administration of Colonial affairs for seven years and announced on June 19 the program of the plan, which consisted of four objectives⁽³⁷⁾:

- 1- Achieving equality between the Greek and Turkish societies.
- 2- Taking into account the interests of the island's residents.
- 3- Protecting British military bases to enable the United Kingdom to manage its international obligations.
- 4- Enhancing security and peace between the Kingdom and its allies.

However, the Greek side rejected this plan because they do not want any cooperation with the Turkish side, which represents a minority, which led to the escalation of tensions between the two countries and a solution had to be found⁽³⁸⁾. Therefore, Greece raised the issue to the United Nations in order to find a solution to create an independent Cyprus. Therefore, the London-Zurich Agreements were concluded on February 11, 1959 in Zurich between Turkey, Greece. and Britain⁽³⁹⁾.

At the end of the meeting, they reached several decisions for the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, including the division of administrative and governmental functions between the Greek Cypriots

and the Turkish Cypriots, and that Britain would maintain its military bases in Akroteri and Dhekelia.

They also signed a guarantee agreement granting the guarantors Britain - Greece - Turkey the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the island and the treaty of alliance which allows the stationing of Greek and Turkish forces on the island in order to cooperate against the communist threat⁽⁴⁰⁾.

On February 19 in London, the three countries agreed to the Zurich Agreement, and Cyprus would become independent, governed by a joint administration, whose president would be a Greek-Cypriot and his deputy a Turkish-Cypriot⁽⁴¹⁾.

The Council of Ministers is composed of seven Greek and three Turkish ministers appointed by the President and Vice President⁽⁴²⁾. The Legislative Council consists of 70% elected by Greece and 30% by Turkish Cypriots elected by the Turkish Cypriots and the Supreme Court consisted of judges from both communities equally⁽⁴³⁾. The armed forces numbered 2,600 men, divided by 40% Turkish Cypriots and 60% Greek Cypriots. The Zurich Agreement also included the approval of the treaties of guarantee and alliance.

The situation in Cyprus continued until August 16, 1960 when Cyprus officially became independent. Makarios III became the President of the Republic, and the Turkish Cypriot leader Fadel Kocek his deputy. Cyprus became a member of the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the Commonwealth, and a member of the Non-Aligned Movement⁽⁴⁴⁾. The

independent Republic of Cyprus relied on The terms of the Zurich Agreement and thus Cyprus became independent after 82 years⁽⁴⁵⁾.

The Third Topic: Nigeria's Independence

Nigeria is located in West Africa and is the largest country in terms of population. It is bordered to the north by Niger and Chad, to the west by Benin and to the east by Cameroon. Its coast is located on the Gulf of Guinea, located between longitudes 3, 15°E and 4.14°N latitude, with an area of 923,768 km²⁽⁴⁶⁾. Nigeria is the largest African country in terms of population and it is difficult to define a single Nigerian culture as it is home to more than 200 ethnic tribes, but there are three main tribes that make up the majority of the population: Al -Hausa, who live in northern Nigeria, and make up 21%, the Al-Igbo tribe, who make up 17%, who live in southeastern Nigeria, and Al- Yoruba, who make up 20% and live in southwestern Nigeria⁽⁴⁷⁾. Muslims constitute half of the population and are concentrated in the north, and the other half represent Christians and other religions⁽⁴⁸⁾.

Reasons for the British Colonization of Nigeria

The main reason for Britain's occupation of Nigeria and making it a British colony was the economic motive, especially after the weakening of the power of the Portuguese, who had a monopoly on the slave trade, gold, palm oil and other resources⁽⁴⁹⁾. The British colonization of Nigeria began in 1861 when the port of Lagos became a British colony and the colonial administration began after The Berlin Conference of 1884, as Britain acquired Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast according to the conference. Britain divided Nigeria into the crown colony (Lagos), which

was directly affiliated to it and the protectorate that it controlled by signing treaties with the inhabitants of the region.

The reason for Britain's tendency to colonize Nigeria was the economic motive in order to monopolize the slave trade, which was considered a key factor in the success of American agriculture, and also because of the availability of gold, palm oil and other resources for which Africa is famous. Britain justified colonialism in order to defend their economy, but after the development of agriculture in America, Britain canceled the slave trade in 1807 on the pretext that it is contrary to human morals. After the abolition of the slave trade, the British worked to capture any ship loaded with slaves, release them, convert them to Christians and return them to Nigeria in order to spread Christianity, and for that a Methodist missionary association was established in 1842.

After their annexation of the port of Lagos, the activity of English missionaries and merchants expanded⁽⁵⁰⁾. The colonists persuaded the lords of the northern tribes to accept British protection, and in 1900 declared the protectorate of Northern Nigeria, led by Sir Frederic Lugard⁽⁵¹⁾. Lugard sent campaigns against the Fulapin princes who refused to sign agreements with him and in 1903 the occupation of Bokoto and in 1906 they established the protectorate of southern Nigeria, including the colony of Lagos⁽⁵²⁾.

In 1914, Lugard was able to merge the North and South Protectorate to become the colony and protectorate of Nigeria⁽⁵³⁾. He became the first British ruler of it. Britain followed the indirect system of government by appointing leaders and chiefs of Nigerian tribes. Lugard saw by following

this system that the colonial state had a responsibility towards the colonial peoples, and this system made Africans protect themselves through their leaders, but the Islamic Emirates in the north remained without any change in order to maintain peaceful relations with the Muslims, whose presence was limited to the northern regions⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Therefore, it worked to reduce the work of Christian missionaries in the southern regions. When the First World War broke out in 1914, Nigeria participated in the war because of its location adjacent to the German colony of Cameroon⁽⁵⁵⁾. The attack on Germany resulted in the British forces taking control of the western parts of Cameroon under the guardianship of the League of Nations, and then Nigeria took over the administration as part of its territory. After the war, the national awareness of the population increased, which appeared in the form of national conferences and movements, so the National Congress of British West Africa appeared in 1920, which had branches in all West African countries⁽⁵⁶⁾.

The Nigerian youth movement in 1934 led by Herbert Macaulau whose actions were limited to internal issues such as the inclusion of education, civil services and employee wages and continued until World War II⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Benjamin Namdi Ezekwe founded the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon) in 1944 and Namdi became head of the party⁽⁵⁸⁾.

The party's goal was to achieve national unity and eliminate British colonialism, and this council was supported by the Laigo tribe. This led to its failure and loss of support for the Yoruba tribe, which in turn established its own party, the Northern People's Congress, headed by Abu Bakr

Tafawa Balewa and this period continued with the emergence of parties in order to get rid of colonialism⁽⁵⁹⁾.

The emergence of parties led to a dispute between these parties and the tribes supporting them, which affected the process of decolonization⁽⁶⁰⁾.

Because of the competition between political parties, Britain followed the policy of enacting constitutions. During the period from 1946 to 1954, it issued three constitutions that played a role in Nigeria's attainment of internal independence, especially the Littleton Constitution. Which was issued in 1954 and provided for the establishment of a federation of three regions, north, southeast, southwest, and the Lagos region⁽⁶¹⁾. It led to the establishment of executive councils for each region and the establishment of a cabinet in each region⁽⁶²⁾.

However, this matter did not prevent tensions between the regions, which prompted Britain to hold a conference in London in 1957 in order to grant them self-government. On August 8, the western and eastern regions obtained self-government and the northern regions in 1959⁽⁶³⁾.

Nigeria did not gain full independence until 1960, after Macmillan's visit from January 11-17, 1960. Upon his arrival, he was well received by the people of Lagos, its Prime Minister Abu Bakr, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Army, Major General N.L Foster. On January 12, a meeting was held on the financial and economic aid that the Macmillan government will grant to the independent state of Nigeria⁽⁶⁴⁾. Abu Bakr asked the British government for their independence on 1 October 1960 and the possibility of them obtaining membership in the Commonwealth, and Macmillan pledged to consider their demands⁽⁶⁵⁾.

- Macmillan and Financial Aid.

The Nigerian Minister of Finance requested a financial grant of 15 million pounds for the development of state resources, especially that Nigeria is a large country. Macmillan promised him to consider his request. In a meeting on January 15, 1960, which was held in the city of Enugu, which discussed issues of economic development in the eastern region, the Prime Minister of eastern Nigeria, Michael Okpara, was grateful to Macmillan for a £3m loan and the promise of £12m later to be spent on the region⁽⁶⁶⁾.

He suggested that the Colonial Development Corporation establish farms in partnership with the Eastern District Development Corporation. Macmillan responded because his government would communicate with the Government of Nigeria on financial matters through various channels and the Commonwealth Relations Office would take charge of liaising with the Federal Government of Nigeria⁽⁶⁷⁾. Macmillan recognized Nigeria's need for economic assistance and was making What he can do to continue the aid in order to build the country's economy⁽⁶⁸⁾.

Macmillan went to northern Nigeria to hold a meeting with the Executive Council of the region and arrived on Saturday 16 January 1960. The meeting was held in Codonna and he discussed with the Minister of Finance the issues of economic development in northern Nigeria. The Minister emphasized that animal husbandry and agriculture are the back⁽⁶⁹⁾bone of the economy and that a large part from state revenues from agricultural and animal products. It is difficult for the regional government to plan in advance because revenue prices were subject to fluctuations in global market prices⁽⁷⁰⁾.

As the regional government did not receive responsibility for the financial affairs of the region until 1951, which suffered from neglect by the central government. In 1954, the northern region began drawing up an economic development program that was scheduled to end in March 1960, which cost 26 million pounds⁽⁷¹⁾.

He asked Macmillan free grants for the economy of the region with a population of 20 million people, for the period after independence until 1961 with the provision of relevant experts and technicians in order to study the situation after independence. Macmillan pledged that his government would study the possibility of ensuring the continuation of capital investment in Nigeria after independence⁽⁷²⁾.

After settling all financial and economic matters, Nigeria officially gained independence on October 1, 1960. It became a republic with a federal constitution, and the country was divided into four regions: the North, the South, the West, and the East⁽⁷³⁾.

The Fourth Topic, the Independence of Kenya

Kenya is located in East Africa on the coast of the Indian Ocean and is bordered by five countries, Tanzania to the south, Uganda to the west, Sudan and Ethiopia to the north and Somalia to the northwest. The main reason for British colonialism was the fertile lands it enjoyed, its location on the trade routes and for the control of raw materials such as gold and diamonds⁽⁷⁴⁾.

British colonialism began disguised as the establishment of the British East Africa Company in 1890, which signed with the Sultan of Zanzibar Ali bin Saeed AL Busaidi, the legitimate sovereign over East Africa, a treaty

stipulating hiring of the coast of Kenya in exchange for Britain paying 20% of the company's profits⁽⁷⁵⁾.

The company's apparent objective was to promote trade that would improve the material condition of the indigenous people and suppress the slave trade, but the real objective was settlement, commercial expansion and the construction of the railway extending from the Kenyan coast to Uganda which later began from the deep-water port of Mombasa in 1895 and ended in 1901 when it reached the village of Kisumu on Lake Victoria⁽⁷⁶⁾.

But in the year 1892, the company became unable to manage the areas of British influence in East Africa, due to its failure to provide funds through internal trade⁽⁷⁷⁾. In 1893, the British government bought the company's rights and properties in East Africa and Uganda. In 1893, the protection of Uganda was declared, and in 1895, the company declared Protection over Kenya in the name of the British East Africa Protectorate (BEA)⁽⁷⁸⁾.

After the completion of the railway, which was designed to protect the sources of the Mombasa River in Uganda, Britain began to expand and settle in Kenya. White settlers began to come to Kenya in the year 1903, and took over the fertile lands, which led to protests by the indigenous people, especially the Massai and Kikuyu tribes. Britain used the most horrific means of violence against them to quell their opposition and worked to displace them from their fertile lands and leave them to the whites⁽⁷⁹⁾.

During the period (1904-1911) Britain worked to force the tribes to sign treaties that included leaving their lands and granting them to white settlers. In 1915, Britain announced that 20% of the best lands in Kenya were the property of the British Crown allocated to white immigrants and the colonial administration forced African to serve the colonists 'The whites' by imposing taxes as a means to force them to work at lower wages. Britain continued its policy towards the Kenyan people until the establishment of the colony of Kenya was announced on June 2, 1920. Kenya became a colony of the British Crown. As for the lands that were leased from the former Sultan of Zanzibar, it was called the Kenya Protectorate⁽⁸⁰⁾.

Despite the arbitrary colonial policy towards the Kenyan people, they did not stop the struggle against the British colonialists for the liberation of their country. In 1921, the first political organization appeared in Kenya, led by Harry Thoko, known as the East African Association⁽⁸¹⁾. Their demands were to reduce taxes and improve the wages of workers and the provision of education, but their activity angered the colonial authorities, who rushed to put down their movement and arrest and exile its founder on March 14, 1922.

In front of that, protest demonstrations took place that led to clashes between the two parties and the killing of 25 Africans⁽⁸²⁾. No charges were brought against Thoko, who was released in 1930. The emergence of anti-colonial movements and associations continued until Jomo Kenyatta appeared, to whom he is credited with His country's attainment of independence. The first act he did was to join in the year 1946 the Kenya African Union, which was established since 1944 and is considered the

first African organization expressly about their attainment of independence⁽⁸³⁾.

In the year 1947, Jomo became the president of the federation, and the activity of the federation extended to the various regions of Kenya⁽⁸⁴⁾. Their goals were clear: ending all privileges granted to the colonists, stopping white ownership of arable lands, expanding county councils with the possibility of implementing self-government and increasing representation in the Legislative Council, as in the year 1944 there was only a member representing Africans⁽⁸⁵⁾. They demanded attention to agriculture and an improvement in the situation of work and farmers

However, the British did not pay any attention to their demands, so in 1948, the Mau Mau movement appeared for the first time, a secret revolutionary organization led by Kimathi, which aroused terror in the hearts of the colonists. Its name indicated chaos and evidence of the armed struggle against British violence⁽⁸⁶⁾. The movement also sought economic liberation from all manifestations of colonial exploitation and was also known as the Kenya Army for Land and Freedom⁽⁸⁷⁾. They tried to obtain their demands by peaceful means, but the colonial authorities used violence against them, so the Mau Mau responded by declaring a general strike in 1950 and banning the Trade Union Congress Party Eastern Africa. In response, Governor-General Evelyn Baring declared on October 20, 1952 a state of emergency which prevented political activity and began a campaign of arrests. 180 political leaders were arrested and African newspapers were banned⁽⁸⁸⁾. However, these measures did not dampen the movement because it resumed its activity in 1953 through guerrilla warfare led by the

African army that was stationed in the forests of Mount Kenya. The Mau Mau relied on swearing between their fighters in order to strengthen their force⁽⁸⁹⁾. Their movement consisted of the right wing, on which it relied to obtain supplies from the white areas.

In response, the colonial authorities expelled the Kikuyu residents and isolated them in protected villages under their control. Their goal was to deprive the gangsters of access to information and food, and they looted their homes and farms. The number of executions and arrests they carried out from 1952 - 1956 was estimated at 11,503 from the Mau Mau. In return, the Mau Mau killed only 63 Europeans, but these measures did not stop the movement that forced the British to change their policy by issuing the 1954 Littleton Constitution, which allowed them the right to vote and the right to be represented in the Legislative Council, and Britain aimed from that to quell the movement⁽⁹⁰⁾.

Indeed, it was able to put down the peasant movement in 1956 after the execution of one of its leaders, Kimathi, on November 26, 1956. Despite the successful calm after the promulgation of the Littleton Constitution, the Kenyan problem persisted, especially after the Hola camp massacre in 1959 and during the second Macmillan government that led to British public dissatisfaction with it.

MacMillan appointed Ian MacLeod as Minister of the Colonies, and he aimed to change colonial policy. MacLeod closed all the camps in Kenya in order to avoid any further massacre, and then Macmillan went to Africa and delivered his speech 'The Winds of Change' that granted Kenya

autonomy in preparation for the independence that it obtained on December 12 ,1963 in the third Kenyan constitutional conference in London after Macmillan resigned from his position to be replaced by Alex Douglas. Kenya became an independent state headed by Jomo Kenyatta.

Fifth Topic: The Independence of Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone is located in West Africa and the beginning of the British presence in it is linked to the abolition of execution that began in 1787 when three ships carrying 459 passengers of free slaves arrived in Freetown, the current capital of Sierra Leone until it became the British crown colony in the year 1808. Britain wanted to control the interior, so in 1896 it annexed all these areas and declared the protectorate of Sierra Leone.

The country was administered by indirect rule until 1954, when the 1951 constitution was adopted, which led to the political merging of the protectorate and the colony. The Sierra Leone People's Party, which was founded in the same year, played a major role in independence. The party is represented by the intelligentsia and tribal chiefs who rejected the idea of colonialism. Milton Margai became president of the party and the party did not demand complete independence in the administration of the state. The first elections for the Legislative Council were linked to the promulgation of the 1951 Constitution. However, the elections were not general, as the right to vote is still restricted. The victory still belongs to the People's Party, which formed a government with the participation of Africans and workers' parties in order to increase their wages and make it

a motivation for national liberation. In February 1955, a strike broke out in Freetown led by Grant Marcos, the general secretary of the trade union⁽⁹¹⁾. The strike was accompanied by riots and looting. Two days later the strike was suppressed and 18 people were killed, including a British officer. Protests due to the rise in prices in Sierra Leone continued until 1957 when the People's Party won the general elections and Milton became Prime Minister. At this time, Macmillan accelerated the issue of negotiation for independence by signing a military treaty. Milton was able to get a seat at the London Constitutional Conference signed in April and May 1960, as an agreement was reached that would grant it independence in a period not exceeding April 27, 1961⁽⁹²⁾.

However, attorney Stevens representing the National Progressive Party rejected this agreement and separated from the People's Party. After the declaration of independence on April 27, 1961, a state of emergency was declared in the country and the new state announced the policy of open door to foreign capital. This policy means that the state receives financial and economic aid for the development of the country, because any newly independent country has weak resources, so the Minister of Finance in Sierra Leone, Mohamed Sanusi Mustafa, asked Macmillan to give them financial aid estimated at 3 million pounds annually, in the form of free grants.

and £3.5 million in aid loans from the Commonwealth, and Macmillan agreed to give them aid for capital development for the first four years 1961-1965.

After discussions, Macmillan decided to give them an additional grant of 3 million pounds to cover the costs of expatriate officers and for military purposes in order to keep Sierra Leone with their services. These grants helped to avoid the financial collapse of the government⁽⁹³⁾.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the foregoing that British colonialism had an economic goal, and when the international situation deteriorated after World War II, which affected the economy of all countries, especially Britain, it began to adopt a new policy in order to advance the country's economy.

So Macmillan adopted this policy by saying his speech 'The Winds of Change' and followed a policy of granting independence with the signing of financial treaties in order to provide some benefits to his government and to ensure that no military confrontations occur between the population.

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