History and Citizenship

Learner's Book
Senior 3

FOREWORD

Dear Student,

Rwanda Basic Education Board is honoured to present to you History and Citizenship book for Senior Three which serves as a guide to competence-based teaching and learning to ensure consistency and coherence in the learning of History and Citizenship subject. The Rwandan educational philosophy is to ensure that you achieve full potential at every level of education which will prepare you to be well integrated in society and exploit employment opportunities.

The government of Rwanda emphasizes the importance of aligning teaching and learning materials with the syllabus to facilitate your learning process. Many factors influence what you learn, how well you learn and the competences you acquire. Those factors include quality instructional materials available, assessment strategies for the learners among others. Special attention was paid to activities that facilitate learning process develop your ideas and make new discoveries during concrete activities carried out individually or with peers.

In competence-based curriculum, learning is considered as a process of active building and developing knowledge and meanings by the learner where concepts are mainly introduced by an activity, a situation or a scenario that helps the learner to construct knowledge, develop skills and acquire positive attitudes and values. For effective use of this textbook, your role is to:

- Work on given activities which lead to the development of skills

- Share relevant information with other learners through presentations, discussions, group work and other active learning techniques such as role play, case studies, investigation and research in the library, from the internet or from your community;

- Participate and take responsibility for your own learning;

- Draw conclusions based on the findings from the learning activities.

To facilitate you in doing activities, the content of this book is self-explanatory so that you can easily use it by yourself, acquire and assess your competences. The book is made of units whereby each unit comprises: the key unit competence, followed by the introductory activity before the development of History and Citizenship concepts that are connected to real world situation.

I wish to sincerely extend my appreciation to REB staff who organized the editing process of this textbook. Special gratitude also goes to lecturers, teachers, illustrators and designers who supported the exercise throughout. Any comment or contribution would be welcome to the improvement of this textbook for the next edition.

Dr. MBARUSHIMANA Nelson

Director General, REB

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to express my appreciation to all the people who played a major role in editing process of this History and Citizenship book for Senior Three. It would not have been successful without their active participation.

Special thanks are given to those who gave their time to read and refine this textbook to meet the needs of competence based curriculum. I owe gratitude to different Universities and schools in Rwanda that allowed their staff to work with REB to edit this book. I therefore, wish to extend my sincere gratitude to lecturers, teachers, illustrators, designers and all other individuals whose efforts in one way or the other contributed to the success of this edition.

Finally, my word of gratitude goes to the Rwanda Education Board staff particularly those from Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Resources Department who were involved in the whole process of editorial work.

Joan Murungi,

Head of CTLRD

Contents

Introduction

Changes in schools

This textbook is part of the reform of the school curriculum in Rwanda. It brings change in what is taught. It is hoped this will make what you learn in school useful to you when you leave school, whatever you do then.

In the past, the main matter in schooling was to learn knowledge –that is, facts and ideas about each subject. Now, the main aim is that you should be able to **use** the knowledge you learn by developing **skills** and **competencies**. These skills or competencies include the ability to think for yourself, to be able to communicate with others and explain what you have learnt, and to be creative, that is, developing your own ideas, not just following those of the teacher and the textbook. You should also be able to find out information and ideas for yourself, rather than just relying on what the teacher or textbook tells you.

Activity-based learning

This means that this book has a variety of **activities** for you to do, as well as information for you to read. These activities present you with material or things to do which will help you to learn things and find out things for yourself. You already have a lot of knowledge and ideas based on the personal experiences you have had and your life within your own community. Some of the activities, therefore, ask you to think about the knowledge and ideas you already have.

In using this book, therefore, it is essential that you **do all the activities.** You will not learn properly unless you do these activities**.** They are the most important part of the book.

In some ways, this makes learning more of a challenge. It is more difficult to think for yourself than to copy what the teacher tells you. But if you take up this challenge you will become a better person and more successful in your life, as well as passing examinations better.

Group work

You can also learn a lot from other people in your class. If you have a problem, it can often be solved by discussing it with others. Many of the activities in the book, therefore, involve discussion or other activities in groups or pairs. Your teacher will help to organise these groups and may arrange the classroom so you are always sitting in groups facing each other. You cannot discuss properly unless you are facing each other.

Research

One of the objectives of the new curriculum is to help you find things out for yourself. Some activities, therefore, ask you to do research using books in the library, the internet if your school has this, or other sources such as newspapers and magazines. This means you will develop the skills of learning for yourself when you leave school. Your teacher will help you if your school does not have a good library or internet.

Icons

To guide you, each activity in the book is marked by a symbol or icon to show you what kind of activity it is. The icons are as follows:

Thinking Activity

Thinking Activity icon
This indicates thinking for yourself or in groups. You are expected to use your own knowledge or experience, or think about what you read in the book, and answer questions for yourself.

Activity

Practical Activity icon
The hand indicates a practical activity, such as a role play on resolving a conflict, taking part in a debate or following instructions on a map. These activities will help you to learn practical skills which you can use when you leave school.

Writing/Research Activity

Writing Activity icon
Some activities require you to write in your exercise book or elsewhere.

Fieldwork Activity

Fieldwork Activity icon
Fieldwork means learning outside the classroom either in the school compound, the local area or in the learner's home area. It is suitable since it engages the learners and makes them involved in the learning process. Fieldwork can be used in all subjects.

Discussion/Vocabulary Reading

Discussion Activity icon
Some activities require you to discuss an issue with a partner or as part of a group. It is similar to group work, but usually does not require any writing, although some short notes can be written for remembrance.

Computer/Internet Activity icon

Some activities require you to use a computer in your computer laboratory or elsewhere.

Computer/Internet Activity

Pairing Activity icon

This means you are required to do the activities in pairs and exchange ideas.

Pair Activity

Listening Activity icon

The listening activity requires learners to carefully listen to the teacher or fellow learner reading a passage, poem or extract on the subject and then answer the questions.

Listening Activity

Observation Activity icon

Learners are expected to observe and write down the results from activities including experiments or social settings overtime.

Observation Activity

Good luck in using the book!

Unit 1

Independent Rwanda

Key unit competence

Explain the political, economic and socio-cultural changes in the First and Second Republic and the causes, the course and the consequences of the Liberation War in Rwanda (1990–1994)

Introductory activity:

Do research using the internet and library to answer the following: Describe the political situation of Rwanda at the time of its independence

Introduction

After recovering its independence, Rwanda was ruled by Grégoire Kayibanda who was the President of the First Republic (1961–1973) and Major General Juvénal Habyarimana who led the Second Republic (1973–1994). The two republics were characterised by "ethnic" and regional divisions which compromised the development of Rwanda and led to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. However, in the social and economic fields, the two regimes made some achievements with support from the western countries especially the colonial master Belgium, and later France.

These achievements include the building of some infrastructure such as Kanombe Airport and Butare University during the First Republic, and Amahoro Stadium, King Faisal Hospital and the construction of some roads during the Second Republic. Their poor governance provoked the Liberation War which occurred in 1990 and lasted 4 years. The major cause of the Liberation War was

the refusal to allow the return of Rwandan refugees scattered in neighbouring countries — Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, Zaïre (now Democratic Republic of Congo), Kenya, and in other parts of the world. This war ended in 1994 when Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) stopped the genocide against the Tutsi.

1.1. Major Changes During the First and Second Republics

The First Republic (1962–1973): Just after independence

At independence, Grégoire Kayibanda forced his way into political prominence and he was more than willing to use "ethnic identities" to access power and sow divisions to maintain his rule. Independence was recovered on July 1, 1962 and Rwanda had not a constitution for the first time.

The final text of the constitution was signed on November 24th, 1961 by 40 deputies. Before that, Kayibanda had prepared a document to be used as a constitution during the "**Coup d'état** of Gitarama" of 28/1/1961 by PARMEHUTU leaders. This constitution was a pure copy of the constitution of Belgium Kingdom. But this text was never published in the Official Gazette of Ruanda-Urundi. Moreover, the colonial authority continued thereafter to dictate laws to the new authorities.

Rwanda also had a government led by a President of the Republic and a Parliament. According to the constitution, the power of the government was vested in the President of the Republic, who was at the same time Head of State.

The Parliament supervised the actions of the executive. Under the 1st Republic, three legislatures were elected respectively in 1961, 1965 and 1969 until the dissolution of Parliament following the July 5th, 1973 **Coup d'état**.

From Multipartism to de facto single-party system

The 1962 constitution devoted its article 10 to the multiparty system. However, the ruling party MDR PARMEHUTU turned itself into a "State Party".

In order to become a single party, MDR-PARMEHUTU started eliminating other opposition political parties using diverse mechanisms including intimidation, arbitrary arrests, physical violence and at times, but not often, negotiations.

Hence, after attracting some opposition leaders for instance Amandin Rugira from APROSOMA within its ranks and having killed others like Michel Rwagasana, Joseph Rutsindintwarane, Etienne Afrika, Burabyo Denis, Gisimba, Ndahiro, Mpiranyi from UNAR and Lazare Ndazaro, Prosper Bwanakweli and Callixte Kalinda from RADER, MDR-PARMEHUTU transformed itself into a single political party. After eliminating and assimilating other political parties in 1965, it was the only party which presented candidates for presidential and legislative elections.

Grégoire Kayibanda, the President of the First Republic (1961–1973)

Source: https://www.goodreadbiography.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Gr%C3%A9goire-Gayibanda-Biography-Gr%C3%A9goire-Gayibanda-Biography-and-Profile-Rwanda-Rwanda-President-Political-Leader-Politician.jpg

Problems under the First Republic

Political problems

Refugee issue as the first challenges faced by the first Republic who had fled the country from 1959 onwards. The attitude of the government of the First Republic varied with time. In 1960, the Provisional Government had shown concern and created a State Secretariat for refugees.

Before the independence of Rwanda, the problem of refugees preoccupied the Belgian Government. The delegates of UNO were present in neighbouring countries where refugees lived According to UNAR, the Belgian Government was opposed to their repatriation. It was for this reason that Colonel Logiest, the Special Resident of Rwanda, launched campaigns for the repatriation of displaced Rwandans.

The returnees could not be given back their properties. These had been illegally seized by burgomasters and their relatives, or friends. Moreover, in 1966, President Kayibanda warned the refugees, prior to the repatriation, against claiming their properties. In 1975, President Habyarimana issued a law according to which properties abandoned by refugees became property of the state.

Refugees often attempted to return back to Rwanda but their number was always small due to the difficult conditions imposed on them for repatriation. The refugees found it difficult to access all the administrative documents required by the security services of the prefecture and commune. These included an identity card, and documents from the **asylum country**, and the UNHCR. These documents also comprised the report made by the préfet of the prefecture of residence of the repatriated person indicating the date of his or her departure from Rwanda, asylum countries, and family members. The returnee had no freedom of movement and to move from his or her commune to another, he or she had to be get permission from the préfet of his or her prefecture.

The conditions of the displaced Tutsi and those who remained in their former regions became worse with the Inyenzi attacks. After every "Inyenzi" attack, Tutsi would be killed and survivors sought asylum outside the country. The major attacks of Inyenzi were as follows:

- The December 21st, 1961 attack which originated from Uganda, to Kinigi and targeted individuals in Ruhengeri, Kigali and Gitarama;
- In April 1962, another attack also started from Uganda and targeted the eastern parts of the country;
- From July 3rd to 4th, 1962, an attack started from Goma and included approximately 80 to 100 "Inyenzi". Of the captured Inyenzi, four were executed in Ruhengeri prison;
- On December 21st, 1963 in Bugesera, another Inyenzi attack started from Burundi, proceeding to Kirundo and Nemba. After some successes, the "Inyenzi" were stopped and defeated by the National Guard commanded by two Belgian officers, Dubois and Florquin. After the Bugesera attacks (1963–1964), President Kayibanda, in his speech at Carrefour d'Afrique on March 18th, 1963, warned the Inyenzi that "If they try to conquer Kigali by fighting, it would be the total and quick end of the Tutsi".

- To implement Kayibanda's speech, many Tutsi, estimated between 8,000 and 10,000, were killed in Gikongoro prefecture. In the same period, Kayibanda ordered the execution of 27 leaders of UNAR and RADER who had been imprisoned in Ruhengeri prison without any form of legal procedure.
- The last main Inyenzi attacks took place in Cyangugu and Gikongoro prefectures (Bugarama in 1964, Nshili in 1966 and Bweyeye in 1966), and in Kibungo prefecture (Butama in 1966).

"Ethnicism" and regionalism

President Kayibanda's regime was based on the ideology of his political party, PARMEHUTU. Political policies and strategies that the First Republic adopted to govern and ensure security and peace in the country were guided by the same ideology. This was reflected in the tendency of the Kayibanda regime to blame the Tutsi during major crises. In otherwords, the Tutsi had become the **scapegoat** because they were killed while the killers remained unpunished.

The regime of President Kayibanda started regional rivalries within PARMEHUTU itself. PARMEHUTU members from Gitarama tended to monopolise PARMEHUTU and Government positions at the expense of other regions. For instance, in the last Government formed by President Grégoire Kayibanda in 1972, there were six out of eighteen ministers originating from Gitarama. To cover up this President Kayibanda resorted to violence against the Tutsi. Tutsi children were chased out of school, those in administrative positions were unfairly dismissed, and many were murdered.

Political crisis

MDR-PARMEHUTU internal tensions and fall

From 1963 the MDR-PARMEHUTU began to experience internal tensions. Some of these tensions concerned inter-personal rivalries and the distribution of jobs as the party organs and state structures fused. There was increasing discontent among cadres, students and individuals with primary and secondary education. For instance, at local level, burgomasters and préfets faced opposition.

In October 1968, a parliamentary commission of inquiry report on the administration of the country was rejected by the majority of Members of Parliament. This report had grave accusations against President Kayibanda himself. It accused his regime of favouritism and nepotism, intimidation, and impunity.

While debating this report, Members of Parliament were divided into two camps. Some supported the report and others opposed it. The supporters of the report were suspended from decision making organs of the party and were even prevented from contesting the legislative elections of 1969.

Another factor that contributed to the reinforcement of regional division was the constitutional amendment which was voted on May 18th, 1973 by the National Assembly. This amendment increased the duration of presidential terms of office from five to seven years, and allowed Grégoire Kayibanda to stand for a third term. Although, the National Assembly supported the amendment of the constitution, the country was already divided according to the two main regions: north and south; the former aiming at taking the power while the latter wanted to maintain it.

In addition, there was a failed coup attempted by Pierre Nyatanyi who was the chief cabinet minister of President Kayibanda and Muramutsa Joachim, commandant of the Kanombe unit. These two officers were from the north because the coup was interpreted as being coup of the north against the south. The two officers were imprisoned, only to be pardoned later by President Habyarimana when he took over power in the **coup d'état** of 1973.

In order to address discontent in political and military ranks that was linked to regionalism, President Kayibanda resorted to violence and ethnic cleansing of Tutsi. Many Tutsi were chased a way from their jobs and schools.

These purges which began in February 1973 were initially provoked by students, but also encouraged or perhaps led by the administrative and political authorities. Along with PARMEHUTU, the authorities aimed at uniting the regime by defining a common enemy. Soldiers from the north (particularly Alexis Kanyarengwe, the Chief of Police from Ruhengeri) who, in turn, wished to cause a political crisis, also targeted the Tutsi population. The purges, which initially involved the posting of lists of Tutsi students and staff, asking them to leave universities and companies, later went beyond the control of the authorities. They came to bear certain demands, both social (general resentment of the rich) and regional (opposition between the south and centre of the country on the one hand, and the north on the other).

Consequently, Grégoire Kayibanda punished several dignitaries from the north by removing them from the jobs and locations associated with power. Alexis Kanyarengwe was appointed director of the Nyundo seminary and Major Nsekalije was assigned to a tea cooperative in Byumba. All the general secretaries of the government ministries were replaced, as well as nine of the ten préfets. It seemed the division between the south and the north was firmly established.

During the months of February – March1973, purges were organised in schools, and in the public and private sectors of services against the Tutsi population (Mututsi *mvira aha*). Tutsi students designated on lists posted in all secondary schools and universities and signed 'Mouvement des Étudiants' ('Students' Movement') or 'Comité de Salut Public' ('Committee of Public Safety'), were under threat and had to flee from these institutions.

By mid-February, the movement reached the National University of Butare. It also reached private companies where employers were requested to fire their Tutsi servants. After the towns, this phenomenon reached the countryside. In the préfectures of Gitarama and Kibuye, the Tutsis' houses were burnt down and they were told to leave. Several hundred people were killed.

Several explanations have been given about the source of this turmoil. Though orders were transmitted through the administration, they may have originated from the entourage of Grégoire Kayibanda. According to other hypotheses, they may also have come from Alexis Kanyarengwe, the Chief of Police, who was from Ruhengeri.

Afterwards, the violence seemed to have become too difficult for the central authorities to control. The names of some of the ministers appeared on the lists drawn up in Kigali. In Gitarama, several rich Hutu traders' stores were attacked and looted, as well as the residences of some politicians, including that of Jean Baptiste Rwasibo. On March 22nd, Grégoire Kayibanda made a pacification speech and announced the creation of a ministerial commission in charge of inspecting schools.

The people who were involved in these acts of killing, looting, and burning houses, were not punished. This impunity degenerated into a kind of regional confrontation. The Hutu of the north started to resent and fight the Hutu of the central region who were said to be favoured by President Kayibanda. It was in that atmosphere that

Juvenal Habyarimana, at the time Minister of Defense, decided to intervene militarily. He overthrew Kayibanda in the **Coup d'état** of 5th July 1973. Kayibanda and many dignitaries of his regime were thrown into prison; they were sentenced by a court martial, some of them to a death sentence and others to long term imprisonment.

Economic problems

After the recovery of independence, Rwanda's main offices were still in Bujumbura, the colonial capital of Ruanda-Urundi. Rwanda was under equipped. There were few infrastructures in Kigali.

The country had no airport, radio, tarmac roads, telephone system, university, or any other institution of higher education. Everything had to come through Bujumbura or Belgian Congo.

In addition to the inadequate infrastructure in Rwanda, food security was also another major problem. This was due to overcultivation, high population density, and soil erosion. To solve the problem of poverty and shortage of land, the government opened up farms in the former prefectures of Gitarama, Kibungo and Rural Kigali. The government also encouraged migration from the prefectures of Ruhengeri, Byumba, Gikongoro, and especially Butare, to the new farming areas.

Rwanda lacked adequate financial resources for the economy to function properly. It had only one development partner: Belgium. This led to financial dependence on its donors in all the sectors of the economy.

Another problem was the poor functioning of the monetary and customs union between Rwanda and Burundi.

The country was going through an extremely difficult crisis including deficits in the balance of payments, because in 1962 inflation rose to 50 per cent and by 1964, inflation had risen to 300 per cent. The Rwanda franc depreciated and agricultural and mineral production declined. This created a big decline in exports, which in return led to a big gap in foreign exchange, and the failure to pay for imports.

To address this situation, Rwanda had to ask for assistance from Western countries and from international organisations such as International Monetary Fund (IMF). The donor countries were mainly Belgium and United States of America (USA). Belgium

and IMF granted Rwanda a little more in terms of loans and USA donated food and some money to buy equipment.

Besides external assistance, the government adopted other measures to get the country out of the crisis. It took political measures which saw the government reduce expenses of all ministries, including funds **allocated** to education. Another proposed solution was the "First five year economic development plan of 1966–1971". Its objective was based on an analysis of economic and social conditions and problems that Rwanda had to face in order to sustain its economic development.

Achievements of the First Republic

Despite the problems faced by the country and political mismanagement under the First Republic, the country made the following achievements in the economic, education and health sectors.

Economy

Some financial institutions like banks were opened and they provided financial support to a few factories and industrial companies. The National Bank was established in January 1964, the Banque Commerciale du Rwanda in 1965, and the Banque Rwandaise de Développement in 1968.

It should be noted that in the **framework** of the Five Year Development Plan (1966–1971) it was proposed to **tarmack** all the road axes linking the country to her neighbours. In order of priority the following roads were to be **tarmacked**: Kigali–Gatuna, Kigali–Butare, Kigali–Rusumo, and Kigali–Cyanika. Besides, the construction of Kanombe airport opened the country to the outside world.

But by the end of the 1st Republic in 1973, only the Kigali–Gatuna road had been started in 1971, and it was completed in 1977. Also constructed was the Rusumo Bridge at the Akagera River linking Rwanda and Tanzania, and the bridge on river Nyabarongo (1968–1969).

With regards to rural development, some marshlands were **reclaimed** in order to improve agricultural production. ISAR (Institut

des Sciences Agronomiques du Rwanda) located at Rubona improved seeds and plants and distributed them in some parts of the country. New crops like rice were introduced.

Education

The 1st Republic made a lot of effort to provide free primary education. At independence, Rwanda had few secondary schools including Ecole Officielle d'Astrida in the former province of Butare, Ecole Technique Officielle Kicukiro in Kigali, Collège Saint André in Kigali, Collège du Christ Roi at Nyanza and Seminaries at Kabgayi, Nyundo, Rwesero and Kansi.

In 1962, there were 23 secondary schools which increased to 63 in 1972. In 1962, the budget **allocated** to education was 162,204,000 Rwf. This envelope increased to 563,194,000 Rwf in 1972. In 1962, enrolment in primary schools was 261,306 which increased to 425,000 in 1972. Enrollment for girls increased from 29 per cent 1961 to 45 per cent in 1972.

The first university was started on November 3rd, 1963 by a Canadian Priest called Levesque as the first Rector. It opened with 50 students distributed in three faculties: medicine, arts and science. The Institut Pédagogique Nationale was started later in 1966.

Health

The number of dispensaries increased. To address the problem of malnutrition and poor conditions of hygiene, some socio-medical centres were opened to provide sanitary or health education, training on how to avoid and prevent diseases, and skills in maternal health care.

A centre for handicapped children was built at Gatagara (Nyanza District) and a psychiatry centre for the mentally handicapped at Ndera (Gasabo District). This centre, also known as Caraes-Ndera, was run by the Gand Brothers of Charity. In preventive medicine, vaccination campaigns were initiated between 1965 and 1970.

The Second Republic (1973–1994)

The Coup d'Etat of 1973 and its aftermath

Coup d'Etat of July 5th, 1973

In the night of July 5th, 1973, the presidential guard under the command of Major General Juvénal Habyarimana, Minister of Defense and Chief staff, staged a **coup d'état** against the regime of Grégoire Kayibanda and Major General Habyarimana took over power as president.

Major General Juvénal Habyarimana was assisted by a group of senior military officers named "les camarades du 5 juillet": Lieutenant Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, Majors Aloys Nsekarije, Benda Sabin, Epimaque Ruhashya, Fabien Gahimano, Jean Nepomuscene Munyandekwe, Bonaventure Ntibitura, Laurent Serubuga, Bonaventure Buregeya and Aloys Simba.

The **coup d'état** leaders dissolved the National Assembly, suspended the 1962 constitution and abolished all political parties existing at the time, such as the organs of MDR-PARMEHUTU. They also dissolved the government and replaced it with a National Committee for Peace and Reconciliation constituted of 11 senior officers.

In its declaration of July 5th, 1973, the new regime talked about about peace and unity and denounced regionalism, immorality and corruption in the regime of Kayibanda.

After this coup d'état, the former leaders were unfairly arrested, nearly all of them from the south (Gitarama). The court martial of June 1974 sentenced to death former President Kayibanda and prominent personalities in his regime. For Kayibanda, his death sentence was acommuted to permanent detention in his residence at Kavumu, near Kabgayi, where he died on December 15th, 1976, while others were executed.

Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the second republic (1973–1994)

(Source: https://cdn.britannica.com/s:700x-500/04/149004-050-EF1FC08D/Juvenal-Habya-rimana-1980.jpg)

Foundation of "Mouvement Révolutionaire National pour le Développement" (MRND)

On July 5th, 1975, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana established the MRND. Its objective was unite all Rwandans so as to enhance economic, social and cultural development in a peaceful environment.

In the 7th article, of the new constitution adopted on December 20th, 1978 by referendum, MRND was declared the sole political party where all Rwandans would participate in the management of public affairs. This marked the establishment of a one party system. All Rwandans were automatically members of MRND. The new constitution abolished the National Assembly and replaced it with Conseil National pour le Développement (CND).

With time, President Habyarimana started developing a personality cult. This was done through mobilisation and glorification of the President and placing his political party using animation and placing his portrait everywhere in public and private surroundings. However, from1980, MRND started falling apart. This began with two highly regarded senior military officers, Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe and Major Théoneste Lizinde, who were accused of **plotting** a **coup d'état**. The misunderstanding divided politicians and the people who hailed from the north of the country.

Political power was from that time monopolised by a small group of people from Bushiru in the ex-commune of Karago in the current District of Nyabihu. Finally, power was in the hands of President Habyarimana, his immediate family, and his in-laws. This was known as "**Akazu**" or "one single household". Corruption became normal practice and some top leaders treated public offices like personal property.

Economic and socio-cultural evolution under the Second Republic

Economic evolution

Under the Second Republic, there was implementation of the "Second Five-year economic, social and cultural development plan" which lasted from 1977 to 1981.

This plan had four missions:

1. Ensuring food security of the population and reducing the population growth rate.
2. Promotion of human resources management.
3. Improvement of the social conditions of individuals and the community.
4. Improvement of the Rwanda's external relations.

The objective of this second Five Year Development Plan was the creation of more jobs, especially in the secondary sector, in order to provide young people in rural areas with opportunities to participate in the social and economic life of the country.

From 1981 to 1986, the "Third Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan" was also adopted with the following aims:

1. To improve food security for the population in terms of both quality and quantity.
2. To promote jobs at sustainable wage levels that cover the basic needs while emphasising training programmes in order to increase productivity.
3. To improve health conditions, promote access to shelter, and produce goods for mass consumption.
4. To develop external relations and encourage the equilibrium of international trade conditions.

In this context, the Rwandan diplomatic representation in foreign countries increased. In 1979, Rwanda hosted the sixth Franco-African conference and in 1976, Rwanda was a co-founder of the Communauté Économique des Pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL). It was also host to the headquarters of the Akagera Organisation du Bassin de riviere Akagera (OBK). The Second Republic made a great effort in agriculture. The cash crops especially tea, coffee and pyrethrum were promoted by increasing areas cultivated and the building of factories. These include for instance the tea factories of Shagasha, Mata, Gisovu and Nyabihu; and that for processing pyrethrum in Ruhengeri.

During this period, the Government of the Second Republic paid particular attention to food crops like maize, rice, soya beans, sugarcane. Some factories were also set up to process crops. These included the Maïserie de Mukamira, and Sucrerie de Kabuye.

Emphasis was also put on the establishment of agricultural projects in almost all former prefectures. These included Développement

Global de Butare (DGB), Projet Agricole de Gitarama (PAG), Développement Rural de Byumba (DRB) and Crête Congo Nil.

In animal husbandry, the rearing of one cow in a cowshed and planting of reeds and other types of grass were prioritised. To improve the existing breeds of cows, importation of bulls, artificial insemination, research, and fighting cattle diseases were carried out.

With regards to infrastructure development, the following infrastructures were built by the Second Republic (Ministere des travaux publics, Rapport annuel 1970):

1. Tarmacking or asphalting of several roads which reached a distance of 888. 5km by 1989
2. Construction of administrative offices for ministries, prefectures and communes
3. Building of schools, health centres and hospitals like King Faisal Hospital and Kigali international airport
4. Extension of electricity network
5. Construction of Amahoro Stadium

Kigali international airport (Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/473159504580283660/)

Amahoro Stadium

(Source: http://stadiumdb.com/pictures/stadiums/rwa/stade_amahoro/stade_amahoro03.jpg)

King Faisal Hospital

(Source: : https://constructionreviewonline.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/2020-01-16_5e208fbd44c64_

IMG_20200116_173011_091.JPG)

From 1980 to 1986, the country enjoyed economic growth due to good climatic conditions, increase in the production of coffee, tea, and minerals; and a considerable amount of capital coming into the country.

However, from the end of 1986, the situation deteriorated and the economy gradually declined. The causes of the economic crisis during this period included the following;

1. The **drastic** fall of the world coffee and tin prices;
2. The devaluation of the Rwandan franc;

3. Monopolisation of the limited resources by a few political and military leaders;
4. Food shortages;
5. The demographic explosion prevailing since 1940.

To address the demographic problem, the government opened Office National de la Population (ONAPO) to deal with population growth problems.

The government applied the Structural Adjustment Programme as dictated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund with a view to stabilising the economy and benefiting from their financial support.

Socio-cultural evolution under the Second Republic

Education

In this sector, some achievements were attained.

New primary and secondary schools were constructed and many reforms made at all levels of education.

In 1978–1979, the system of primary education was revised. The primary cycle changed from 6 to 8 years. Training in professional skills was introduced and Kinyarwanda became a language of instruction from Primary 1 up to Primary 8 (Ministere de l'Eduacation nationale, Rapport annuel,1981).

This reform established professional schools known as Centre de l'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré (CERAI). These professional schools admitted students who had failed national secondary school examinations and they studied for three years. They learnt woodwork, electricity, masonry and plumbing. At the secondary education level, the ordinary level was reduced by one year and specialisation now started in the second year. However, this reform failed due to the following reasons:

- Lack of teaching aids
- Lack of qualified teachers in the newly introduced subjects
- Lack of appropriate evaluation methods.

In 1991, these reforms were revisited. The primary education cycle was brought back to 6 years.

At University level, the Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) was fused with some of the departments of the National University of Rwanda. The new campus of Nyakinama was opened in 1980– 1981 as a result of this fusion. The duration of study in most faculties was reduced from five to four years (Ministere de l'Eduacation nationale, Rapport annuel,1991).

Health

Under the Second Republic, many attempts were made towards the expansion of the health sector. The dispensaries were transformed into health centres and more medical personnel trained.

The government also introduced a policy which set up nutritional centres in order to educate parents about diets and hygiene.

Another achievement in the health sector was the establishment of the Broad-based Vaccination Programme (BVP) with the objective of reducing infant mortality. In 1987, the government established the National Programme for the Fight against AIDS known as Programme National pour la Lutte contre le Sida (PNLS) to control, prevent, reduce and conduct research on AIDS.

In the same year, the National Programme for the Fight against Malaria Programme National de lutte contre le Paludism (PNLP) was set up. In 1989, the programme for acceleration of primary health care Programme National pour l'Accélération des Soins de Santé Primaire (PASSP) was also introduced. It aimed to encourage participation in self-reliance and management of health services in health centres.

1. Identify and explain problems faced by the First Republic just after independence

2. Assess the achievements made by the first Republic.

3. Examine the factors which helped President Habyarimana Juvénal to consolidate his power

4. Explain the achievements of the Second Republic

5. Analyse the appointment or distribution of positions in public administration during the Second Republic. Thereafter, answer the following questions:

   a) Which part of the country was favoured?
   b) Which "ethnic" group dominated?
   c) Do you think this policy was good?
   d) Discuss and criticise the rule of Habyarimana.
   e) What do you propose should be done to avoid discrimination?

1.2. The causes of the Liberation War (1990–1994)

Learning Activity 1.2

Explain in not more than ten lines different causes of the Liberation War (1990-10994)

Activity

Use the internet or other sources and read an extract of the text about the socio-economic situation of Rwandan refugees in neighbouring countries before their return to their homeland. Discuss why they wanted to come to Rwanda at any cost. Then, present your results to the class.

The long exile

The first group of refugees were registered in 1959 after the unrest marked by violence and massacres against the UNAR members, mainly Tutsi, committed by PARMEHUTU with assistance from Belgian colonialists. The resistance which was organised by Inyenzi to return home was in vain and the refugees were desperate to recover their dignity as Rwandans. The poor conditions of living such as lack of employment and good education in host countries, made them think of a strategy to return home. Groups started to form around the themes of return and self-help.

Among the institutions set up to address the challenges of education were the Rwandese Refugees Welfare Foundation (RRWF) in Uganda and College Saint Albert in Kivu and Bujumbura. Later these institutions provided a large number of leaders to political movements like the Rwandese Alliance of National Unity (RANU), which was started in Nairobi in June 1979, and RPF-Inkotanyi in 1987.

RANU had many objectives. It aimed at fighting against ethnic divisions and the ideology of divisionism by the Kigali regime. It also sought to fight against grabbing Rwanda's riches by a small group of people. The other objective was to sensitise Rwandans about their rights. RANU wanted to find an appropriate solution to the refugee problem and to fight the fascist and dictatorial regime of Kigali. The strategy consisted of uniting all Rwandan intellectuals inside the country and in the diaspora in order to restore national unity.

The refusal to allow Rwandan refugees to return home

In June 1986, the Central Committee of MRND examined the problem of Rwandan refugees scattered around the world, especially in the neighbouring countries such as Burundi, Uganda Kenya, Tanzania and Zaire (now DRC).

Unfortunately, the Central Committee of MRND resolved that Rwandan refugees could not massively return into the country. The committee strongly advocated that refugees should find a way of integrating themselves into their respective countries of asylum.

The argument was that the country was overpopulated and incapable of receiving and accommodating her own people. Habyarimana himself declared that Rwanda was like a glass full of water to which one could

not add a drop. He added that "a child of a refugee should not be called a refugee" and so he started negotiations in February 1989.

According to the Habyarimana regime Rwandan refugees were declared economic refugees who were to remain wherever they were and earning their living. They were not supposed to dream of returning to home.

"Ethnic" and regional division

Both the First and the Second Republics institutionalised ethnic labels (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) in identity cards and the quota system ("ethnic" and regional equilibrium) administration, schools, the army, etc.

During the First Republic, power was in the hands of a few people from some communes of Gitarama and again a few people from some parts of the former Ruhengeri and Gisenyi prefectures during the Second Republic. Both Republics were characterised by identity ideology.

The two regimes reinforced the conflict between Nduga people in the central and southern part of the country and Rukiga people in the northern and western part of the country by monopolising and excluding many parts of the country. During these regimes, hatred against Tutsi worsened.

Every political crisis was blamed on Tutsi who were treated as **scapegoats**. This case was raised when Inyenzi attacked Rwanda in 1963 and later before the 1973 Habyarimana's coup d'Etat.

Intimidation and killing of opposition politicians

The regime of Juvénal Habyarimana did not tolerate any opposition. Any person who tried to oppose him suffered long prison terms. Political assassinations were frequent as well. For instance, the murder of the former chief editor of Kinyamateka newspaper, Father Sylvio Sindambiwe and Nyiramutarambirwa Felicula, a member of parliament.

Increasing dictatorship in Rwanda

During the Second Republic, only one political Party, MRND, was allowed as it was stipulated by the 1978 constitution. All the powers were concentrated in the hands of a small group —members of the President's family and his in-laws which was called Akazu. No single decision could be made without prior approval and blessing of the President and his MRND.

Participation of Rwandans in other movements of National Liberation

Many Rwandan refugees had lost hope and were reluctant to join any political organisation due to past failures of the earlier attempts to regain their home country, spearheaded by Inyenzi.

By 1979, some Rwandans, like Fred Gisa Rwigema, had participated in African struggles, especially in Mozambique. In 1982, when the government of Uganda under President Milton Obote expelled more than 60,000 Rwandans, the government of Rwanda refused to recognise them as Rwandans.

For them, there was no magic formula for a solution to their country's problems. The victory showed that a successful liberation war was possible in Rwanda.

The Military option

The military option was dictated by the denial of fundamental rights and democracy by the Habyarimana regime which was denounced by the population. Students abroad were also organising themselves to challenge the Habyarimana regime. Those on scholarships in Europe and Canada, formed organisations such as Association Générale des Etudiants Rwandais (AGER) and Association des Etudiants Rwandais au Burundi(AERB). The refugees resented their continued exile and the indifference of the Rwanda government towards their **plight**. All this made the military option inevitable for the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF).

On September 30th, 1990, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) with its military wing, Rwanda Patriotic Army (RPA), took a decision to attack Rwanda and assembled them near Kagitumba. On October 1st, 1990, the first attack was launched.

The reasons for the war, as summarised in the RPF programme, were: to restore national unity among Rwandans, establish true democracy eradicate racism against the Tutsi and sectarianism of the Kigali regime, poor management of state affairs, and to find a lasting solution to the question of refugees to which the Rwandan government had turned a deaf ear.

Application Activities 1.2

1. Describe the life of a refugee and try to find out his feelings
2. Show how the First and Second Republic imposed difficult conditions for individual repatriation of the Rwandan refugees.
3. Discuss how the long exile of the Rwandan refugees contributed to the outbreak of the Liberation War (1990-1994)?
4. To what extent did the "ethnic" and regional divisions contributed to the outbreak of the Liberation War?

1.3. The course of the War of Liberation

Learning Activity 1.3

By searching on internet or in your school library, write a short text of not more than 150 words explaining the course of the Liberation War (1990-1994)

Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema, Commander-in.Chief of RPA.

(Source: https://muhabura.rw/IMG/jpg/1422767217_rwigeman-2.jpg)

The following were the major steps of the Liberation War:

◉ On October 1st, 1990, the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) and its armed wing (RPA) declared the war of liberation which lasted almost four years. The first attack was in Umutara, but was not successful because of the death of Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema. The RPA was pushed from Umutara after which they changed tactics by launching a guerrilla warfare in the northern region.

◉ On January 23rd, 1991, they captured Ruhengeri town and liberated the political prisoners who had been jailed in Ruhengeri prison. Among them, there were Theoneste Lizinde, Biseruka and Brother Jean Damascène Ndayambaje.

◉ On March 29th, 1991, the first negotiations between the RPF and the government of Rwanda started at N'sélé in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Other meetings, had been held in Arusha G'badolité, and Mwanza.

◉ Regarding the internal political evolution, a coalition was formed on March 14th, 1992 by the main opposition political parties. It was called Forces Démocratiques pour le Changement (Democratic Forces for Change). Its aim was to negotiate peace with RPF.

◉ On July 12th, 1992, a ceasefire was negotiated and signed in the Arusha Peace Agreement between the RPF and the

Habyarimana Government. An Organisation of African Unity force known as 'Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres' (GOMN) was to observe the ceasefire.

- On November 15th, 1992, Habyarimana declared the negotiations between the government and RPF null and void. According to him the ceasefire was a mere piece of paper–rubbish–and thanked the Interahamwe killer militia of his MRND Party for the massacres they had committed, especially in the northern part of the country. This growing insecurity was one of the ways used by the Habyarimana regime to block the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement.

- On February 8th, 1993, in response to those massacres, the RPF launched an offensive that resulted in the capture of a large part of the country, especially in the northern region. The RPF were approaching the gates of Kigali. But due to international pressure to resume negotiations, the RPF returned to its former positions around Kinihira. On the side of government, troops had to remain in the new positions. The area between the two armies was declared a demilitarised zone.

- On August 4th,1993, the Arusha Agreement was signed. It was a political compromise for power sharing between the Government and the RPF, but the Broad-based Transitional Government' failed to take off because Habyarimana refused to swear in the new government and Parliament of which RPF was to be part.

- In December 1993, a United Nations Intervention Force arrived. It was a United Nations Peacekeeping Force known as United Nations Mission for Rwanda (Unamir). Its mission was to supervise the implementation of the Arusha agreement of August 4th, 1993.

- On December 28th, 1993, 600 soldiers of the Third battalion of the RPF arrived at the Conseil National de Développement (CND) to ensure the security of the RPF future ministers and Members of parliament in the new broad-based transition Government.

- On January 5th, 1994, President Habyarimana was sworn in as President in accordance with the Arusha Agreement but blocked the swearing in of other members of the Broad-based Transition Government.

- From April 7th 1994, the country was ignited in several weeks of intense and systematic genocidal massacres, in which over

one million Tutsi perished. It was the Rwanda Patriotic Front which stopped genocide.

◉ On July 19th, 1994 the Government of National Unity was formed.

Application Activity 1.3

Search on internet or other documents the Arusha Peace Agreement and read the Protocol of Agreement on the rule of law. Can you claim that the Arusha Peace Agreement (see the Protocol of Agreement on the rule of law) had innovative strategies for building a better and peaceful Rwanda? Explain your statement.

Choose any of the following powers and explain its involvement in the Liberation War: Uganda, Zaire, Belgium and France. Use internet and other available document in your school library.

Read carefully the following extracts from Arusha Peace Agreement:

a) "Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on Power-Sharing within the Framework of a Broad-Based Transitional Government". Article 56

Nominative distribution of portfolios shall be as follows:

MRND

1. Ministry of Defence;
2. Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture;
3. Ministry of Public Service;
4. Ministry of Planning;
5. Ministry of Family Affairs and Promotion of the Status of Women.

RPF

1. Ministry of Interior and Communal Development;
2. Ministry of Transport and Communications;
3. Ministry of Health;
4. Ministry of Youth and Associative Movement;
5. Secretariat of State for Rehabilitation and Social Integration

MDR

1. Prime Minister;
2. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation;
3. Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education;
4. Ministry of Information.

PSD

1. Ministry of Finance;
2. Ministry of Public works and Energy;
3. Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock
4. PL
5. Ministry of Justice;
6. Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Cottage Industry;
7. Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs;

PDC

1. Ministry of Environment and Tourism

b) Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Integration of the Armed Forces of the Two Parties

Article 74: Proportions and Distribution of Command Posts

During the establishment of the National Army, the proportions and distribution of Command posts between the two parties shall abide by the following principles: (…)

Government forces shall contribute 60% of the forces and the RPF 40% of the forces for all levels apart from the posts of Command described below.

(…) In the chain of Command, from the Army Headquarters to the Battalion, each party shall have a 50% representation for the following posts (…). Write down what you think about the above extracts. Do you think that the Arusha Peace Agreement was viable? Explain your position.

1.4. The effects of the Liberation War

Learning Activity 1.4

Write down what you know about the effects of the Liberation War (not more than ten lines).

Activity

Examine the consequences of the war in general and the Liberation War of Rwanda in particular. Explain why RPF launched the Liberation War. Present the outcome of your discussions to the class.

The Liberation War was launched on the 1st October 1990 by RPF-Inkotanyi and its armed wing, the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA) and ended on July 4th, 1994 with the fall of Kigali and Butare. It had the following effects:

◉ **Death of Major General Fred Rwigyema**
  The first effect was the death of Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema the chairman of RPF and the supreme commander of RPA. This death was a great loss for RPF.

◉ **Death of other Rwandans**
  Many soldiers were killed on both sides and others were wounded. There was also the massacre of "Abagogwe "people from 1991 to 1993 by Habyarimana regime in retaliation for RPA attack. Similar killings were carried out in Kibirira, Bugesera, Kibuye, Murambi and in Umutara.

- **Displacement, loss of property and psyclogical effects**
  There was displacement of people from their properties, trauma, and destruction of properties.

- **Reaction of Rwandans**
  For those in exile, they felt time had come to return home and massively joined the RPF and the struggle as the war progressed. Mobilisation to support the war effort was deepened in the region, and recruitment into the RPF was intensified. A lot of money, medicine, food, and clothes were mobilised in support of the war.

  Inside Rwanda, there were mixed reactions. Some people, mainly sympathisers of the RPF who had been treated as second class citizens, felt time had come for their rescue and joined the struggle from neighbouring countries while others were worried about the reaction of the Habyarimana regime.

- **Call by the Government of Rwanda for support**
  The government of Rwanda was supported by its allies. Habyarimana argued that he had been invaded by neighbouring Anglophone Uganda and mobilised his closest allies to assist him militarily and diplomatically. Consequently, France, Belgium and the then Zaire (now DRC) under Mobutu Sese Seko sent troops.

- **Increasing of pressure for democratisation**
  While the Habyarimana regime was facing the armed struggle with RPF-Inkotanyi on the local fronts, on the international level, Habyarimana was facing pressure to democratise Rwanda (La Baule **summit**). The regime also faced internal opposition. In June 1991, Habyarimana was forced to accept the multiparty system by signing a new constitution.

  Chronology of Rwanda's democratisation process

  a) In June 1990, at the La Baule **Summit** in France President François Mitterrand announced that French aid would depend on democratisation.
  b) On July 5th, 1990, at the MRND congress, President Habyarimana declared that the country was adopting the multiparty system.
  c) On September 1st, 1990, there was a declaration by thirty three intellectuals claiming the establishment of multipartism in Rwanda.

d) On September 21st, 1990, President Habyarimana established a commission with the task of studying how multipartism could be established in Rwanda. This commission ended its work and submitted its report in January 1991. Meanwhile, on November 11th, 1990, President Habyarimana allowed multipartism and declared the amendment of the Rwandan constitution. In June 1991, the new constitution was approved by the Conseil National de Développement (CND). The new constitution banned political parties based on ethnicity or regional affiliation, the position of prime ministership, and limited the executive, judicial and legislative branches of government.

e) Beginning July 1991, new political parties were legally registered. These included Parti Socialiste Démocratique (PSD), Parti Libéral (PL), Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR), Parti Socialiste Rwandais (PSR), Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais (UDPR), Parti Ecologiste (PECO), and Parti pour la Démocratie Islamique (PDI).

◉ **The signing of Arusha Peace Agreement**

The Liberation War led to the signing of Arusha Peace Agreement on August 4th, 1993 whose purpose was to obtain a lasting peace. Both parties, the RPF-Inkotanyi and the Rwanda Government agreed to share power. However, the Hutu extremists, who felt left out of the process and threatened by the results, were not satisfied and started to organise a genocide against the Tutsi and killing of moderate Hutu.

◉ **Decline of the economy**

Because of the war and the pressure on the Habyarimana regime, Rwanda's economy collapsed. Coffee, which was the main source of foreign currency, was not produced. Thus, the country witnessed a hard economic situation. Besides, foreign aid stopped and the Rwandan franc lost its value. The main sectors of the economicy collapsed. People became poor and discontented. Because of the war, the Northern corridor was closed and this led to the stoppage of commercial exchange with Uganda. Moreover, the war increased the military expenditure of the government and this made the country more and more impoverished.

◉ **Displacement of many people**

More than one million Rwandans were displaced inside the country. These were in great need of shelter, food and other basic needs.

Among the positive effects of the Liberation War, the following deserve to be mentioned:

◉ There is promotion of National unity. Thanks to the Liberation War, many achievements were made in the national unity, justice, peace and security, and ending of segregation.
◉ Corruption, favouritism, embezzlement are being fought.
◉ All reasons for fleeing the country were eliminated and the refugees are encouraged to return home.
◉ The war helped to establish a true democracy. The people of Rwanda have the right to choose their leaders at all levels.
◉ The war contributed to the improvement of the image of the country. Rwandans are well-known all over the world as a good example of reconciliation, people living together on the same land, victims and criminals, after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.
◉ The country promoted international relations based on mutual respect, cooperation and mutual economic exchange. This helped the country to reduce economic and political dependence on foreign countries.

Application Activity 1.4

1. Gather some information in your home community related to people's reactions to the Liberation War.
2. Ask some people in your community about their experiences on the consequences of the Liberation War. Write down a short story of not more than one page.
3. Search on internet or use other documents to find the reactions of international community including humanitarian organisations on the Liberation War.

This unit covers the major political and socio-economic changes which happened during the First and the Second Republics. In the political field the First and the Second Republics were characterised by ethnic and regional divisions. The two discriminatory ideologies led to disunity, hence the lack of social cohesion. However, the two regimes made some achievements such as the setting up of transport, education and health infrastructures, and promotion of agriculture and industries.

The divisive ideology of the two regimes led to the outbreak of the Liberation War which lasted almost four years from 1990 to 1994, and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The causes of the Liberation War were for instance, the long exile of the Rwandan refugees, ethnic and regional divisions, and dictatorship. As a result of the Liberation War, Rwandans enjoy national unity, rule of law and good governance.

End Unit Assessment

1. What political system was used by Rwandans before independence?
2. What political system was adopted after independence?
3. Name four ways used by Kayibanda to eliminate opposition.
4. Give four reasons for the fall of the First Republic.
5. Justify the factors supporting the attack of RPF Inkotanyi on October 1, 1990.
6. Choose three main causes of the Liberation War and explain why they are important to you.
7. Choose two main consequences and explain what you would have done to sort out those problems.
8. Write two short essays (not more than 750 words) evaluating the Liberation War (1990-1994)

Glossary

Allocate: distribute according to a plan or set apart for a special purpose

Asylum country: a country which offers shelter to someone escaping from danger or hardship

Coup d'état: a sudden and decisive change of government illegally or by force

Drastic: extreme, rigorous or far reaching.

Framework: a structure designed to support something or system

Tarmack: seal the surface of an area with tarmac (a paving material of tar and broken stone; mixed in a factory and shaped during paving or a paved surface having compressed layers of broken rocks held together with tar)

Plight: a situation which is dangerous, difficult, unpleasant or trying

Plot: a secret scheme to do something (especially something underhand or illegal)

Reclaim: make useful again; transform from a useless or uncultivated state e.g. "The people reclaimed the marshes"

Scapegoat: someone who is blamed for the errors of others

Summit: a meeting of heads of governments

Unit 2

Consequences of the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi

Key unit competence

Examine the consequences of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and how Rwandan society has been rebuilt.

Introductory activity: :

Discuss the responsibility of all actors involved in the preparation and execution of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Then examine the effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Finally, expose your ideas to the rest of the class.

Introduction

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was a carefully planned and executed project to completely destroy the Tutsi population and moderate Hutu who did not agree with the prevailing extremist politics of the time. It was the fastest and most cruel genocide ever recorded in human history and its atrocities have torn the hearts of survivors and severely ruined the country. It led to numerous consequences at all levels of national life as explained below.

This unit examines the effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and analyses the efforts made by Rwandans to re-build their homeland.

2.1. The consequences of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

Learning Activity 2.1

Discuss the Consequences of the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi

The effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are many. They are explained and classified as follows:

- The most negative impact was the human disaster in which more than one million innocent people who included men, women and children were killed in just 100 days.
- It led to the destruction of infrastructure and equipment, public properties like offices, communication lines, schools, and hospitals, and private properties such as houses.
- It caused physical mutilation of people. During this genocide against Tutsi, the perpetrators did not only kill the victims but they also deformed the bodies of the Tutsi.
- The 1994 genocide against Tutsi led to a high level of trauma. This situation was caused by sexual abuse and torture of the victims by the killers and loss of family members.
- It led to excessive degradation of human dignity characterised by inhuman crimes like cannibalism, rape and even the burial of people who were alive.
- In addition, the 1994 genocide against Tutsi caused the devastation of the environment. For instance, many forests were cut down, huge plantations damaged, and domestic animals belonging to the Tutsi slaughtered and eaten.
- There is also an increase in HIV/AIDS prevalence in the post genocide period because during the genocide against the Tutsi, the perpetrators used the rape of women and girls as a weapon.
- There was decadence of the country's economy. During the genocide most of the active population could not carry out their daily economic activities because of insecurity. The perpetrators and victims of genocide could not work and participate in economic activities.
- There was an increase in the number of widows, orphans, and the disabled people. The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi has led to the death of more than one million Tutsi and left many

widows and orphans who lost their family members. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwanda also registered a large number of disabled persons.

- At the end of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, more than one hundred thousand people suspected of committing genocide were apprehended and imprisoned. Considering the big number of these prisoners waiting to be judged, it was difficult to give justice to both victims and prisoners in a reasonable period.

- A climate of **suspicion** and mistrust also prevailed in the country. The Tutsi survivors of genocide could not interact with the Hutu whom they considered as the perpetrators of genocide that led to the death of their relatives.

- To judge a big number of alleged culprits of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the Gacaca courts were created by Organic Law No. 40/2001 of 26/01/2001 published in the official gazette of the Republic of Rwanda on March 15th, 2001 in Rwanda as a solution to the crucial problem of a big number of the victims of genocide who were waiting for justice. At the international level, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda ICTR based in Arusha, Tanzania, was created to judge the cases of the planners of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

- Politically and diplomatically, Rwanda's international image was tarnished. After the genocide against the Tutsi, the country was only seen in a negative way by considering almost all Rwandans as killers. Rwanda was also seen as a country totally destroyed and without any humanity.

- Because of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, more than two million of Rwandans fled the country and established themselves in neighbouring countries in refugees camps. Another big number of Rwandans were displaced throughout the country.

- Due to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, Rwanda became an epicenter of genocide ideology in the Great Lakes region. The perpetrators of genocide who fled the country and went to live in refugees camps in DRC exported the ideology of genocide and continued to kill innocent people.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi left Rwanda deeply damaged and the devastation was so great and so painful that some people regarded Rwanda as a failed state. Although this genocide affected mainly the Tutsi, all Rwandans were generally affected. Many people became refugees and were displaced while others were apprehended and became prisoners.

2.2. Challenges faced by Rwandans after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi

Learning activity 2.2

Discuss the following statement:

"Rebuilding a nation's social fabric cannot follow any predetermined guidelines and it will only succeed if it is owned by citizens." President Paul Kagame. Thereafter present the result in class.

After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Rwandans met serious difficulties in reconstructing their country. Among them are the following:

Suspicion and mistrust

Since Rwanda's social cohesion had fractured due to the divisive politics that preceded the genocide, **suspicion** and mistrust characterised the population.

Thus, the new government inherited a deeply **scarred** nation where trust within and between communities had been replaced by fear and **betrayal**.

This posed a serious challenge to the functioning of institutions because the RPF's vision was not shared by all stakeholders. In spite of all this, the RPF believed that Rwanda was not dead but that it could be reborn and re-built. To achieve that goal, the RPF advocated strongly for unity and reconciliation despite the enormous challenges.

Security problems

Although the RPF had captured power and a transitional government had been put in place, the security situation was still fluid, with former government forces and Interahamwe militia still carrying out genocide against Tutsi in various part of the country. A French buffer area in western Rwanda, known as the Turquoise Zone, had become a safe haven for genocidal forces. In addition, infiltrators from refugee camps across the border continued to cross and destabilise the country. The ex-FAR and interahamwe were allowed to retain their weapons and to mix with the civilian refugees. Other sympathisers of the former regime, notably the DRC (then Zaire) under President Mobutu Sese Seko, continued to provide support. All these proved to be security challenges for a country that had been hit by one of the worst human tragedies of the 20th century.

The Broad-based Transitional Government under RPF leadership had to devise means to address insecurity in the whole country and regain a semblance of normalcy so that Rwandans could begin the task of rebuilding the nation.

Resettlement of refugees and genocide survivors

The RPF strived to restore Rwanda as a country for all Rwandans and provided a homeland to which millions of Rwandan refugees could return. Tens of thousands of internally displaced people, especially genocide survivors whose homes had been destroyed, were resettled and provided with basic housing facilities. About three million refugees who had been held hostage by fleeing genocidal forces in the DRC and some in Tanzania were brought back home by the Transitional Government.

This humanitarian exercise was largely successful despite the failure of the international community to address their plight in refugee camps. About two million older refugees (from 1959 and subsequent years) were also resettled peacefully across the country.

Economic challenges

The Rwandan economy and political situation before 1994 was marked by economic stagnation and high levels of poverty, mainly attributed to lack of vision, poor economic planning, mismanagement, embezzlement and corruption by the leadership

of the time. They emphasized state control of the economy by a clique who benefited from the existing system.

As a result, post-genocide Rwanda faced economic challenges including an unstable macroeconomic environment. For example, in 1994 the economy shrank by 50 per cent and inflation rose to 64 per cent. Between 1985 and 1994, the GDP growth rate was a mere 2.2 per cent against a population growth rate of 3.2 per cent, meaning there was an annual decline of -1 per cent of per capita GDP.

This was mainly due to the fact that the economy was characterised by low productivity in all sectors, but most especially in agriculture, a sector on which more than 90 per cent of the population depended for their **livelihood**. Without a visionary leadership to avert the situation, this resulted in a very weak export base coupled with a narrow revenue collection base. This implied that there was lack of internally generated resources to fund social services like education and health.

In addition, there was low private investment and as such, the country lacked a serious and vibrant private sector to drive economic growth. In the public sector too, there was a highly unskilled labour force. For example in 1994, at least 79 per cent of civil servants in the country did not have qualifications higher than secondary school. To make matters worse, skilled professionals had been particularly targeted in the genocide.

In brief, the Government of National Unity inherited an economy completely destroyed by genocide and over three decades mismanagement.

Health

In the health sector, the picture was equally **bleak**. This sector had always been weak in Rwanda. Health workers in this sector were few and poorly trained. This was a result of chronically poor human resource development strategies that characterised colonial and post colonial Rwanda. This situation was exacerbated by the genocide in which a large number of health workers had participated and consequently fled the country or were killed. The few that had returned from exile settled in Kigali, which had some infrastructures and was also safer to live in.

To **mitigate** the health crisis, a number of NGOs and the army came in and tried to make a difference, but the task was **overwhelming s**ince the number of the injured and the sick was very high. Statistics indicate that immunization coverage for children had dropped to 27 per cent as a result of war and mismanagement.

Malnutrition levels were also very high. Child as well as maternal mortality rates were equally high due to poor health service delivery. The prevalence of water-borne diseases and other conditions related to poor sanitation was among the highest in Africa at that time. Equally worrying was the high infection rate of transmittable diseases, especially HIV and AIDS, which had been made worse during the genocide where rape was used as a weapon of war. The situation was worsened by a very high fertility rate, coupled with ignorance. Malaria was hyper endemic in some parts of the country, especially in the east and southern provinces.

Education

During the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, most education infrastructure was destroyed and the human capital decimated. Besides, the poor and discriminatory education policies, coupled with an education system that did not respond to the socio-economic needs of the country, served to perpetuate massive ignorance. Even the few that went to school could not translate their knowledge into productive activities to improve the standard of living.

In the eastern part of the country, schools were not only few, but in some areas they did not exist at all. During the first and second Republics, higher education was not only quantitatively low but also a privilege of the few favoured ones. Not even the quota system worked. For instance, between 1963 and 1994, only about 2000 Rwandans had completed university education.

Justice

The Transitional government inherited a broken justice sector. More than 140, 000 genocide suspects had been arrested, yet there was insufficient prison infrastructure to host them. Their upkeep became a huge challenge in terms of feeding, and provision of medical and other services.

To make matters worse, there was an inadequate number of trained lawyers to handle the large number of perpetrators of genocide and

this was also true for other crimes that were being committed in the country.

The laws were also outdated, obscure and inadequate. The justice sector also witnessed unskilled personnel. For example, according to records of the Supreme Court, out of 702 judges in 2003, only 74 possessed a bachelor's degree in law.

Nonetheless, justice had to be delivered. And despite the meagre resources that were available, the government had to introduce the needed reforms and new judicial institutions to deal with all these judicial problems.

Application Activity 2.2

1. Find out two challenges faced by Rwandans after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.
2. Explain why justice was a very crucial issue which the government had to address after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

2.3. Measures taken by the government to rebuild the Nation

Learning Activity 2.3

Using the library and internet, research on measures taken by government of National Unity to rebuild Rwanda after the 19190–1994 Liberation War and make presentation of your findings to the class.

After its military victory, on July 19th, 1994 the RPF-Inkotanyi put in place a coalition government called "Broad-Based Government of National Unity". Its legal framework was based on the constitution of July 10th, 1994, the Arusha Peace Accord, the RPF-Inkotanyi declaration of July 17th, 1994 and the joint Agreement between RPF, MDR, PDC, PSD, PDI, PSR, PL and UDPR regarding the implementation of the national institutions signed on November 24th, 1994. The transitional National Assembly was put in place in November 1994.

The RPF-Inkotanyi had worked out a programme addressing the political, economic and social problems of the country. It was this programme that the Government of National Unity (GNU) adopted on coming to power on July 19th, 1994 as listed below:
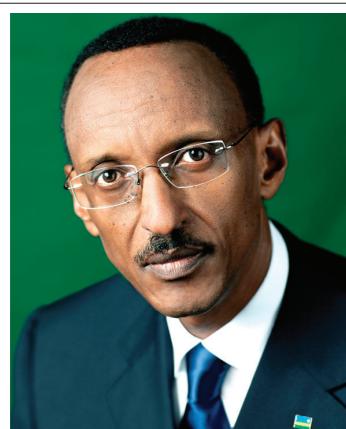
1. To promote National Unity and Reconciliation,
2. To establish genuine democracy,
3. To provide security for all Rwandans,
4. To build an integrated and self-sustaining economy,
5. To eradicate corruption in all forms,
6. To repatriate and to resettle Rwandan refugees,
7. To devise and implement policies for the social welfare for all Rwandans,
8. To pursue a foreign policy based on equality, peaceful coexistence and mutual benefit between Rwanda and other countries,
9. To fight against genocide and eradicate the genocide ideology.

The Broad-Based Government of National Unity was headed by Pasteur Bizimungu from 1994 up to 2000 and by Paul Kagame from 2000 up to 2003. However, Paul Kagame has continued to be President of Rwanda after being voted in 2003 under the new constitution.

Pasteur Bizimungu, the President of Rwanda, 1994–2000

(Source: https://pbs.twimg.com/profile_images/1504958864/m200x_400x400.jpg)

Paul Kagame, the President of Rwanda, 2000–to-date

(Source:https://rsf.org/sites/default/files/styles/rsf_220x220/public/president-paul-kagame_0.jpg?itok=zl_K7l-g)

Application Activity 2.3

1. Explain the measures did RPF-Inkotanyi take after its victory against the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi?

2. Find out four measures taken by the government of Rwanda to re-build the country that had been destroyed during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

2.4. Achievements of the Government of National Unity

Learning Activity 2.4

By reading textbook and or using internet, examine the achievements of the Government of National Unity and appreciate the efforts made by Rwandans in the reconstruction of the country. Then present your findings to the class.

Emergency period (1994–1999)

It was a period of intense stress. The country had become a total ruin, with mass graves all over.

It was a period when everyone had to play his/her part to reconstruct what had been destroyed in all domains of national life by genocide.

Politically, the government had to rebuild the state by focusing on the principles of good governance and rehabilitation of the judicial system.

Economically, there was a need to rehabilitate all basic infrastructures: water, electricity, road transport, banks, schools and hospitals. Everything had to be rehabilitated and the refugees had to be resettled.

On the socio-cultural level, it was felt necessary to undertake sensitisation of the population because of the difficult situation occasioned by genocide. This involved conferences and meetings on unity and reconciliation, and fundamental human rights, good governance.

Period of durable development programmes (after 1999)

The following are the achievements of the Government of Rwanda:

Safeguarding national security

After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the security in Rwanda was extremely unstable as because of unhealed wounds from the war. Most of the population was displaced, creating a volatile situation in the country. Military strategies were devised to find solutions and eradicate the thousands of military groups and ex-combatants who continued to torment and kill citizens.

The problem of insecurity, especially on the western border of the country, was caused by the incursions of Ex-FAR and Interahamwe militias. To put an end to these activities, the GNU proceeded to repatriate refugees from DRC and launched military operations aiming at weakening these evil forces.

Promotion of unity and reconciliation

The prime objective of National Unity is good governance. National Unity implies the indivisibility of the Rwandan people. GNU fought and eliminated all constraints to national unity such as ethnicity, regionalism, and discrimination.

All citizens have equal access to economic resources and can claim equal political rights. Moreover, the GNU repatriated a big number of refugees which was a fundamental obligation and a bridge to peace, national unity and reconciliation. To achieve this goal, the GNU, introduced several structures and programmes that were meant to correct past errors that led to war and genocide against Tutsi. These were: the National Commission of Human Rights, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, the Gacaca **Jurisdictions**, Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre le Génocide (CNLG), the National Itorero Commission, and Rwanda Demobilisation Commission.

Besides, to promote unity among Rwandans, new national symbols namely; the national anthem, the national flag and the coat of arms were designed to reflect the unity of Rwandans.

Ingando or Solidarity camps

This brings together diverse groups of people like students, farmers and civil servants to deliberate on issues like the history of Rwanda, the nation and citizenship, good governance, human rights, economy and social affairs.

Ingando is a type of civic education that helps Rwandans to acquire democratic values and patriotism. On November 16th, 2007, ingando was transformed into National Itorero Commission.

Establishing the rule of law

A just state means that nobody is above the law. Instead, every citizen respects the fundamental rights and the freedom of citizens. **Legitimacy** that leads to regularity, as well as justice that promotes human values by means of executive institutions are the pillars of a just state.

Therefore, a just state guarantees national unity, the respect for fundamental freedom and rights of its citizens in addition to being a very good indicator for democracy.

Democratisation

Democracy is generally defined as the government of the people, by people and for people.

The underlying factor is that people own sovereignty through transparently elected representatives by a majority vote. This representation of people reflects the citizens' authentic free will. In addition, citizens participate in decision-making and control the implementation of decisions.

Since 2000, free, transparent, and peaceful elections have been organised at local levels. Rwanda has put in place a constitution that cleary defines the main principles as well as performance and limits of political institutions, multiparty system and respect of everybody's rights. The constitution of Rwanda is against all kinds of racism and all identity ideologies. It is against any type of coup d'etat or any government that does not respect its constitutional norms. Moreover, citizens differ in terms of opinions, beliefs, religion, cultures and aspirations.

All leaders are elected in transparency, and there are no privileged persons. The 2003 constitution, revised in 2015, provides that all the most important political positions in the country must be shared. This leads to a consensual democracy and power-sharing.

Rwanda's Parliament is made up of two chambers: the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. These two chambers are complementary in nature, but independent of each other. The Executive is overseen by Parliament, according to the constitution, while the Judiciary is also independent from the Executive and the Legislature.

Establishing core institutions

To re-inforce good governance in Rwanda, anti-corruption and public accountability institutions were created by the GNU. Their operational capacity continued to be strengthened so as to achieve greater accountability. They include the office of the Ombudsman, Office of the Auditor General for State Finances, Rwanda Public Procurement Authority, Rwanda Revenue Authority, and Rwanda Governance Board.

These institutions are mandated to fight injustice, corruption and abuse of office by public officials and related offences in both public and private administration, and to promote the principles of good governance based on accountability and transparency.

All forms of injustice and impunity were eliminated and anyone who commits a fault, faces justice.

The national anthem, the national flag and the coat of arms were designed to reflect the Unity of Rwandans.

Rwanda has also signed and ratified the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC), the African Union anti-corruption convention (AUCC) and the UN convention against Transnational Organised Crime (UNTOC).

Implementing decentralisation

The local community have the right to participate in the process of decision making, in the executive as well as in the monitoring and evaluation of local development projects. With decentralisation, the GNU decided to delegate power to the local authorities and community leaders. Its objective is to reinforce the populations

participation in decision making from the grassroots level. This will enable the population to plan and execute their local development activities.

Imihigo or performance contracts

One of the key tools introduced by the GNU since 2006 to reinforce participation and accountability of local government is the performance based contracting, locally known as imihigo.

Imihigo is a traditional cultural practice in which an individual would set him/herself targets to be achieved within a specific period of time.

This home-grown initiative has introduced a radical development in districts, cells, and villages. This includes improved infrastructure schools, health centres, and modern markets.

Economic growth and development

The GNU inherited an economy completely destroyed by genocide. Some regions had been deliberately prevented from realising their economic potential for purely political reasons. Human resource development was also neglected.

The GNU immediately set out to create fiscal stability and economic growth. It also implemented structural adjustment programmes which aimed to eliminate public sector inefficiency and strengthen the economy.

The privatisation of government enterprises started in 1996. Many enterprises were put up for privatisation and shares were sold to local or foreign investors. The GNU made it a priority to diversify Rwanda's economic base.

Regarding planning, many framework documents were prepared to support the growth of the economy. They include the Vision 2020, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP), and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS). These documents referred to the more global planning framework documents like the Millennium Development Goals.

Education

Neglect of education by the colonial and post-colonial administrations left Rwanda with the lowest skilled populations. Since 1994, the number of higher learning institutions has gone

up from one to six in 2000. The total number of students receiving higher education rose from 3000 to 7000.

Similarly, from 1994 to 2000, the number of primary schools increased by more than one and a half times. The qualified teachers also increased between 1994 and 2000. More resources were made available to build new schools and to rehabilitate old ones.

Nine Year and Twelve Year Basic Education was also introduced to facilitate access to secondary education. For the first time parents were directly involved in the construction of schools.

The government aimed at creating a highly skilled and productive workforce that would drive Rwanda towards industrialisation and development in the years to come.

The government has also established technical and vocational training centres and a college of technology under one umbrella called Rwanda Development Workforce Authority.

On the other hand, the Law No 44/2010 of 07/12/2010 establishing Rwanda Education Board (REB) was published in the official gazette No 4b of 24/01/2011. REB was created to combine the following: institutions Rwanda National Examination Council (RNEC), National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC), Student Financial Agency Rwanda (SFAR), General Inspection of Education (GIE), and Teacher Service Commission (TSC).

Promotion of Gender Equality

Before 1994, women had limited rights not only to political power but also to property. A woman or a girl could not inherit property and few went to school.

Since 1999, with the National Land Reform, a woman is not excluded from the process of family land inheritance. The government also empowered and included women in all sectors. For example, Rwanda's constitution requires a minimum of 30 per cent women representation in decision-making organs. Following the 2013 legislative elections, Rwanda has the highest women representation (64 per cent) in parliament in the world.

The government has also made girls' education a priority to enhance women's participation in various sectors of the nation. This has strongly boosted girls' desire to perform better at school. Gender

Monitoring Office (GMO) was established. Its main responsibility is to monitor and carry out evaluation compliance with gender indicators intended to respect gender in the context of the vision of sustainable national development and to serve as a reference point on matters relating to gender equality and equity.

Environmental protection

In order to protect the environment, in 2006 Rwanda enacted a law banning the manufacture, importation and use of non-biodegradable plastic bags. The main concern was to address the disastrous environmental consequences linked with such plastic material.

As a result, various delegations from across the globe have been coming here on working visits to learn about the impact of banning plastic.

For the implementation of its environmental policy, the government set up the Rwanda Environment Management Agency (REMA). REMA has the duty of carrying out the implementation of a number of policies put forward by the Ministry of Environment. Some of these policies are reforestation, using gas in cooking, building terraces, creation of green spaces, planting bamboos along the banks of rivers, and school green gardens.

Since 2003 Kigali has been described as Africa's greenest and cleanest city.

Urban and rural settlement development

Kigali City Tower

Based on its conviction that proper housing is a fundamental right for every Rwandan, the GNU established Rwanda Housing Authority in 2010 with a major mandate of organising the national housing, urbanisation and construction plans.

This has led to rapid transformation and promoted urban growth in different parts of the country since 2003, especially in, Kigali city. Kigali is ranked among the most organised and cleanest cities in the world.

Following the return of millions of refugees in mid-1996 with unplanned rural settlements the GNU devised a settlement programme known as Imidugudu. This programme was aimed at providing decent housing to all Rwandans and also free land for more organised agricultural use.

In urban and rural settlement development, Government has set up a number of policies including the promotion of cities such as Muhanga, Huye, Rusizi, Rubavu, Musanze, and Nyagatare; rural electrification; and bye bye nyakatsi.

Improving water and sanitation services

The provision of water and sanitation services have greatly improved people's **livelihood** and significantly reduced the incidence of water-borne diseases, especially among children.

As a result of these efforts, Rwanda ranks among the first African countries to achieve the Millenium Development Goals (MDGs) on sanitation.

Implementing ICT

Due to the National Optic Fibre network that covers the whole country and the highest mobile telephone penetration in the region, Kigali city dwellers are now able to access free internet via Wi-FI enabled devices through the new government-backed Smart Kigali Project.

Owing to the availability of ICT infrastructure, a number of well-known international mobile telecommunication companies have entered Rwanda's growing market. These include MTN-Rwanda, Tigo and Bharti Airtel Ltd. Rwanda has above seven million subscribers. ICT is used in agriculture, business, health, governance, and other areas.

There are many services provided to the public based on ICT such as money transfer via mobile money, E- procurement, Irembo, E- Library, E- Payment for water, electricity, and taxes.

Offering assistance to needy people

Genocide survivors

From 2003, the Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide (FARG) [the Genocide Survivors' Support and Assistance Fund] was revamped. The Fund provides support to genocide survivors by paying education and medical expenses, building houses and providing direct financial assistance to the most vulnerable.

To achieve this, the government had decided to contribute 5 per cent of Rwanda's annual budget to the fund. The funding to FARG has been growing.

Poor families

In order to reduce poverty, the Government of Rwanda has set up several social protection programmes including Vision Umurenge Programme (VUP), Ubudehe and Girinka Munyarwanda (one cow per poor family programme) in favour of poor families. These programmes have successfully played a great role in the reduction of poverty. From 2006–2011 more than one million people were lifted out of poverty, thanks to such programmes.

Regarding the programme of Girinka Munyarwanda, in the traditional culture of the Rwandans, a cow was a symbol of wealth. Today, the cow remains a very important asset since it can provide an avenue to break free from poverty.

The programme of Girinka Munyarwanda has been adapted from the traditional Rwanda solidarity practice of giving each other a cow as a pact of friendship and support in the event of misfortune or when people were in need.

This programme was also initiated by the Government in 2000 so as to curb malnutrition among children and improve the living conditions of thousands of Rwandans.

This programme has helped to break the social barriers, improved agricultural outputs, supported reconciliation efforts and greatly improved the welfare of hundreds of thousands of Rwandans.

Social security reinforcement

In 2010, the government merged the Social Security Fund of Rwanda that had been created in 1962 with Rwanda Health Insurance Fund to form Rwanda Social Security Board (RSSB).

The board has a range of products which include medical insurance coverage, pension, and work related accidents compensation.

Under the board, workers from the public and private sector are protected from social insecurity. They are provided with a range of benefits. As a result, RSSB serves Rwandans better.

Healthcare for all

Rwandans are the fundamental resource on which Rwanda's future depends. The government has vowed to provide Healthcare to all Rwandans through the provision of preventive, curative and rehabilitative healthcare, thereby contributing to the reduction of poverty.

To achieve this target, several strategies have been put in place since 2003.

The number of Rwandans covered by the community Based Health Insurance (CBHI) increased from 7per cent in 2003 to more than 80 per cent in 2015. Set up to provide medical insurance, Mutuelle de Santé or Community Based Health Insurance, which is available to most Rwandans, has greatly improved access to healthcare.

Hospitals in the country increased from 30 in 1994 to 34. This does not include four national referral hospitals: Centre Hospitalo-Universitaire de Kigali (CHUK), Centre Hospitalo-Universitaire de Butare(CHUB), King Faisal Hospital, and the Kanombe Military Hospital.

The number of health centres also increased from 279 in 1994 to 385 in 2003. The government has also fought against HIV-AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, non-communicable diseases and malnutrition. Thanks to the improvement of medical services, the maternal infant mortality rate has considerably reduced.

International relations and cooperation

After 1994 the image of Rwanda was tarnished. Today, the country stands as a credible partner on the international scene. Rwanda has increased the number of diplomatic missions all over the world. Rwanda became a member of the Commonwealth on November 29, 2009. Rwanda is still a member of the Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL), and has again joined the Commnauté Economique des Etats d'Afrique Centrale (CEAC) and the East African Community (EA).

From 2004, Rwanda has been sending peace-keeping forces to countries such as Sudan, South Sudan, Mali, Haiti, Liberia, Ivory Coast and Central African Republic. The country is the sixth largest troop and police contributor to UN peace-keeping operations across

the world. It is also the second biggest contributor of female police peace-keepers globally.

Government achievements in preventing genocide ideology

The law related to the punishment of the crime of genocide ideology has been put in place and has already been applied to punish the culprits. This has greatly contributed to the discouragement of the persons with intention to commit the crime of genocide ideology.

Apart from punishment, a campaign has been launched to sensitise Rwandans about the evils of genocide ideology and denial, and its negative impact on unity and reconciliation, which is a pillar in the development of the country.

Rwandan and foreign scholars have already began to write to combat genocide ideology and genocide denial which is spread in different types of media, such as books and internet.

The conservation of memorials of genocide against Tutsi and the construction of more memorials also constitute permanent evidence to challenge the revisionists of the genocide against Tutsi. Visits to such places have helped Rwandans and foreigners to provide evidence on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

Application Activity 2.4

1. Identify two political achievements under the Government of National Unity.
2. State and explain some achievements inspired by Rwandan tradition. Thereafter, explain to the class how tradition is very important to the development of the country.
3. Imagine that you are promoted to a position to address genocide ideology. Outline the various ways to prevent genocide and to promote positive values.

The effects of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi were numerous and horrible. This tragedy, because of its ferocity, shocked the world. Among its consequences, we can only cite some such as a human disaster in which more than one million people were killed in 100 days, destruction of the major part of infrastructures, the decadence of the national economy, social wounds, and the tarnishing of Rwanda's image.

But after the chaotic situation created by the henchmen of Juvénal Habyarimana, the Government of National Unity did what was necessary to rectify the situation.

Many efforts were made in rebuilding the country, restoring peace and security, mobilising all Rwandans towards unity and reconciliation, repatriating and resettlement refugees and promoting good relations with other countries, assisting survivors of genocide and poor families, and rebuilding, promoting and modernising social and economic infrastructures.

Today, Rwanda is considered all over the world as a good example of good relations among its citizens thanks to the efforts spared by Rwandans to rebuild the country.

Glossary

Betrayal: aiding an enemy against the interest of one's country or a person

Bleak: offering little or no hope or providing no shelter or sustenance

Jurisdiction: the right and power to interpret and apply the law e.g. "Courts having jurisdiction in this district, or the authority to make legal decisions about somebody or something.

Legitimacy: lawfulness by virtue of being authorised or in accordance with law; being genuine or valid, not being fake or forged

Livelihood: the means by which one lives

Mitigate: lessen or try to lessen the seriousness or extent of or make less severe or harsh

Overwhelming: so strong as to be irresistible or very intense

Scared: deeply affected or marked by mental or physical pain or injury

Suspicion: doubt someone's honesty or an impression that something might be the case

End unit assessment

1. Explain five consequence of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi .
2. Identify five challenges faced by Rwandans after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi are the following.
3. Evaluate five achievement of the government of Rwanda .

Key unit competence

Identify different colonial administrative systems and colonial powers

Introductory activity: :

Do the following activities using the internet or an Atlas for research.

1. Using different colours, draw a sketch map of Africa and shade African countries according to their former colonial masters. Then, each group hangs its map in the class to be observed by all the class members and to make necessary corrections. Note that the countries with the same colonial master should be shaded in the same color.

2. Identify African countries and their former colonial masters and the two countries that were not colonised.

Introduction

This unit is about the colonial administrative systems and colonial powers. It first of all focuses on the European colonial masters and the respective colonies they possessed in Africa. Secondly, this unit deals with different colonial administrative systems such as indirect rule, direct rule, assimilation, association, and paternalism that were used by Europeans to manage their African colonies.

At the end of this unit, attention will be focused on Ethiopia and Liberia to analyze different factors that helped them to escape European colonization.

3.1. African Colonial Masters and their Colonial Administrative Policies

Learning Activity 3.1

Carry out research on the internet or in a library on colonial administrative policies and find answers to the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Write short notes to explain the following terms as they were used during the colonial period.
   - Assimilation policy
   - Direct rule
   - Indirect rule
   - Association
   - Paternalism
2. Why did the French abandon indirect rule to adopt association?
3. Where was the assimilation policy successful in the French colonies?

By the turn of the 20th century, Africa had been invaded, occupied, and colonised by several European nations. The following map shows how the **scramble** for Africa contributed to the partition of the African continent among European countries. By 1914, European powers controlled the whole of Africa, with only Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) and Liberia remaining independent.

Colonial African empires in Africa in 1914

(Source: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/ae/b5/12/aeb512680339f61c261050bb78e1b4b3.jpg)

Colonial masters and their colonies

At the end of the 19th century some European countries, which were mainly searching for raw materials and markets for their manufactured goods, came to Africa and colonised it. These European colonial masters dominated almost all of Africa except Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and Liberia. The European countries were Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and Spain.

Britain colonised Uganda, Kenya, Sudan, Egypt, Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia, South Africa, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zanzibar and Somaliland.

France dominated Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mali, Mauritania, Burkina Faso, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Niger, Congo Brazzaville, Chad, Madagascar, Central African Republic, Guinea, Djibouti, Benin, Comoros and Mauritius.

Germany colonised Tanganyika, Togo, Cameroon, Namibia, Rwanda and Burundi while Italy colonised Libya, Somalia and Eritrea.

Belgium colonised Congo. After the First World War, by the Versailles treaty of June 28th, 1919 which was the basis of the creation of the League of Nations. Belgium took control of the German ex-colonies of Rwanda and Burundi. At the same time, the League of Nations distributed the remaining German colonies to some victorious countries of the First World War. France was given part of Cameroon and Togo and the other parts of these countries were offered to Britain which also received the colonies of Tanganyika and Namibia.

Portugal possessed Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe whereas Spain had Western Sahara and Equatorial Guinea.

Different colonial administrative policies

After the successful **partitioning** of Africa at the Berlin conference of 1884–1885, different colonial powers developed means through which they could administer their colonies. While the British used a policy of indirect rule, the French, the Germans and the Portuguese mainly applied direct rule in their respective colonies.

However, colonial administrative policies, whether practiced by the British, the Germans, the French or the Portuguese, had almost the same intention. They all aimed at strengthening colonialism at the expense of Africans, they all aimed at political domination and promotion of economic exploitation.

The colonial administrative policies refer to the theories of administration used by colonialists in the management of their control over African territories. Such theories included indirect rule, assimilation, association, direct rule and paternalism.

Assimilation

The French mainly used assimilation, which can be defined as a system of administration where the colony was modeled on the exact image of the colonial power. It aimed at creating people similar to the French in all aspects of life except the skin color. The culture, language, law, civilisation, religion and all aspects of life were to be French and not African in nature.

Africans would learn to speak and write French, be converted to the Roman Catholic faith, use the French, administrative laws, adopt French habits of dressing, etc. Such Africans would qualify to have full political rights as French citizens including the right to send representatives to the French parliament in Paris.

When the French failed to use assimilation because of the problems involved in it, they abandoned it and adopted association. The advocates of association argued that neither assimilation nor direct rule would work sufficiently on the African continent.

Association meant respecting the culture of African subjects, leaving them develop in their own ways so long as they met the demands of colonialists. This policy was used in all areas of French influence outside Senegal. According to this theory, Africans would be ruled through their own political systems with the advice of the French overlords. Therefore, in theory, the association policy was similar to the British indirect rule and this explains the existence of local government systems in the rest of French Africa.

In all French colonies, France used either assimilation or association. The assimilation policy was used in Senegal where it succeeded in four provinces namely Dakar, Goree, Saint Louis and Rufisque. The supporters of this policy were promoting the French revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Association policy was used in other parts of Senegal and in the rest of French Africa such as in Mauritania. Portugal also used assimilation policy in Mozambique and Angola.

Indirect rule

This was an administrative policy adopted by the British in their colonies. Traditional African chiefs and elders were used to rule their subjects on the behalf of their colonial masters. In theory, the system entailed the preservation of the existing institutions

and their gradual adoption under the direction of the British local governance system.

African chiefs were left in their positions to implement colonial policies. They were used to carry out basic functions of local government, in particular collection of taxes, recruitment of labour and control of potential African unrest.

Direct rule

This was an administrative policy that was mainly employed by the Germans, Belgians and Portuguese. As a system of administration, direct rule, in its pure form, had no room for the local rulers. For instance, it was used in Tanganyika where they either employed Europeans or imported other mixed cultures like the Jumbes and Akidas. African leaders were removed from power and replaced by people from Germany. Portugal also used direct rule in Mozambique and Angola with the employment of "degradados".This system was very expensive and thus its application was very limited in Africa.

Paternalism

This was a colonial administration policy which was mostly used by Belgian colonial authorities. It involved treating people like a father. The paternalistic attitude attempted to consider adults as children. This term was used in the political, economic and moral domains. In their colonies, Belgians left the king and chiefs in their posts but told them to respect instructions. In this way, the African royal power was limited because the king could not take any decision without the approval of Belgians.

This was the case in Rwanda where, in 1923, a law was passed which prohibited Mwami Musinga from appointing or dismissing chiefs and notables without the permission of the resident representative of the Belgian Government. The heads of provinces also could neither appoint nor dismiss their subordinates without prior agreement of the resident.

The Belgian administration gradually became the final source of authority. The chiefs and deputy chiefs were no longer subordinates of Musinga, the king of Rwanda but those of the substitute Belgian administration.

British Indirect Rule

Frederick Lugard, High Commissioner (1900–06) in Nigeria

(Source: https://cdn.britannica. com/77/10177-050-921DCBB1/detail-Lugard-painting-WJ-Carrow-National-Portrait-1936.jpg)

The British colonial system of administration was a **brainchild** of Frederick Lugard. The method he used to rule the African colonies became the main system that the British used to administer all their African colonies. It was called "indirect rule". Under this policy, the British used African traditional rulers to work on their behalf and help subjugate their fellow Africans. Although these Africans were nominally "ruling, " the actual decisions rested with the British colonial officers.

Frederick Lugard experimented with indirect rule at first in Northern Nigeria where the Fulani had established the Sokoto **caliphate**. In the following years, Lugard introduced the system in East Africa.

Characteristics of indirect rule

At the top of the administrative structure, was the secretary for colonies who resided in London and was directly answerable for all the colonial affairs to the British government.

Below the secretary for colonies, there was a government which headed each of the British colonies.

Each colony was divided into provinces each divided into districts, counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages.

Provincial commissioners were in charge of provinces and were British nationals just like district commissioners who were in charge of districts.

Below the above officials were county chiefs, sub-county chiefs and village chiefs who were Africans and carried out the routine work of administering of districts.

Indirect rule, agents or the local chief carried out tax revenue collection. The taxes were used in developing roads, health facilities, and education, and to pay the local administration staff in a bid to facilitate further African exploitation.

Under indirect rule, the county chief was responsible to the British official, resident in the district i.e. the district commissioner who was in turn answerable to the governor of the colony.

Reasons why the British used Indirect Rule

Indirect rule was economically cheap. The British wanted to avoid payment of high salaries to white staff or administrators in their colonies. In addition, white staff required good accommodation and troops to provide security.

The British lacked enough manpower to administer all their colonies in Africa. The number of British citizens in Africa was small compared to the number of colonies and, therefore, they had no any other alternative in the place of that of using African chiefs.

The British also had the fear of resistance and hostilities from Africans. In fact, they utilised indirect rule because they wanted to avoid resistance and rebellions that would come after overthrowing the local African Kings from power.

Another reason that led the British to use indirect rule was the language barrier. Indeed at this time, the British ignored the languages and customs of Africans. Therefore, African leaders would be a better choice to solve the language problem as they interpreted the rules in the local languages.

African kings and chiefs would act as shock absorbers in case of any conflicts and wars. In fact, the African kings and chiefs would be blamed if Africans revolted because of unpopular policies used by the British.

Existence of well established tradional centralised systems of administration in Africa encouraged the British to rely on such existing systems of administration to implement their policies, for example in Buganda and northern Nigeria.

The British adopted indirect rule as a way of training future African leaders in case of eventual self-government. This could be achieved by allowing African leaders to exercise their responsibility.

The success of indirect rule in other parts of the world like in India also encouraged the British to apply it in Africa because they had seen its good results. This encourages the British officer to adopt it in northern Nigeria and Uganda.

The British used indirect rule because they expected African loyalty. They expected African leaders to work hard in order to please their masters and this would bring good results to the British government.

Indirect rule was a favourable method for the exploitation of African resources. It created peaceful conditions and gave the colonialists enough time to engage in other activities like mining and trade.

Collaboration by African societies like Buganda also encouraged the British to use indirect rule because it led to good relationship between the two parties. If the African rulers cooperated, they retained their power.

The physical difficulties in colonial Africa also favoured the use of traditional chiefs. The thick forests, the tropical diseases; wild animals, hostile tribes and lack of transport made it difficult for Europeans to move around.

Indirect Rule was the best method of ruling the illiterate masses of Africa. Since they could not be mobilised through the radio and the press the use of African leaders seemed a workable solution.

French Assimilation

Assimilation comes from the French verb "assimiler" which means cause to resemble or to look alike.

The assimilation policy refers to the French colonial administrative method that intended to transform Africans into French citizens and African territories into French territories by substituting their **indigenous** culture, religion and customs with French culture, language, laws, religion and civilisation. In so doing, Africans were to resemble the French citizens in all **spheres** of life except the colour of their skin.

Features of French administration in Africa

The French used a centralised system (federalism) in their administration with its base at Dakar in West Africa. At the top, there was a secretary for colonies resident in Paris followed by a governor general whose headquarters was at Dakar, the capital of the French federal system in west Africa.

The French federation was divided into different colonies each under a lieutenant governor. Again each colony was divided into

provinces called "cercles" each under a French provincial ruler called "commandant de cercle".

Below him, there were the "chefs de subdivision" at distinct levels. All these posts were exclusively reserved for French nationals. The highest post an African could hold was that of canton leader. Below these were the village chiefs of sub-locations.

It is generally believed that French rule was more **repressive** than that of the British. Forced labour was more felt in French colonies than in British ones and to many Africans this was a new form of slavery. Because of this, the French were faced with far more rebellions than the British.

The French regarded their colonies as overseas provinces. This is the reason why their administration did not aim at creating independent states but strong provinces of metropolitan France.

The kings in French Africa were seen as obstacles to colonial **despotism**. The kings could only be maintained if they accepted to work as agents of colonial administration. By using local leaders in forced labour and collection of taxes, the African kings became unpopular before their subjects and yet failure to serve the French government led to arrests, flogging and imprisonment of the African leaders.

The French worked as much as possible through chiefs, but they eliminated any African leader who proved disloyal to their policies. Kings were deposed or retired in French interest.

The French administrators had a lot of judicial powers in their colonies. All criminal cases were tried by them and customary law was ignored except in civil cases. French administrators used the 1887 "indignant" law which allowed them to arrest and punish African subjects without any trial.

The French used a centralised system of administration with its headquarters at Dakar in west Africa. This ensured and helped France to pursue the control of all its territories.

The French believed that their culture and civilisation were the best in the world. Her people, therefore, had a mission of admitting all the people especially those whom they said had no civilisation of their own into the rich French heritage.

The administration language used in dealing with Africans was French. The French administrators rarely became fluent in local languages, as their counterparts did in British colonies.

Trade and finance were dominated by the French firms and were consequently influenced by French economic institutions.

Reasons for adoption of assimilation policy by the French

At the end of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871, France was defeated. The French attributed their defeat by Germany to their low population and so assimilation policy was intended to increase her population which would support France in future conflicts and international issues.

The French believed in the superiority of their culture and civilisation. They considered it to be more developed and therefore felt it was their duty to spread it among people with "backward" cultures through assimilation.

The influence of the French revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity also made the French use assimilation policy because they had a feeling that all people are equal. This made the French to come up with the idea that all people, white or black, were equal and hence, through assimilation, Africans would be civilised and able to enjoy equal rights and freedoms with the French.

For the French, colonisation was a mere extension of French boundaries, and thus people in the colonies had to be assimilated into French citizens.

The French also used assimilation policy because they knew that the assimilated people would produce raw materials which would be used in French industries and offer markets for the French finished products.

They also used this method because its success would earn France political glory and prestige.

This method was employed because it was considered to be cheap, since the assimilated Africans would be employed as administrators.

Assimilation was adopted since it was considered as a way of looking for allies from Africa, ever since the humiliation in the Franco-Prussian war.

The French used assimilation because it could facilitate exploitation of Africa, as Africans would learn French.

French humanitarians supported assimilation because it would save Africans from **oppression** by the French since the Africans would be the same as the French.

The French wanted to create a class of African French people who would help in developing their colonies socially and economically. Such a class would be employed in education, business and administration for the benefit of metropolitan France. Therefore, the French administration thought that the class of African French men would help in the administration and easy exploitation of her African colonial possessions.

Application Activity 3.1

1. Discuss the features of indirect rule and different reasons that led the British to adopt it. Present the results of your discussion to the class.
2. Discuss the features of assimilation and different reasons that led the French to adopt it. Thereafter, answer the following questions and share your responses with the class.
   a) Define the term "assimilation".
   b) Identify and explain the French system of federalism that was used to rule African colonies.
   c) Write short notes on the following:
      - The Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871
      - Association
   d) Describe the characteristics of French assimilation.
   e) Account for three reasons that led the French to adopt the colonial policy of assimilation.
3. Research on direct rule and the German colonial administrative policy and find out the reason why Germans adopted direct rule in her African colonies.

3.2. Similarities and differences between British and French colonial administrative policies

Similarities

In both cases, policy making was done in home countries by the metropolitan governments. The parliaments passed their policies to the colonies through the secretaries for colonies. Local authorities only made policies related to minor issues.

Both systems established new laws based on home judicial systems. For example, the French Code Napoleon and the British judicial system were used in settling issues in the colonies. They both undermined the local authorities and regulated punishments to local authorities according to European statutes.

Both systems employed Africans at lower levels of administration. For example, all posts from the district commissioner to the governor general were filled by the British and pure Frenchmen.

In both systems, administration was centralised, especially through the secretary of state who worked in the interest of the British government while the French minister of colonies worked in the interest of the French government.

Both systems had Legislative Councils and these institutions were initially established by the British but later the French also developed them. They were meant to enact some laws and take them for approval by metropolitan colonial offices.

The two systems undermined the position of traditional rulers in African societies among their people.

Both assimilation and indirect rule trained some Africans collaborators to help them in their administration.

Assimilation and indirect rule did away with resistors.

In both cases, European administrators were on top levels of administration in the colonies.

The two systems of colonial administration survived on exploitation based on taxation and forced labour. In both cases, African local leaders were used to collect taxes and supervise forced labour.

Both assimilation and indirect rule considered colonisation as a way of civilising Africans and recognised the superiority of the white race and culture.

Differences

The French established a highly centralised and authoritarian administration. French administered all their colonies as a federation under the governor general at Dakar under whom was a hierarchy of officials in each colony. The British on the other hand established a separate administration in the colonies i.e. the British colonies were administered independently and got their orders from the secretary for colonies based in London.

The French used ex-servicemen (veterans) whereas British used civilians.

The French eroded African culture and values while the British preserved African culture and values.

Africans had representatives in the French parliament while Africans were not represented in the British parliament.

Colonies were regarded as extensions of France while the British regarded their colonies as separate entities.

The French centralised the 13 colonies under one governor, while the British had a governor for each colony.

The French disregarded the traditional chiefs, law, courts and institutions and paid no attention to legitimacy while the British used traditional chiefs, laws and institutions.

The French used the elite class of the Africans to govern while the British rejected the use of the elite class in administration.

Customary laws were disregarded by the French while the British highly regarded or considered customary laws.

The French tried to assimilate the Africans but the British left Africans to develop in their way as Africans.

German direct rule

Direct rule was a system of administration used by the Germans to administer their colonies in Africa. To apply this system, Germans removed African leaders and replaced them with Germans who were usually soldiers.

Germans used direct rule because of the following factors:

- Germans used direct rule as a way to directly enforce their interests.
- Following her successful unification, Germany as a new state wanted to prove the maturity of her **nationhood** by using a different method of administration from that used by its rivals, the British.
- Germans opted for this system of administration because after 1870, their population increased and there was enough manpower to manage all departments. Thus, they saw no need to recruit or use Africans.
- They also believed the system would enable them to exploit and benefit from African resources; for example, raise enough revenue through taxation.
- Because of resistance that Germans had faced early in Africa, they saw it better to exclude Africans from their administration by using direct rule. In so doing, Germans had to bring in harsh leaders and use soldiers as a way of avoiding more riots.
- Germans believed that direct rule was the only system through which they could effectively administer their colonies. This method would help them make Africans grow enough cash crops to feed their home industries.
- In many German African colonies, there were no chiefs and where they existed, they were not faithful or powerful enough.

However, in some colonies such as Rwanda, Burundi and in the province of Bukoba in Tanganyika, Germans decided to apply indirect rule because there existed traditional centralised administration which could match with the required conditions for indirect rule.

Application Activity 3.2.

1. Point out two differences between British Indirect Rule and French Assimilation policies.
2. Find out two similarities between British Indirect Rule and French Assimilation policies.

3.3. African States that were not Colonised: Ethiopia and Liberia

Learning Activity 3.3

Using the internet or library carry out a research on Ethiopia and answer the following questions. Present the results of your research to the class.

1. Give a brief biography of Menelik II, the leader of Ethiopia during the period when the Italians attempted to annex this country?

2. What kind of relationships had been established between Ethiopia and Italy?

3. Why did Italy attack Ethiopia at Adowa?

4. What were the main factors that enabled Ethiopia to defeat Italians at Adowa?

5. How did Ethiopia survive to colonialism and why was Italy unable to colonise her?

Menelik II and Ethiopia

Menelik II was the son of Shoa and grew up as an ambitious man. He was once captured by Theodore's men but later escaped and declared himself King of Kings or **Neguja Negasha**. He held this title throughout the reign of Theodore II.

When John IV came to power, Menelik II agreed with him that after the death of the former, the latter would become the leader of Ethiopia.

Menelik II of Ethiopia (17 August 1844–12 December 1913)

(Source: https://cms.famousbio.net/upload/peoples/57/NjQ1Nw-menelik-ii.webp.png)

Menelik II was a military **genius** and used this quality to build a strong military force for Ethiopia. He was a believer in Christianity and defended it against other religions.

Menelik II was very intelligent and he used both **diplomacy** and force against his enemies. He was also very **ambitious** and worked hard to transform Ethiopia militarily, socially, politically and economically.

As a diplomat he put his political skills to public utility when he signed the treaty of Ucciali and when he reached a compromise with John IV, following the death of Theodore II.

Menelik II came to power in 1889 after the death of John.

The relationship of Menelik II with Italians and the 1896–1897 Italian invasion
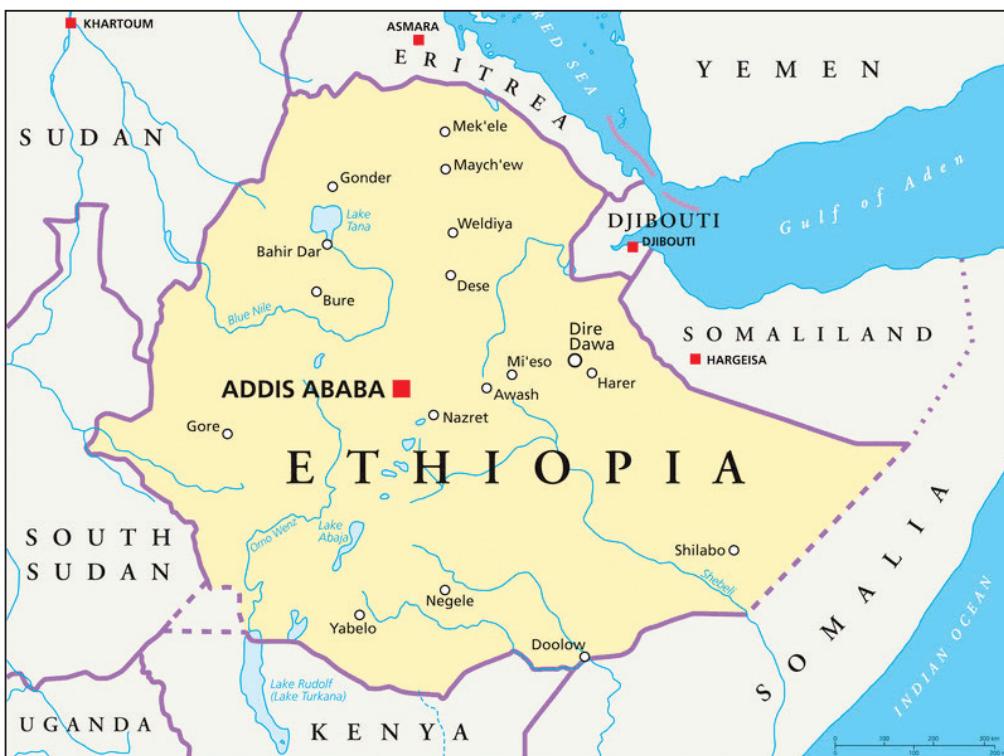
The foreign policy of Menelik II was shaped as follows. On his first contact with the Italians, he gave them the impression that he would be a willing **puppet** to serve their interests. This led to cooperation between him and the Italians which culminated in the treaty of Ucciali in 1889. This was a treaty of friendship by which the Ethiopian Emperor received huge supplies of arms and **ammunitions** in return for his friendship. The treaty increased the military strength of Menelik II. He later used the arms against the Italians.

The main clause of the Ucciali treaty was that, in return for heavy payments (European goods and **ammunition**) by Italy, Ethiopia consented to be used by Italy as her intermediary in foreign affairs. Ethiopia was no longer an independent state but under Italian protection, according to the Italian version. The Italians exploited this to inform other colonial powers that they had established a **protectorate** over Ethiopia and for sometime Ethiopia was deleted from the world map and replaced by Italian East Africa.

When Menelik II received information on Italian claims over Ethiopia, he acted quickly to show that he was not under any obligation, according to the Amharic version. Menelik's act made the Italians realise that, they had been cheated by the Ethiopian Emperor and it was now too late. Italy therefore was faced with a prospect of fighting Ethiopia whose ruler they had armed and strengthened with arms similar to those the Italian forces used.

Reflecting on how a British expedition of 1867 led by Napier against Ethiopia had been successful, the Italians thought that

history would repeat itself. But this was a gross miscalculation. They forgot that they had armed Menelik II with weapons as good as those they intended to use against him.

The map of Ethiopia

(Source: https://www.alamyimages.fr/photos-images/world-map-ethiopia.html)

Why was Ethiopia able to defeat the Italians?

The following reasons explain why Ethiopia was able to defeat the Italians:

Unity

Menelik II instilled nationalism among his people and they realised the importance of unity. Therefore, the Italians faced a united Ethiopia which could not be defeated, unlike in the case of the Napier expedition.

Courage

Menelik's propaganda encouraged the people to give him much support because he made it clear that he was ready to die for Ethiopia. During his resistance against the Italians, he called for

the support of everyone with encouraging words such as "whoever was strong could provide manpower and whoever was weak could pray to God". This morale boosted the Ethiopians.

Menelik's cooperation with Rases

Unlike Theodore II, Menelik II had good relations with provincial leaders, especially those of Gondar and Tigre, who contributed a lot of manpower.

Presence of an able and large army

Italians thought, as a defeated African force, Ethiopians had a weak army which could not fight a well trained and well equipped army. They underestimated the military strength of Menelik basing on the false impression created by the Napier expedition.

In addition, Italians thought that Menelik would assemble a small number of soldiers as was the case during the Napier expedition. Contrary to this, their invasion was opposed by all Ethiopians.

Timing of attack

Italians decided to attack on Sunday hoping to find all Ethiopians in Churches which would disorganise them and make it impossible for Ethiopians to resist. But because of their inferior numbers and not being better armed than the Ethiopians, they lost the war. Menelik's spies had also leaked the information about the imminent attack.

Geographical problems

The Italians were greatly constrained by the geographical nature of Ethiopia which made their advance difficult. Ethiopia's topography is made up of rugged mountains, deep valleys and gorges and the Italians were not used to it. The topography acted as a military barrier to the Italians, as it negatively affected their advances.

Rumours

Italians were also deceived for sometime by rumours circulated deliberately by Menelik's spies that the Ethiopian Emperor had died suddenly of snakebite. Thus they hoped to find a disorganised country without a leader. Instead at their invasion, they found Menelik himself commanding the battle.

Lack of expected help

The Italians had hoped to get help in the form of water, food and information but unfortunately, all the Ethiopians were hostile to them. The wells were destroyed and Italians were denied any food. Because of underestimating the campaign, the Italians did not carry enough food and other supplies.

Communication problem

The breakdown of the Italian communication system also weakened the Italian side. They did not have effective maps and would get lost, only to be fought separately by the Ethiopian troops.

Weakness of Italian commander Oreste Baratieri

Oreste Baratieri the Italian commander never realised the weakness of maintaining the same positions, which the Ethiopian spies had noted. A number of Ethiopian spies crossed back to Menelik and leaked the information about the positions of Italian troops.

Oreste Baratierii (13 November 1841–7 August 1901)

(Source: https://alchetron.com/cdn/oreste-baratieri-61349dba-9f90-42cf-bd65-17f5f1fea26-resize-750.jpeg)

With all the circumstances favouring the Ethiopian forces, the Italians were completely and disastrously defeated and most of them died. The survivors were taken as prisoners of war. Large amounts of arms and **ammunitions** were captured. This was the most humiliating defeat a European force had ever suffered on the African soil at the hands of Africans.

The victory at Adowa placed Ethiopia on the world map and changed the attitude of the powers of Europe over her. Britain and France signed treaties in 1897 recognising the independence of Ethiopia.

Why Ethiopia was able to escape European colonialism

Ethiopia, like Liberia, is one of the unique countries which survived colonialism. Many factors explain the escape of Ethiopia from colonialism. They include the following:

Influence of Christianity

Ethiopia was among the African countries which received Christian civilisation around 350 AD when Emperor Ezana was converted to Christianity. Since then, Christianity was firmly established in Ethiopia and it helped to strengthen their unity against colonialists. Many Europeans spread Christianity in the process of colonising African countries but fortunately, Ethiopia was already a Christian country.

Ethiopian unity

Menelik II had total support of the local populace whose patriotism was intensified by the invasion of the Italians. The situation then was different from that of 1868 when ordinary Ethiopians assisted Napier, the leader of the British expedition, against Emperor Theodore II. In the 1896 battle, those who were not at war were at home praying and **spying** on the Italians.

Ethiopian nationalism

Surprisingly, the Italians did not exploit the disunity of the Ethiopian masses who had over long been unhappy. But Ethiopia after Theodore II was different. Rivalries over the throne had ended so that even John IV and Menelik who were competing for the throne were friendly and supporting other. This nationalistic spirit was spread in the whole empire. Nationalism was strong among the Ethiopians. This made it difficult for the Europeans to divide and rule them as they did in other parts of Africa.

Civilisation

From 350 AD Ethiopia adopted Christianity as the official state religion. The whole of Ethiopia adopted the Church as the main guardian of Ethiopian culture. Thus, the Emperor was believed to be divine in authority.

Menelik's diplomacy

Menelik used diplomatic tactics of signing the tricky Ucciali treaty in 1889 and then he was not blamed by any nation in the war against Italy and he instead won strong support. By the Ucciali treaty, he received a lot of arms from the Italians and successfully used these arms against them. This was a serious miscalculation. From 1889 up to 1896 Menelik imported sophisticated arms from the Italians.

Underestimation of Menelik's government

The success of Napier's expedition made the Italians believe that the conquest of Ethiopia would be a relatively easy task for a modern European army. They forgot that they had themselves supplied arms to the Emperor.

Weakness of Italy

Italians were weak compared to other European colonisers. Italy had just been unified and not yet powerful enough to defeat such a highly organised resistance.

Geographical advantage

Ethiopia has flat topped mountains ranging from 1500–3500 metres high with great valleys and gorges and semi-desert vegetation that surround them. This made Ethiopia a land very difficult for foreign aggressors to attack and succeed. The Italians also lacked the topographical maps to guide them in the mountaineous terrain.

Economic weakness

Ethiopia was agriculturally poor and had very limited minerals. The Italians would have fought tooth and nail to win the war if they had more resources. On the other hand, other African countries with a few resources like Chad and Mali had been colonised. Therefore, the Italians tried their best to win but they were defeated.

In short, the escape from colonialism by Ethiopia hinges on the personality of Menelik II plus other natural factors, because in 1868 the poor personality of Theodore II made him lose against the Napier expedition but in 1896 the Italians failed to defeat the Ethiopians mainly because of Menelik is strong personality.

Foundation of Liberia

Map of Liberia

Liberia was founded in 1821 by the American Colonisation Society as a new home for former slaves who were no longer needed in the United States following the spread of the anti-slavery campaign by the British in the 1780s. Its formation followed the successful story of Britain's effort in resettling her freed slaves from America.

By 1800 around 108,000 slaves had gained their freedom in the USA and the freed slaves posed a grave social problem to the American community. They became **redundant**; negro slaves suffered discrimination of all sorts; some of them became malnourished and highly **susceptible** to crime.

As a solution, some clergymen and southern state slave owners founded the American Colonisation Society (ACS) in 1816. Its duty was to ensure the repatriation of unwanted and **redundant** slaves to resettle them on the west coast of Africa.

Joseph Roberts (March 15, 1809–February 24, 1876)
(Source: https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/roberts-joseph-jenkins-1809-1876/)

An African ex-slave colony was to be established on the model of the British colony that had been established in Sierra Leone in 1792.

The ACS fulfilled its task by purchasing a strip of land at Cape Mesurado on the mouth of Saint Paul river in 1821. It shipped in the freed slaves in 1822. Between 1822 and 1824 more freed slaves were brought in from USA. These included both the pure negroes and Mulatoes.

James Monroe (April 28, 1758–July 4, 1831)
(Source: https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/roberts-joseph-jenkins-1809-1876/)

In 1824 this colony was renamed Liberia meaning "the land of free people". An old site of the pioneer settlement, Cape Meserado, was renamed Monrovia in honour of James Monroe, the President of USA. From 1825 up to 1836, the colony expanded both in size and population and new settlements were founded. These included Grand Bassam, Cape Palms, Sinoe, Harper, Green Ville, and Maryland. The populations of the freed slaves, the Americo-liberians, also greatly increased.

Until 1841, Liberia was under the American Colonisation Society, which governed the colony through its white agents. Nevertheless, agitation for independence followed, and in 1841 an American negro, Joseph Roberts, was appointed as the first governor of Liberia.

He was an experienced administrator and he became very important in Liberian history. His major reforms included the following:

Financial reform

He established a system for collection revenue collection to suppport the colony's administration by imposing customs duty on ships trading in Liberia's ports. He met stiff opposition from some circles who agreed that Liberia was not an independent state. It was due

to the need to remove this abnormality that European governments and Liberian leaders negotiated and won independence from the American Colonisation Society in 1847. Thus on July 26th, 1847, Liberia was declared an independent state and a republic, with Joseph Roberts as the first President. It was soon recognised by Britain and other European countries. America only recognised Liberia's independence in 1862.

Reasons why Liberia was not colonised

Different factors contributed to the preservation of the independence of Liberia and they include the following:

Liberians were already westernised

Liberians were already westernised, Christianised, democratised and spoke English. Therefore, there was no need for Europeans to colonise Liberia under the cover of introducing the above aspects.

Support from American colonisation society

The American Colonisation Society was independent of the USA government. Its American origins created an impression that America was the godfather of Liberia. As a result, countries feared to colonise Liberia to avoid clashing with USA.

Economic support from America

Unlike other countries such as Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt which lost their independence as a result of failure to clear European debts, Liberia preserved her independence because USA rescued her in similar circumstances. In 1906 Britain almost took away her independence but USA came to her rescue.

Lack of interest in colonies by USA

The European colonial powers left Liberia to the USA just like they left Sierra Leone to Britain. But unlike Britain, USA was not interested in colonies, especially in Africa. In Liberia itself, people preferred to be ruled by the USA; the members of the True Whigs party, for example, were against the declaration of independence in 1847. Thus, if USA had wanted to colonise Liberia nothing would have stopped her.

Liberian Leaders

Liberian leaders were able to defend their independence. For instance, Roberts, Johnson and Roye provided guidance and leadership during the hard times. They signed various agreements with European colonial powers such as Britain and France tot reject colonialism.

Liberian political system

The Liberian political system helped protect the country's independence. Liberians copied the American system of the house of representatives, presidential system, political parties, judiciary and many others. The system was democratic and liked by the majority of Liberians. This created unity among them. Therefore, their system did not produce collaborators to work with colonialists.

The rivalry between European powers

The rivalry between European powers, especially between Britain and France over the Niger, diverted their attention from Liberia and this helped it survive colonisation.

Poor location

European countries rushed for places like Suez canal, the Mediterranean Sea, the Nile River, Congo and Niger Rivers, Mombasa, and the Cape of Good Hope, which were strategically useful. Liberia was not endowed like any of these.

1. Conduct a study using the internet or library research on the country of Liberia and answer the questions below. Afterwards, present the results of your study to the class.

   ◉ Describe the circumstances of the creation of Liberia.

   ◉ Who was Joseph Roberts? What were the financial reforms he launched in Liberia?

   ◉ Describe the circumstances surrounding the attainment of independence of Liberia.

   ◉ Describe how Liberia escaped European colonisation

2. Point out five main factors that enabled the Ethiopians to defeat the Italians at Adowa?

3. How did Ethiopia survive colonialism and why was Italy unable to defeat her?

Unit summary

By 1914, European powers had conquered almost all African countries except the two territories of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and Liberia. After this conquest, European colonial powers initiated different colonial policies to administer their colonies. The main policies that were employed to colonise Africa included the British indirect rule, German direct rule, French assimilation and association, and Belgian paternalism.

All these administrative policies were utilised for different reasons. These included the number of European administrators a colonial master could mobilise; the exploitation of African resources, and accessing African markets for European manufactured commodities. In general, all the European colonial powers aimed to dominate and exploit their colonies.

Whereas most of African was colonised, Ethiopia and Liberia preserved their independence. Ethiopia under Menelik II defeated Italian troops at Adowa in 1896 and this victory combined with many other reasons put an end to the Italian ambition of colonising Ethiopia. Liberia's independence was preserved mainly due to the circumstances of its creation. Liberia was founded in 1821 by the

American Colonisation Society and acquired her independence in 1847. From that time, Liberia was feared by European colonial powers because they did not want to antagonise USA.

Glossary

Ambitious: having a strong desire for success or achievement or requiring full use of your abilities or resources

Ammunition: projectiles to be fired from a gun

Brainchild: a product of your creative thinking and work

Caliph: the civil and religious leader of a Muslim state considered to be a representative of Allah on earth. Many radical Muslims believe a Caliph will unite all Islamic lands and people and subjugate the rest of the world.

Caliphate: the territorial jurisdiction of a Caliph

Despotism: dominance through threat of punishment and violence or a form of government in which the ruler is an absolute dictator (not restricted by a constitution, laws or opposition etc.)

Diplomacy: skillful handling of a situation or wisdom in the management of public affairs

Entity: that which is perceived or known or inferred to have its own distinct existence (living or nonliving)

Genius: someone who has exceptional intellectual ability and originality; unusual mental ability or exceptional creative ability

Impending: close in time; about to occur; imminent

Indigenous: characteristic of or relating to people inhabiting a region from the beginning e.g. "Indigenous Americans"

Inheritor: a person who is entitled by law or by the terms of a will to inherit the estate of another

Jeopardise: pose a threat to; present a danger to e.g. The pollution is jeopardizing the crops or put at risk e.g. "I will Jeopardise my good reputation for this"

Nationhood: the state of being a nation

Oppression: the state of being kept down by unjust use of force or authority; the act of subjugating by cruelty

Partitioning: the act of dividing or separation by the creation of a boundary that divides or keeps apart

Pioneer: someone who helps to open up a new line of research, technology or art

Protectorate: a state or territory partly controlled by (but not a possession of) a stronger state

Puppet: a person who is controlled by others and is used to perform unpleasant or dishonest tasks for someone else

Redundant: more than is needed, desired, or required e.g. "Skills made redundant by technological advance" or laid off work because the job position was no longer needed

Repressive: restrictive of action e.g. "A repressive regime"

Scramble: rushing about hastily in an undignified way

Spy: a secret agent hired by a state to obtain information about its enemies or by a business to obtain industrial secrets from competitors

Subjugate: make subservient; force to submit or subdue

Susceptible: a state of agitation or turbulent change or development

End unit assessment

1. Compare and contrast direct and indirect rule.
2. Describe the features of the French assimilation.
3. Describe the features of indirect rule.
4. Explain the colonial system that the Germans used in Rwanda.
5. Why did British utilise indirect rule?
6. Examine the reasons why Liberia was not colonised.
7. Which colonial administrative system did the Belgians use in their colonies? Explain it.
8. During the colonial era in Africa, Ethiopia was not colonised. Give reasons for this.
9. Discuss how indirect rule were employed by Belgians in Rwanda.

Unit 4

ColonialReformsand their Consequences on African Societies

Key unit competence

Evaluate political, economic and socio-cultural colonial reforms and their consequences on African societies.

Introductory activity:

Use internet or the library, to carry out research on the reforms introduced by the European colonialists and their Consequences on African Societies. Thereafter, prepare a document to submit to the teacher and present the results of your research to the class.

Introduction

Just after their coming to Africa, Europeans introduced the different reforms which would help them to colonise and exploit African economic resources and Africans themselves. Africans were exploited through the taxation system and forced labour. Africa's resources were exploited especially through the massive extraction of minerals.

Such reforms had both negative and positive effects on African societies. Where Africans provided free labor to Europeans or were forced to pay taxes, Europeans benefited. However, African benefited from colonial education.

4.1. Colonial reforms introduced in Africa by Europeans

Learning Activity 4.1

Discuss the reforms introduced by the European colonialists in Africa.

After scrambling for Africa, partitioning and imposing colonial rule on the continent, the Europeans introduced colonial reforms, which helped them to effectively exploit Africa.

Political reforms

During the colonial period, different political reforms were introduced. Most of them aimed at weakening the power of African leaders. New laws were made to respond to this necessity. In Rwanda, for instance, the Belgian colonial government carried out the reforms as discussed below.

On April 28th, 1917, Mwami Musinga was stripped of the power to condemn his subjects to death but he kept the power to hear appeal cases. The chiefs who traditionally had the power to hear and resolve differences in their areas of jurisdiction and had the right to administer punishments, saw their power removed. The Belgian Resident representative or administrator was given the right to hear appeals from such cases.

In 1923, Belgians introduced a law by which Mwami Musinga was prohibited from appointing or dismissing chiefs and notables without the permission of the resident representative of the Belgian Government. In the same way, the heads of provinces also could neither appoint nor dismiss their subordinates without prior agreement of the resident.

Other changes introduced by the colonial governments are, for example, the suppression of local armies and the introduction of a colonial police and army, and the application of European political and judicial systems. In preparation for independence, Britain set up the parliamentary and government system in her colonies. In so doing, the British formed councils of government and parliament

to engaged the nationals in administration and to train them to work in the European democratic system. In addition, the electoral system was also adopted and African political parties were formed in order to implement these reforms.

Economic reforms

Taxation

Taxation was the main method of generating revenue needed to run colonial administration. The commonest taxes were the hut and gun taxes. The methods of collection were brutal and **harsh**, consequently making taxation a cause for African resistance and wars. An example was the hut tax war of 1898 in Sierra Leone.

Africans were forced either to grow cash crops or to work on European farms in order to get money for paying taxes. In some areas like the Congo Free State and Angola, taxes were paid in form of agricultural products and animals. Failure to pay taxes in these areas would result in the confiscation of property and sometimes **mutilation**.

Forced cash crop growing

To achieve the economic exploitation of Africa, cash crop growing had to be boosted. Some crops such as pyrethrum were grown by whites while others like coffee and cotton were grown by Africans under the supervision of Europeans. These cash crops were important forth supply of raw materials to industries in Europe where the industrial revolution had reached its climax by 1880.

However, there were no attempts made by Europeans to encourage the production of food, hence forced labour **undermined** the production of food crops. This led to famine in African societies which traditionally had been self sufficient in terms of food. African economies were developed as producers of raw materials in the form of cash crops, and minerals, and consumers of European manufactured goods. For instance, in Rwanda vast spaces had to be used to grow cash crops at the expense of food crops. New cash crops such as coffee, tea, cotton and pyrethrum were introduced. Coffee was a colonial crop because it was meant for export and the colonial power promoted it seriously. It was in this context that in 1931, the cultivation of coffee was made compulsory in Rwanda.

Each peasant farmer had to possess at least 54 trees of coffee, sub-chiefs 250 and chiefs 1000 trees.

The introduction of cash crops was one way of building an import and export economy. This new type of economy started with the coming of colonial agents in Africa. Africans who previously practiced subsistence farming for home consumption changed and started producing what they could not eat like coffee, and consumed what they could not produce like sugar which they had to buy. This led to the exploitation of Africans.

Land alienation

This was the most evil form of African exploitation in colonial Africa. Africans in settler colonies like Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique were hit hardest by land alienation this practice. In some areas of Africa, Africans were forced to settle in reserve camps, leaving their fertile land to Europeans.

Note that this policy was one of the causes of African resistance in many areas of Africa because the Africans would not allow Europeans to occupy their fertile lands.

Development of legitimate trade

After realising the benefits the slave trade and its abolition, the Europeans did not want to leave Africa. Instead they developed another kind of trade known as "legitimate trade". This new trade is said to have brought peace and stability as it eliminated the raids and the accompanying miseries of slave trade. However, this trade was monopolised by Europeans who transferred all the profits to their mother countries.

Legitimate trade was characterised by unfairness in terms of exchange. Europeans paid low prices for African exports while they sold their exports to Africa at high prices, hence unfavourable terms of trade and subsequent underdevelopment in Africa. Worse still, legitimate trade involved the exchange of high valued African products like gold, copper, diamonds, cotton, coffee, rubber, and palm oil for less valuable European products like beads, used clothes, bangles, spices and glassware.

Discouraging of industrialisation

To ensure the monopoly of raw material sources and market for their manufactured goods, Europeans discouraged the setting up of manufacturing industries in Africa. For instance, in Egypt, Lord Cromer established processing plants for cotton raw material while the production of cotton cloth remained a monopoly of **metropolitan** Britain. He imposed tariffs on locally manufactured goods and on imported coal. He also set up heavy fines on smokers to kill the tobacco industry.

In Senegal, the French never set up any processing industries to the extent that even the groundnuts produced were exported in shells. The only industries set up were primary processing industries which were aimed at reducing bulky raw materials.

Development of road and railway transport

For the development of legitimate trade, the establishment of road and railway transport network became important. This network linked African colonies to the coast.

The roads were mainly established in resource rich areas where colonialists had direct control and their main purpose was to facilitate the effective exploitation of African raw resources. For example, in Togo, Germany constructed railway lines and named them according to the produce they were meant to carry such as cacao nut line, cotton line, palm oil line and iron ore line.

Massive exploitation of minerals

The explorers located places with minerals and fertile soils. This led to the coming of many white settlers who embarked on excessive exploitation of these resources. Examples of excessive exploitation were in Kilembe mines in Western Uganda, Witwatersrand and Transvaal in South Africa, in Congo and Togo. As a result minerals were exhausted in many parts of Africa.

In Rwanda, mining started in 1923. The main minerals were tin, colombo-tantalite or coltan, niobium, tungsten, gold, wolfram, and other minerals associated with tin. The mines were located in Gatumba, Musha, Rwamagana, Rwinkwavu, Rutongo, Nyungwe, Gifurwe, and other areas.

Socio-cultural reforms

Promotion of education

The colonial education system was largely left to Christian missionaries. In the colonial schools, Africans were trained in skills to serve as lower cadres or "colonial auxiliaries". The main products of these schools best suited the posts of clerks. They did not train engineers, doctors and other high ranking professionals.

This education system trained people in European ways of life, and as a result they became of colonial agents of exploitation.

In Rwanda, the priority in education services was offered to the sons of chiefs. In French, Portuguese and Italian colonies, education served the policy of assimilation.

Social subjects such as psychology, political science, literature and history were neglected in order to keep Africans away from forming revolutionary movements against exploitative, oppressive and suppressive policies of the colonialists. To colonialists, the subjects best fit for Africans were Bible study, and literacy in European languages.

Promotion of medical services

During the colonial period, the modern medical system was introduced to replace the traditional one. Hospitals, health centres and dispensaries were built and campaigns of vaccination against killer diseases like polio, measles, pneumonia, and others were launched.

Application Activity 4.1

1. Point out some political reforms introduced by the colonial governments in their African colonies.
2. Define land alienation under colonial rule.
3. Describe how forced cash crop growing was applied in Rwanda under colonial rule
4. Describe how the education system was promoted in colonies?
5. Describe how the medical system was promoted in colonies?

4.2. Consequences of colonial reforms on African societies

Learning Activity 4.2

Analyse the economic, social and cultural consequences resulting from these reforms in African societies. Then prepare a written document to present to the class.

Political consequences

African leaders who resisted colonialism were exiled or banned and replaced by others deemed to be more loyal. For instance, Mwami Musinga was first dismissed from his post and replaced by his son Rudahigwa before being exiled at Moba in the Democratic Republic of Congo. Kabaka Mwanga of Buganda and Omukama Kabalega of Bunyoro, were exiled to Kismayu and later to the Seychelles.

As a result of colonial reforms some societies or individual leaders picked up arms to fight to the colonialists.

Another effect of colonial reforms in Africa was the growth of African nationalism which culminated in the recovery of independence in the 1960s.

Economic consequences

Resettlement of Africans

Africans were forced by colonial governments to move from their areas with fertile soils to allow construction of economic facilities and social infrastructure. As result, many Africans were resettled in other areas, most of them infertile. For instance, the Nama and Herero were forced into the Kalahari Desert, the Kikuyu in Kenya were moved from their fertile highlands and settled in other regions of their country so as to enable British farmers to establish vast plantations.

Another cause of resettlement was the creation of new job opportunities. People preferred to migrate to areas where wages were paid to workers. For example, some Rwandans migrated to

Uganda, which was under British control, where they could find a job with a salary or wages. In other cases, people could leave their former region of residence because of the colonial obligation of working in mines. This policy was adopted by the Belgians in Rwanda, where some Rwandans were taken to the Democratic Republic of Congo in mineral regions like Katanga, and Kasai.

Overexploitation of Africans

Many methods which were used in the implementation of colonial economic policies resulted in over exploitation of Africans. Such methods included; for example, the taxation system and forced labour.

Dependence of African economies on Europe

The colonialists made African economies dependent on Europe. The Europeans did not build industries in Africa; they even destroyed local African factories. The African economy was reduced to a market for European goods in order to gain more commercial profits. Europeans got the raw materials at low prices while their manufactured goods were sold at high prices in Africa.

Modernisation of agriculture

African agriculture was modernised through the introduction of new modern techniques of farming such as planting selected seeds of food crops, crop rotation, and application of organic manure. Besides, schools teaching modern agriculture were introduced. Particularly in Rwanda, the colonial administration put a lot of attention on anti-erosion activities by encouraging the digging of ditches and planting and maintenance of trees. The colonial power also put in place agricultural research stations with the aim of selection and experimentation.

Socio-cultural consequences

Westernised African elites

Europeans constructed schools through which they started initiating and educating Africans in European "civilisation". This colonial education had an aim of training Africans to be colonial collaborators. Africans were taught to write, read and count in European languages.

In addition, a new class of assimilated Africans emerged. In French colonies and in other African countries under Belgian and Portuguese colonial rule, this class enjoyed more privileges than their compatriots. For instance, they could live in or visit European places, and study in schools for European children.

The conditions required to become assimilated were not easy in French colonies. In order to be assimilated, Africans would learn to speak and write French, be converted to the Roman Catholic faith, use French, observed administrative laws, and adopt French dressing habits.

Application Activity 4.2

Explain the consequences of reforms introduced by the European colonialists in Africa.

Unit summary

During the colonial period, Europeans introduced and implemented reforms that would enable them to exploit Africans and their resources. This was after gaining territories and being successful in the implementation of colonial administrative systems. These reforms included economic reforms like taxation, land **alienation,** and forced labour, among others.

Colonial reforms had both negative and positive consequences on African societies. This was due to the exploitation of the African economy by Europeans in order to enhance their economies. However, these reforms had positive effects such as the introduction of formal education.

Glossary

Alienation: (law) the voluntary and absolute transfer of title and possession of real property from one person to another

Harsh: unkind, cruel or uncivil

Metropolis: a large and densely populated urban area; may include several independent administrative districts

Metropolitan: relating to or characteristic of a metropolis

Mutilation: an injury that causes disfigurement or that deprives you of a limb or other important body part

Undermine: destroy property or hinder normal operations

End unit assessment

1. Examine the different economic reforms introduced in Africa by colonial masters.
2. Analyse the social reforms undertaken by Europeans in Africa.
3. Assess the effects of colonial reforms on African societies.

Causes of Decolonisation in Africa with Case Studies of Ghana and Kenya

Key unit competence

By the end of this unit, you should be able to examine the causes of decolonisation in Africa with two case studies of Ghana and Kenya.

Introductory activity:

Using the internet or the library carry out a research on the decolonisation of Africa. Then, define the term "decolonisation". Account for the remaining factors that led to the decolonisation of African. Afterwards, present your findings to the class.

Introduction

This Unit 5 puts emphasis on the definition of the term "decolonisation" and analyses different factors that helped African countries recover their independence.

The causes of decolonisation in Africa are various. They include effects of the Second World War; the demystification of the colonizers; the role played by the African elite; continuous opposition to the colonial system and to exploitation; creation of United of Nations Organization (UNO) in 1945 and its; activities anti-colonialist attitude of the superpowers — USSR and the USA; rise of independent Churches in Africa, role of Christian Churches;

oppressive and exploitative colonial policies of colonialists; development of mass media; formation of political parties; activities of the Organization of African unity (OAU) as a continental body to promote African nationalism; western education; independence of Asian countries, and others.

After the examination of the different causes of the decolonisation of Africa, attention will be placed on the various steps that were taken by two African countries, Ghana and Kenya, in the process of achieving their sovereignty.

5.1. Causes of decolonisation of Africa

Learning Activity 5.1.

Explain any four factors that led to the decolonisation of Africa..

Definition of decolonisation

Decolonisation is the act of withdrawal of colonialists, granting independence to a colony. Decolonisation was a mass movement for **emancipation** of the colonised people which characterised the history of the world in the second half of the 20th century.

Causes of decolonisation in Africa

A combination of factors contributed to the decolonisation in Asia and Africa, and to the rise and growth of African nationalism. These factors are discussed below.

Continuous opposition to the colonial system and to exploitation

The colonised people started and continued to oppose colonial policies. This was manifested in passive resistance which was expressed through different ways. These included the refusal to be subjected to the laws of whites and to pay taxes, the refusal to work as porters; orders, declining to give information or giving misleading information; fleeing, or indifference.

The growth of African nationalism

African nationalism was characterised by the strong desire for self-determination and desire for political, economic and cultural independence by Africans in Africa supported by Africans in the **diaspora**. It was influenced by independent African states like Ethiopia and Liberia as well as colonial exploitation.

To prepare the African elite, colonial masters awarded scholarships to Africans to study abroad and these students came into contact with the white liberals and socialists who were against colonisation. They also witnessed democracy at work in European countries and America, and wondered why such democracy was denied to Africans. On returning to Africa, the elites demanded for democratic governments and an end to colonisation.

The African elite played a paramount role in the growth of nationalism. The elite seriously engaged in the decolonisation process, especially after the Second World War. They founded **trade unions** and political parties locally or in European and American universities and became privileged cadres with writings and associations. The elites started the **negritude** movement that glorified Africa. The glorification of Africa through **negritude** was nothing else but a violent rejection of European imperialism.

Effects of the Second World War

Africans who participated in the Second World War witnessed the weakness of Europeans, sometimes as cowards, retreating and dying during battles. They also learnt that Europeans were not as special as they believed them to be, since they could also die of bullets like Africans. When they returned to Africa, they organised and trained their fellow Africans to fight against colonisation.

The 1941 Atlantic charter

Franklin Roosevelt (January 30, 1882–April 12, 1945)	Winston Churchill (November 30, 1874–January 24, 1965)
(Source:https://cv.libguides.com/presidents/froosevelt)	(Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/461126449348028206/)

The 1941 Atlantic **Charter** was a document signed by American President Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. It stated that all people of the world had a right to choose a form of government best suited to them and all people under colonial rule were to be given to self-rule. This **charter** later inspired Africans to demand for self government.

Effects of the creation of UNO in 1945

The flag of the United Nations

(Source:https://www.un.org/en/sections/about-un/un-logo-and-flag/index.html)

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) was formed in 1945 after World War II. This was a new international peace keeping body that replaced the League of Nations. UNO set up a Decolonisation Committee charged with the responsibility of granting political freedom to all colonised people. The UN **Trusteeship** Council partly prepared African countries to get their independence. UNO was based on the principle of equality and the right of the people to decide for themselves.

The UNO became the spokesperson for colonised people and put pressure on former colonial masters to grant them self rule. It also organised conferences where sensitisation on the need for self rule was done.

The anti-colonialist attitude of the super powers

The two super powers of the world were United States of America (USA) and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). They both had anti-colonial attitude. The Americans were aware of negative impact of colonisation. For the Soviets, colonisation meant exploitation of colonies by powers. Besides, the socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia aimed at combating all forms of exploitation, especially labour. With such a background, the two super powers exerted pressure on the colonial masters to decolonise. They also provided both military and financial assistance to African nationalists to enable them fight for self-rule.

The 1935 invasion of Ethiopia by Italy

Ethiopia had survived the 19th century European colonisation only to be attacked by Mussolini in 1935. This made Africans mobilise funds, soldiers and weapons to liberate Ethiopia from Italian colonialism. Africans learnt that armed resistance was the only way to push colonialism out of Africa.

The pan-African movement
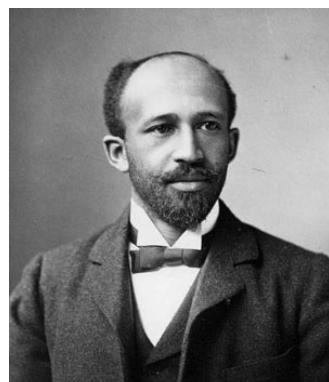
Pan-Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen solidarity between all people of African descent. The movement has support among Africans in the Caribbean, Latin America and the United States. It is based on

the belief that unity is vital economic, social, and political progress and aims to unify and uplift people of African descent. The ideology asserts that the fate of all African peoples and countries are intertwined. Pan-Africanism is "a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the **diaspora**, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny".

The founders were Marcus Garvey, who was a proponent of Black Nationalism in Jamaica and the United States; William Edward Burghardt "W. E. B." Du Bois, an American sociologist, historian, civil rights activist, Pan-Africanist, author, writer and editor; and George Padmore, from Trinidad who was a leading Pan-Africanist, journalist, and author.

The movement contributed to the sensitization of Africans against colonialism, and the formation of a united voice of Africans to **pressurize** UNO to speed up the process of decolonisation. Pan-Africanism stressed that "Africa is for Africans".

Some leaders of Pan-Africanism
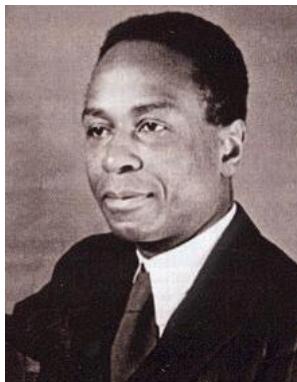
Doctor W. E. Dubois (February 23, 1868–August 27, 1963)

(Source: https://pilgrimpathways.wordpress. com/2010/02/23/w-e-b-dubois-23-february- 1868-27-august-1963/)

Marcus Garvey (17 August 1887–10 June 1940)

(Source: https://twitter.com/africaupdates/ status/1005893625455218688)

George Padmore (June 28, 1903–September 23, 1959)

The formation of Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963

The Organisation of African Unity was a continental body that aimed at promoting African unity. It set up a Liberation Committee based in Dar-es- Salaam. Through the Liberation Committe, OAU provided military, financial and moral assistance to liberation movements in Angola, Algeria, Mozambique, apartheid in South Africa; and elsewhere to fight against colonialism. This increased the pace of decolonisation.

The of African Union flag

Independence of Asian countries

The independence granted to Asian countries since 1945, encouraged African countries to reclaim their independence. The independence of Indonesia in 1945 and India in 1947, showed

African leaders that it was possible to win independence for their respective countries.

After of regaining their independence, the new Asian nations identified with countries which were still under colonial rule. The "Afro-Asiatic movement" was born in 1947 during the conference in New Delhi. The movement was based on the refusal to be affiliated to any ideological bloc; fighting against imperialism; support to national movements; and the search for economic renewal.

This movement was strengthened during the famous Afro-Asiatic conference which met in Bandung, Indonesia from April 18th to 24th, 1955. It was considered as the birth of the third world. It brought together representatives from 28 Asian and African states who condemned colonialism.

Formation of political parties

Nelson Mandela one of the ANC leaders while in jail

(Source: mandela-reviens-tes-successeurs-ont-tous-echoue/)

African elites formed politcal parties in their respective countres. These political parties included African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, Convention Peoples Party (CPP) in Ghana, and Tanzanian African National Union (TANU) in Tanzania. All these helped in mobilising fellow Africans to struggle against colonial rule. They also **petitioned** the United Nations and super powers about the need to decolonise Africa.

Application Activity 5.1.

1. Evaluate the role played by the elite in the decolonisation of African countries.

2. To what extent did World War II contribute to the decolonization of African countries?

5.2. Case Studies of Decolonisation in Africa: Ghana and Kenya

Before reading this unit do the following activities

Learning Activity 5.2

Using internet and the library, carry out a research on the decolonisation of Ghana and Kenya:

1. Explain the factors that aided the decolonisation of Ghana and Kenya
2. Examine the different steps taken by the nationalists in Ghana and Kenya to achieve independence.

Afterwards, present your findings to the class.

Decolonisation in Ghana

Ghana, formerly known as Gold Coast (due to many gold deposits), was colonised by the British and so remained a British colony up to 1957 when she obtained her independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

Map of Ghana

(Source: https://www.shutterstock.com/search/map+ghana)

Kwame Nkrumah (1909 – 1972)

(Source: https://www.alamy.com/stock-image-kwame-nkrumah-pc-1909-1972-led-ghana-to-independence-from-britain-165991797.html)

Ghana was one of the earliest African countries to get self-rule granted by Britain. This was after pressure by Ghanaians led by Kwame Nkrumah. In his independence speech, Kwame Nkrumah stated that "the independence of Ghana alone would be meaningless if the rest of Africa was still under colonial rule". He went ahead to give moral, financial and military assistance to African nationalists to aid their struggle against foreign rule. He also allowed nationalists to use Radio Accra as a voice to transmit nationalistic ideas.

Kwame Nkrumah was the leading nationalist in Ghana who **spearheaded** the independence struggle. He formed the Convention Peoples Party (CPP) which led Ghana to her independence on March 6th, 1957 and the name was changed from Gold Coast to Ghana.

Factors that helped the decolonisation of Ghana

Unity of the population

Ghana had a fairly homogeneous population and so did not suffer from ethnic differences compared to other countries that were characterised by a lot of tribal differences. Most people were Akan speakers and non Akan speakers were cooperative. This led to easy mobilisation for decolonisation.

The people of Ghana hated colonial rule. For example, the Asante fought and defeated the British twice in the 19th century.

The size and population of Ghana was small. In the 1950s it had around 5 million people which made it possible to mobilise for early independence and decolonisation.

Influence of elites

Unlike other African countries, Ghana had a developed education system. By the 1950s, it had produced a big number of intellectuals such as lawyers, doctors, business people, and teachers. They included William Ofori, Francis Awoonor, and Kwame Nkrumah. These provided the required leadership for early independence and decolonisation.

Influence of Second the World War

A big number of Ghanaians who participated in the war on the side of Britain found life hard upon coming back. They formed political parties and taught people western democracy. This increased nationalistic feelings among Ghanaians and led to early struggles for independence and decolonisation.

The formation of political parties

The early formation of political parties like Convention Peoples Party (CPP) United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) in Ghana facilitated mobilisation and sensitisation on the need for independence which led to early decolonisation from the grass roots.

Role of the press and mass media

The press and media also favoured early independence of Ghana. Newspapers like Accra Evening News, Cape Coast, and Daily Mail helped to spread awareness to the people in the country side and equally exerted pressure on the British to decolonise Ghana.

The role played by Kwame Nkrumah

Kwame Nkrumah was a gifted speaker with good organisational ability, and friendly to people from all walks of life. He gave new life to the politics of Ghana and mobilised people which led to early independence and decolonisation of Ghana.

British rule was introduced in some places by force. Africans hated the British oppressive institutions such as the army, police, and prisons. Some of the African leaders for example, Dr Kwame Nkrumah were detained without trial. The rural peasants were not happy with their situation and hence joined Nkrumah's struggle for independence.

Decolonisation in Kenya

Map of Kenya

(Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/506303183088178668/)

Jomo Kenyatta (1891–1978)

(Source: https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-jomo-kenyatta-independent-kenyas-first-president-after-1963-in-the-16021984.html)

Kenya became a British colony in 1895 until 1963 when she attained independence. Nationalism in Kenya took both peaceful and violent means. The Kikuyu used armed resistance while other tribes negotiated. This led to Kenya's independence in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta played a great role in this struggle.

Causes for decolonisation in Kenya

Exploitative Colonial policies

The British, grabbed the Kenya Highlands and Rift Valley areas for cash crop production. This was followed by forced labour on plantation farms and homesteads.

The British dominated Kenya's political, social and economic sectors and deprived African local rulers of their powers. All top government positions like governors, and commissioners were held by the British, excluding Africans who were given lower level posts only. This was widely resented by Kenyans and it raised nationalistic feelings.

After the Second World War, many white settlers came to Kenya, grabbed land and settled permanently Kenya almost became a white man's country. This made Africans suspicious and they rose against the British.

The formation of political parties

In order to unite and mobilise the masse, nationalists like Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya and Eluid Mathu formed Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). These spread nationalistic ideas which led to decolonisation in Kenya.

Jomo Kenyatta, attended the 1945 Pan African Coference in Manchester which adopted slogans like "self government now", and "mass action now". He introduced these slogans in Kenya and they inspired demand for decolonisation.

Kenyan elites founded newspapers like Muigwithania, magazines and writings which were used to circulate nationalistic feelings and demand for self rule. This, in addition to Radio Cairo in Egypt and Radio Accra in Ghana, spread nationalistic ideas among Kenyans.

Many Kenyans like Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga acquired missionary education which exposed them to many ideas. They also studied about wars of independence like the American Revolution and democracy which encouraged them to fight for independence.

The role of MAU-MAU rebellion

This armed struggle was started by Kenyans against the British. It began in areas dominated by the Kikuyu and it was under Kikuyu leadership. It acted as an eye opener to the British to speed up independence for Kenya. Though independence was not granted immediately, it contributed to decolonisation in Kenya by 1961.

Independence of other African countries

The independence of Libya in 1951, Morrocco and Tunisia in 1956, Ghana in 1957 and Congo in 1960 inspired Kenyans to rise against the British oppressors.

Role played by Trade Unions

The formation of labour organisations played a big role in sensitising and creating awareness among workers about their rights. For example in 1939 **Trade Unions** organised strikes against colonial employers. In 1947 Chege Kibachia the **Trade union** leader led a strike in Mombasa. Though he was later imprisoned his role contributed to decolonisation process in Kenya.

The process of decolonisation in Kenya

In 1944, Sir Philip Mitchell was appointed the Governor of Kenya and he elaborated, among other things, the objective of building a multiracial society in Kenya. There were Arabs, Indians, and British. The different races had to participate equally in the politics of Kenya.

However, this process failed totally and after the end of the Second World War, a big number of Kenyans could no longer tolerate being excluded from the administration of their country.

Kenya was the most difficult area to deal with because of the presence of 66,000 white settlers who were strongly opposed to black majority rule. They refused to negotiate with the African nationalist leader, Jomo Kenyatta, and his political party KANU and were determined to prolong white settler rule. The British government was under pressure from both sides. First, they provoked a confrontation, hoping that violence would destroy KANU. However, KANU was able to make little progress, only to be allowed six positions for Africans in the legislative council of fifty-four members.

African carried out terrorist attacks on European farmers and their African workers. It was organised by the MAU-MAU secret society, whose members, mainly from the Kikuyu tribe, had been deprived of much of their land by the white settlers. MAU-MAU stands for Mzungu Arudi Ulaya, Mwafrika Apate Uhuru.

A state of emergency was declared in 1952 and Kenyatta and other nationalists were kept in jail for six years (1953–1959) although he had publicly condemned terrorism. The British deployed 100, 000 troops to flush out terrorists. For eight years some 10, 000 people (mostly Africans) were killed, and about 90, 000 Kikuyu imprisoned in very bad conditions.

The terrorists had been defeated by 1960. The British, under pressure from the wind of change and the huge expense on the anti-terrorist campaign, realised that Kenyatta was, after all, a moderate, and allowed him to become prime minister when Kenya became independent. In spite of his treatment by the British, Kenyatta favoured reconciliation. Whites who decided to stay in Kenya after independence were fairly treated and they took Kenyan citizenship. Kenya became independent on December 12th, 1963.

Application Activity 5.2

1. Explain the role played by UNO in the decolonisation process of Africa.
2. Account for the contribution of the 1941 Atlantic charter in the decolonisation process of Africa.

Unit summary

The recovery of independence of African countries was favoured by different factors. The effects of the Second World War were one of the **overriding** factors in the decolonisation of Africa. Africans who fought during the Second World War managed to discover who the white people were. They noticed that the white people were not different from them. They, therefore, decided to fight them when they found out that it was possible to defeat them.

Many other factors also contributed to the decolonisation of Africa. These included the continuous opposition to the system of exploitation and the role played by the elite. The creation of

UNO in 1945 and the anti-colonialist attitude of super powers, the growth of African nationalism, the formation of OAU in 1963, the independence of Asian countries, and the formation of political parties, contributed to decolonisation.

The unit also focused on recovery of independence for two African countries; Ghana and Kenya. Ghana was colonised by the British and she obtained her independence under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah in 1957.

On the other hand, also colonised by the British, Kenya obtained her independence in 1963. Nationalism in Kenya took both peaceful and violent means.The Kikuyu nationalists, led by Jomo Kenyatta used armed resistance while other tribes negotiated.

Glossary

Bulk: the main part or the property of something that is great in magnitude

Charter: a document incorporating an institution and specifying its rights; includes the articles of incorporation and the certificate of incorporation

Demystification: make less mysterious or remove the mystery from

Diaspora: the dispersion or spreading of people or language or culture from the original homeland

Discrimination: unfair treatment of a person or group on the basis of prejudice

Emancipation: freeing someone from the control of another person or from legal or political restrictions

Gun barrel: a tube through which a bullet travels when a gun is fired

Negritude: an ideological position that holds black culture to be independent and valid on its own terms; an affirmation of the African cultural heritage

Overriding: having superior power and influence e.g. "The overriding mood among policy-makers is optimism"

Petition: a formal message requesting something that is submitted to an authority

Pressurize:	put pressure on someone (to do something)
Prestige:	a high standing achieved through success, influence or wealth, etc.
Spearhead:	be the leader of or someone who leads or initiates an activity (attack or campaign etc.) Or (military) the leading military unit in an attack
Trade union:	an organisation of employees formed to bargain with the employer
Trusteeship:	a dependent country; administered by another country under the supervision of the United Nations

End unit assessment

1. Define the term decolonisation.
2. Identify and explain different factors that led to the decolonization of Africa.
3. Which country colonised Ghana and Kenya?
4. When did Kenya and Ghana recover their independence?
5. Explain the anti-colonialist attitude of USA and USSR.
6. Assess the role played by UNO in the decolonisation of African countries.
7. Evaluate the impact of the Second World War in the decolonisation of African countries.
8. Evaluate the outcomes of the famous Afro-Asiatic conference in the decolonisation of African countries.

Unit 6

The 1789 French Revolution

Key unit competence

Explain the origin, causes and consequences of the 1789 French revolution.

Introductory activity:

Using the internet or the library research on the 1789 French Revolution and describe the characteristics of the Ancient regime before 1789.

Introduction

The French revolution was a major transformation of the social and political system of France, from 1789 to 1799. This revolution transformed France from an absolute monarchy, where the king monopolized power, to a republic of free and equal citizens. The effects of the French revolution were widespread, both inside and outside of France, and the revolution ranks as one of the most important events in the history of Europe.

During the ten years of the revolution, France dismantled the old political and social system, and replaced it with a series of different governments. Although none of these governments lasted more than four years, the initiatives they took permanently changed France's political system. These initiatives included the drafting of several bills of rights and constitutions, the establishment of legal equality for all citizens, introduction of representative democracy,

incorporation of the Church into the state, and the reconstruction of state administration and the law code. All these have had far reaching effects on the whole World

6.1. Causes of the 1789 French revolution

The French Revolution of 1789 refers to social, economic, political and religious changes that took place in France. The changes included the removal of the ancient regime and the establishment of a new social order that was based on liberty, equality, and fraternity. The causes of the revolution are discussed below.

Unfair political system of ancient regime

The ancient regime in France was led by despotic kings. The administration was characterised by dictatorship, nepotism and abuse of human rights. The King's powers were absolute and could not be questioned. He was the law and the law was himself, and that is why he once boasted "the thing is legal because I wish it to be", "the state is myself!"

There was no written constitution, no democracy, and no fair representation in the parliament. Even the King's ministers had unlimited powers through "lettre-de-cachet" (arrest **warrant** with imprisonment without trial), which caused a lot of suffering to the French people, forcing them to think of change and work towards it.

Social class struggle

French society was divided into three social classes; the clergy, the nobles and middle class with the peasants.

The clergy and nobles enjoyed a lot of privileges. They owned large tracts of land, dominated the key government posts, and

were exempted from taxes and military **conscription**. They were promoted in the army; were entitled to education and were judged by special courts. They could collect tributes from the peasants, had the right to get pensions; the right to enjoy all forms of freedom; to stay in the King's palace and the right to move with weapons in public.

The peasants and the middle class were 23 million out of 25 millions, but were denied all sorts of freedom, subjected to forced labour, to unfair taxation, were imprisoned without trial, were denied promotion in the army and higher education.

The middle class (bourgeoisie) was composed of teachers, lawyers, doctors, scientists and industrialists. Despite their education, they were excluded from top posts in the government and in the army. They also had to end money to the government and were not sure of recovering that money. By 1789, they had read and interpreted the work of philosophers, which opened the eyes of French people and forced them to fight against the ancient regime.

Role of the French philosophers

The philosophers were great thinkers who were highly educated in world affairs and put their ideas in writing, condemning the social, political and economic situation in France. They attacked and exposed the wrongs of French society and created the French revolutionary spirit among the peasantry and middle classes.

Unfair land ownership

The land was unfairly distributed among the nobles and the clergy at the expense of the majority peasants. The Church also owned 20 per cent of the land that it rented to the peasants. The peasants lived as tenants on the estates, landlord's who also exploited them. This is why they demanded for reforms in the revolution of 1789.

Unfair taxation system

Before 1789, the taxation system of France was unfair. The poor peasants were forced to pay a lot of taxes like salt tax, property tax, road tax, **tithe** and customs duty; while the rich nobles and the clergy were exempted from taxation. The peasants were tired of this unfair taxation system rose up against the regime of the time.

Bankruptcy of the throne

By 1788, the French treasury was alarmingly empty. This financial crisis was caused by corruption, embezzlement of funds and sponsoring the American war of independence. On top of that, Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette lived in luxury. By 1789 the government was in financial crisis which forced them to borrow money from the middle class and at the end they failed to pay back. In an attempt to recover their money the middle class advocated for the overthrow of the government. This financial crisis led to the French revolution in the following ways:

a) People lost confidence in the government and wished that it could be removed.
b) When the government failed to pay back the money to the middle class, the people decided to remove the government.
c) That crisis led to inflation and unemployment which forced people into the revolution.
d) It forced the King to call the Estates General meeting in which the revolution started.

Dismissal of the financial reformers

Capable financial controllers, Turgot and Necker, were dismissed. This worsened the financial crisis in France. They had suggested reforms such as taxing the wealth of the nobles and the clergy, but the Queen advised the King to expel them because they criticised the financial mismanagement at the royal palace. This led to the revolution against Louis XIV in 1789.

Character of Louis XVI

He was the last King who ruled France from 1774 to 1793. He contributed to the occurrence of the French revolution in the following ways:

Louis was responsible for the financial crisis that hit France due to corruption, embezzlement and extravagance that characterised his reign. This created a revolutionary mood among the masses.

He confined himself in the royal palace, which made him unpopular and he was always asleep or hunting during crucial meetings.

He married a beautiful but less intelligent, arrogant and proud Marie Antoinette from Austria, a traditional enemy of France.

Besides, she poorly advised the King hence committing **blunders** that resulted in the French revolution.

He signed a free trade treaty with Britain to allow her to sell her goods in France untaxed. This led to the collapse of local industries and generated a lot of hatred from the middle class who also joined the revolution against him.

He lacked firmness and often shed tears during hot debates. He was inconsistent and that is why he was ill-advised by the Queen. To Frenchmen, Louis XVI was king in name but not in character.

He involved France in the American War of Independence which led to the **bankruptcy** of his regime and he failed to pay back the money borrowed from the middle class.

Louis XVI of France was the grandson of king Louis XV and was married to Marie-Antoinette. Louis was considered a well-intentioned but weak king. A heavy tax burden and court extravagance led eventually to a popular revolt against him and paved the way for the French revolution. Louis was guillotined by the revolutionary regime in 1793.

Louis XVI (August 23, 1754–January 21, 1793)
(Source: https://www.biography.com/royalty/louis-xvi)

Influence of Marie Antoinette

Marie Antoinette was a daughter of an Austrian Empress called Marie II Thérèse. She was hated by Frenchmen, more especially among the middle class, because she represented Austria which had supported Britain in the "Seven Years War" which led to the loss of French colonies in Canada and India.

She was very insensitive to the problems of the French and that was why she, at one time, arrogantly told the peasants that: "let them eat cakes if bread is expensive" which angered the peasants during the French revolution.

She was also busy wasting taxpayer's money on luxurious parties, giving a lot of gifts, employing about 500 servants and buying four

pairs of shoes per week. This contributed to the financial crisis and led to the outbreak of the revolution.

Marie Antoinette was the Queen of France who died on the guillotine in 1793 during the French revolution. Her lavish life-style made her unpopular. Paying no attention to her country's financial crisis, she refused to make any concessions to hungry mobs who marched on the palace in Versailles. Instead, she called out troops. Violence followed, and she and her husband, King Louis XVI, were imprisoned by revolutionaries and later executed.

Marie Antoine (November 2, 1755–October 16, 1793)

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/98/Marie-Antoinette%2C_1775_-_Mus%C3%A9e_Antoine_L%C3%A9cuyer.jpg

Influence of England

England provided an example to French society. By 1750, she had modernised and had the best parliament, a good constitution and an independent judiciary as well as freedom of religion. In addition to a better political environment, England became a reference for political philosophers who based their arguments on Britain. Many Frenchmen desired the life of England and this fuelled the 1789 French revolution.

Effects of American revolution

France participated in the American War of Independence to revenge against Britain. The French government, therefore, sent troops to America to fight the British. In 1776, the Americans defeated Britain. However, the war worsened the already alarming financial crisis in France and also provided a practical example to the French that "if success could be obtained by the Americans, it could be obtained by the French as well".

Politically, the French soldiers who fought on the side of America came back with new revolutionary ideas and they were shocked to find out that the very conditions that America was fighting were present in France. General Marquis de Lafayette who was the commander of the French troops in America took the commanding role in the French revolution.

Natural calamities

To make matters worse, from 1788 France experienced natural calamities which led to the untold misery. In 1788 there was famine caused by poor harvests, and the poor taxation system which prevented easy transportation of food.

In early 1789 severe winter hit Europe leading to the freezing of many rivers in Europe; hence no fishing, transportation and employment. On top of that, in 1786 France had signed a free trade treaty with Britain which caused suffocation of French industries as cheap goods from Britain flooded the French market.

As a solution to the problems faced by the French, a revolution was looked at as an alternative.

The estates General meeting of May 5th, 1789

The above factors created a fertile environment for the revolution. It only needed an incident to spark off a great revolution. King Louis XVI decided to call a meeting for all the three classes on Sunday May 5th, 1789 in order to resolve the economic crisis. In attendance were 1,224 delegates, including 308 clergy, and 295 nobles. Jacques Necker advised the King that the number of the third class members should be double because they represented the majority. That was why the third class members were 621.

Trouble came when they failed to agree on the voting procedures where the King wanted the voting to be on class basis and their opinion was for one man one vote. The king being very weak, failed to control the situation and the third class members declared themselves the National Assembly. This marked the beginning of the French revolution.

Application Activity 6.1

1. Referring to the era of enlightenment you studied in Senior Two, analyse the role of the French great thinkers to the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and other causes of the French Revolution in general. Write down the results of your analysis to share with your classmates.
2. Explain the political; economic and social causes of the 1789 French Revolution?

6.2. Effects of the French Revolution

Learning Activity 6.2

Using the internet or library research, identify and analyse the positive effects of the French Revolution in France and Europe. Thereafter, prepare a document to present to the class.

Positive effects

The 1789 French Revolution destroyed the Bastille and this symbolised the end of despotism on 14th July 1789.

It revived the French parliament (National Assembly or General meeting on May 5th, 1789) which had last sat 175 years before in 1614.

The revolutionaries succeeded in spreading the French revolutionary principles of equality, liberty and fraternity beyond French borders.

The French Revolutionaries passed a radical law known as "civil constitution of the clergy" which allowed freedom of worship in France and ended Catholic Church dominance.

The national assembly produced a new constitution in November 1791.

The French Revolution ended feudal privileges on August 4th, 1789 in the assembly at Versailles. Land that belonged to the Catholic Church and the nobles was nationalised and given to the landless peasants at cheaper prices.

It led to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the citizen on August 27th, 1789. The document abolished the social class divisionism which had existed in France during the Bourbon monarchy (ancient regime). This led to equality among French citizens, as it declared that all men were equal before the law.

Multiparty politics was achieved in France with various political parties or clubs like Jacobins, Girondins, Feuillants, Montagnards and Cordoliers.

The royalist guards were replaced by the national guard after the storming of the Bastille on July 14th, 1789.

It ended dictatorship/despotism in France after the formulation of a new constitution.

The revolutionaries introduced reforms in the education system. Polytechnic schools were built to train and produce skilled labour; secondary schools were built and old ones rehabilitated. This promoted efficiency in the education sector.

Negative effects

The French Revolution resulted in loss of lives and destruction of properties.

The July 1790 the Civil Constitution of the Clergy passed during the made the Catholic Church and the state enemies.

It damaged the diplomatic relations between France and her neighbours like Prussia, Austria, Russia and Britain due to the mistreatment of Louis XVI.

The revolution inspired the outbreak of other revolutions like the 1830 and 1848 revolutions in Europe that left a lot of lives and properties destroyed.

It led to the disorganisation of the map of Europe. This was done by France in her expansionist policy when it conquered Spain, Naples, German and the Italian states.

It led to financial collapse and decline due to numerous wars that France fought with the rest of Europe. The reign of terror also led to financial collapse.

It led to loss of lives. Many people died, mostly during the reign of terror as well as during wars between revolutionary France and her neighbours. People like Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette, and many others were killed by **guillotine**.

It forced many people into exile in Austria, Russia, Prussia and Italy where they came to be known as the émigrés.

1. Find out three ways to explain how the financial crisis led to the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.
2. The dismissal of the finance ministers led to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Explain this assertion.

Unit summary

The French Revolution broke out in 1789 against the ancient regime of King Louis XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette. It lasted about ten years, ending in 1799 with the rise to power of Napoleon Bonaparte.

This revolution was mainly against the nature of the political regime under King Louis XVI. The revolutionaries were fed up with the social injustices under the ancient regime and all kind of unfair policies like unfair land distribution, unfair taxation, unfair political system, among others.

The French Revolution of 1789–1799 had both negative and positive affects on French society, in particular and Europe in general.

Glossary

Bankruptcy: inability to discharge your debts

Blunder: an embarrassing mistake

Conscription: compulsory military service

Dismantle:	tear apart into pieces
Guillotine:	instrument of execution that consists of a weighted blade between two vertical poles; used for beheading people
Lavish:	very generous or characterised by extravagance
Tithe:	a levy of one tenth of something or an offering of a tenth part of some personal income
Warrant:	summons from a court commanding police to perform specified acts

End unit assessment

1. Describe the characteristics of the ancient regime in France before 1789.
2. Analyse the role of the French great thinkers in the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.
3. Describe the social structure of the French society by 1789.
4. Identify and analyse the positive effects brought by the French revolution to France and Europe.
5. Examine the negative effects caused by the revolution which broke out in 1789 in French society.
6. To what extent were economic and financial factors responsible for the outbreak of the 1789 revolution in France?

Unit 7

Causes and effects of the First World War (1914–1918)

Key unit competence

Explain the causes and effects of the First World War.

Introductory activity: :

Examine the causes effects of the First World War, present your results to the class.

Introduction

For a long time, trouble had been developing in Europe. It was centred in the Balkans, an area which both Russia and Austria-Hungary wanted to control. A small nation in the Balkans called Serbia hoped to unite the Slavs in the area and expand its territory. Since many Slavs lived in Austria-Hungary, Serbia knew that it would have to defeat Austria-Hungary and hoped to get help from Russia.

The First World War broke out on July 28th, 1914 after the assassination of the Archduke of Austria-Hungary, Franz Ferdinand with his wife his Sophia, by a Serb student Gavrilo Princip in an incident known as "Sarajevo double murder". The First World War was a global war centred in Europe. African countries got involved in this war by fighting on behalf of their colonial masters, while

countries in other continents participated directly or indirectly. It has also been regarded as a World War because its effects were felt world over.

It was predominantly called the World War or the Great War until the outbreak of a similar World in 1939, when it became known as the First World War. It involved all the world's great powers, which were assembled in two opposing alliances: the Allies (based on the **triple entente**: Britain, France and Russia) and the Central Powers (**The triple alliance**: Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy); but, since Austria–Hungary had taken the offensive against the agreement, Italy did not join the war.

The war ended in 1918 with the defeat of the triple alliance member countries by the allies. This war involved people at home as well as soldiers at the front and for the first time, weapons of mass destruction were widely used, including the machine gun, tank, airplane and submarine.

7.1. Causes of the First World War

Learning Activity 7.1

1. Explain the two concepts "conflict" and "war".
2. Examine the causes of the First World War

Present your results to the class.

- There was lack of an international peace keeping body because the Congress System, which would have solved a local affair between Austria and Serbia had collapsed by 1914.
- There was lack of diplomatic statesmen in the World; for example, Von Bismarck of Germany. Kaiser William II, who replaced Bismarck, was an aggressive leader.
- The Alliance System which was initiated by Bismarck was composed of the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. They were formed for defensive purposes but later became hostile to each other.
- Economic competition among European countries mostly between Germany, France and Britain, led to situations like

the Moroccan Crises in 1906 and 1911 when Germany lost Morocco to France. This left the spirit of revenge on the side of Germany.

- The arms race which had been characterised by the growth of militarism between France and Germany. This led to the manufacture of the most dangerous weapons in preparation for war.

- There was growth of nationalism in Italy and Germany which emerged as strong states, and the great Serbian movement which resulted in the Sarajevo incident.

- The Franco–Prussian war of 1870–1871 resulted in the defeat of France. The fear of French revenge, made Bismarck start the alliance system and arms manufacture.

- The Aggressive character of Kaiser William II of Germany who started the arms race forced Britain to also join the race, eventually leading to the war.

- Newspapers like The London Times played a big role not only to publicize the preparation for war but also to dramatize the war situation.

- The Sarajevo incident of June 28th, 1914 was the immediate cause of the First World War. The assassination of Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, with his wife Sophia at Sarajevo by a Serbian student, Gravrilo Princip, forced Austria-Hungary to plan an attack on Serbia because it was believed that Serbia supported the killers. Germany promised support to Austria-Hungary; as Russia, Belgium, France and Britain supported Serbia. On July 28th, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia and World War I began.

Archduke Franz Ferdinand (December 18, 1863–June 28, 1914) with his wife, Sophie Chotek, and their three children

(Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Franz_Ferdinand_Archduke_of_Austria_with_

family_1908.jpg)

Sarajevo incident of June 28th, 1914 (Source: https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/
assassination-archduke-ferdinand)

Application Activity 7.1

Discuss the immediate causes of the First World War. Do you think the Sarajevo incident could have triggered off the First World War? Present your views to the class.

7.2. Course of the First World War
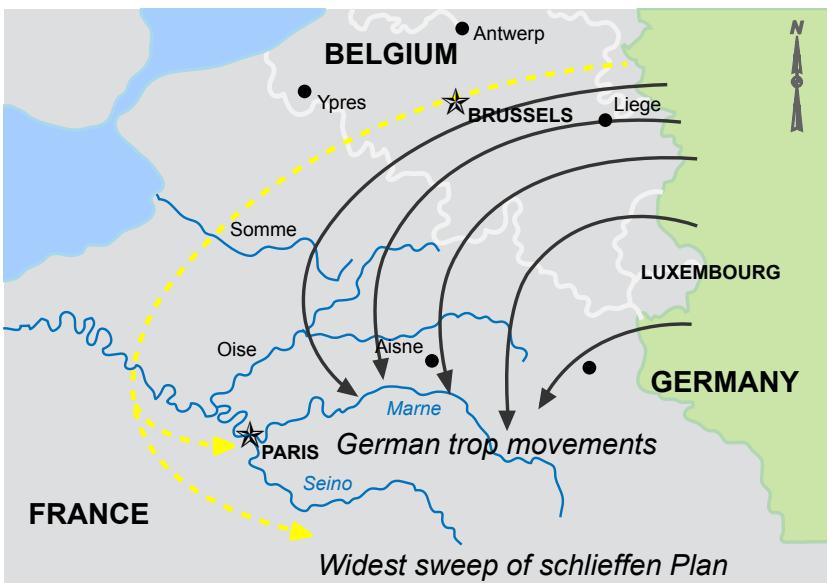
Before the outbreak of the First World War, the great powers in Europe such as Germany and France had already made their war plans.

The **German Schlieffen Plan:** Alfred von Schlieffen, chief of the German general staff from 1891 to 1905, formulated the original plan not to fight on two fronts (France on the west and Russia on the East) at the same time. Since Germany assumed that France would automatically join Russia, she planned to first attack France which could be defeated in six weeks. The German forces would then be switched rapidly across to face Russia whose mobilisation was expected to be slow.

The plan called for German armies to invade Belgium and sweep into France, moving south and west to capture Paris before pushing the French armies east toward the German border. However, when the German armies invaded France in 1914, they did not follow the plan and instead drove north and east of Paris. As a result, they did not go far enough West to capture Paris. Because of failure to carry out the Schlieffen Plan, Germany did not quickly defeat the French, and the war lasted for four more years.

Schlieffen Plan and Actual Troop Movements

(Source: https://image.slideserve.com/1254001/slide4-l.jpg)

The legend **French General Joffre's Plan:** Joseph Jacques Césaire Joffre was a French commander during the first two years of First World War. By his plan, France planned and wanted to lead an offensive against Germany in order to recapture its territories of Alsace-Lorraine that France lost during the Franco - Prussian war of 1870–1871.

After the Sarajevo incident and with the promise of German support, Austria sent an impossible **ultimatum** to Serbia which stated that Serbia must "allow Austrian officials and police to investigate the assassination and ordering the Serbian government to condemn any propaganda against Austria-Hungary and demanding a satisfactory reply with in 48 hours".

Serbia rejected this **ultimatum** which it regarded as a loss of independence and Austria got a chance to declare war on Serbia on July 28th, 1914. On July 29th, 1914 Russia mobilised support for Serbia and Germany demanded that Russia should demobilise, which Russia refused. On August 1st, 1914 Germany declared war on Russia.
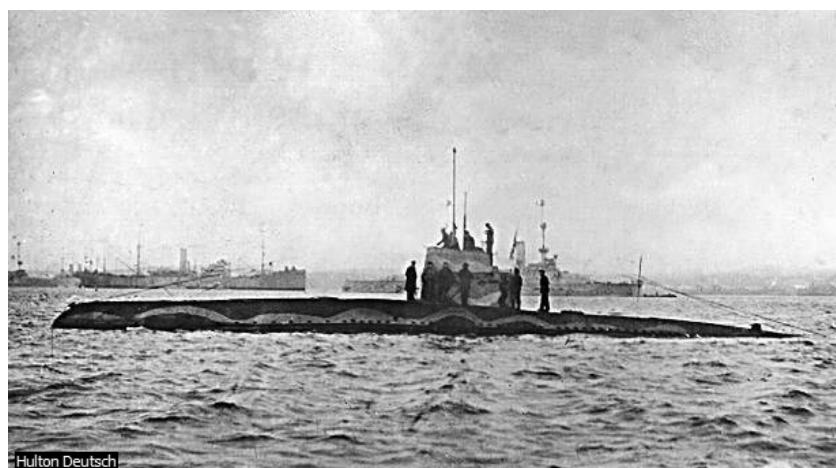
Germany again demanded France to declare her neutrality and which France refused, consequently Germany declared war on France on August 3rd, 1914. German troops invaded Belgium thus violating the 1839 London Treaty that had granted

independence and neutrality to Belgium. This attack forced Britain to join the war against Germany on August 4th, 1914. On August 6th, 1914 Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia.

Greece, Bulgaria, Italy and Romania temporarily kept their neutrality, but later also declared war. Italy declared war on Germany on May 24th, 1914 (after promises of territories of Trentino, Triest and Dalmatia through a secret treaty signed in London on April 26, 1914 with the Allies). Romania declared war on Austria on August 27th, 1915; Bulgaria on Serbia on October 13th, 1915; and Greece on Germany on August 27th, 1917.

The conflict extended to other continents and almost all nations outside of Europe joined war. On August 23rd, 1914 Japan joined the war by occupying German territories in China. On April 2nd, 1917 USA joined the war after staying neutral from August 1914. The following reasons partly made USA to join the war:

◉ The Germany U–boat campaign or German Submarine campaign: On January 31st, 1915 Germany announced "Unrestricted submarine warfare" against the Allies. This affected the ships of USA.

The German U-Boat, that sank the USA liner RMS Lusitania on 7th May, 1915.

(Source: https://ww1.canada.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/uboat-930x600.jpg)

Germany destroyed an American ship that was carrying passengers which was suspected of carrying weapons to the the Triple Entente. The attack caused a loss of 128 Americans out of almost 200 on board which forced USA to join the war.

- The discovery that Germany was trying to persuade Mexico to declare war on the USA, promising her Texas, New Mexico and Arizona in return made USA to join the war.
- USA wanted to support the loans it had given to Triple Entente members.
- The withdrawal of Russia from the war removed one obstacle as Americans had hesitated about siding with the autocratic Russian government.
- The USA also wanted to safeguard the liberty of the seas and to keep solidarity with Western countries, her debtors.

Beginning in June, the first troops of the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), under General John J. Pershing, arrived in France. However, US intervention in the First World War did not have an immediate impact on the fighting in Europe. When Congress declared war, the United States had a small volunteer army that had no experience in the kind of warfare that was being waged on the western front. In May 1917 Congress enacted conscription through the Selective Service Act to draft men into the armed forces. Within a few months over 10 million American men had registered for military duty.

At first the Central Powers were more successful than the Allied Powers. The German army captured parts of France. But neither side was able to completely defeat the other. In 1918, the Germans drove Russia out of the war. Finally, on March 3rd, 1918, the Central Powers and Russia concluded the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which ended Russia's participation in the war. The price that the Russia's Bolshevik government had to pay for peace was a heavy one. Russia was forced to cede to Germany the Baltic States, Russian Poland, and Ukraine, which briefly became part of a vast satellite of the German empire. After Russia withdrew from the war, German military planners were able to transfer forces to France to prepare for a massive offensive against the British, French, and new USA troops there.

When the USA joined the war, they sent 2 million troops to Europe and they helped to turn the war in favour of the Allies in April 1917. On November 11th, 1918 an **armistice** was signed between

France, Germany and Britain, in a railroad carriage, at Compiègne outside the French town of Rethondes. At 11 am on 11th November 1918 a **ceasefire** came into effect ending the First World War.

Signing the Armistice on November 11th, 1918

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2f/Armisticetrain_%28slight_crop%29. jpg)

The end of the war prompted relief and jubilation in all of the **belligerent** countries. The murderous struggle that had dragged on for over four years had finally ended. Political leaders then took up the task of trying to transform the military **armistice** into a durable peace.

A formal state of war between the two sides persisted for another seven months, until the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty also known as Paris Peace Treaty, with Germany on June 28th, 1919. Later treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire were signed. However, the negotiation of the latter treaty with the Ottoman Empire was followed by strife (the Turkish War of Independence), and a final Peace Treaty between the Allied Powers and the country that would shortly become the Republic of Turkey was not signed until July 24th, 1923, at Lausanne.

The Central Powers were defeated by the members of Triple Entente because of the following factors:

- The entry of USA into the war in April 1917 brought vast resources that led to the defeat of Central Powers.
- The Allied political leaders of the time like George Clemenceau in France and Lloyd George in Britain were more capable leaders than those of the Central Powers.
- Germany was let down by the Allies like Italy and Bulgaria who withdrew from the war.
- The continuous heavy losses on the side of Germany robbed her of the best troops and by 1918 the country had new troops who were young, lacked experience and were easily defeated.
- The German submarine campaign brought USA into the War, which contributed to the defeat of Germany.
- The Allied sea powers enforced a deadly blocked which led to food shortage for the members of the Triple Alliance while the Triple Entente were fully supplied.
- The failure of the Schlieffen Plan removed all hopes of a quick German victory over France.

The role of African soldiers in the First World War

Africans played a paramount role in the First World War. In fact, European colonial powers resorted to Africans in many ways. On one hand, they recruited at the same time Africans in their troops, Africans contributed material resources which were greatly needed during this period of hostilities. For instance, the Britain conscripted subjects to fight her battles on a massive scale. Contributing African countries included Nigeria, the Gambia, Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), South Africa, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Nyasaland (now Malawi), Kenya, and the Gold Coast (now Ghana). The conscripted soldiers from British East Africa were known as the King's African Rifles.

Since European colonial masters had been militarily supported by African colonies, the demands of the war meant their forces increasingly relied on the economies of the colonies to feed them and provide many of the raw materials such as munitions, timber, cotton, meat, fruit and vegetables.

Over two million people in Africa made huge sacrifices for the European Allies. 100,000 men died in East Africa and 65,000 men from French North Africa and French West Africa lost their lives.

African troops also fought in the Middle East. During The First World War 55,000 men from Africa fought for the British and hundreds of thousands of others carried out the vital roles of carriers or auxiliaries. It is estimated that 10,000 Africans were killed.

France also drew troops from all over her African colonies. These soldiers had the name of 'Tirailleurs Sénégalais'. With the start of the War, many Tirailleurs Senegalais soldiers were brought to the frontline in France and fought several important battles, like Vimy Ridge and Somme. French West African troops serving in the War comprised about 170,891 men, and approximately 30,000 of them were killed.

The Belgians also recruited Africans as soldiers mainly in Democratic Republic of Congo known as Forces Publiques. The Germans, on the other hand, used Askari troops. Germans also recruited from her colonies soldiers known as Rugaruga who served as merceneries.

The role played by African soldiers, was to help their colonial masters to fight against their enemies. For instance, German soldiers had been defeated in their African colonies and the participation of the Kings Rifles and Tirailleurs Sénégalais was of great assistance on the side of British and French. Although, the Germans were beaten, they had also been helped by African soldiers. For instance, in Rwanda, 'Indugaruga', was the name given to Rwandans that had been recruited into the German army to fight against the Belgians from Democratic Republic of Congo.

In summary, the role played by Africans in the First World War was huge. They gave up their lives, money and time to help the Allies defend their freedom. The support provided to European Governments caused scarcity of money and this led to the shortage of food and water, and in some cases famine.

Application Activity 7.2

Discuss the reasons that led the Americans to join the first world war.

7.3. Consequences of the First World War

Learning Activity 7.3

Make research on the internet or the library on the consequences of the World War I and thereafter present your results to the class.

- The First World War led to the loss of lives with an estimated 9.7 million combatants dead. About 21 million were wounded while 7.7 million soldiers went missing. An estimated 6 million civilians died due to direct military action, and famine, or diseases.
- Women were employed in factories, shops and public offices replacing men who were fighting in the war. This contributed to the emancipation of women.
- The war was partly responsible for the first peasant revolution in Russia, also known as the 1917 Russian revolution.
- The League of Nations was formed as an international peace keeping body in 1920.
- The war caused changes of governments in Europe. In Italy a fascist regime under Mussolini emerged. In Germany, Kaiser William II fled into exile in Holland and was replaced by the Weimar Republic under president Hinderburg.
- It contributed to the decline of the German and Ottoman empires.
- Dictators like Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany came to power.
- Japan and USA emerged as super powers. Some countries like Canada, Brazil, Mexico and Argentina experienced growth in their economies.
- New independent states like Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were formed.
- There was massive displacement of people in Europe. Over 21 million people were displaced from their homes and became refugees or internally displaced persons. After the war these people were resettled in camps, mainly in Western Europe.
- There was territorial re-adjustment whereby France regained her territories of Alsace-Lorraine and some African states changed their colonial masters; for example, Rwanda, Burundi, Togo, Tanganyika and Cameroon among others.

- It led to the calling of the Paris conference and the signing of the Versailles Peace Treaty which sowed the seeds of world war II.
- It led to the formation of the League of Nations in 1920 as an international peace keeping organisation. This was supported by European statesmen who claimed that the absence of a strong international body made a strong contribution to the outbreak of the War.
- The war resulted in economic depression in Europe.

Effects of World War I on Africa

The First World War affected all countries that directly or indirectly participated in it. The war impacted Africa economically, socially and politically.

Economic consequences

Firstly, Africa experienced economic hardship, due to the exclusion of Germany from trade. Germany was regarded as a major trading partner of Africa before the First World War, and when she was completely excluded from the continent and her merchandise confiscated by the victors, there was a decline in African exports to Germany.

Secondly, the War had a general negative impact on the trade and development of Africa. The prices of all commodities increased, the economies stalled, and the poverty rate increased.

The armies needed food supplies and African colonies were tasked to provide the food. This led to food scarcity, starvation, and death.

Africans were recruited to fight in European armies. Others were recruited to carry heavy weapons and supplies which exhausted their bodies.

The need to raise troops and carriers and to produce crops for export reduced the supply for manpower in many areas of Africa. For example, the recruitment of carriers from Katanga for the campaign in Eastern Africa led to a decrease in incomes of both the men and women who were recruited as carriers and food suppliers.

Social and political consequences

The First World War changed in the relationship between Europe and Africa. Over two million people from Africa made huge sacrifices

for the European Allies. In East Africa 100,000 men died while 65,000 men from French North Africa and French West Africa also lost their lives many others were disabled as a result of war.

Through combat experience and social cohesion with the Europeans, Africans discovered the realities of European society. This gave confidence to Africans to play a role in the administration of colonies. In the territories, which had contributed heavily to the war effort, the population hoped for social and political reforms. In Senegal, for example, the reforms promised by France to Blaise Diagne (Mayor of Dakar) were not fulfilled after the war, which made its people to withdrew their confidence in him.

The First World War marked a clear evolution of the international opinion with regard to colonialism. Before the war, the colonial powers did not have to report to anybody. Afterwards, in 1919, the conference of Versailles examined the colonial past of Germany and considered it not being in conformity with the new rules of morality, which were to govern the administration colonies. It is one of the reasons, that made colonialists to withdrew the colonies from Germany.

The First World War also had consequences in Rwanda. These included the famine "Rumanura", the end of German rule and the beginning of Belgian rule. "Rumanura" famine was felt most in Bugoyi because throughout the First World War, this region was the principal theatre of military operations in Rwanda. Bananas were cut down, and cultivation of sorghum was suspended by the German command in order to deny cover to the enemy. Moreover, people had fled their homes and left their land for fear of bombs and to run away from the and burden of carrying war materials. There was also demolition and vandalism of homesteads by soldiers who were looking for food and people to help carry the war supplies.

Application Activity 7.3

Discuss the consequences of the World War I.

7.4. The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty
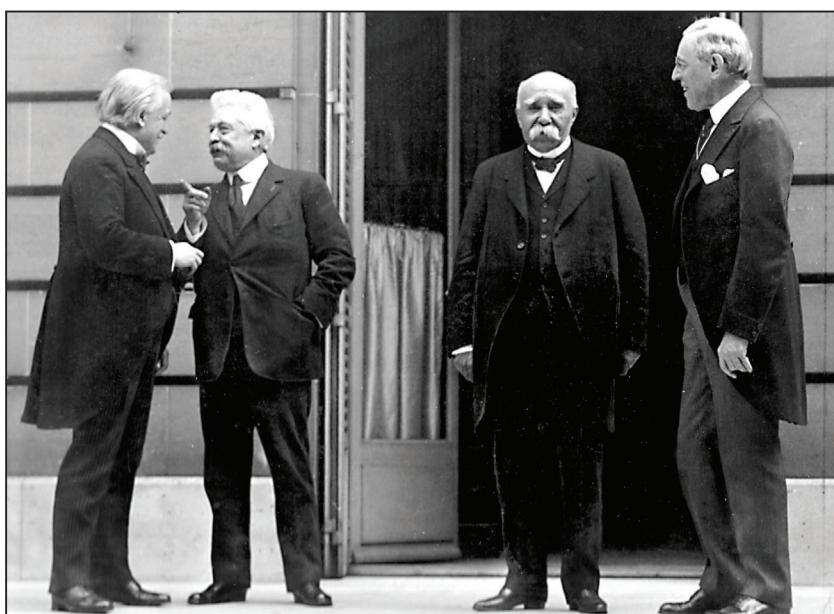
At the end of the First World War, the leading statesmen were left with the task of making peace and creating order out of the chaos. The post-war peace was made at Versailles near Paris from January to June 1919. The Versailles Peace Treaty was signed between Germany and the Allied powers. On June 28th, 1919, exactly five years after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. The other central powers on the German side of World War I signed within separate treaties.

The Versailles Peace Treaty was a document that was signed in the hall of mirrors at Versailles between the victorious powers and defeated Germany. The terms and conditions of the treaty were manipulated by the Allied Powers against Germany. This made the aim of the treaty questionable in making peace.

From left: Vittorio Orlando, David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau and Woodrow Wilson at the First World War peace negotiations in Versailles

(Source: : https://mediad.publicbroadcasting.net/p/shared/npr/styles/x_large/

nprshared/201805/543460688.jpg)

The conference was dominated from the beginning to the end by:

- ◉ Georges Clemenceau: "the old tiger," the Prime Minister of France;
- ◉ Lloyd George: Prime Minister of Britain;
- ◉ Woodrow Wilson: President of the USA;
- ◉ Vittorio Orlando: Italian Prime Minister .

The architects of the Versailles Treaty

Until March 1919, the most important role for negotiating the extremely complex and difficult terms of the peace fell to the regular meetings of the "council of ten", which comprised the heads of government and foreign ministers of the five major victors (Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Japan). As this unusual body proved too formal for effective decision-making, Japan and for most of the remaining conference the foreign ministers left the main meetings, so that only the "big four" remained. After his territorial claims to Fiume (today Rijeka) were rejected, Italian Prime Minister, Vittorio Orlando left the negotiations and only returned to sign in June.

The final conditions were determined by the leaders of the "**big three**" nations: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, and American President Woodrow Wilson. Even with this smaller group it was difficult to decide on a common position because their aims conflicted. The result was called the "unhappy compromise".
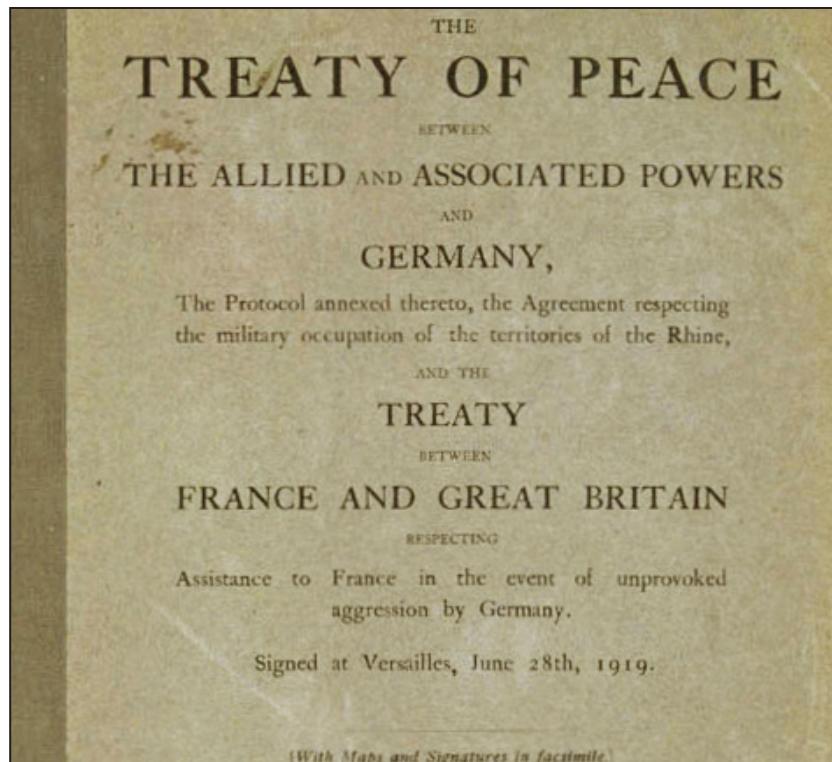
Aims of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The aims of the Versailles Peace Treaty included the following:

- Maintain lasting peace in the world;
- Look for ways to punish Germany and her allies;
- Promote the political integrity of independent states;
- Reduce the production of dangerous weapons;
- Redraw the map of Europe;
- Set up a body to maintain international peace.

Terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The document containing the terms of the Treaty of Versailles consisted of15 parts and had about 440 articles.

Cover of the English version of the Versailles Peace Treaty

(Source: http://totallyhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Treaty_of_Versailles_English_version.jpg)

The parts related to Germany:

- She was entirely blamed as the sole cause of the First World War.
- She was forced to reduce her soldiers from 4,000,000 to 100,000 soldiers.

- She was stopped from having submarines.
- She was forced to pay war reparations of about 6.5 billion pounds.
- She lose her overseas territories like Rwanda, Burundi, Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika and Namibia in Africa.
- She lost Alsace-Lorraine to France.
- She was not allowed to have tanks and was restricted to only 6 second-hand battle ships.

Achievements of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty ended the First World War and created relative peace in Europe during the inter-war period from 1919 up to 1939.

It granted independence to some states like Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

It made France to regain her territory of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany.

It destroyed the German arms and reduced her army to 100,000 soldiers so as to check her military aggression.

It came up with a disarmament policy and although it was only applied on defeated powers, it helped in maintaining world peace for sometime.

It declared neutrality on international water bodies which reduced the possibility of conflicts that would cause another war.

It made arrangements for the exchange of war prisoners between the defeated, especially Germany and victorious powers.

It reduced the strength of Germany by taking away German overseas territories such as Togo, Cameroon, Tanganyika, Rwanda, Burundi and Namibia.

Poland, a land locked State, was provided with a corridor of land that passed through Germany to the part of Danzig on the Baltic Sea. Serbia was also granted access to the Sea.

The Treaty led to the formation of the League of Nations on January 10th, 1920 which registered some success in political, social and economic aspects the inter-war period.

However, the Versailles peace treaty was very unrealistic in its attempt to bring lasting peace as defined through its aims.

Failures of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The terms of the 1919 Versailles peace settlement were unrealistic and unfair to the defeated powers. In implementing the aims of the Versailles Peace Treaty, there was a lot of injustice which made it unable to maintain lasting peace in the world.

This settlement had the following weaknesses:

- It was imposed on Germany without consultation because Germany was only invited to sign without participating in negotiations.
- It was too harsh on Germany in terms of disarmament which encouraged Adolf Hitler to rise up and begin an arms race that led to the Second World War.
- Germany was forced to pay huge sums of war reparations in form of physical goods like ships, chemicals, cattle and agricultural products, plus 6, 600, 000, 000 pounds. This led to unemployment in Germany and economic depression in Europe.
- The composition of parties to the treaty was also unfair because the treaty was written by the Triple Entente members only while the Triple Alliance members were not invited to participate in negotiations.
- The selfish interests of the leading diplomats (George Clemenceau desired to humaliate Germany, Lloyd George wanted German territories and Vittorio Orlando who also desired territorial rewards) rendered the viability of the treaty questionable.
- The distribution of the Germans to different states (3 million to Czechoslovakia, 2. 5 million to Poland and about 2 million to Yugoslavia) violated the principle of nationalism and made future trouble inevitable. Hitler used this problem to invade Poland which led to the Second World War.
- The blaming of Germany as the sole cause of the First World War by a guilty clause also made the viability of the Versailles Peace Treaty questionable from its start.
- The confiscation of German territories in Africa was seen as a way of making victorious powers rich which made Germany discontented, leading to Second World War.
- Japan invaded Manchuria in 1933 and Italy under Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in 1935 mainly because they were not fairly rewarded by the Versailles treaty.

- The treaty led to a very weak foundation for the League of Nations as an international peace keeping body. But it did not provide the League of Nations with an army to fight against future aggressors.

The signing of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty

(Source: https://www.history.com/.image/t_share/MTU3OTIzNjYwNjc0OTY3NTAy/image-placeholder-title.jpg)

Germany rejected the Versailles peace settlement due to the following reasons:

- The treaty was simply dictated on Germany which had no chance for explanation since she was excluded from peace negotiations.
- The treaty only condemned and blamed Germany for the outbreak of the First World War.
- The war reparations of 6.6 billion pounds was impossible for Germany to pay alone with her colonies taken by other countries.
- The disarmament policy was also unfair because it was only Germany to be disarmed while other European powers were busy manufacturing weapons.
- The loss of territories in Europe and in Africa was rejected by the Germans because it was their source of raw materials and markets, hence leading to their economic decline.
- The Germans rejected the Versailles peace treaty because it was monopolised by three leaders who had intense hatred for Germany.

- The Versailles Peace Treaty distributed German nationals to different states of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. This violated the principle of nationalism which later encouraged Hitler to build the German empire by starting from Austria and Czechostorakia, Poland which led to the outbreak of the Second World War.
- The venue where the treaty was signed, in the Hall of mirrors was where the German empire was proclaimed in 1871. For this reason, the treaty was considered as the French revenge by most Germans.
- The treaty was signed under the chairmanship of George Clemenceau of France who had been Germany's enemy since the 1870–1871 Franco-Prussian war.
- The treaty was signed on June 28th, 1919 on the exact anniversary of the Sarajevo double murder. It was a clear indication that the Versailles diplomats blamed Germany for the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophia

7.5. Effects of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty on Germany

The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty signed on June 28th, 1919 in the Hall of Mirrors at Paris politically, socially and economically affected Germany in the following ways:

- The 1919 Versailles peace diplomats forced Germany to denounce the war and accept defeat unconditionally which made the Weimar Republic unpopular among the Germans.
- Germany was obliged to pay the heavy war indemnity of about 6. 6 billion pounds and this left her economy shattered and gave rise to severe unemployment, inflation and abject poverty in Germany.
- The landlocked Poland was granted a corridor to Port Danzig in the Baltic sea through Germany.
- The Germans who were greatly inspired by Adolf Hitler attacked and opposed the Weimar Republic leaders for having accepted the treaty whose terms were unfair and harsh.
- It demilitarised the region of the Rhine lands and all the fortifications that Germany had already made on the banks of the Rhine were destroyed beyond repair.

- The treaty forced the defeated Germany to give back Schleswig to Denmark, and Alsace-Lorraine to France.
- The 1919 Versailles peace treaty forced Germany to cancel the treaty of Bucharest signed with Romania and the Brest-Litovsk treaty signed with Russia under which Russia had surrendered Poland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania to Germany.

Application Activity 7.4

1. Write in your exercises book or elsewhere the objectives of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Present your findings to the class.

2. With the help of the internet discuss the achievements of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Make a presentation to the class

3. Identify the failures/weaknesses of the Versailles Peace Treaty. Present your findings to the class.

4. Discuss the consequences of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty on Germany. Do you think this treaty was fair towards Germany? Present you discussion to the class

Unit summary

The First World War started on July 28th,1914 after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir of the Austria throne with his wife Sophia and ended on November 11th,1918. It started in Europe and spread afterwards to involve many countries all over the world. The causes of this World War included lack of an international peace keeping body, lack of peaceful statesmen, the growth of nationalism, economic imperialism among European countries. It led to negative consequences like loss of lives, and destruction of property and infrastructure.

The African soldiers participated in this war; the Tirailleurs Sénégalais helped the French and the Kings African Rifles the British. The Indugaruga helped the Germans to fight against the Belgians in Rwanda during the First World War. The war also had negative effects in Africa. For Rwanda, it led to a famine called Rumanurimbaba.

Glossary

Armistice: a state of peace agreed to between opponents so they can discuss peace terms

Belligerent: Someone who fights (or is fighting)

Ceasefire: a state of no fighting agreed to between opponents so they can discuss peace terms

Drag on: last unnecessarily long or proceed for an extended period of time

Ultimatum: a final demand or statement of terms, the rejection of which causes a breakdown in a relationship

End unit assessment

1. The First World war (1914–1918) was fought between two camps (blocs); name them?
2. Examine the main causes of the First World War.
3. What were the economic consequences of the First World War in Europe?
4. Discuss the objectives of the Versailles Peace Treaty in Europe.
5. Assess the achievements of the League of Nations.

Between Two Wars

Key unit competence

Explain the causes and effects of the 1929 economic crisis and the rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe (Fascism and Nazism)

Introductory activity: :

Using internet or library research explain the World between Two Wars

Introduction

Events during the period between two wars led to the Second World War. First, the League of Nations which was an international peace keeping organization was formed. The objectives of the League of Nations were to promote international peace, and to prevent aggression between countries. During this period, the world witnessed a heavy economic crisis in 1929 which was a result of the destruction of industries, communication lines, airports and cities during the First World War.

Measures were taken to overcome the effects of this crisis, the major one being the "new deal programme" by the new American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932. However, the effects were serious and this led to the rise of totalitarian regimes like Fascism under Benito Mussolini and Nazism under Adolf Hitler.

8.1. The League of Nations

Origin of the League of Nations

The League of Nations (LON) was an international peace keeping body formed after the First World War. It officially came into existence on January 10, 1920 with its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

It originated from the famous "Fourteen Points" of Woodrow Wilson, former President of USA, on how the world could achieve national and international peace after the First World War. According to those points, the victorious powers formed an international organisation which came to be known as the League of Nations (LON).

Headquarters of the League of Nations, Geneva Switzerland

(Source: http://faculty.msmc.edu/pycior/_pdn1.jpg)

Objectives of the League of Nations

The League of Nations (LON) was formed for the following social, political and economic objectives:

- To preserve, maintain and promote international peace which had been destroyed by the 1914–1918 World War by resolving international conflicts peacefully;
- To prevent aggression;
- To defend and promote territorial integrity and independence of the League member states against aggression of any kind;
- To enforce disarmament of both victorious and defeated countries and limit the production of disastrous weapons;

Eric Drummond (1876–1951): The first Secretary General of the League of Nations (1920–1933).
(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/30/Portrait_of_Eric_Drummond%2C_16th_Earl_of_Perth.jpg)

- To defend and protect the achievements of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty and put them into practice;
- To resolve the refugee problem by resettling the people displaced in the First World War;
- To promote the social welfare of member states by solving problems created by the First World War;
- To ensure efficient administration of the mandate territories like Rwanda, Burundi, Cameroon, Togo, Tanganyika and Namibia.

Organs of the League of Nations

The LON had 48 member states at the beginning and 55 by 1925. It was composed of permanent members–France, Britain, Italy, Japan, and later Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR)–and several non-permanent members elected by the assembly. Its main organs were the following:

General Assembly

This was a council of all member states that annually met to consider political disputes, reduction of armaments and to decide on the general policy. Each member state had one vote.

Council of the League

This consisted of four permanent members: Britain, France, Italy and Japan, at the beginning. The USA was to be a permanent member but refused because of her isolationist policy.

There were four other members elected by the assembly for a periods of three years, but the number increased from four to nine by 1926. It was the council's task to deal with specific political disputes as they emerged.

Secretariat

This was in charge of all the paperwork, preparing agendas and writing resolutions and reports for carrying out the decisions of the League.

Permanent Court of International Justice

This consisted of 15 judges of different nationalities and it was based at the Hague in Holland. It dealt with legal disputes between states as opposed to political ones.

Commissions and committees

The main commissions handled the mandates, military affairs, minority groups and disarmament. There were also committees for international labour, health, economic and financial organisation, child welfare, drug problems and women's rights.

Achievements of the League of Nations

The League of Nations (LON) registered political, social and economic achievements as discussed below.

In 1925 the Larcano conference was held and the Larcano treaty signed by Germany, Britain, Belgium, Italy and France. By this treaty, Germany was admitted to the LON in 1926 and this restored world peace.

The international court of justice was set up at the Hague and by 1939 had mediated the signing of about 400 agreements and settled 70 cases of international concern.

The LON succeeded in preparing Iran, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Hungary, Romania and Czechoslovakia, among others, for independence by 1932.

It established the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which improved the general living conditions of employees in several countries.

In 1926 the LON solved border conflicts between Greece and Bulgaria by asking the Greeks to withdraw and pay compensation.

The LON settled the First World War refugees and the internally displaced people by providing various forms of assistance to them.

In 1924 the LON set up a slavery commission that declared slave trade and slavery illegal and antisocial internationally.

The health organisation of the LON organised for medical assistance and the distribution of vaccines to combat epidemics like syphilis, cholera, dysentery, and malaria which had swept Europe.

The LON set up a mandate commission for effective administration of the former German colonies in Africa.

The League member states set up a committee responsible for monitoring and discouraging the production, transportation, selling and consumption of harmful drugs like opium, marijuana and cocaine.

Weaknesses of the LON

After scoring many achievements, the first LON also registered the following failures:

- It failed to ensure world disarmament when it was unable to disarm victorious powers like France, Britain, USA and Russia but only disarmed Germany, a defeated power.
- It failed to form a joint international army that would be used in checking the activities of dictators and aggressors.
- It failed to prevent the 1931 Manchuria crisis whereby Japan invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria and went unpunished.
- It failed to prevent the economic depression of 1929–1935 which had many negative effects like inflation, unemployment, famine, etc in many countries.
- It failed to win USA membership and the absence of USA in the LON weakened the organisation economically and militarily.

- It failed to establish a strong organisation with clear membership principles and thus, a state would join and leave the LON with a lot of ease i.e. Italy, Japan, Germany and Russia had left by 1936.
- It failed to follow up the payment of the war **indemnity** imposed on Germany which Hitler stopped paying immediately after rising to power in 1933.
- It failed to establish financial sources of its own and depended on handouts from its member states which sometimes delayed consequently delaying its activities and interventions.
- It failed to stop Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. Italy under Mussolini invaded and occupied Ethiopia but the LON never took steps to punish Italy.
- The invasion of Poland by Hitler from Germany that resulted in the outbreak of 1939–1945 World War was mainly due to the weakness and the failure of the LON which was not able to stop it and negotiate peaceful solutions.

Because of its weaknesses, the League of Nations also failed to preserve peace during the inter-war period of 1920–1939 due to the following reasons:

- It was linked to the unpopular 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty.
- It lacked an international army that would have been used to fight dictators like Mussolini and Hitler.
- The USA refused to join the LON although its foundation was proposed and supported by the US president.
- The great economic depression of 1929–1935 made it difficult for most of the member states to meet their financial obligations to the League.
- It lacked enough finances of its own which made it hard to execute its duties properly and impartially.
- It had a weak administrative set up. For example, the secretary general had limited power.
- It was very slow in decision making.
- It had no mechanism to control the entry and exit of the state members.
- Its member states promoted national rather than international interests.
- The appeasement policy of France and Britain from 1935 which allowed Adolf Hitler to expand German territory undermined the league's operations and made it impossible to succeed.

8.2. World Economic Depression 1929–1935

The world economic depression was an economic stagnation which was experienced globally from 1929 to 1935. It was characterised by total breakdown in the production processes, unemployment, low incomes, and general lack of effective demand, low prices, low investment and low economic activities in general.

It began from the Canadian agricultural sector but the most disastrous period started from the USA after the "Wall Street crash" or stock market crash, on October 24th, 1929 and spread to Europe and the whole world.

Wall street crash of 1929 in New York

(Source: https://images.immediate.co.uk/production/volatile/sites/7/2019/11/32.-GettyImages-97277255-25be909.jpg?webp=true&quality=45&resize=1240%2C826)

Causes of the great world economic depression

The consequences of the First World War: These include destruction of industries, communication lines, airports and cities and loss of lives, which had a negative effect on production and the ability to purchase goods, hence leading to the depression.

The Rise of economic nationalism and isolationist/protectionist policy led by USA: This policy was used by USA to protect infant industries at home and it was adopted by other countries mainly in Europe. This eventually worsened the international trade situation, leading to the economic depression.

General reduction in the level of international trade during and after the First World War: The world trade remained low because nations were unable to import in large quantities. This was due to the low level of consumption and that was why the depression started in America whose manufactured goods could not be brought.

Payment of the war indemnity by Germany: This was imposed by the victorious powers during the signing of the 1919 Versailles

Peace Treaty and it greatly affected the German economy; they printed many bank notes leading to inflation. This contributed to the outbreak of the economic depression.

Overproduction mainly in the agricultural sector: This was experienced by various capitalists during the inter-war period in USA, Britain and Canada. However, when international trade was paralyzed and there was "no buying and no selling" this resulted in the economic depression.

System of high taxation in order to escape from "after war situation": This policy was adopted by many countries to help their economy recover from the after effects of the First World War. However, these heavy taxation policies were too harsh and distracted investment which also led to the increase of unemployment, low circulation of money and inflation, leading to economic depression.

Poor trading policy adopted after the First World War: The defeated powers were not allowed to export to victorious powers and, worsestill, the victorious powers started selective trade as punishment to defeated ones which led to the economic depression.

Unfair income distribution: This existed especially in USA where between 1923 and 1926 big companies were owned by a few capitalists. They provided employment to the few people who also earned low salary. This led to low purchasing power and lack of effective demand which contributed to the world economic depression.

Gold standard system operating in world economies by 1929: Under this system each economy was supposed to have money in circulation that was equal to the total value of gold in its reserves. This system limited money supply for some countries that had small gold reserves and caused low aggregate demand, leading to the world economic depression.

The Crash of the world stock exchange in USA, October 24, 1929: This led to the closure of 4,200 banks and people who had kept their money in these banks suffered great losses. The industries could no longer secure loans, yet their products could not sell and eventually they also closed down. This led to huge unemployment, surplus products, low purchasing power and, consequently to the world economic depression.

Measures to overcome the world economic depression

After the occurance of the economic depression, different countries started to look for various measures to control and fight it.

Germany, on her part, attempted to solve the economic depression by violating the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty terms when she stopped paying the war **indemnity** and also started serious industrialisation.

USA fought the economic depression by using the "new deal" programme introduced by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932. By this programme, new laws were made to regulate the stock market and protect bank depositors' savings. Other steps included creation/establishment of programmes which created jobs for the unemployed like the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and construction of schools and hospitals. The USA also set up a social security system and depreciated the value of her dollar so as to increase the purchasing power of the Americans.

Basically, Roosevelt had three aims:

- **Relief:** To give direct help to the poverty-stricken millions who were without food and homes
- **Recovery:** To reduce unemployment, stimulate the demand for goods and get the economy moving again
- **Reform:** To take whatever measures necessary to prevent a repeat of economic disaster

The gold standard system was stopped since this played a role in the outbreak of the world economic depression.

A world economic conference was held at Geneva in 1933, Switzerland and was attended by 66 countries that worked out different solutions to end the economic depression. These solutions included removing obstacles to free trade, and implementing a uniform tax on imports and exports.

World powers attempted to solve the economic depression by invading weak states so as to solve the problem of lack of raw materials and markets for their goods. For example, in 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia, in 1936 Germany invaded Czechoslovakia and in 1939, Poland.

Different countries formed regional economic integration as a solution to end the economic depression. The Scandinavians formed

the **Oslo Block**, USA and South American states also formed an economic block.

Unemployment relief schemes were adopted by various countries such as USA, Britain and France to benefit the unemployed citizens above 18 years.
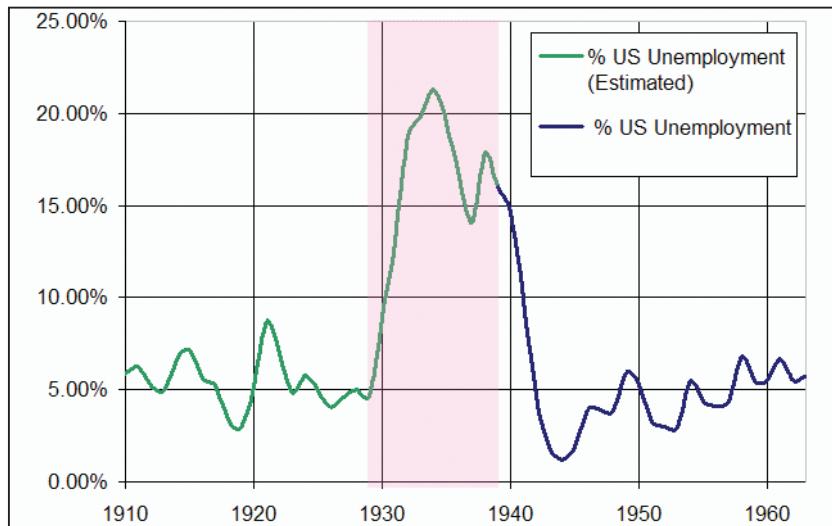
Most European countries made efforts to improve on their agricultural and industrial sectors in order to increase the level of production as a way of addressing the problem of low supply and inflation.

Dictatorship was resorted to by most of the European leaders to suppress demonstrations and strikes.

Some countries restricted borrowing and lending of money on grounds that the money borrowed for investment ended up being consumed. This reduced on the debt burden in various countries.

Effects of the world economic depression

Content

The unemployment rate in the US 1910–1960, with the years of the great depression (1929–1939) highlighted.

(Source: https://images.slideplayer.com/35/10515360/slides/slide_15.jpg)

- The world economic depression led to human suffering due to unemployment, low incomes, and lack of basic facilities.
- The economic depression led to the rise of dictators in Europe such as Adolf Hitler in Germany, Benito Mussolini in Italy and General Franco in Spain.
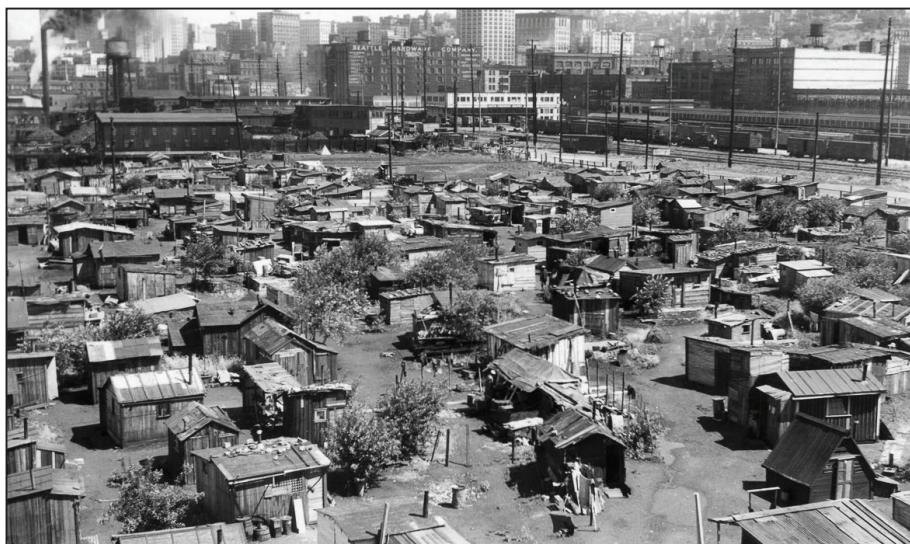
- The economic depression contributed to the weakness of the League of Nations as various member states could not meet the financial obligations of the League.
- The economic depression led to international aggression by powerful countries against the weak ones as a way to solve their economic problems; For example Japan and China, Italy and Ethiopia and Germany and Austria.
- The economic depression led to the decline in world trade as the affected countries started trade protectionism; for example, USA.
- The economic depression led to the formation of regional economic integration as a way of promoting trade among the different countries.
- The economic depression led to the end of the use of the gold standard system.
- The economic depression caused a severe fall in the standards of living of people as the cost of living became higher after the closure of many businesses and this affected production levels.

Herbert Hoover (1874–1964): President of USA during the economic depression of 1929

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/57/President_Hoover_portrait.jpg)

Slums developed in USA because of economic depression

(Source: https://www.legendsofamerica.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/SeattleHooverville.jpg)

- The economic depression increased the popularity of some economists such as John Maynard Keynes who introduced an economic theory popularly known as "**Keynesian theory of unemployment**" after analyzing the causes of the economic depression.

- The economic depression led to the outbreak of the Second World War because of the rise of dictators, and weaknesses of the League of Nations which failed to check aggression.

Effects of the Economic Depression in Africa Between 1929 and 1932

The Economic Depression of 1929 had greatly impacted African continent. For example, the world prices for sisal, coffee, maize and hides fell by 70 per cent while cotton prices fell by over 60 per cent.

In addition, to some extent the region benefited from efforts elsewhere to counter the depression. From 1932, the British Empire provided shelter to the producers of coffee and sisal. The abandonment of the gold standard by Britain in 1931 and by the USA in 1933 caused the price of gold to rise by two-thirds between 1931 and 1935. This stimulated the exploitation of East Africa's scattered deposits and by 1938 gold was the second largest export from both Kenya and Tanganyika.

Meanwhile, some imports became cheaper. Despite imperial preference, East Africa was prevented by the Congo Basin treaties from discriminating against cheap Japanese manufactured goods, and these became available in large quantities.

In the course of the 1930s, Japan captured much of the East African market for cotton and silk goods, and for the great mass of consumers this was clear gain. Government revenues, between 1929 and 1932, fell on average by 15 per cent but they too had fixed debt charges to pay, such as pensions. So there were cut-backs in administration and social services. On reduced incomes, most Africans had to pay as much tax as before, while most European farmers had large debts to service. Financial constraints reinforced the political arguments against any comprehensive scheme for closer union in East Africa.

In East Africa, Tanganyika suffered most from the depression. Between1929 and 1931 exports slumped from £3.8m to

£1.7111, and government revenue fell by a quarter from 1925 to 1929). The government already spent one-quarter of its revenue on debt charges, but it had to borrow heavily in 1932 from the British Treasury, which enforced stringent policies.

At the same time, the railway lost its share of the Katanga copper traffic (which in 1930 supplied half its freight earnings) to the new Benguela railway. In 1930 the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association was formed, mainly to reduce wages; its president was the unofficial leader in the legislative council, and in 1937 British settlers dominated a government commission on labour. In 1932 the government launched a 'plant more crops' campaign, but it was chiefly directed at those areas in the north and north-west where export crop-production was already established. The persistent decline in coffee prices aggravated tensions between chiefs and other farmers.

Application Activity 8.2

1. Find out the duties of the Secretariat of the League of Nations.
2. Identify the organs of the League of Nations

8.3. Totalitarian regimes in Europe

Learning Activity 8.3

In your exercise book do the following activities:

1. Define a totalitarian regime
2. Name the totalitarian regimes in Europe between the two World Wars.

Most western countries were governed by elected representatives. From the 1900s some people began to feel that a government made up of such a large body of people spent too much time debating and wondered if was not better to have one strong leader who could make decisions for them. A single leader could act quickly to solve a country's economic problems during world economic

depression. These regimes were known as "totalitarian regimes". In Italy it developed under Benito Mussolini and was known as Fascism. In Germany it developed under Adolf Hitler and was known as Nazism.

Benito Mussolini (left) and Adolf Hitler (right)

(Source:https://cdn.mos.cms.futurecdn.net/rwbXDPdUQJ8nGaBe98M5PW.jpg)

Totalitarianism (or **totalitarian rule**) is a political system where the state recognises no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible. Totalitarian regimes stay in political power through an all-encompassing propaganda campaign, which is disseminated through the state-controlled mass media, a single party that is often marked by political repression, personality cultism, control over the economy, regulation and restriction of speech, mass surveillance, and widespread use of terror. It is not synonymous with dictatorship, as authoritarian regimes also exhibit dictatorial features, but do not create an 'all-controlling, all-politicised' society.

Characteristics of Nazism and Fascism

Two totalitarian regimes, Nazism and Fascism, developed in different countries and were led by different leaders but had the same and common characteristics or principles such as:

- Extreme nationalism i.e. emphasis on rebirth of the nation after a period of decline with an implication that one's own state is superior to all.
- Dislike of the importance of Human Rights (abuse of Human Rights).
- Identification of enemies or scapegoats as a unifying cause in order to divert the people's attention from other problems.
- Supremacy of the military or avid militarism because the ruling elites were always identified closely with the military and the industrial infrastructure that supported it.
- **Rampant** / extensive sexism where males dominated and these regimes inevitably viewed women as second class citizens
- Over-control of mass media through the control of licensing and access to resources, economic pressure, appeal to patriotism, and implied threats.
- Obsession with national security, that was under direct control of the ruling elite. It was usually an instrument of oppression, operating in secret and beyond any constraints.
- Defence and protection of religion because fascist regimes attached themselves to the predominant religion of the country and wanted to be considered as militant defenders of the religion.
- Suppression of intellectuals and artists because intellectual and academic freedom were considered **subversive** to national security and the patriotic ideal. To these regimes, art and literature should either serve the national interest or they had no right to exist.
- **Fraudulent** elections in form of **plebiscites** or public opinion polls which were usually bogus. When elections with actual candidates were held, they would usually be **perverted** by the elite to get the desired result.

Rise of Fascism and Mussolini in Italy

The term Fascism is derived from the latin word fasces. The fasces, were a bundle of rods tied around an axe, as a symbol of a magistrate's authority in ancient Rome. They were carried by his agents and could be used for corporal and capital punishment at his command. The word fascismo also relates to political organisations in Italy known as fasci, groups similar to guilds or syndicates.

Mussolini's personal standard (Source: https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/ images/d/de1935ah.gif)	Fascist symbol

The symbolism of the fasces suggested strength through unity: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break.

Background of Mussolini

Benito Mussolini: was an Italian politician who led the national fascist party, ruling the country from 1922 to his ousting in 1943, and is credited with being one of the key figures in the creation of Fascism.

Mussolini was born in a small town of Romaginia in Italy on July 29th, 1883. His father was a blacksmith and a socialist, while his mother was a devout Catholic schoolteacher. Owing to his father's political leanings, Mussolini was named Benito after Mexican reformist President Benito Juárez, while his middle names were from Italian socialists. Mussolini was the eldest of his parents' three children.

A young Mussolini (July 29th, 1883–April 28th, 1945)

(Source: https://userscontent2.emaze. com/images/bcecc3c2-22e9-42d4-ba8e-2053d9f0e6fb/8d3822f9-1e29-45af-8aae-49c6b39104b0.png)

At the age of 9, Mussolini began his education and graduated as a teacher with a diploma in education in 1907. He later abandoned his education career and joined journalism as a newspaper editor. Mussolini fought for Italy in the First World War and was wounded. In March 1919, at Milan city in Italy, he formed a political movement called the fasci italiani di combattimento (Italian combat leagues or squad) whose members became known as fascists. It was composed of frustrated jobless youth, industrial capitalists and the middle class.

In 1922, Italy witnessed a successful fascist revolution that led to the rise of Mussolini supported by the black shirts or army guards.

On October 28th, 1922 he organised a "March to Rome" and when King Victor Emmanuel III was convinced by the parliament to suppress the marchers and he refused, the cabinet under Prime Minister Luigi Facta resigned without firing a shot.

Mussolini and fascist blackshirts during the March on Rome in 1922

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/65/March_on_Rome.jpg/220px-March_on_Rome.jpg)

King Victor Emmanuel then handed over power to Mussolini by inviting him to form a new government on October 28th, 1922 and the fascist party took control of Italy. Mussolini was supported by the military, the business class, and the liberal right-wing.

Factors for the rise of Mussolini and Fascism in Italy

Mussolini rose to power due to strong support from the Italian peasants by exploiting the bad social and economic conditions of the time. Through his speeches to the Italians, he promised them better conditions and employment for all; and as a result, the majority of Italians supported him as a promising leader.

Mussolini had a strong personality and it was very instrumental in his rise to power. He was a good orator who spent most of his time broadcasting his ideas to the Italians. This made his fascist party attractive to many sections of the Italians like the middle class, the unemployed, ex-soldiers and industrialist capitalists.

The influence of the communists and socialists in Italy forced the middle class and industrialist capitalists to support Mussolini who was anti-communist. With this support, he overthrew the government of Victor Emmanuel III.

World War I had weakened the Italian economy and the King failed to carry out the necessary socio-economic reforms. Mussolini used this to denounce the government and mobilised a lot of support that helped him to rise to power.

Corruption and embezzlement of public funds by the officials in the democratic government of Victor Emmanuel III also paved the way for Mussolini's rise to power in 1922 because these officials were not interested in solving the problems of the time.

King Victor Emmanuel III was very weak in maintaining order in Italy and this assisted Mussolini to come to power. When he used violence as a means to end the political chaos he was supported by the young people.

The formation of a Fascist terrorist group known as "black shirts" helped Mussolini to attain power. This group used a lot of violence throughout Italy and killed many people who opposed Mussolini and the king failed to control the situation. To avoid prolonged violence Italians supported Benito Mussolini to overthrow the government of Victor Emmanuel III.

The parliamentary elections in May 1921 increased the number fascist MPs from 2 to 35. They increased propaganda against the regime of Victor Emmanuel III.

The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty which unfairly rewarded Italy made the democratic government of Victor Emmanuel II unpopular and this contributed to the rise of Mussolini to power.

The king was politicaly inefficient and refused to use force against Mussolini. Handed over power to him in 1922.

Mussolini's internal policy and his methods to consolidate himself in power

After Benito Mussolini rose to power on October 28th, 1922; his regime from 1922–1945 was built on the principles of Fascism that centred on extreme nationalism and totalitarianism. Mussolini did not believe in any form of democracy.

In order to consolidate his power in Italy Mussolini used the following methods:

He employed force and violence to get rid of any form of opposition. The socialist newspaper offices were attacked and closed down. Hundreds of anti-fascist elements were arrested and killed on his orders and others were sent exile on Lipali islands in the Mediterranean Sea. Strict **censorship** of the press was imposed from 1925 onwards for the purpose of controlling public opinion.

Mussolini banned all political parties and this left the fascist party unchallenged. He put an end to free election rights in Italy in order to maintain the fascist party's domination in parliament.

He created the fascist army, spies and "ovra" or secret police and encouraged the black shirts to terrorise and control the opposition leaders.

Mussolini entered an agreement known as **Lateran pact** in 1929 with Pope Pius XI. His target was to solve the long term problems between the Catholic church and the state. By this treaty, the prisoners of the Vatican were set free and Catholicism was recognised as the state religion. The Vatican became an independent state within Italy and in return the Papacy recognised the Italian state and the fascist government of Mussolini.

He abolished intellectual freedom, institutions were to teach according to fascist ideologies and teachers and university professors had to swear that they would never teach materials not in line with the fascist government. Whoever disobeyed his principles was automatically dismissed. This system of intimidating especially the university professors, ensured minimal opposition to the fascist government.

Mussolini undertook public programmes which created jobs for the unemployed. This was propaganda to prove that the fascist government was providing employment to all, thus capturing majority support from the Italians.

Mussolini went ahead to form an all-inclusive government by including members of the opposition in his government. He did this to make it easy to eliminate them and their influence. This in a way eased the tension from the opposition and led to the success of Benito Mussolini and his fascist regime.

In 1923 Mussolini acquired the town of Fiume from Yugoslavia with the signing of the treaty of Rome which made the Italians happy and in turn increased support for Mussolini's regime.

Mussolini carried out fundamental reforms in the industrial sector whereby old industries were rehabilitated and new ones were built.

These included FIAT (Fabrication Italienne Automobile à Turin) company, oil refineries, and iron and steel industries which increased Mussolini's fame.

Failures of Benito Mussolini

Mussolini established the fascist state in Italy based on dictatorship and leadership by decree. This **inflicted** a lot of suffering on the Italian masses. He denied Italians their democratic rights. Leadership through elections came to an end with his coming to power and referendums were introduced.

He made Fascism the only political system. Political pluralism was suffocated and in 1925 the party system was abolished. This was brought about by repressive measures on communist supporters many of whom were imprisoned.

Mussolini denied Italians all freedom. There was **censorship** of the press, no freedom of speech, association and worship, among others. Injustice was widespread and majority of Italians lived like prisoners.

Mussolini failed to control malpractices within the government. There was **rampant** corruption and embezzlement of government funds. By 1930, the Italian economy had deteriorated by all standards.

He failed to stabilize the exchange rate and he devalued the Italian currency. Italian wages and standards of living were the lowest in Europe at the time.

Discrimination was **rampant** in all sectors of the society. Even social services were not extended to the poor in the rural areas.

He promoted anti-semitism, which was the negative attitude, hatred and segregation against the Jews. The union between Mussolini and Hitler and their ideology were hated throughout Europe and

this forced European communities to unite and fight against them and eradicate their ideologies of Nazism and Fascism.

Mussolini followed aggressive policies when he involved Italians in hostilities and military confrontation with other Europeans, leading to the outbreak of the Second World War. He was therefore responsible for the disastrous war between 1939 and 1945.

Rise of Adolf Hitler and Nazism in Germany

Background of Adolf Hitler and Nazism

Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) was an Austrian-born German politician and the leader of the National Socialist German workers party, commonly referred to as the Nazi Party. He was Chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945 and dictator of Nazi Germany from 1934 to 1945. Hitler was at the centre of the founding of Nazism, the start of Second World War, and the holocaust.

Adolf Hitler was born on 20 April 1889 in Austria-Hungary. He was the fourth of six children. When Hitler was three, the family moved to Passau in Germany.

After his father's sudden death on 3 January 1903, Hitler's performance at school deteriorated. His mother allowed him to quit in autumn 1905.

From 1905, Hitler lived a casual life in Vienna, financed by orphan's benefits and support from his mother. He worked as a casual labourer and eventually as a painter, selling watercolors.

In May 1913, Hitler moved to Munich in Germany and at the outbreak of the First World War, Hitler was a resident of Munich and volunteered to serve in the Bavarian army as an Austrian citizen.
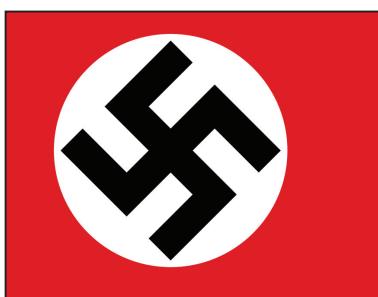
After the First World War Hitler returned to Munich. Having no formal education and career plans or prospects, he tried to remain in the army for as long as possible. In July 1919, he was appointed intelligence agent to influence other soldiers and to infiltrate the German workers' party. While monitoring the activities of the Germany Workers' Party, Hitler became attracted to the founder Anton Drexler's anti-semitic, nationalist, anti-capitalist, and anti-marxist ideas.

Adolf Hitler (April 20th, 1889–April 30th, 1945)
(Source: https://spartacus-educational.com/00hitlerAC2.jpg)

To increase its appeal, the Germany Workers' Party changed its name to the National socialist German workers party, known as NAZI. Hitler designed the party's **banner** of a swastika in a white circle with a red background.

NSDAP's banner

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/77/Flag_of_Germany_%281935%E2%80%931945%29.svg)
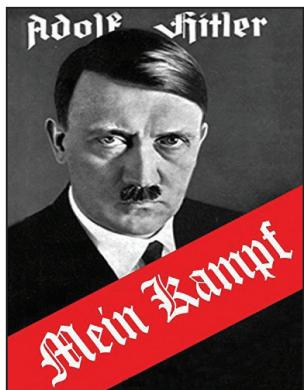
Hitler's personal standard

(Source: https://www.crwflags.com/fotw/images/d/de1935ah.gif)

Like Mussolini, Hitler organised his supporters into fighting squads, the Nazi storm troopers who battled in the streets against communism and others they saw as enemies. On November 8th, 1923, Adolf Hitler attempted a coup d'état against the Bavarian government, but the police foiled it.

Hitler was arrested on April 1st, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

While in prison, Hitler dictated most of the first volume of Mein Kampf (My Struggle). The book, was an autobiography and an exposition of his ideology. The book laid out Hitler's plans for transforming German society into one based on race.

The most common cover of Mein Kampf

Mein Kampf reflects Hitler's obsessions, extreme nationalism through the concept of lebensraum (living space), racism and anti-semitism. He said that the Germans belonged to a superior "master race" of Aryans or light-skinned Europeans, whose greatest enemies were the Jews.

The Bavarian supreme court issued a pardon and he was released from jail on December 20th, 1924. Hitler had served just over one year in prison. Thereafter, he became the "principle leader" of the Nazi party.

By 1933, the strength and the threat of Hitler's Nazi party forced the president to appoint him as a chancellor, which favoured his rise to power. When President Hindenburg died on August 2th, 1934 Hitler became führer (leader and chancellor) and supreme commander of the armed forces.

Factors for the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in Germany

In order to achieve his goal of building Germany and uniting all Germans in one great nation, Hitler realised that Germany needed a strong and able leader or führer. He was determined to become that leader. The following factors helped him to rise to power:

Weakness of the Weimar Republic: This republic was unpopular as it failed to secure better terms from European powers in the 1919 Versailles treaty. It lacked able leadership that could suppress violence which Hitler exploited to rise to power.

Effects of World War I and unfair terms of the 1919 Versailles settlement over Germany: The First World War left Germany economically weak and the Versailles settlement imposed heavy war reparations that caused socio-economic problems to the Germans. Hitler based his ideas on this to blame the government, promising to liberate the Germans from such misery through

Nazi leadership. This attracted the middle class, the jobless, and industrialists making his party strong by 1933.

Effects of the world economic depression of 1929: During this economic depression the Nazi party became popular with more followers as Hitler emphasized that problems like unemployment with 6 000 000 unemployed Germans was due to the Versailles settlement; and Germans looked at Hitler as their saviour.

Role of the Nazi Storm Troopers: This Nazi terrorist squad was organised by Hitler's supporters. In the 1932 parliamentary elections their presence at polling stations intimidated many voters who ended up by voting for Nazi representatives. The Storm Troopers also threatened President Hindenburg that he either appoints Hitler as a Chancellor or risks countrywide violence. And then Hindenburg resigned in 1933 which helped Hitler to rise to power.

Hitler's personal talent: Hitler was a gifted **demagogue** with rare skills; a propagandist and a man who knew what he wanted and had the ability to know how to get it. He was a great orator and many people supported him.

Hitler's own writings and the Nazi 25 manifesto: While in prison in 1923, he wrote his book Mein Kampf in which he set out his ideas about the future Nazi party, thus convincing the middle class and the jobless to support the Nazi party. By their 25 point-programmes, the Nazi party called for German nationalism, elimination of Jews and improving the social life conditions of the poor, which attracted massive support to the Nazi party;

Role of the Nazi party: The Nazi members accused the Jews of betraying Germany in the First World War. The Nazi also defeated communism. As a result, Hitler was supported by the majority Germans, most especially middle class, industrialists and large landowners.

Traditions of Germans: The Germans had no respect for democratically elected governments like the Weimar republic. They had a strong tradition for authoritarian governments led by powerful army officers like Otto Von Bismarck, who gave them security and military glory more than political freedom and democracy.

Therefore, Hitler was the best choice and the Germans supported him.

Unpopulality of communists and socialist in Germany: This forced the middle class and industrial capitalists to support Adolf Hitler who was anti-communism.

Death of President Hindenburg: This created a fertile ground for Hitler's rise to president by making the post of president vacant which Hitler added to himself as the new German ruler.

Consolidation of Adolf Hitler in power in Germany from 1933 up to 1945

Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on January 30th, 1933 and assumed full authority after the death of Hindenburg on August 2nd, 1934. To retain or consolidate his power, Hitler took a number of steps as discussed below.

He imposed a strict ban on all other political parties. He dissolved the Socialist Democratic party on May 22nd, 1933, the Communist Party on May 26th, 1933 and the Catholic Democratic and Nationalist party in June 1933. The last political party to be dissolved was the People's Party on July 4th, 1933. Hitler declared those political parties unconstitutional and only promoted the Nazi party.

On March 23rd, 1933 the Nazi Grand Council passed an "enabling act" in the German parliament, transferring law-making powers from the parliament to cabinet, thereby suspending the parliamentary government.

He centralised all powers and changed the administrative structures in Germany. He passed the special laws of April, June and July 1934 by which the Jews and socialists were removed from the civil services. He created new ministries for propaganda, culture, agriculture and labour. He rewarded the Nazis with white collar employment and dissolved the trade union movement in June 1933.

He used suppressive policies like Geheime Staatspolizei/ the Secret state police (Gestapo) and special spies to eliminate his political enemies. During the night of the long knives alone, the regime executed at least 85 people for political reasons.

He suppressed the press, broadcasting, literature, drama, music, painting, public films and only publications reflecting Hitler's tastes were allowed in Germany. This was intended to keep the masses ignorant of his failures. All books which had anti-Nazi ideas were collected and burnt in a huge fire in Berlin in 1935.

The clergy and professional teachers had to sign an oath promising never to teach materials that were against the Nazi Party. He controlled the Catholic Church through the concordat of 1933 with the Pope.

He built a strong army that was used against internal and external enemies. He transformed the Storm Troopers into a highly disciplined and equipped army.

Hitler overcame the pre-1933 economic problems which earned him more support from Germans and no one would think of fighting or opposing him.

He created a system of the youth movements of boys and girls of 14 years called the "Hitler youth" and "league of German maids" respectively who were taught that Hitler was ever right and were also told to report their parents if they were anti-Nazi to the secret police.

He violated the Versailles Treaty and used an aggressive foreign and revenge policy, re-armed Germany, withdrew Germany from the League of Nations ,and expanded Germany by attacking Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. This earned Hitler more support from the Germans, although it contributed to his downfall in 1945.

Factors for the downfall of Adolf Hitler and Nazism in 1945

Adolf Hitler eventually met his downfall largely because of World War II which we will study in Unit 9. In addition he had other problems as discussed on the next page:

Dictatorship coupled with excessive oppression like the banning of political parties, and harassing and killing of his political opponents, caused Germans to turn against him.

The size and heterogeneous nature of the German Empire which by 1942 included Germans, Austrians, Poles, Dutch and Czechoslovakians, became too big and diverse for Adolf Hitler to control.

Hitler had a poor political agenda and weak principles. He allowed the radical ex-service men of the First World War who were not politically informed to dominate the Nazi Party.

Hitler's withdrawal of Germany from the League of Nations isolated him from global affairs, making him unpopular.

The aggressive foreign policy of Hitler especially in Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland contributed to the outbreak of the Second World War that eventually led to his downfall.

The decline of the Germany economy due to the bombardment of factories and industries by the allied forces of Britain, France and USA during the Second World War harmed Hitler's popularity.

As we will see later, the Germans were eventually defeated in Second World War and Hitler committed **suicide** in Berlin as his enemies advanced on him. It is necessary to note that before Hitler committed **suicide**, senior army officers had made several attempts on his life.

Application Activity 8.3

1. Explain three achievements of the League of Nations.
2. Give two failures of the League of Nations

Unit summary

The period between two wars was marked by the creation of the League of Nations, the 1929 economic depression and the rise of totalitarian regimes like the Fascism of Benito Mussolini and the Nazism of Adolf Hitler. The League of Nations had good objectives but it failed to implement them. However, it registered important political, social and economic achievements. The rise of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany compromised peace in Europe due to effects the 1929 economic crisis. This situation led to the outbreak of the Second World War which lasted five years.

Glossary

Banner: Symbol or emblem of an organisation.

Censorship: the suppression or prohibition of any parts of books, films, news that are considered a threat to security or unacceptable.

Demagogue: a political leader who seeks support by appealing to popular passions and prejudices

Disdain: lack of respect accompanied by a feeling of intense dislike

Fraudulent: intended to deceive

Indemnity: a sum of money paid in compensation for loss or injury

Inflict: cause of something unpleasant or painful to be suffered by someone

Ousting: the act of ejecting someone or forcing them out

Pervert: distortion or corruption of what was first intended

Plebiscite: a vote by the electorate determining public opinion on a question of national importance

Rampant: unrestrained or unchecked

Subversive: a radical supporter of political or social revolution or in opposition to a civil authority or government

Suicide: the act of killing oneself

End unit assessment

1. What does "world economic depression" mean?

2. Explain the causes of the world economic depression of 1929

3. What were the consequences of the economic crash on USA and world economies?

4. Examine the factors for the rise of Benito Mussolini in Italy.

5. Account for the rise and fall of Adolf Hitler and Nazism in Germany.

Unit 9

Causes and effects of the Second World War (1939–1945)

Key unit competence

Explain the causes and effects of the Second World War.

Introductory activity: :

- ◉ Based on the causes of the First World War, make a research on the internet or in the library about the causes of the Second World War.
- ◉ Explain how the First World War is different from the Second World War.

Introduction

The Second Great War, also known as Second World War, took place from 1939 up to 1945 and many countries of the World participated. The two sides that fought were the Allied Powers including Britain, France, USA and later Russia, against the Axis Powers including Germany, Italy, and Russia.

This Second World War period witnessed intensification of military conflicts all over the World. It also witnessed the use of dangerous weapons and ended with weapons of mass destruction such as atomic bombs. Modern technology was applied during the war and it was also during this war that the World experienced the untold catastrophe of genocide which claimed the lives of about 6 million Jews under the so-called "Final Solution" of the Nazis under Adolf Hitler of Germany.

9.1. Causes of the Second World War

The Second World War was caused by a combination of the following factors:

- **The weaknesses of the Versailles Peace Treaty:** The peacemakers at Versailles were unrealistic and instead of creating peace they prepared the ground for outbreak of the Second World War as already explained.
- **The Alliance System or military alliances:** These were the three Axis Powers (Italy, Germany and Japan) and Allied Democratic Powers formed by Britain, France, USA and later Russia among others. The Alliance System divided the World into two hostile camps which created enmity, fear, mistrust, and **suspicion** leading to the war.
- **The appeasement policy:** This was adopted by France and Britain in order to appease Hitler when he occupied the Rhineland and Czechoslovakia. This encouraged Hitler to invade Poland and when he refused to withdraw as demanded by Britain and France war broke out.
- **The weaknesses of the League of Nations:** It failed to effect peace since its formation. It failed to put an economic embargo on the countries which violated peace. It also failed to condemn and react against the aggressors of the time, hence resulting in war.
- **The effects of the World economic depression of 1929–1933:** The dictators became aggressive by attacking other countries partly as a solution to the economic depression. For instance, the invasion of Poland by Germany.
- **The rise of the dictators:** The period between wars saw the rise of dictators such as Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, Franco in Spain and Hirohito in Japan. The dictators formed

the Axis Alliance and started an aggressive foreign policy. The Allied Democratic Powers waged the war to stop the influence of dictators which created fear, panic, and hatred.

- **The rise and growth of nationalism:** Hitler used nationalistic feelings to demand the occupation of Poland, leading to the Second World War;
- **Influence of the press:** This exaggerated the military capacities of the countries, especially of Germany and the Allied powers, creating a war atmosphere among the World powers;
- **The Spanish war of 1931–1939:** This was a civil war between the members of the Republican Government supported by Britain, Russia and France and General Franco supported by Italy and Germany. After his victory, Franco established a fascist regime in Spain. The war created enmity between Allied and Axis powers, increased **prestige** for Italy and Germany and gave confidence to Hitler to attack Poland.
- **Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1st, 1939:** After the invasion, Britain and France gave Germany an ultimatum of 48 hours to withdraw from Poland Hitler neglected the ultimatum, leading to the outbreak of the war.

Responsibility for the outbreak of World War II

The blame for the outbreak of the Second World War can be apportioned to Germany, USA, Italy, Poland and the Versailles Peace Treaty.

Germany's responsibility

- Germany started the arms race in order to challenge the disarmament policy of the Versailles Peace Treaty, which created hostility, fear and mistrust.
- Hitler created the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis to oppose and destroy the influence of Western powers, which also created the opposing Democratic Alliance.
- Germany under Hitler withdrew from the League of Nations. This weakened the League of Nations, making it fail to prevent the Second World War.
- Hitler misinterpreted the **appeasement** policy as a sign of weakness of the Allied powers and became aggressive. He invaded Poland which was the immediate cause of the World war.

- Germany rejected the ultimatum of 48 hours to withdraw from Poland and the Allied powers intervened.

Responsibility of Britain

- The British **appeasement** policy towards Germany was a great mistake. Hitler regarded it as a sign of weakness which made him aggressive.
- Britain was a champion of the Allied powers which conflicted with the Axis powers in the Spanish war.
- Britain was behind the unfair settlement of Versailles that forced Hitler to become so aggressive and finally invading Poland.
- Britain was also involved in arms manufacture. This encouraged Hitler to also join the arms race, creating a war atmosphere.

Responsibility of France

- France supported Neville Chamberlain's policy of **appeasement** that encouraged Hitler's aggressive policy.
- France, under George Clemenceau, played a big role in the designing of the unfair Versailles Peace Treaty which was one of causes of the Second World War.
- France was involved in the arms race and the military alliance system.
- France collaborated with Britain to declare war on Germany on September 3rd, 1939.

Responsibility of USA

- USA refused to be a member of the League of Nations, although the idea of forming this was initiated by US President Woodrow Wilson. This contributed much to the weakness of the League.
- USA's policy of isolation and protectionism caused the World Economic Depression which caused enmity, fear and suspicion among countries. This led to the rise of dictators who caused the war.
- USA was involved in the arms race, and manufactured weapons like atomic bombs that were finally used to defeat Japan during Second World War.

Responsibility of the Versailles Peace Treaty

- It was signed in the Hall of Mirrors where the German Empire had been proclaimed in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian War. This was a humiliation to Germany.

- It was signed in a vengeful mood on the part of the Allied powers against Germany, and it was unfair to Germany.
- It was a dictated treaty on Germany which had no chance to negotiate.
- It entirely blamed Germany for causing the First World War.
- It only disarmed Germany and not the Allies.
- It imposed unfair penalties on Germany in the reparations.
- It denied Germany her territories in Europe and in Africa, which caused economic hardships in Germany.
- It created weak states around Germany that became vulnerable to German aggression.
- It gave rise at a weak League of Nations which could not keep world peace.
- It neglected the neutral and other small states like Armenia which were left to the **mercy** of Turkey.

Application Activity 9.1

1. Explain three causes of the Second World War
2. Summarise the responsibility of each country involved in the Second World War. Then, name the first country to cause the Second World War. Present your result to the class.

9.2. Course of the World War II

Learning Activity 9.2

Watch a documentary film about the Second World War. In turn, identify the major events of the Second World War.

War on the Eastern front

Hitler launched the war by invading Poland on the Eastern front on September 1st, 1939. The attack has been called Blitzkrierg or Lightning war. Within four weeks, Poland surrendered and the conquered people were recruited to increase the size of the German army. After conquering the countries to the East, Hitler turned the war to the western front.

The British expected Hitler's bombers any moment and prepared for this. They gave masks to civilians, and evacuated children from the big cities to the countryside. But for around eight months, nothing happened and this was nicknamed a "Phoney War".

War on the Western front

The Western front was the war between Germany and Britain and was called "Operation Sea Lion". Before attacking the west, Hitler signed a Non-aggression Pact with Russia for the following reasons:

- ◉ He wanted to avoid war on two fronts at the same time
- ◉ He also wanted to attack Russia by surprise after the defeat of Britain and France on the western front
- ◉ He thought that he would quickly bring the war to an end and become the world super power.

German foreign minister signs the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact, August 23rd 1939 as Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin (right) and Soviet Commissar Molotov (left) stand behind

(Source: https://www.historyireland.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/60_small_1246616649.jpg)

In April 1940, the war started on the western front as Hitler's forces captured Denmark and Norway. In May attacks were made on Holland, Belgium and France which were soon defeated. Mussolini of Italy had declared war in June, just before the fall of France.

Hitler attacked Britain using the German mechanised army and air force. Because Britain was an island, he first attacked it by air to clear the way for attack by sea. However, Britain had manufactured a radar which was used against the German airforce. Hitler lost 129 planes and many soldiers, leading to his defeat in the battle on Britain.

Hitler then turned the war from the Western front and made a surprise attack on Russia, violating the Non-aggression Pact he had signed with Stalin of Russia.

The Axis offensive: 1939–1942

North Africa and Greece

On June 10th, 1940 Italy invaded France, declaring war on both France and the United Kingdom. Twelve days later France surrendered and was soon divided into German and Italian occupation zones, and an unoccupied rump state under the Vichy Regime headed by Marshal Pétain. On July 3rd, the British attacked the French fleet in Algeria to prevent its possible seizure by Germany.

In February 1941, Hitler sent Afrika Kops to Tripoli and, together with the Italians; they drove the British out of Libya. After much advancing and retreating, the Germans arrived in Egypt in June 1942.

In April 1941, Hitler's forces invaded Greece. The Germans soon captured Athens, forcing the British to withdraw. After bombing Crete, the German forces launched a parachute invasion of the Island; again the British were forced to evacuate.

Invasion of Russia or Operation Barbarossa

On June 22nd, 1941, Germany, along with other European Axis members and Finland, invaded the Soviet Union in Operation Barbarossa. The primary targets of this surprise offensive were the Baltic region, Moscow and Ukraine.

Adolf Hitler was motivated by the following:

- He feared that the Russians might attack Germany while the latter was still occupied in the West.
- He had hoped that the Japanese would attack Russia in the Far East.
- He had desire for creating "living space" or "Lebensraum" by dispossessing the native population and guaranting access to the strategic resources needed to defeat Germany's remaining rivals.
- He wanted the rich grain fields and the large supplies of oil in the Soviet Union.

Although the Red Army was preparing for a strategic counter-offensives before the war, Barbarossa forced the Soviet supreme command to adopt a strategic defence. During the summer of 1941, the Axis forces made significant gains in the Soviet territory, inflicting immense losses on both personnel and material. By the middle of August, however, the German Army High Command decided to suspend the offensive of a considerably depleted Army Group Centre, and to divert the 2nd Panzer Group to reinforce troops advancing towards central Ukraine and Leningrad. The Kiev offensive was overwhelmingly successful, resulting in encirclement and elimination of four Soviet armies, and making further advance into Crimea and Eastern Ukraine.

In mid-November, the weather turned cold and the ground froze. Hitler and the commander of Army Group Centre, faced the choice of having the armies dig in where they were or sending them ahead, possibly to be overtaken by the winter. Intending to end the 1941 campaign with some sort of victory in Moscow, they chose to move ahead.

In the second half of November, Germany aimed two armoured spearheads at Moscow. Just after the turn of the month, one of those, bearing in on the city from the northwest, was less than 32 km away. The other, coming from the south, had about 65 km (about 40 mi) still to go. The Panzer divisions had often covered such distances in less than a day, but the temperature was falling, snow was drifting on the roads, and neither the men nor the machines were outfitted for extreme cold. On December 5th, the generals commanding the spearhead armies reported that they were stopped. The tanks and trucks were freezing up, and the troops were losing their morale to fight.

Stalin, who had stayed in Moscow, and his commander at the front, General Georgy Zhukov, had held back their reserves. Many of them were recent recruits, but some were hardened veterans from Siberia. All were dressed for winter. On December 6th they counterattacked, and within a few days, the German spearheads were rolling back and abandoning large numbers of vehicles and weapons, rendered useless by the cold.

Georgy Zhukov (December 1, 1896–June 18, 1974)

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/fa/Zhukov_ LIFE.jpg)

German forces were defeated due to heavy rains, lack of food, ammunition, and lack of hope for rescue which forced the German commander to finally surrender in early 1943. The battle cost the Germans approximately 300,000 killed, wounded or captured soldiers.

After the "Battle of Stalingrad" of 1942–1943, the Red Army took offensive. They lifted the siege of Leningrad and drove the German troops out of the Soviet Union.

War in the Far East

On December 7th, 1941, without warning, Japan destroyed Pearl Harbor, the American naval base in the Hawaiian Islands, in the Pacific Ocean. The USA was on the side of the Allied Powers with France, Britain and Russia.

Attack on Pearl Harbor

(Source: https://cdn.britannica.com/81/71381-050-0042470B/battleship-attack-Pearl-Harbor-

Japanese-Hawaii-December-7-1941.jpg)

With the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Japanese controlled the Pacific and by May 1942 they had captured Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, the Philippines and two American possessions, Guam and Wake Island.

The Allied successes: 1942–1945

When USA entered the war, the Allied leaders met periodically to lay their strategy. In 1942, the Big Three US President F. D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister W. Churchill and Soviet Leader J. Stalin agreed to finish the war in Europe first before turning to the Japanese in Asia.

During 1942 and 1943, the Allies won several victories that would turn the tide of battle against the Axis. The first turning point came in North Africa and Italy.

The Big Three: F. D. Roosevelt, W. Churchill and J. Stalin met at Teheran in 1943

(Source: https://www.history.com/.image/t_share/MTczMTc4NTAzNTAyNTA1Nzc4/big-three-stalin-roosevelt-churchill-gettyimages-615313038.jpg)

El Alamein and the invasion of Italy

In Egypt, the British troops, under the command of General Montgomery, finally stopped Rommel's advance during the long violent Battle of El Alamein. They then turned the tables on the Desert Fox Operation, driving the Axis forces back across Libya and Tunisia.

Later in 1942, American General Dwight Eisenhower took command of a joint Anglo - American force in Morocco and Algeria. Advancing from the West, he combined with the British to **ambush** Rommel's army, which surrendered in May 1943.

Victory in North Africa allowed the Allies to leap across the Mediterranean Sea into Italy. In July 1943, a combined British and American army landed first in Sicily and later in Southern Italy. They defeated the Italian forces there in about a month. Italians, fed up with Mussolini, overthrew him and established a new government headed by Pietro Badoglio, as Prime Minister. This Government signed an armistice on September 1943, but the fighting did not end. Hitler sent German troops to secure Mussolini. However, for the next eighteen months, the Allies pushed slowly up the Italian peninsula, suffering heavy losses against German resistance. Still, the Italian invasion was a decisive event for the Allies because it weakened Hitler by forcing him to fight on another front.

Battle of Stalingrad: August 1942–February 1943

On July 23rd, 1942, Adolf Hitler ordered General Friedrich Von Paulus, the commander of the German Sixth Army, to capture Stalingrad, an important industrial and communications centre along the Volga River. Hitler wanted Stalingrad to serve as a base for a German invasion of the Caucasus region where rich oil reserves could be tapped for the German war effort and denied to the Soviet Union.

Joseph Stalin, ordered his forces to defend Stalingrad at all costs, demanding that the soldiers of the Red Army take "not a step back." In late August he called on his two best military professionals, General Zhukov, who had organised a counteroffensive to defend Moscow, the Soviet capital, in December 1941, and the army chief of the General Staff, General Vasilyevsky, to deal with the situation at Stalingrad. They proposed to wear the enemy down by locking German troops into a bloody fight for the city while the Red Army assembled the means for a counterattack.

By September 3rd the German forces had pushed the Soviet defenders of Stalingrad back to the west bank of the Volga. The German air force pounded the city into **rubble**, but the shattered buildings provided cover for the Soviet defenders. The German Panzer tanks were unsuited to this kind of urban warfare and it became a long battle where progress was very slow.

A series of German assaults on the Soviet forces occupying the west bank resulted in bitter hand-to-hand fighting in the ruins. By the end of October the Germans were exhausted and short of ammunition, while the Soviet defenders, who had just managed to cling to their positions, were replenished across the Volga with troops, food, ammunition, tanks, and guns.

A German Panzer offensive from the south sought to break through to relieve the Sixth Army, but the Red Army repulsed this offensive on December 23rd. By January 26th, 1943, further Soviet assaults split Paulus's forces in two. The shattered German army fought on until January 31st, when Paulus finally surrendered. By February 2 the remnants of his starving, diseased, and frostbitten army had given up. About 200, 000 Axis forces were killed or wounded in the battle. The Red Army suffered about 1.1 million casualties, including about 485, 000 killed.

Invasion of France: June–November, 1944

Since June 22nd, 1940, Northern France had been occupied by Germany. In the South, the French set up a "Puppet State" or government with its capital at Vichy. Some French officers had escaped to England, where they also set up a government in-exile led by General Charles de Gaulle. The two "free French" worked hard to liberate their homeland. Inside France itself, resistance fighters turned to guerrilla tactics to harass the occupying German force.

By 1944, the Allies were at last ready to open the long-awaited second front in Europe known as "the invasion of France". They chose June 6th, 1944 known as "D-Day"; they called it the invasion of France and Normandy Operation Overlord.

About 176,000 Allied troops were ferried across the English Channel; they fought their way to shore amid underwater mines and **raking** machine-gun fire. They clawed their way inland through the tangled hedges of Normandy. Finally, they took Paris. Meanwhile, other Allied forces sailed from Italy to land in France.

In Paris, French resistance forces rose up against the Germans. Under pressure from all sides, the Germans retreated. On August 25th, 1944 the Allies under the command of General Dwight D. Eisenhower entered Paris. Within a month, all France was free.

War in the Pacific Ocean

A major turning point in the Pacific war occurred just six months after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. In May and June 1942, American warships and air planes severely damaged two Japanese fleets during the Battles of the Coral Sea in Solomon Islands over the Midway Island. These victories greatly weakened Japanese naval power and stopped the Japanese advance.

After the Battle of Midway, the USA took the offensive. That summer, USA marines, under the command of General Douglas MacArthur landed at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands. On the captured islands, the Americans built air bases to enable them to carry the war closer to Japan. By 1944, American ships were blockading Japan, while their bombers pounded Japanese cities and industries.

In October 1944, MacArthur began to retake the Philippines. The British, meanwhile, were pushing the Japanese back in the jungles of Burma and Malaya. Despite such setbacks, the militarists who dominated the Japanese government rejected any suggestions of surrender.

Assault on Germany: The defeat of the Nazi

After freeing France, the Allies battled towards Germany. They advanced into Belgium in December 1944. And then Germany launched a massive counterattack and Hitler was throwing everything into a final effort.

At the bloody Battle of the Bulge (December 1944–January 1945), both sides registered terrible losses. The Germans drove the Allies back in several places but were unable to break through. Their aim was to divide the Americans and the British and retake the vital seaport of Antwerp. They created a "bulge" in the Allied lines, but their advance was halted near the Meuse in late December. Managing to avoid being cut off by an Allied pincer movement, the Germans withdrew to their own lines in January, but heavy losses, including some 220,000 casualties, contributed to their final collapse in the spring of 1945.

By this time, Germany was staggering under non-stop bombing. For two years, Allied bombers had hammered military bases, factories, oil depots and cities. By 1945, Germany could no longer defend

itself in the air. In one 10-day period, bombing almost erased the huge industrial city of Hamburg. Allied raids on Dresden in February 1945 killed as many as 135,000 people.

By March 1945, the Allies had crossed the Rhine River into Western Germany. From the East, Soviet troops closed in on Berlin. Victory was only months away but savage fighting continued. In April, American and Russians soldiers met and shook hands at the Elbe River. Everywhere, Axis armies began to surrender.
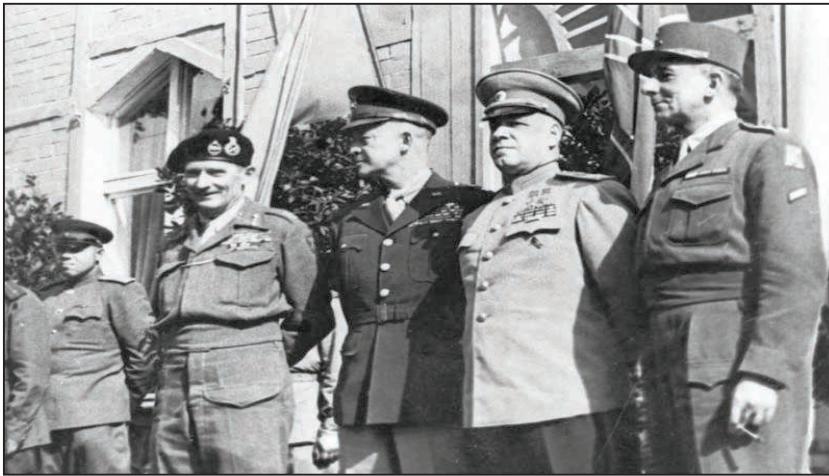
American and Soviet troops meet in April 1945, east of the Elbe River

(Source: https://d2v9ipibika81v.cloudfront.net/uploads/

sites/138/%D0%AD%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%B1%D0%B0-1.jpg)

Several changes in leadership occurred during that year. On April, 12th, 1945 US. President Roosevelt died and was succeeded by Harry Truman. Benito Mussolini was killed by Italian partisans on April 28th, 1945. Two days later, Hitler committed suicide, and was succeeded by Grand Admiral Karl Dönitz.

German forces surrendered in Italy on April 29th. The German instrument of surrender was signed on May 7th in Reims, and ratified on May 8th in Berlin and officially the war in Europe ended. This was proclaimed V-E-Day (Victory in Europe Day).

The supreme commanders on 5 June 1945 in Berlin: Bernard Montgomery, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Georgy Zhukov and Jean de Lattre de Tassigny

(Source:https://i.pinimg.com/originals/d0/ea/11/d0ea11f8f10934d5a9012f223f3d747c.jpg)

Defeat of Japan and the end of the Second World War

With war won in Europe, the Allies poured their resources into defeating Japan. By mid 1945, most of the Japanese navy and air force had been destroyed. Yet the Japanese still had an army of 2 million men. The road to victory, it appeared, would be long and costly.

Some American officials estimated that an invasion of Japan would cost a million or more casualities. At the bloody battles to take the Islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, the Japanese had shown they would fight to death rather than surrender. To save their homeland, young Japanese became **Kamikaze** pilots (Japanese, "divine wind") who undertook suicide missions, crashing their planes loaded with explosive into American warships.

Meanwhile, Harry Truman got the news of the test of an atomic bomb at Alamogordo in New Mexico on July 16, 1945. He knew that the atomic bomb was a terrible new force for destruction. He decided to use the new weapon to defeat Japan.

Atomic explosion at Nagasaki, August 9th, 1945.

(Source: https://i.pinimg.com/originals/cd/e9/8c/

cde98cf45cf0f56e0197900d67a23f51.jpg)

On August 6th, 1945, an American plane dropped an atomic bomb "Little Boy" on Hiroshima, killing more than 84,000 people and leaving thousands more slowly dying of radiation poisoning. After this drop, Truman warned the Japanese that if they did not surrender, they could expect "a rain of ruin from the air the like of which has never been seen on this earth".

And on August 8th, 1945 the Soviet Union declared war on Japan and invaded Manchuria. Still, Japanese leaders did not respond. The next day, on August 9th, 1945, the USA dropped a second atomic bomb nicknamed "Fat Man" on Nagasaki, killing more 40,000 people.

Some members of the Japanese cabinet wanted to fight on, other leaders disagreed. Finally, on August 10th, 1945, Emperor Hiro Hito intervened, forcing the government to surrender. On September 2nd, 1945 the formal Peace Treaty was signed on board the American battleship Missouri, which was anchored in Tokyo Bay. The Second World War ended.

Japanese Surrender August 10th, 1945	**General Douglas McArthur 1880—1964**
(Source: https://www.osti.gov/opennet/manhattan-project-history/images/MissouriJapaneseEnvoys1.jpg)	

After the surrender, American forces occupied the smoldering ruins of Japan under General Douglas McArthur. In Germany, the Allies of occupation: French, British, American and Russian, divided Germany between them.

Consequencesofdroppingtheatomicbombson Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Nagasaki after the Atomic bomb explosion, August 9th,1945

(Source: https://images.immediate.co.uk/production/volatile/sites/7/2018/01/Hiroshima-aftermath-800-1803433.jpg?quality=90&resize=620%2C413)

The consequences to Japan included:

- Japan was defeated even after the use of her Kamikaze pilots;
- Allied powers forces occupied Japan up to 1950;
- Many Japanese lost their lives, about 84,000 people were killed at Hiroshima and around 40,000 people were killed at Nagasaki;
- Japanese infrastructure was destroyed;
- This led to trauma due to a lot of suffering;
- The bombs caused birth defects in children due to radiation poisoning.
- The defeat of Japan caused many Japanese generals including General Tojo Hideki, the Prime Minister to commit suicide and his government to resign.
- The dropping of atomic bombs in Japan led to the displacement of people from radiation poisoned areas and famine. It led to the decline of the Japanese economic activities. Japan only survived by the support from the victorious powers, especially USA.

Reasons for Axis powers' defeat in the Second World War

The Axis powers were defeated by the Allied powers because of the following reasons:

- They had a numerical advantage because the Axis powers were few in number compared to the Allies
- Germany, as leader of the Axis powers, had many internal weakness that made her fail to get massive support at home because her leader Hitler was a dictator
- Germany did not have support from the countries she had occupied
- The dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki by Americans which forced Japan to surrender.
- The economies of the Axis powers were weak compared to those of the Allied powers and they were suffering from a serious shortage of raw materials and other essential military hardware. This was due to economic sanctions imposed on Japan in 1931 after invading Manchuria, on Italy in 1935 after invading Ethiopia and on Germany in 1936 after attacking Austria.
- The allied powers were much more experienced in fighting on Sea than the Axis powers.
- Hitler failed to realise the danger of winter and refused to withdraw his troops from Russian territory. The strong winter weakened German troops the Battle of Stalingrad leading to the loss of approximately 300,000 killed, wounded or captured soldiers.
- The Axis powers underestimated the military capacity of the Allied powers.
- There was lack of the foresight because the leaders of the Axis powers ignored the importance of fighting planes.

Application Activity 9.2

1. Observe the photo above about the atomic explosion at Nagasaki, 9 August 1945 and use it to answer the following:
   a) In which country did it happen?
   b) Describe what you see in the photo
   c) Imagine how much causalities or damages it caused. Discuss your views with the rest of the class.

2. Discuss the reasons why Axis powers were defeated. Make a presentation to the class.

3. Identify some of the successes of the allies? What was the major reason that led Japan to accept defeat?

9.3. Consequences of World War II
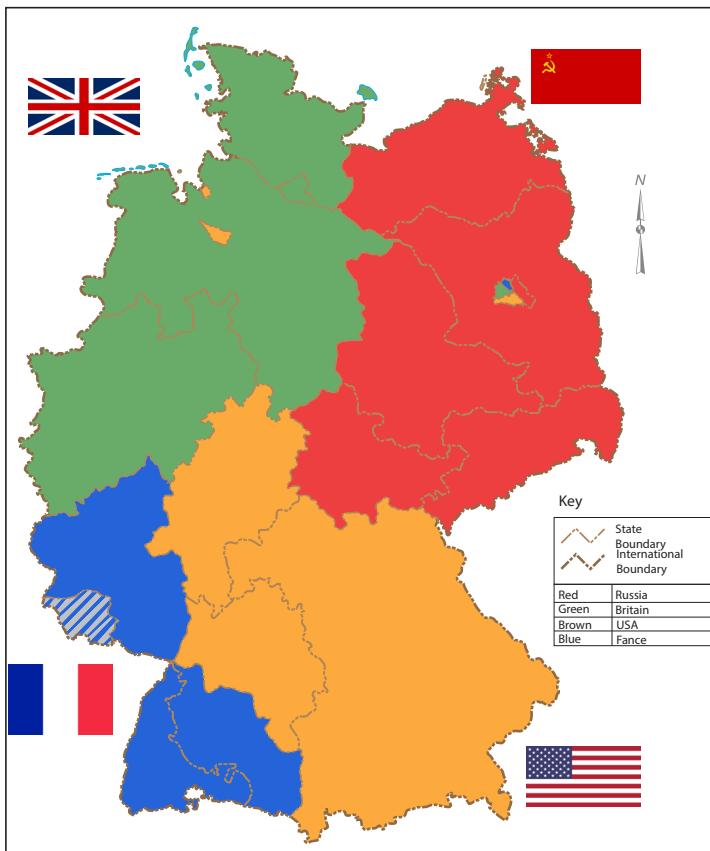
- Loss of lives. It was estimated that 62 million to 76 million people died, 45 million people were wounded and about 21 million people were displaced from their homes

- Massive destruction of infrastructure, especially in France and in Japan due to heavy bombing of major cities

- Influx of homeless refugees. Most refugees were in camps of Western Europe. Many of them were the Jews who were running away from Adolf Hitler

- Formation of the United Nations Organisation in 1945 to replace the League of Nations

- The production of nuclear weapons which up to the present day have disorganised World politics

- The defeat and downfall of dictators in Europe like Adolf Hitler who committed suicide on April 30th, 1945 and Benito Mussolini who was killed by his own forces on April 28th, 1945

- Balance of power in the World changed because of the rise of new super powers, USA and USSR

- The rise and growth of nationalism in the Middle East and in Africa leading to the decolonisation process

- It led to the partition of Germany into two zones till 1989; East Germany, known as Democratic Republic of Germany was controlled by Russia; and West Germany, known as Federal Republic of Germany, controlled by USA, Britain and France.

- Outbreak of the "Cold War" which was a non-violent confrontation between the western capitalists led by USA and eastern communists led by USSR.

Post-war Allies occupation zones in Germany

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a8/Deutschland_Besatzungszonen_8_
Jun_1947_-_22_Apr_1949.svg/375px-Deutschland_Besatzungszonen_8_Jun_1947_-_22_Apr_1949.svg.
png)

Role of Africans in the Second World War

- During the Second World War some 375,000 men and women from African countries served in the Allied forces. They took part in campaigns in the Middle East, North Africa, East Africa, Italy and the Far East. In Asia, they fought in the Burma Campaign, in the Pacific theatre against Japanese forces, in the East African Campaign against Italy, and in the Battle of Madagascar against the French Vichy Government soldiers.

- The Burma Campaign was the longest land campaign fought by the British in the war. The British lost Rangoon (current day Yangon) in March 1942 to the advancing Japanese forces. They were forced to retreat and regroup. The fighting ensued, and Japan eventually surrendered in 1945, but their surrender would not have happened without reinforcements from the British Commonwealth, largely

comprised of Indians and the African soldiers. The British did not have the numbers to go at it alone, and the outcome of many war theaters would have been different in the absence of African soldiers.

◉ In the British army, Africans made up about 100,000 of the conscripted soldiers in the Burma Campaign alone. Most of them were from Nigeria and Ghana, but some were also from Sierra Leone, Gambia and other British controlled African lands.

◉ The British conscripted African soldiers from different parts of Africa for the East Africa Campaign against Italy and the German Motorised Company in the horn of Africa, and against the French Vichy in the Battle of Madagascar.

◉ British West African forces played a major role in the East African Campaign. It was the motorised Nigerian brigade of 11th African Division that captured and occupied Mogadishu, the capital of Italian Somaliland. Mussolini's Italian forces had no defense, as they had previously suffered heavy blows from South African forces. The Italians were easily defeated by the Nigerian forces.

◉ While the British did most of the conscripting of African soldiers during the Second World War, they were not alone. Italy conscripted Africans too. Collectively, there were more Ethiopians, Somalis, and Eritreans. The French also conscripted soldiers from their African colonies.

◉ The role of Africa in the Second World War was also observed in the manufacturing of Atomic bombs used by Americans in Japan. Most of the uranium necessary for the production of the bomb came from the Shinkolobwe mine in region of Belgian Congo.

Consequences of the Second World War on Africa

◉ The Second World War helped in the rise of African nationalism which led to the decolonisation of Africa. The legacy of African World War Veterans was evident and important in the winning of independence in different parts of Africa. The returning ex-soldiers brought awareness and consciousness. During the war, Africans worked alongside the Europeans, and found them little difference from them. They had fought and killed Europeans in the name of freedom and democracy. They had observed poverty in Europe and savagery in warfare. Thus, their return added more momentum to the growth of nationalism.

- The Second World War also helped in the changing of attitudes of Europeans themselves towards their colonies. Allied forces, especially France, were aware of its indebtedness to Africa during the war. In order to ensure continuing African support, European administrators were obliged to promise the social, political and economic reforms in their African colonies after the allied victory in the war. At a free French conference held in Brazzaville in 1944, De Gaulle promised a new deal for the subjects of the French African territories. Some European countries became reluctant to implement their promises. Thus, there was rise of intensive nationalism.

- The Second World War also contributed to the rise of African elites who played a big role in organising and mobilising Africans for large scale nationalism campaign. In British West Africa, the war years saw the posting of the educated in high administrative positions and election to local councils. British colonial administrators began to contemplate a time in the distant future when Africans would be allowed some degree of self-governance. Few ex-service men played a significant role in the leadership of the ensuing independence movements.

- Europena nations experienced economic hardships after the war. Most of their economies were so badly ruined that they were not able to continue running vast overseas colonies in Africa and Asia. They began preparing them for self-determination.

- The Second World War led to intensive exploitation or large scale colonisation of Africa. Most of the European countries wanted to revamp their ruined economies by increasing qualitative and quantitative production in the peripheries. For instance, new taxes were introduced, land alienation policy increased, forced cropping in west Africa was practised, and "grow more" campaign in Tanganyika intensified. All these practices of exploitation awakened the Africans to fight for their independence.

- During the Second World War, some African soldiers lost their lives. For instance, out of a population of 42 million in African colonies of the British Commonwealth, 372,000 served in the Allied cause and 3,387 of these were killed or reported missing while 5,549 were wounded.

- It can be concluded that African participation in the Second World War was very important. Africans produced vast quantities

of food and strategic materials for the Allied war effort. The impact of the war on the lives of ordinary people throughout the African continent was, therefore, unquestionably profound. The uncompromising Allies' demand for manpower and raw materials introduced new products and methods of production, altered labour relations, inspired anti-colonial nationalism, challenged established gender norms, and accelerated environmental change on an unprecedented scale.

Application Activity 9.3

1. Why did Adolf Hitler attack Russia in 1941?

2. With the attack on Pearl Harbour which region did Japan manage to control?

Unit summary

The Second World War broke out only 27 years after the end of the First World War. It opposed two blocks: Allied powers against the Axis powers. This War was the most terrible event that humanity had experienced because of the use of weapons of mass destruction such as atomic bombs. It was also during this war that the Holocaust or the genocide against Jews was applied and claimed about 6 million lives. The war ended on September 2nd, 1945 with 76 million people dead.

This unit analyses the causes, the course and the responsibility of each country in the outbreak of the Second World War. Besides, it examines the consequences of the Second World War.

Finally, this unit ends by exposing the role played by Africans in the Second World War and its impact on their continent, the most important being the rise of nationalism that led to the demand for decolonisation and independence of their countries.

Glossary

Ambush: the act of concealing oneself and lying in wait to attack someone by surprise

Appeasement: political policy of trying to pacify a hostile country, e.g. by granting concessions

Mercy: leniency and compassion shown toward offenders by a person or agency charged with administering justice or a disposition to be kind and forgiving

Pledge: promise solemnly and formally or Pay (an amount of money) as a contribution to a charity or service, especially at regular intervals

Prestige: a high standing achieved through success, influence or wealth etc.

Raking: scratching or scraping with a long sweeping movement

Rubble: the remains of something that has been destroyed or broken up

Straddling: sit or stand astride of or range or extend over; occupy a certain area

Tap: Strike lightly

End unit Assessment

1. Discuss the causes of the Second World War?
2. Explain the reasons why the Axis powers were defeated.
3. Identify the consequences of the Second World War?

Unit 10

National and international Human Rights instruments and the protection of Human Rights

Key unit competence

Analyze the effectiveness of national and international Human Rights instruments and ways in which Human Rights can be protected in the context of democracy.

Introductory activity: :

Observe and discuss the situation of Human Rights in Rwanda.

Introduction

Human Rights are the foundation of human existence and coexistence. They are universal, indivisible and interdependent, and they lie at the heart of everything the United Nations aspires to achieve in its global mission of peace and development.

Since the adoption of the universal declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations Organization General Assembly in 1948, governments have discussed, negotiated, and agreed upon many hundreds of fundamental principles and legal provisions designed to protect and promote an array of civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.

In the context of such rights, this unit focuses on both national and international Human Rights instruments. National Human Rights instruments are state bodies endowed with a constitutional and/ or legislative mandate to protect and promote Human Rights while international Human Rights instruments are treaties and other international documents relevant to international Human Rights law and protection of Human Rights in general.

This unit, first of all, attempts to define the two key phrases - national and international Human Rights instruments, and then it places an emphasis on the effectiveness of national and international Human Rights instruments in the protection of Human Rights in the context of democracy.

10.1. Definition of National and International Human Rights instruments

Learning Activity 10.1

Find and examine the National and International Human Rights instruments. Afterwards present your results to the rest of the class.

Human Rights institutions, are bodies with constitutional and/ or legislative mandate to protect and promote Human Rights.

Role of the national Human Rights instruments

In general, Human Rights institutions are public institutions that are not under the direct authority of the executive, legislative or judiciary although they are, as a rule, accountable to the legislative either directly or indirectly. National Human Rights institutions are, most of the time, established by constitutional mandate and **legislation** of countries. The mandate includes the power to protect and promote economic social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights.

Nowadays, in a number of countries special commissions have been established to ensure that laws and regulations concerning

the protection of Human Rights are in place. Human Rights commissions may also monitor the state's **compliance** with its own, and with international Human Rights laws and if necessary, recommend changes.

The national Human Rights institutions have also an obligation to make preparation of reports on the national situation with regard to Human Rights in general, and on more specific matters and this is mostly done in annual status reports.

Names of national Human Rights institutions in Rwanda

National Human Rights instruments have different names. In Rwanda we have the following:

- Civil rights protector
- Commissioner
- Human Rights commission
- Human Rights institute or centre
- Ombudsman or commissioner for Human Rights
- Public defender/protector
- Parliamentary advocate

Core International Human Rights instruments

There are seven core international Human Rights treaties. Each of these treaties has established a committee of experts to monitor implementation of the treaty provisions by its States parties. Some of the treaties are supplemented by optional protocols dealing with specific concerns.

Treaty	Date	Treaty Bodies
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)	1965	-
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)	1966	Human Rights Committee (HRC)
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)	1966	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR)

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)	1979	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD)
		Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT)	1984	Committee Against Torture (CAT)
Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)	1989	Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
International Convention on Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICMRW)	1990	Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW)

Other Relevant International Conference Documents and Meetings:

Consensus Document/Meeting	Date
Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women	1993
World Conference on Human Rights, Declaration and Programme of Action ('Vienna Declaration')	1993
International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD or Cairo Consensus)	1994
Fourth World Conference on Women (Also, FWCW or 'Beijing'), Declaration and Platform for Action	1995
Glen Cove Meeting: Human Rights approaches to women's health with a focus on sexual and reproductive health and rights	1996
United Nations Programme for Reform	1997
International Guidelines on HIV/AIDS and Human Rights (last revised 2002)	1998

Millennium Declaration and Development Goals	2000
UN World Conference Against Racism	2001
An Agenda for Further Change (Followup to the 1997 UN Programme for Reform)	2001
Glen Cove + 5: Application of Human Rights to Sexual and Reproductive Health	2001
The Second Interagency Workshop on Implementing a Human Rights-based Approach in the Context of UN Reform	2003

Regional Human Rights instruments

These are Human Rights instruments which are restricted to states in particular regions of the World. Some of these are those adopted by the African Union, the Council of Europe and the European Union, the organisation of American States and Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

The African union includes the following **protocols**:

- Protocol to the African charter on Human Rights and peoples' rights on the establishment of an African court on human and people's rights;
- Protocol to the African charter on Human Rights and peoples' rights on the rights of women in Africa;
- Convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa.

Application Activity 10.1

Analyse the national and international Human Right instruments characterising a democratic society. Present your findings to the class.

10.2. Effectiveness of national and international Human Rights instruments in the protection and promotion of Human Rights

Learning Activity 10.2

Identify 3 mechanisms of protection of Human Rights that States have to use

Any exercise of power is accompanied by the temptation to abuse it. Human Rights instruments are designed precisely to limit power, whatever its nature and to alternate any force it exerts.

In this context each state must be **endowed** with internal checking mechanisms or state actors for effective supervision or protection of Human Rights.

Among mechanisms for the protection of Human Rights, states must ensure the following:

- Access to justice for all
- Independent and impartial justice
- Justice system that protects Human Rights
- Effective justice
- To put in place national institutions for the promotion and protection of Human Rights
- Allow non-governmental Human Rights organisations
- Develop a free press and media.

Ways through which Human Rights can be protected in the context of democracy

Ways to protect Human Rights in the context of democracy include:

- People in all countries have to be educated about Human Rights and this must become part of general public education.
- During periods of wars and violent conflicts secured zones have to be created so as to protect refugees and other war victims from any community. This safeguards human lives.

- Peace keeping institutions like police and army could contribute to the maintenance of security. By preventing violence, they help to protect Human Rights.
- Promoting the right knowledge of Human Rights: i.e. to possess sufficient knowledge of Human Rights and equally know what to do and where to go to seek redress if our rights are violated.
- Fighting against Human Rights violation can also be done through dialogue.
- External specialists can offer legislative assistance and provide guidance in drafting press freedom laws, minority **legislation** and laws securing gender equality.
- To promote a free media acting as a watchdog of society pointing out evils.
- International observers and reporters can help to exert modest pressure to bring violations of Human Rights to public notice and discourage further violence.
- Trying in courts of law without fear or favour all those who are suspected of having violated Human Rights. This teaches a lesson to the rest to stop such habits.
- To expose the **culprit** by taking pictures audio or video record of violation.

Application Activity 10.2

Explain the ways through which Human Rights can be protected in the context of democracy.

Unit summary

National Human Rights institutions are public institutions that are independent of the executive, legislature or judiciary powers although they are accountable to the legislature. They are **endowed** with the mandate of protecting and promoting economic, social and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights.

On the other hand, international Human Rights instruments are treaties and other international documents relevant to international Human Rights law and the protection of Human Rights in general. They are of two categories: declarations and conventions. The international Human Rights instruments are also divided further into global instruments and regional instruments.

The global Human Rights instruments include the International Bill of Human Rights, the United Nations Human Rights Conventions, the Labour instruments, the Administration of Justice and Protection to Persons subject to Detention or Imprisonment, the instruments of protecting special groups, the procedure instruments and the general instruments.

The regional Human Rights instruments are those which have been adopted by particular regions such as the African Union, Organisation of American States, the Council of Europe, the European Union, and Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

Effective protection of Human Rights can only be reached on condition that there is close and frank collaboration between national state bodies, national, international and non-governmental institutions that are involved in the promotion and protection of Human Rights.

The ways of protecting Human Rights are diverse but it is incumbent on the different world governments to set strong and viable national Human Rights institutions and to keep up an open collaboration with international Human Rights institutions.

Glossary

Compliance:	acting according to certain accepted standards or a disposition or tendency to yield to the will of others
Covenant:	a formal agreement between two or more parties to perform or not perform some action
Culprit:	someone who perpetrates wrongdoing
Disputant:	a person who disputes; who is good at or enjoys controversy
Endow:	to provide something for support

Fugitive:	someone who is sought by law officers; someone trying to elude justice
Grief:	something that causes great unhappiness
Immunity:	an act exempting someone
Infringement:	a crime less serious than a felony (= a serious crime such as murder or arson) or an act that disregards an agreement or a right
Inherent:	existing as an essential constituent or characteristic or in the nature of something though not readily apparent
Legislation:	a law or a set of laws passed by a parliament or the process of making and passing laws.
Litigant:	a party to a lawsuit; someone involved in litigation (=a legal proceeding in a court; a judicial contest to determine and enforce legal rights. e.g. plaintiffs and defendants are both litigants
Potent:	having great influence or having or wielding force or authority
Preamble:	a preliminary introduction to a statute or constitution (usually explaining its purpose)
Precedence:	status established in order of importance or urgency or the act of preceding in time, order or rank (as in a ceremony)
Prospective:	of or concerned with or related to the future e.g. "prospective earnings"; "a prospective mother"; "a prospective bride"; "the statute is solely prospective in operation"
Protocol:	the original copy of any writing, especially an agreement or a procedure for how an activity should be performed
Ratify:	approve and express assent, responsibility, or obligation e.g. All parties ratified the peace treaty
Raw:	having the surface exposed and painful e.g. "A raw wound"

Secular: characteristic of or devoted to the temporal world as opposed to the spiritual world or not concerned with or devoted to religion

Shortcoming: a failing or deficiency e.g. That interpretation is an unfortunate shortcoming of our lack of information

Unwarranted: incapable of being justified or explained or lacking justification or authorisation or without a basis in reason or fact

Vest: provide with power and authority e.g. "They vested the council with special rights".

End unit assessment

1. Define the term "regional Human Rights" and give examples.
2. Explain the importance of Human Rights instruments in Rwanda.
3. Assess the ways through which Human Rights can be protected in Rwanda. Which national institutions are involved in this action?
4. Mention Human Rights instruments both at national and international levels.
5. State examples of global Human Rights instruments.
6. What is the effectiveness of both national and international Human Rights instruments?

Unit 11

Democratization process in Rwanda and the sub region

Key unit competence

Compare the democratization process in Rwanda and the sub region.

Introductory activity:

In Senior One, you learnt about democracy. Make a research on the internet or in textbooks and do the following activities:

- ❯ Define the term "democracy"
- ❯ Outline 3 characteristics of democratic societies.

Introduction

Democracy is a political system which is applied throughout the world today. It is a system in which people enjoy freedom and equality. The democratization process is the way people or governments try to build democratic societies so that people are involved in the governance of their country. Some indicators like participation of the population, open political space and existence of oppositions, attest to the existence of the democracy. Rwanda, like other countries of sub-region, presents many elements of a democratic country.

11.1. Indicators of a Democratic Regime

Democratisation is a process of building political institutions which ensure equality, freedom and participation of all citizens in decision making. The population decides their rights and future. In other words, the process of democratisation can be defined as the transition from an authoritarian regime to a full democratic system which divorces it from the practices of a dictatorship.

The following are some basic conditions that must be fulfilled in order to sustain the process of democratisation:

A fair distribution of wealth

Democracy cannot exist where people do not enjoy equal distribution of national resources. A democratic regime must satisfy basic needs of its population such as food, shelter, education, health and security.

Strong civil society

Powerful civil society organisations like churches, NGOs, Human Rights leagues, etc. must be involved in the process of democratisation.

Education

It has long been said that education promotes stable and democratic societies. Education leads to greater political tolerance, increases political participation and reduces inequality among the population. When all the children in a given country go to school, they develop and become more tolerant than others in most of the cases.

Decentralisation policy

Power is decentralised for purposes of simplification of administrative procedures. The population feels involved in national policy elaboration and participates in decision making at the local level.

International pressure

Many countries, especially the developed ones, encourage the process of democratisation. Any developing country cannot usually be given economic assistance by Western countries without practicing democracy. Countries must organise free and fair elections, which consequently lead to succession to political power. Presidents of countries who refuse such a peaceful **alternation** are sometimes overthrown by force like the case of Yahya Jammeh in Gambia.

Application Activity 11.1

Explain four characteristics of Democracy.

11.2 The indicators of democratisation

Learning Activity 2

Discuss the indicators of a Democratic Regime. Report the findings to the class.

A democratic society is generally characterised by the following elements:

The respect of Human Rights

Civil and political rights are constitutive elements of democracy, hence democracy and the respect of Human Rights are linked in a democratic society.

Power limitation

This indicator reflects the availability of checks and balances between the organisation's powers such as between legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Control

Citizens are able to control the political authority. When representatives implement the **mandate** according to which they are elected, they can be praised. The process implies the evaluation of transparency in the decision-making process.

Participation of the population

This indicator describes the citizens' ability to influence and participate in the decision-making. The citizens have the right to address petitions to those in power.

Free elections

This is the ability of the government to organise free and fair elections from the local administration level to the national level. People are free to elect leaders of their choice, who can respond to their expectations.

Multi-party democracy

This is the existence of many political parties competing for power. Many political parties compete for power and the party which gets majority votes wins. However, this is only one form of democracy. There can be one party democracies.

Freedom of the press and expression

People are entitled to express their views through newspapers, radio, television and magazines without fear.

Application Activity 11.2

Discuss the Indicators of Democracy.

11.3. Comparison of democratisation in Rwanda and other countries in the sub-region

The democratisation process in Rwanda and in the sub-region has been marked by improvement. However, more still needs to be done so as to fulfill all the conditions required to have real democracy. In different countries of the region (Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Somalia) principles of democracy are to some extent implemented. They include free and fair elections, political pluralism, freedom of expression and press, respect for Human Rights, etc.

In Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, there is political stability and security that enable citizens to participate in the democratic process such as voting their leaders, planning, and decision making. However, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan and Somalia, the democratic process remains precarious due to the insecurity that prevails in these countries. The Democratic Republic of Congo for instance, has failed to organise the presidential elections, yet the presidential term of office of the current president has ended. Besides, many countries of the sub region host a lot of refugees because of insecurity. This has become a common feature of some countries. Today, it is Uganda that has the biggest number of refugees in the region mainly from South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo.

In Rwanda free and fair elections have been organised since 2003 with fair polling and honest tabulations of ballots. People have been able to elect leaders of their choice like in other democratic states in the sub-region do.

Rwanda, like other countries of the sub-region, has common indicators of democratisation like:

Open political space

All political groups are allowed to compete and convince the public to vote for them. This is the case with other countries like Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda.

The existence of opposition

Some political parties challenge RPF during elections and win seats in parliament and senate, as is the case in the neighbouring countries.

Existence of multiparty democracy

Rwanda government allows the existence of many political parties. There are at least ten political parties such Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), Parti Socialiste Démocratique (PSD), Parti Libéral, Parti pour la Démocratie Islamique, Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais, etc. In all other countries, the existence of the multiparty system is a reality.

Electing leaders in August 2003 in Rwanda
(Source: http://www.adventurephiles.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/a-P1180088s.jpg)

Existence of three powers

There are three sources of power: The Chamber of deputies, Senate and Supreme Court. Rwanda is the only country in the sub-region which has a majority number of women in its political institutions.

Rwanda's chamber of deputies

(Source: https://www.parliament.gov.rw/fileadmin/user_upload/DzG9i4BWsAEXUR7.jpg)

Rwanda's senate

(Source: https://www.kaminuzastar.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Rwandan-Senate.jpg)

Respect for Human Rights

In the Great Lakes region, respect for Human Rights has become a culture in different countries. However, because of armed conflicts and political instability in some countries in the region, the violation of Human Rights is still common. This is true mainly

in the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Somalia and Burundi. This situation has led to the existence of many refugees in the region.

Nonetheless, in other countries of the region, the fundamental Human Rights are respected. These include freedom of worship, and freedom of press. In Rwanda many newspapers and mass media exist. They include Imvaho Nshya, Rwanda Express, Igihe, New Times, Rushyashya, private radios and televisions like Isango Star, TV1, TV10, Royal TV, Contact TV, and Flash TV. Therefore, people have the channels through which they can express their ideas freely.

In addition, the principles of **accountability**, transparency and the rule of law are also implemented. For example, in Rwanda every authority is accountable to the people. This is done transparently. This reflects participatory democracy like in most other countries in the sub region. In general, the rule of law is also practiced in the region and, no citizen is superior to others before the law. According to the law, a person is tried without considering his/her rank or social status.

Application Activity 11.2

Find out four common indicators of the democracy in Rwanda and the Sub-region.

Unit summary

Sustaining the democratisation process requires the fulfillment of minimum conditions including open political space, the existence of opposition and pluralism, free, fair and democratic elections, respect for Human Rights, rule of law, etc.
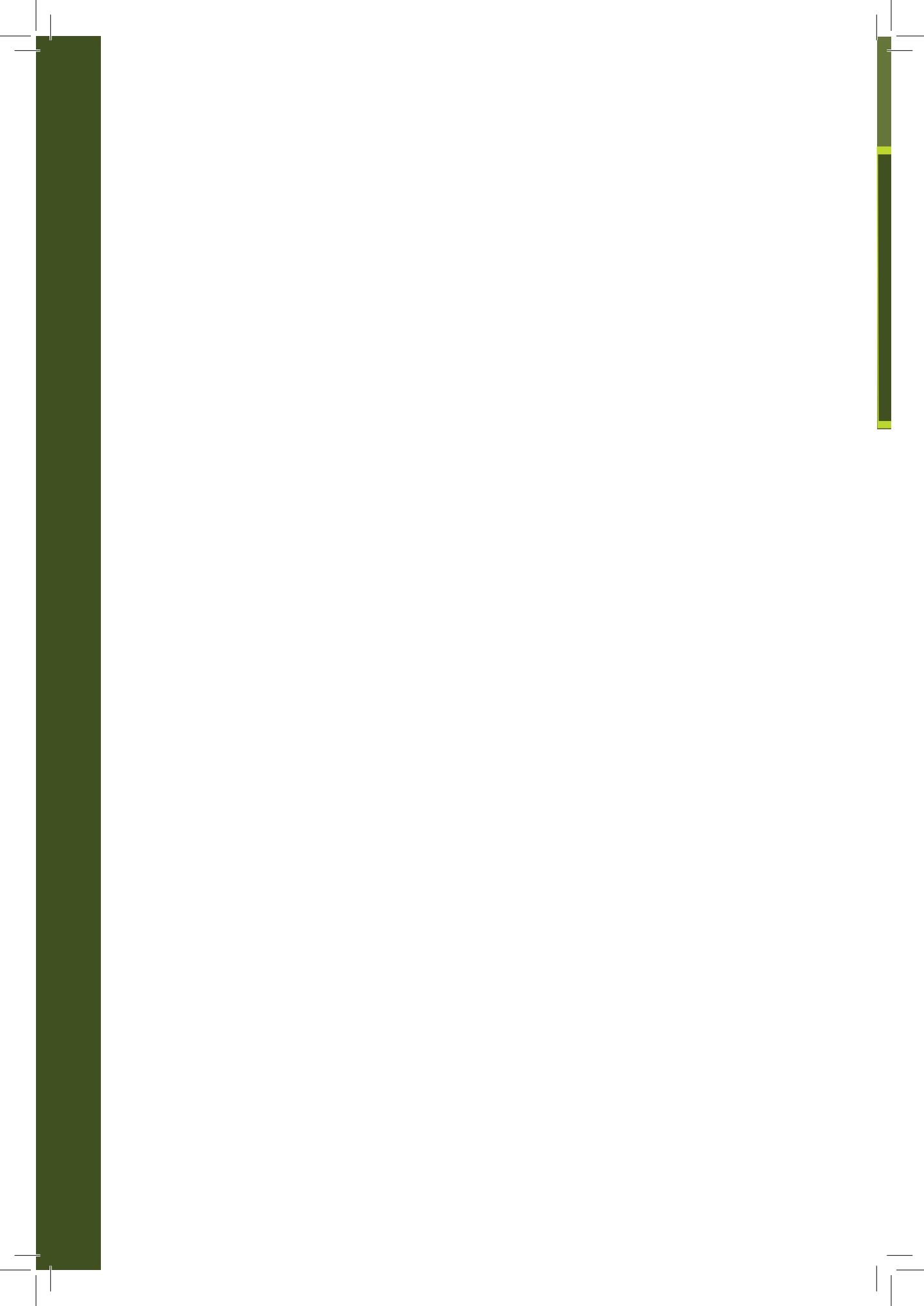
In general, Rwanda and other countries of the sub-region present many elements which characterise a democratic country.

Glossary

Accountability: responsibility to someone or for some activity

Alternation: successive change from one thing or state to another and back again

Mandate: the commission that is given to a government and its policies through an electoral victory

Openness: an attitude of ready accessibility (especially about one's actions or purposes); without concealment; not secretive or willingness or readiness to receive (especially impressions or ideas)

Threat: something that is a source of danger or a warning that something unpleasant is imminent or declaration of an intention or a determination to inflict harm on another

End unit Assessment

1. State and explain three indicators of a democratic society.
2. Examine similarities and differences between Rwanda and the sub-region concerning the democratisation process.

Unit 12

Understanding Rwandans in Reference to Regional Groupings

Key unit competence

Evaluate Rwandans in reference to regional groupings.

Introductory activity:

Account for ways through which Rwandans can be identified by others. This can be done in the following ways e.g: Location Rwanda is a landlocked country which is located in central eastern Africa. It is bordered in the north by Uganda, in the south by Burundi, in the east by Tanzania and in the west by The Democratic Republic of Congo. Its capital is Kigali. Now think of other ways Rwandans can be identified from other groups of people.

Introduction

Rwandans have special characteristics compared to other people in the sub-region. They speak one language–Kinyarwanda, –which is the basis of national unity. They also live in one country, have common ancestry, share the same background and have a rich cultural heritage expressed in poems, songs, dances etc. However,

the case of Rwandans is not unique because it is similar to that of the Burundians who also have one language and the same culture.

On the other hand, Rwandans have interest in joining other countries because it helps ensure security, and enlarges its market for trade in different domains.

This unit analyses the identities of Rwandans and the benefits Rwanda can gain by integrating in the regional organizations.

12.1. Understanding oneself in reference to Rwanda

Learning Activity 12.1

Discuss how to understand oneself in reference to Rwanda and East Africa

Background

The settlement of Rwanda is ancient and can be traced in pre-history because the oldest skeleton of human beings was found at Olduvai in Tanzania about 700 km from Rwanda. It is one of the interlacustrine states.

During the pre-colonial period, Rwandans were identified through clans (amoko) such as Abega, Abanyiginya, Abasindi, Abagesera, Abazigaba, Abatsobe, Abasinga, etc. With the coming of colonialists, the situation changed. The colonialists began to identify Rwandans through their social classes: Twa, Hutu, and Tutsi. But, instead of calling them social classes they called these "ethnic" groups.

The divisions which were started in Rwanda by the colonisers led to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Today, the government of Rwanda is promoting the concept of "Ndi Umunyarwanda" (I am Rwandan). The "Ndi Umunyarwanda" campaign aims at strengthening unity among Rwandans and combating divisionism that has been emphasised from the colonial period and reinforced during the First and Second Republics.

Geographical features

Rwanda is located in East Africa, at the co-ordinates 2°00′S 30°0′E. It has a land area of 26,338 sq km. The entire country is at a high altitude: the lowest point is the Rusizi River at 950 metres above sea level. Although Rwanda is located only two degrees south of the equator, her high elevation makes the climate temperate. The average daily temperature near Lake Kivu, at an altitude of (1,463m) is 73 °F (22.8 °C). During the two rainy seasons (February–May and September–December), heavy downpours occur almost daily, alternating with sunny weather. Annual rainfall averages 800 mm and is generally heavier in the western and northwestern mountains than in the eastern plains.

Rwanda is located in Eastern Africa, and is bordered by the Democratic Republic of the Congo to the west, Uganda to the north, Tanzania to the east, and Burundi to the south. It lies a few degrees south of the equator and is landlocked. The capital, Kigali, is located near the centre of Rwanda.

The watershed between the Congo and Nile drainage basins runs from north to south through western Rwanda, with around 80 per cent of the country's area draining into the Nile and 20 per cent into the Congo via the Rusizi River. The country's longest river is the Nyabarongo River which starts in the south-west, flows northeast, and southeast before merging with the Ruvubu River to form the Akagera River; the Akagera then flows north along the eastern border with Tanzania. The Nyabarongo-Akagera eventually drains into Lake Victoria and its source in Nyungwe Forest is a contender for the undetermined source of the Nile.

Rwanda has many lakes, the largest being Lake Kivu. This lake occupies the floor of the Albertine Rift along most of the length of Rwanda's western border. With a maximum depth of 480 metres, Lake Kivu is one of the twenty deepest lakes in the world. Other sizeable lakes include Burera, Ruhondo, Muhazi, Rweru, and Ihema, the last one being the largest of a string of lakes in the eastern plains of Akagera National Park.

Mountains dominate central and western Rwanda. These mountains are part of the Albertine Rift Mountains that flank the Albertine branch of the East African Rift. This branch runs from north to south along Rwanda's western border. The highest peaks are found

in the Virunga Mountains in the northwest and they include Mount Karisimbi, Rwanda's highest point, at 4,507 metres.

This western section of Rwanda, which lies within the Albertine Rift, has an elevation of 1,500 metres to 2,500 metres. The centre of the country is predominantly rolling hills, while the eastern border region consists of savanna, plains and swamps.

Rwanda has a temperate tropical highland climate, with lower temperatures than are typical for equatorial countries due to its high elevation. Kigali, in the centre of the country, has a typical daily temperature range between 12 °C (54 °F) and 27 °C (81 °F), with little variation through the year. There are some temperature variations across the country with the mountainous area in the west and north generally cooler than the lower-lying east.

There are two rainy seasons in the year. The first runs from February to June and the second from September to December. These are separated by dry seasons: the major one from June to September, during which there is often no rain at all, and a shorter and less severe one from December to February. Rainfall varies with geographical regions, with the west and northwest of the country receiving more precipitation annually than the east and southeast.

Rwanda is known as "land of a thousand hills" due to its mountainous relief. It is also known by its volcanoes, national parks which are home to many wild animals like mountain gorilla, golden monkeys and others.

Languages spoken in the country

The evolution of Rwanda's language policies since 1996 has played and continues to play a critical role in social reconstruction following the war and the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Rwanda's new English language policy dropped French and adopted English as the only language of instruction in schools. The policy-makers introduced the change as a major factor in the success of social and education reforms aimed at promoting reconciliation and peace. It also aims at increasing Rwanda's participation in global economic development since English is an international language used in diplomacy, commerce and trade, and sciences by the biggest number of people in the world compared to other languages.

Kinyarwanda is the national language of Rwanda, and the first language of almost the entire population of the country. French, English, and Kiswahili are the official languages of Rwanda. Rwandan Sign Language is used by the educated deaf population.

From 1994, English became an important language in both administration and education where the principle of bilingualism was highlighted. But, in 2008 the government decided to change the medium of instruction in schools from French to English. Swahili is used by some people in commerce, and as a subject in schools.

Cleanliness

Cleanliness has become a unique element that characterises Kigali City compared to other capitals of African countries. Kigali, is one of the cleanest cities in Africa. It is also characterised by **skyscrapers** (housing shopping malls, restaurants, banks, offices and hotels). This achievement was possible due to the urbanisation policy which stipulates the necessity of implementing long-term measures for sustainable urban development. According to this policy, the use of land in urban areas must be efficient and based on high-density development principles, appropriate zoning, public transport systems, and proper waste management including recycling. Building design principles should decrease the need for energy and treated water.

Unity and Reconciliation

Today, Rwanda is a country where all Rwandans enjoy all their rights and play an active role in the governance and development of their country. The Rwandan model of unity and reconciliation is based on a national vision, the constitution and positive cultural values to build citizenship, good governance and economic development.

Much has been achieved in the area of unity and reconciliation, even if the process has not fully reached its end. To be successful, this process has to go through repentance, confession, forgiveness and restoration of broken relations. Memory, truth, justice, confession and forgiveness are at the core of the process of unity and reconciliation in Rwanda.

To reconcile Rwandans, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) has exploited the mechanisms which draw

inspiration from the local culture (home-grown approaches). It is the case of ingando that was used at various community levels and for various audiences such as former ex-FAR soldiers, released prisoners, the youth, women, students, lecturers and community leaders. Ingando is an opportunity to discuss the causes of conflicts, the ways of solving them and the establishment of unity and reconciliation, sustainable peace and economic prosperity. The other local mechanisms include: reconciliation mobilisers (abakangurambaga); festive gatherings of ubusabane organised by communities; the traditional Gacaca, which has given rise to Gacaca jurisdictions that deal with genocide issues; ubudehe a community approach of mutual support and solidarity, which is currently used to fight against poverty; community dialogue; njyanama (advisory council), mediators (abunzi); etc.

The Government of Rwanda has also promoted national unity by enacting the law against discrimination, repatriation and resettlement of refugees, reintegration of ex-combatants, implementation of good governance institutions, arrangements in the power sharing process at the level of the executive and of the legislature to favour inclusion and participation, the creation of a fund to support genocide survivors with a contribution from the national budget, remembrance of the genocide, and the establishment of rule of law.

At institutional level, important achievements include the dialogue on issues of national interest through debates, workshops and seminars, grassroots consultations and various evaluation reports. In addition, the Rwandan Diaspora has been regularly associated to national summits on unity and reconciliation which regularly assess the progress achieved.

The level of understanding of the concept of unity and reconciliation has increased among Rwandans. This is witnessed in individual or community initiatives of reconciliation, reconciliation clubs in schools and a network of voluntary Unity, Peace and Conflict Management Review, which are active at the grassroots level.

This dynamism is a sign of ownership of the process of reconciliation by grassroots communities, and of confidence and harmony which characterise the social relations. Establishing confidence and healing the trauma are the central aspects in the process of reconciliation.

Rwandan culture

Rwandans have a rich and slightly varied culture. Unlike many other countries in Africa, Rwanda has been a unified state since pre-colonial times, populated by the Banyarwanda people who share a single language and cultural heritage. For example Umuganura, a harvest festival, is one amongst the ancient festivals that are still celebrated at the national level. Umuganda, community service, has also been maintained and today it is performed on the last Saturday of each month, which has been set aside as a national day.

Music and dance are an integral part of Rwandan ceremonies, festivals, social gatherings, and storytelling. The most famous traditional dance is Intore, a highly **choreographed** routine consisting of three components: the ballet, performed by women; the dance of heroes, performed by men, and the drums. Traditionally, music is transmitted orally with styles varying between the social groups. Drums are of great importance. Royal drummers enjoyed high status at the court of the King. Drummers usually play together in groups of seven or nine.

Traditional arts and crafts are produced throughout the country, although most originated as functional items rather than purely for decoration. Woven baskets and bowls are especially common.

The south east of Rwanda is known for imigongo, a unique cow dung art, whose history dates back to the time when the region was part of the independent Gisaka kingdom. The dung is mixed with natural soils of various colours and painted into patterned ridges, forming geometric shapes. Other crafts include pottery and wood carving.

An example of Imigongo

(Source: https://pmdvod.nationalgeographic.com/NG_Video/153/211/170414-rwanda-cow-dung-art-imigongo-vin_1024x576_921448003697.jpg)

Regarding the literature, it is worth noting that Rwanda does not have a long history of written literature, but there is a strong oral tradition ranging from poetry to folktales. In particular, the pre-colonial royal court developed traditions of ibitekerezo (epic musical poetry), ubucurabwenge (royal genealogies typically recited at coronation ceremonies), and ibisigo (royal poems). Many of the country's moral values and details of history have been passed down through the generations. The most famous Rwandan literary figure was Alexis Kagame (1912–1981), who carried out and published research in oral tradition as well as writing his own poetry.

The Rwandan Genocide against the Tutsi resulted in the production of a literature of witness accounts, essays and fiction by a new generation of writers while a number of films have also been produced on the same theme as well as other topics like love, fiction, etc.

Umuganda or community work

(Source: https://www.newtimes.co.rw/sites/default/files/styles/mystyle/public/main/articles/2010/06/02/14279-6-1--Umuganda-is-a-nationwi_0.jpg)

Application Activity 12.1

Find out two references that can help to identify Rwandans.

12.2. The importance of regional integration in East Africa

Rwanda has been integrated in the East African Community since 2009 for many reasons including the following:

- Regional integration provides security since a group of countries come together to address the problem of security. For instance, when a criminal crosses the border to another country, the criminal can still be pursued. Besides, this can help to address conflicts between countries and ensure political stability.
- It leads to the free movement of goods, labour and capital. People can freely trade in another country and products are cheap because taxes are reduced.
- It stimulates the establishment of manufacturing industries in a **rational** way.
- It enlarges the market of goods produced by individual countries and this goes with easy transfer of technology across borders.
- Acquisition of raw materials to support local industries is made easy.
- It increases the exchange of skilled labour since there is cooperation between different institutions. For example, Rwandans can go to teach and work in Uganda and vice versa.
- It promotes the development of member countries. This is because member countries work together as a single bloc and have a huge market which attracts investors from other countries.

Rwandans have their own identities like unique language, Kinyarwanda, which is spoken throughout the country. They also share one culture and have the same origin. They have a lot to contribute to the development of other countries and in turn, Rwanda can gain so much in integrating into regional organisations. In so doing, Rwandans can export goods and their rich culture, and can also benefit from the large market of other countries in the region. Moreover, Rwanda can exchange with other countries, skilled manpower and raw materials so as to develop home industries.

Glossary

Choreograph: plan and control steps, and movements in a dance

Integration: to combine with another so that they become one whole

Rational: consistent with or based on or using reason associated with or requiring the use of the mind

Reconcile   restore a friendly relationship

Skyscraper: a very tall building with many storeys

End unit assessment

1. Outline the identities of Rwandans.
2. Describe the contribution of Rwanda to regional Organisations.

Unit 13

National laws in conflict transformation

Key unit competence

Assess how national laws lead to conflict transformation.

Introductory activity: :

Use the textbook or internet and describe the different meaning of conflict transformation.

Introduction

The existence of a conflict reflects the presence of antagonisms, which originate from a difference of interests between two or more parties. A conflict leads to destruction and it can be a driving force and a powerful motivation in the peace-building process.

The building process of sustainable peace in Rwanda should consider the knowledge of conflict, its nature, causes and challenges and opportunities for Rwandan society. Different legal mechanisms and organs in Rwanda transform the conflicts among the Rwandan society into a peaceful situation by considering the challenges faced as an opportunity for peace. The current Rwandan constitution acts as a guideline to conflict transformation.

Different legal mechanisms and organs in Rwanda transform the conflicts among the Rwandan society into a peaceful situation by considering the challenges faced as an opportunity for peace. The current Rwandan constitution acts as a guideline to conflict transformation.

13.1. The Concept of conflict transformation

Learning Activity 13.1

Discuss the concept of conflict transformation

Conflict transformation is the process by which conflicts, such as ethnic conflict, are transformed into peaceful outcomes.

Conflict transformation process follows the following order: conflict settlement, conflict management, conflict resolution, and conflict transformation.

Conflict transformation involves transformation of individuals, transformation of relationships, and transformation of social systems large and small. It also involves transforming the relationships that support violence and conflict management approaches.

Conflict management seeks to change the conditions that give rise to the underlying root causes of the conflict.

Conflict management can also be defined as a process for conflict resolution.

Conflict transformation also refers to the process of moving from conflict-habituated systems to peace systems.

Application Activity 13.1

1. Define the term conflict transformation
2. State the different sources of Rwandan codes and laws

13.2. Sources of Rwandan codes and laws

Learning Activity 13.2

Using internet and or a textbook, carry out research on sources of laws and codes in Rwanda. Prepare a document and submit it to your teacher.

Law is a system of rules that are made and enforced through social or governmental institutions to regulate behaviour. Law as a system helps to regulate and ensure that a community shows respect, and equality amongst themselves.

A source of law, in its restricted sense, means the origins of law — the binding rules governing human conduct. More generally, it means any **premise** of a legal reasoning. Such sources may be international, national, regional or religious.

The term "sources of law" also refers to the sovereign entity or the state from which the law derives its force or validity.

Each country's legal system has its own sources of law, with greater weight placed on some sources than others. The following are the most common sources — constitution, legislative **enactment** statute, judicial decision, treaties and other sources.

Rwanda's legal system is largely based on German and Belgian civil law systems and customary law.

A custom is a law that is not written, but is a rule based on a practice that can be shown to have existed for a very long time. It becomes a source of law. These are general customs. Particular (or "private") customs may arise when a family or a district or a group or tribe, has customs from long usage which obtained the force of law.

During colonialism all legislation governing Rwanda was made by Belgian authorities and the foundation of criminal and civil legislation was the civil and criminal codes of the then Belgian Congo. Though criminal law had universal application, written civil law was applied only to whites, while customary law continued to apply to the natives. Hence, the current Rwanda civil law legal system is based on German and Belgian civil law systems and customary law of Rwanda.

In modern democracies, the power to make law lies with a country's citizens or their representatives. In many jurisdictions, the most important source of law is its written constitution and the treaties and laws that have been passed under the authority of that constitution.

Constitution

In Rwanda, the main source of law is the constitution (currently of 2013 as revised in 2015). It is a set of fundamental ground rules setting out the powers of the different branches of government (i.e. executive, legislature and judiciary) and how these entities operate and interrelate. The constitution may also set out basic principles, such as fundamental freedoms and rights. In civil law systems these rules are usually embodied in "codes".

International treaties and conventions

Other sources are the international treaties and conventions, where a host country like Rwanda may be subject to laws made by a regional or world grouping by becoming a signatory to a treaty. Once Rwanda became a signatory of any international treaty or conventions, these treaties and conventions became a part of Rwanda's law as it has to respect their clauses.

National legislation

National Legislation is another key source of law. It consists of the declaration of legal rules by a competent authority. Legislation can have many purposes such as to regulate, to authorise, to enable, to proscribe, to provide funds, to sanction, to grant, to declare, or to restrict. With the promulgation of the Rwandan constitution, legislative power was vested in an independent bicameral parliament composed of a chamber of deputies; whose members have the title of deputies, and a senate, whose members have the title of senators. Parliament in Rwanda deliberates on bills and passes them into laws.

Case law

Judicial precedent (case law or judge - made law) is the accumulated principles of law derived from centuries of decisions. Judgments passed by judges in important cases are recorded and become a significant source of law. When there is no law on a particular point which arises in changing conditions, the judges depend on their own sense of right and wrong and decide the disputes from first principles.

The codes and laws of Rwanda found at the Ministry of Justice are the following:

a) Volume 1: Constitutional law, political institutions, treaties and international conventions
b) Volume 2: Administrative law
c) Volume 3: Judicial and criminal law
d) Volume 4: Civil and social law
e) Volume 5: Economic and financial law
f) Presidential orders
   - Prime minister's orders
   - Ministerial orders
   - Official rules and regulations.

Legal mechanism and organs vis - à - vis conflict transformation

In Rwanda, there are different legal mechanisms and organs which play a big role in conflict transformation. These are the following:

Constitution and other relevant laws

The Rwanda constitution is a set of laws governing the country. The role of constitution is to protect rights (empower citizens as well as limit state action), establish rules for peaceful change of government, ensure the predictability of state action and the security of private transactions through the legal system, as well as establishing procedures for the settlement of disputes.

All conflict has a **normative** dimension and thus must be resolved by the application of morally responsible rules. Human beings engage in conflict, aggression, warfare and violence and these seemingly equate with the human condition. Therefore, in such situations, every Rwandan must be accountable for his/her action by use of rule of law. This acts as a guideline or a measure for peaceful co-existence and avoiding causing harm to society.

National Commission for Human Rights
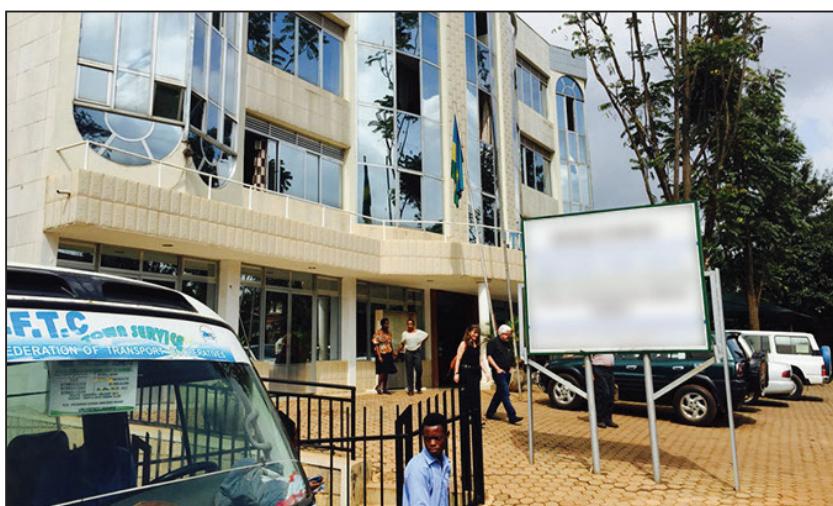
The national Commission for Human Rights improves both the analysis and practice involved in moving from violence to sustainable peace in Rwanda. The Commission of Human Rights, therefore,

brings the relevance of rights for organising and governing the interaction between the Rwandan citizens, and amongst individuals and groups in society so as to bring lasting peace and co-existence.

National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

The Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, which was created just after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi has had a great achievement in post genocide Rwanda. It has succeeded in reconciliation and transforming the conflict situation into a peaceful period. The conciliation, as a method used, generally refers to a process of dispute resolution in which "parties in dispute usually are not present in the same room. The conciliator communicates with each side separately using "shuttle diplomacy".

The office of the Ombudsman

Office of the Ombudsman

(Source: https://www.newtimes.co.rw/sites/default/files/styles/mystyle/public/main/articles/2019/03/14/ombudsman.jpg)

The Office of the Ombudsman in Rwanda is an independent high-level public office responsible to the Parliament and appointed by constitutional or legislative provisions to monitor the administrative activities of government. The Ombudsman has the power to investigate a citizen's complaints of maladministration and administrative injustice, but may also act on his or her own. The ombudsman may recommend changes to prevent further administrative injustices and may also issue public reports.

Rwanda national police

In Rwanda, the national police and community policing committee are of great importance in conflict transformation. The police patrol function continues to be the **backbone** of community law enforcement. For any police force intending to adopt the methods of conflict resolution, the patrolling function becomes the first step. The police officers frequently meet members of the community and develop rapport. The feelings of trust develop in the members of community and police.

Conflict transformation by the police also involves the discretionary use of authority and prevention of criminal activity by an assertive police presence. It also involves maintaining good relations with citizens in the community.

The police is also supposed to build trust and understanding among the community members. It is a method in which the police officer anticipates conflict between members of the community and plays a proactive role.

To build ties and work closely with members of the community to fight crime, the Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission has, since its foundation in 2000, adopted the community policing strategy. Since then, the department for community policing has been influential in reducing crime throughout the country, and is run on a philosophy that promotes proactive partnerships with the public to address public safety issues such as social disorder and insecurity.

Traditionally, the Police respond to crime after it occurs. On top of that, the Police cannot be everywhere at all times and, therefore, relies on routine patrols, rapid response to calls for service, arrests and follow-up investigations. Community policing, therefore, was adopted to encourage citizens to participate in crime-solving.

It comes as a strategic and thoughtful plan focused on the proactive prevention of crime and disorder, by partnering with the public to increase Police visibility in all communities to solve, prevent and reduce crime.

With community policing, the link between the police and community has become closer and this has contributed to the rise in the trust the Rwandan population has in its police. As evidence, the Rwanda Governance Scorecard produced by the Rwanda

Governance Board in 2012, presented results from a nationwide survey, which indicated that 92 per cent of the citizens trust the Police. This is a high score which is a result of professional services, discipline and partnership.

It is only when the community and the Police truly work together for their common good,that the citizens will feel that they can trust the Police to that level. Once the citizens trust the officers who they meet in their day-today operations, they feel free to provide them with information to help prevent or solve crimes and to arrest criminals.

This has enabled the Police to serve communities better and to fulfil their mission to "make the people living in Rwanda feel safe and reassured."

Abunzi committee

According to the law establishing the organ of Abunzi, the mediators play a big role in conflict resolution where, due to their competence they make trials of the problems that affect Rwandans. The activities of Abunzi cement national unity and all social categories are equally treated by these kinds of courts.

Abunzi reduced the number of cases introduced in ordinary courts because many problems are resolved in local communities. As the problems are locally resolved, Abunzi pave a strong way to national reconciliation because the solutions come from the neighbours;

To achieve their goal, Abunzi committees use two major methods such as negotiation and mediation. Negotiation is a process in which two or more participants attempt to reach a joint decision on matters of common concern in situations where they are in actual or potential disagreement or conflict. While mediation is a process in which an impartial third party helps to resolve a dispute or plan a transaction, the third party does not have the power to impose a binding solution. Here, the parties negotiate face-to-face with the guidance of the third party.

1. Make a research on legal mechanism and organs and thereafter analyse the role of different organs in conflict transformation. Write down the results of your analysis and present to the class

2. Using internet and or a textbook, carry out research on sources of laws and codes in Rwanda

Unit summary

Like every country all over the world, Rwanda has a constitution of its own. The 2003 Rwanda constitution as updated in 2015 has been inspired by Rwandan culture. Through gacaca and mediators' committees as home grown solutions conflict are resolved.

This unit has described the origin of laws and codes in Rwanda. In the context of Rwanda, the laws and codes have been influenced by German and Belgian colonisation, because they have acted as a model for the origin of laws of independent Rwanda. To fulfill their aspirations, Rwandans have adopted a new constitution which stipulates the organs which manage and transform the conflicts into peaceful solutions like national unity and reconciliation. Abunzi committees are still providing the peaceful solutions to daily problems faced by Rwandans.

Glossary

Backbone: the most important part of a system, an organisation, etc. that gives it support and strength.

Enactment: the process of a law becoming official; a law which has been made official.

Premise: a statement or an idea that forms the basis for a reasonable line of argument.

End unit assessment

1. Explain the origin of Rwandan codes and laws.
2. Describe the role of the Rwandan constitution and other relevant laws in conflict transformation.
3. Evaluate the contribution of national police in conflict transformation.
4. Examine the role of Abunzi (mediators) in conflict transformation.

Factors for National Independence

Key unit competence

Examine the factors for national independence

Introductory activity: :

Discuss different factors that are likely to sustain the independence of a nation or country. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Introduction

This unit is about the factors for national independence. In the first place, it puts emphasis on the political factors for independence such as having a strong sense of patriotism sense, self esteem and confidence among the people of a country, security and sovereignty, respect of principles of democracy, good governance, etc.

In the second place, this unit deals with the socio-economic factors for independence such as private sector support improvement in the industrial sector, strengthening environmental management for sustainable development, utilizing our resources well, innovations and inventions supporting the youth, strengthening Rwandan culture, etc.

At the end of this unit, home-grown solutions are highlighted as strategies set up by the Rwandan government with the aim of achieving self-reliance..

14.1. Political factors for national independence

Independence is the freedom for a nation, a country or a state from being under control or influence of another country. It is the state of a country in which its residents and population exercise self-government and sovereignty over their territory. In order to maintain this independence, the factors to be considered include political factors, among others, as discussed below.

Respect of principles of democracy

The word "democracy" means "rule by the people." The principal purposes for which the people establish democratic government are the protection and promotion of their rights, interests, and welfare. Democracy requires that each individual be free to participate in the community's self-government. Thus political freedom lies at the heart of the concept of democracy.

The overall concept of modern democracy has three principal parts-democracy, constitutionalism, and liberalism. Each must exist in a political system for it to be a genuine democracy.

Democracy is the rule by the people through free and fair elections and other forms of participation.

Popular sovereignty is the idea that the people are the ultimate authority and the source of government authority and it is a fundamental principle of democracy. The political equality of all citizens is an essential principle of democracy. In a democracy, the just powers of government are based upon the consent of the governed. Free elections and other forms of civic participation are essential to democracy. If the people are to rule, they must have

practical means of determining who shall exercise political power on their behalf. If they are to rule, the people must also monitor and influence officials' behaviour while in office. Elections are at the heart of the practical means for the people to assert their sovereignty.

Elections in themselves do not fulfil the requirement of modern democracies. They must be free, fair, and sufficiently frequent if the people's will is to have effect. "Free elections" means all adult citizens can vote in elections and stand to be elected for office. Candidates for office are not in any way blocked from addressing the electorate. "Fair elections" means elections that are fundamentally honest. Voters must not be stopped from voting and all votes must be accurately counted. The term "Frequent elections" means that elections must be held often enough to enable the people to exercise their control of government. As overseers of government, the people must have alternative sources of information. Freedom of the press is, therefore, an essential aspect of democratic government.

Constitutionalism is the use of constitutions to limit government by law. The people do not give power to government to oppress or abuse, but rather to protect their fundamental rights, interests, and welfare. Therefore, they limit government power by authoritative fundamental laws called "constitutions." The constitution is a written document and a means used to state what powers government shall have. In defining these powers, constitutions limit them.

Liberalism means freedom, equality, and dignity of the individual. Liberal democracy recognises the moral primacy of the individual and that all persons have certain fundamental rights. The central purpose of democracy is to protect these rights in the practical world of everyday life. Examples of these fundamental rights are freedom of religion/conscience the right to practice any religion or none equal rights of all citizens to participate in choosing those who govern and to remove them at will through elections. There are different forms of freedom such as freedom of the press, freedom of individual expression, right to privacy and to a private sphere of life free from governmental interference, right to freedom of association in public and private, etc.

The countries in the sub region try to implement all these principles. The main instrument that is now used is elections at different levels of administrative entities.

Most of the time, popular consultations are held in countries in the region to elect the leaders from the central to the local government.

Good governance

Good governance is about the processes for making and implementing decisions. It is not about making correct decisions, but about the best possible process for making those decisions. Good decision-making processes, and therefore good governance, share several characteristics. All have a positive effect on various aspects of local government including consultation policies and practices, meeting procedures, service quality protocols, councillor and officer conduct, role clarification and good working relationships.

The main characteristics of good governance are accountability, transparency, rule of law, responsiveness, equity, inclusion, effectiveness, efficiency, and participation of the citizens in decision-making.

In Rwanda and the region, the implementation of good governance is carried out through decentralisation of administration and involvement of the population in decision-making, including the youth, women and vulnerable groups.

Having a strong sense of patriotism

Patriotism is the attachment to a homeland. This attachment can be viewed in terms of different features relating to one's own homeland, including ethnic, cultural, political or historical aspects. It encompasses a set of concepts closely related to those of nationalism. To preserve national independence, the citizens should have love for their own country. This state of someone loving his or her country is termed patriotism.

Patriotism is acquired through the education of citizens. In Rwanda, for instance, the channel through which this value is inculcated into the citizens is the National Itorero Commission (NIC). Itorero is a Rwandan civic education institution which aims mainly at teaching all Rwandans to keep their culture through different values such as national unity, social solidarity, patriotism, integrity, bravery, tolerance, the dos and don'ts of the society like corruption, embezzlement, impunity, etc.

Through this instrument Rwandans also keep informed of government policies and programmes, which will strengthen ownership of these policies and promote the role of the population in the implementation of these social-economic development programmes. Itorero ry'Igihugu also aims at cultivating visionary, patriotic, and exemplary servant leaders at all level of governance, leaders who have a heart for the people and their wellbeing. A culture of selflessness and voluntarism is also being revived and entrenched among Rwandans of all walks of life.

Itorero aims to promote opportunities for development using Rwandan cultural values; identify taboos that inhibit the development of the country; fight violence and corruption; eradicate the culture of impunity; strengthen the culture of peace, tolerance, unity and reconciliation; and eradicate genocide ideology and all its roots.

The National Itorero Commission (NIC) has established the following National Values that Rwandans should be equipped with:

- Speed and respect for time: A country in a hurry;
- Customer service mentality: Constant improvement and anticipation;
- Quality of delivery: High standards, spirit of excellence, efficiency;
- Completion-towards results: We finish what we start;
- Self respect: National pride.

On the other hand, there are taboos that Rwandans should avoid:

- Inattention to results: Status and ego
- Avoidance of accountability: Missed deadlines
- Lack of commitment: Ambiguity
- Fear of conflict: Artificial harmony
- Lack of trust: Invulnerability.

Having self-esteem and confidence among the citizens

Being independent demands a strong mindset, thinking positively and a belief in the possibility to achieve the desired set goals. This in turn will lead to selflessness, sharing resources, time and money to make sure that everything is done. Once this is achieved, independence can be easily maintained.

National security and sovereignty

National security and sovereignty should be tightly guarded in the whole country. This is to provide security not only for the citizens but also for the foreigners living in the country for different purposes. In addition, security is a **sine qua non** for attracting foreign investors.

Respect of principles of democracy

This is another necessary element for attaining and maintaining independence; where the leaders should be fairly, democratically and freely elected at different levels.

Promoting basic principles of democracy such as representative democracy, the constitution, respect for Human Rights and pluralism, among others, must be maintained so as to avail a peaceful environment for development and independence.

Good governance

To maintain national independence, it is important to place more emphasis on decentralisation of administration and involvement of the population in decision-making, including the youth, women and vulnerable groups.

Embezzlement and mismanagement of national funds

Corruption, embezzlement and mismanagement are some of the most formidable challenges to good governance, development and poverty reduction. The fight against them should be one of the government's priorities. This would lead to efficient use of the limited resources available.

Application Activity 14.1

Explain two political factors for national independence.

14.2. Economic and socio-cultural factors for national independence

Promotion and support of the private sector

The government has to enhance collaboration and cooperation between the private sector and the public sector. This will improve service delivery and the performance of the private sector hence paving the way for economic independence.

Improvement of the industrial sector

In developing countries, lack of independence is caused by a deficit balance of payment. Then, the creation of local industries will substitute the imported manufactured goods and with such a strong economy, the country will be economically independent.

Promotion of good investment climate

To be economically autonomous, the country needs to promote business and investment by setting up favourable investment policies and supporting local investors. This can be done by subsidising local investors which can increase their capacities, giving tax holidays to investors and free land among others. All this can lead to expanded employment, wide tax base and a desirable independent economy.

Good resource management

The good management of national resources helps to avoid wastage and underutilisation of resources. The national resources include human resources, raw materials, finances and all inputs that can

produce outputs. Once well utilised, the available resources can lead to both political and economic independence.

Promoting and sustaining self-reliance

Self-reliance is a state of being independent in all aspects. It can be social, political and economic independence.

To stimulate development and be self-reliant, Rwandans have adopted a number of home-grown solutions. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and its **legacy** of suffering and division, Rwandans decided to find their own methods of solving their problems.

It is in this context that Rwandans have got to embark on supporting the adaptation and reintroduction of ancient practices such as umuganda, itorero, ubudehe, gacaca, abunzi committees, imihigo, girinka, and agaciro development fund, etc. These home-grown solutions mold age-old practices with modern-day life and present workable solutions in justice, good governance, poverty reduction and reconciliation. They help Rwanda to maintain its independence in the long run. Home-grown solutions seek not just to drive socio-economic development but also to promote unity, reconciliation and social cohesion.

In brief, home grown solutions can be explained as follows:

Girinka (one cow per poor family) programme

The programme of girinka primarily aims at improving the livelihoods of poor households by offering and managing dairy cows for increased milk, meat and fertiliser production.

This not only improves nutrition but also increases the earnings of beneficiaries from the sale of milk and other milk products, meat, and sale of manure.

But the programme also **boosts** social cohesion by passing on the first calf to another household. Therefore, this programme contributes not only to the improvement of the income of the beneficiaries, but also to the reduction of dependency.

Imihigo: A Rwandan woman receiving a cow from the Girinka Munyarwanda programme

(Source: https://www.newtimes.co.rw/sites/default/files/styles/mystyle/public/main/ articles/2016/12/06/14809821921.jpg)

Imihigo is at the heart of local governance in Rwanda. It is a performance contract between the President of the Republic and each district's Mayor. It has also been expanded to include each strata of government. Each leader makes a reciprocal contract with the entities above and below them all the way to individual citizens. It is a participatory planning process designed to make it possible for every Rwandan to be involved in local development and to enable them to hold their leaders accountable for this progress.

Planning begins with individual households reporting to their villages, villages to cells, cells to sectors, and so on up to the district level. The district development plan reflects the priorities of the central government and this contract is signed by both district leaders and the President. It is viewed as a way for Rwanda to decentralise policymaking while maintaining accountability.

Leaders are held accountable at yearly reviews of imihigo contracts where the outcomes are published and widely **disseminated**. The contracts themselves are also transparent and exposed to the public.

Umuganda

As part of its Vision 2020 development programme, the government implemented a community service policy called umuganda. It was created to help supplement the national budget spent in construction and the repair of basic infrastructure. The work done

is organised by community members and is done voluntarily and without pay.

The projects completed through umuganda include, but are not limited to, the construction of schools, feeder roads, road repair, terracing, reforestation, home construction for vulnerable people, soil erosion control, water canals, etc.

This policy will result in a more cohesive society as all members of a community come together to complete a project that benefits them. Reports are prepared monthly to account for the value and quantity of work done.

Umuganda activities have since 2007 been used to address various environmental and social support aspects, especially for the needy, saving RWF 33 billion that would have been used in reaching out to all the communities. All people dedicate the last Saturday of each month to mainly cleaning and rehabilitation of the environment. After that, a meeting is held to discuss the progress of the nation.

Establishment of forums of mediators (Abunzi)

The forums of mediators known as Abunzi are panel councils of the people from the local community known as Abunzi or Mediators. The mediation committees were established by organic law No. 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee published in Official Gazette No. 24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

This law defines the Mediation Committee as an "organ meant for providing a framework for mandatory mediation prior to filing cases in courts hearing at first instance cases referred to in Articles 8 and 9 of this Organic Law." (Art.3)

This committee was established at the Cell level and at Sector level and at this level acts as appeal for the Mediation Committee.

According to the law establishing the organ of Abunzi, the mediators play a big role in conflicts resolution where, due to their competences, they make trials of the problems that affect the Rwandans.

Abunzi reduce the number of cases introduced in ordinary courts because many problems are resolved in local communities.

As the problems are locally resolved, Abunzi pave a strong way to national reconciliation because the solutions come from the neighbours.

The activities of Abunzi cement national unity as all social categories who are equally treated.

Economically, the Abunzi improved the economic conditions of Rwandans because their role did not affect their economic activities. In addition, the time spent in ordinary courts is reduced. Even the money for transport is not necessary.

Abunzi remains the nearest organ that facilitates the population to find solutions to their problems as mediators.

The establishment of the agaciro development fund

The establishment of the agaciro development fund has been the most remarkable home-grown solution that drives Rwanda directly to achieving self-reliance. Though the dvelopment of this initiative was coincidental at the time when Rwanda faced aid cuts from donor communities, the initiative has showed signs of hope. Today, this fund has accumulated and it is invested in different national projects.

Ubudehe

Ubudehe is a poverty eradication programme under the Ministry of Finance. A pilot programme was launched in 2001 and the official launch was in 2004. It is a culture of collective action and solidarity to solve problems of poverty by people themselves. This is done by categorising Rwandans into different income groups according to self sustenance. The poor are given priority in terms of health insurance, education, electricity, water supply and even accommodation.

Kuremera

Kuremera is an initiative created by the government of Rwanda. It aims at solving the problem of unemployment, especially among the youth. At the start, the Rwandan government gave Rwandan francs 200 million to youth. They were given this amount to

start self-help projects. In practice, the youth are invited to plan projects and the best ones after being selected, the winners are trained in project management and assisted to get loans through hanga umurimo programme without **collateral** security before the implementation of their projects.

This practice of kuremera has gone even to local levels where members of a given community can join hands to help the needy. For example, they can construct houses, avail water for the aged people and provide food.

The National Itorero Commission

From November 19th, 2007, Itorero ry'Igihugu was launched in all districts of the country. In December 2007, a ceremony to present nationwide Intore regiments at district level to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda and other senior Government officials took place at Amahoro stadium. Each district's regiment presented their performance contract at that colourful ceremony marked by cultural festivals. Each district's Intore regiment publically announced its identification name. At the national level, all the 30 District Intore regiments comprise One National Itorero, but each District regiment has its identification name. Each district regiment can have an affiliate sub-division which can, in turn, also have a different identification name.

There is also Itorero for Rwandan Diaspora that has the authority to develop its affiliated sub-division. From November 2007 up to the end of 2012, Itorero ry'Igihugu had a total of 284,209 trained Intore.

In order to enable each Intore to benefit and experience change of mindset, each group sets objectives it must achieve. Those projected objectives must be achieved during or after training, and this is confirmed by the performance contracts that have to be accomplished. With this obligation in mind, each individual also sets a personal objective that in turn contributes to the success of the corporate objectives.

A total of 814,587 Intore have been trained at the village level. Those mentored at the national level mentor in villages, schools, and at various work places. In total, 1,098,599 Rwandans have been mentored nationwide.

Achievements made through Urugerero Programme

Plans to implement Urugerero (National Service) started toward the end of 2012 and the actual implementation started in 2013. Despite this short time of existance, Urugerero programme has started to yield impressive results. Students who completed Secondary School in 2012 went through Itorero mentorship between 30/11 and 17/12/ 2012. Upon completion of the prescribed course, participants were given certificates, but later on, they had to undergo a practical exercise of Urugerero organised through various activities designed to promote social cohesion and community wellness in particular, and **boost** national development in general. Intore mentored at that time totalled 40,730 where 19,285 were female. However, those who joined Urugerero were 37,660, where female were 18,675.

According to the policy of Itorero ry'Igihugu, **volunteerism** refers to any unpaid communal work, voluntarily undertaken in the service of the nation. **Volunteerism** is reflected in various community works, such as Umuganda, Ubudehe, and contributions to a common cause. Other voluntary activities include those of Community Mediators, various Councils, Community Health Workers, Community Policing Committees (CPCs), Red Cross volunteers, etc.

Actual Urugerero activities started on 17/1/2013, but they was officially launched on 22/1/2013. The activities included general community sensitisation, collection of essential data base, and community work in support of vulnerable groups.

The achievements of this pioneer group of Urugerero are as follows:

- Sensitising Rwandans on the eradication of genocide and its ideology, and encouraging all Rwandans to participate in activities organised to commemorate the genocide committed against Tutsi in 1994;
- Sensitising the community on the importance of mutual health insurance, adult literacy, fighting against drug abuse, legalising marriages, especially for families that are cohabitating, and environmental protection;
- Organizing meetings at village levels aimed at educating the community on Rwandan cultural values, unity, patriotism, and development;

- Educating the population on personal hygiene and cleanliness of their environment.
- Collecting data on different categories of people; for example, the illiterate people, people who have not yet registered for mutual health insurance, people legible for paying tax and making inventories of districts' property, school dropouts and children of school going age who are not yet in school, illegal marriages, etc.

Some groups of Intore in Urugerero opted to demonstrate how speedy and exceptional service could be rendered while working with various public offices. This kind of support work was done in health centres, cell offices, district offices, especially in the services relating to issuing of documents, data entry in computers and customer care.

Activities relating to manual community work include vegetable gardening for family consumption, shelters construction for vulnerable families, participation in the construction of cell offices and landscaping their compounds.

In environmental protection, Intore constructed terraces and planted trees as a measure of preventing soil erosion.

The above activities were related to the promotion of the Volunteer Services in National Development Programmes. In the Rwandan culture, "volunteerism" means rendering a sacrificial and selfless service out of love either to a national cause or to a needy neighbour. All in all, these are the outcomes, outputs and activities relating to fraternity, national identity and participation in national programmes through Urugerero instilled and entrenched among the youth.

Ndi Umunyarwanda

Ndi Umunyarwanda is a programme of the government of Rwanda aimed at restoring the unity of Rwandan society. This unity had been destroyed by colonisers who, after their arrival in Rwanda, changed social classes into ethnic groups by telling Rwandans that they did have the same origin and they were not equal. They did this to divide Rwandans. These colonial deeds led to the destruction of Rwandan identity and the loss of Rwandan values. To restore values unity among Rwandans, there has to be one knot to tie Rwandans: "Ndi Umunyarwanda".

Ndi Umunyarwanda campaign has been **disseminated** in the whole country as part of the Rwandan Government's efforts to foster unity and reconciliation. Ndi Umunyarwanda is a heroic action which is applauded, and supported by all Rwandans.

Ndi Umunyarwanda programme, will help them **disseminate** factual evidence about the past for improved public understanding that creates better citizens.

Ndi Umunyarwanda cultivates a culture of hope over fear, love over hatred, national identity over ethnicity. Throughout recorded history, scholars in different disciplines have focused on how the past can inform politics, religion, art, and social life of different groups in transforming both human and economic development of a country.

Ndi Umunyarwanda is aimed at building national cohesion and unity with the purpose of avoiding suspicion and distrust among citizens.

The campaign for "Made in Rwanda"

This campaign aims at finding a solution to the country's socio-economic challenges by promoting locally made products and services to **boost** domestic production. This will in turn stimulate local consumption habits and reduce the country's heavy import bill. This campaign for "made in Rwanda" is done mainly through exhibitions of local products.

Exhibition held on December 14 to 20, 2016 at Gikondo expo grounds organised by the Private Sector Federation in partnership with the Government of Rwanda

(Source: https://www.newtimes.co.rw/sites/default/files/styles/mystyle/public/main/

articles/2016/12/27/1482865063mr.jpg)

Application Activity 14.2

1. Explain three economic and socio-cultural factors for national independence.
2. Discuss the different home grown solutions that the Rwandan government has taken to overcome different problems it was faced with. Present the results of your discussion to the class.
3. Explain three economic and socio-cultural factors for national independence

Unit summary

National independence is of great importance for it leads to self-sustenance and self-reliance. National independence eliminates the dependence burden as well as foreign domination that results from aid with strings attached.

To maintain national independence and achieve self-reliance, Rwanda has adopted a number of home-grown solutions based on her own cultural heritage. It is in this context that programmes like umuganda, itorero, ubudehe, gacaca, abunzi committees,

girinka, and agaciro development fund, made in Rwanda etc. have been launched and very good results have already been yielded. A big number of Rwandans have left poverty. Rwandans have been reconciled and live together after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Glossary

Apprehend: get the meaning of something or take into custody e.g. "the police apprehended the suspected criminals"

Boost: contribute to the progress or growth of or Increase or raise

Collateral: descended from a common ancestor but through different lines or serving to support or corroborate or Situated or running side by side

Disseminate: cause to become widely known

Humanity: the quality of being kind to people and animals by making sure that they do not suffer more than is necessary, the quality of being humane

Legacy: (law) a gift of personal property by will

Normative: describing or setting standards or rules of behaviour

Promulgate: to announce a new law or system officially or publicly

Sine qua non: an essential condition; a thing that is absolutely necessary

Volunteerism: the use or involvement of volunteer labour, especially in community service

End unit assessment

1. Discuss the political, economic and social factors for national independence.
2. Explain the methods that can be adopted to promote and sustain self-reliance.
3. Evaluate the home-grown solutions adopted by Rwanda to achieve self-reliance.

Unit 15

Concept of Disability and Inclusive Education

Key unit competence

Differentiate special needs education and inclusive education and appreciate the impact of inclusive education.

Learning outcomes:

At the end of this unit, I will be able to understand:

- The Definition of special needs education and
- Who are children with special needs?
- Ways to help children with special need.
- Definition of inclusive education
- Exclusion and inclusion
- Integration
- Impacts of inclusive education

Introductory activity:

Using the internet or dictionary, research the meaning of the following terms: special needs education, special education needs, inclusive education, exclusion, inclusion and integration.

Introduction

Inclusive education means that different and diverse students are learning side by side in the same classroom.

This unit explains some terms such as special needs education, inclusive education, exclusion, inclusion and integration, and identifies the characteristics of children with special needs. It also explores ways of helping children with disabilities and the impact of inclusive education.

15.1. Definition of special needs education

Learning Activity 15.1

Identify who the children with special needs are. Present the results of your findings to the class

The term 'special needs education' is a specific educational arrangement put in place for learners with learning difficulties or disabilities.

Example of an inclusive classroom

Breaking barriers for inclusive education

Special educational needs is/are learning difficulties or disabilities which make it harder for learners to learn in the same way as their peers of the same age.

Inclusive education refers to an education system which takes into consideration the learning and educational support needs for all learners irrespective of their abilities and backgrounds.

Inclusion is based on the right of all learners for a quality and equitable education that meets their basic needs and takes into account the diverse of backgrounds and abilities as a learning opportunity.

Exclusion is the of not allowing someone to take part in an activity or to enter a place.

Integration is the combining of two or more things so that they work together effectively. When people become part of a group or society and are accepted by them, integration has taken place.

Who are children with special needs?

Children with special needs are children who have a disability or a combination of disabilities that make learning or other activities difficult.

Special needs children include those who have:

Intellectual disability (ID), also known as general learning disability, or mental retardation (MR), is a generalized neuro developmental disorder characterised by significantly impaired intellectual and adaptive functioning. It is defined by an IQ score under 70 in addition to deficits in two or more adaptive behaviours that affect day-to-day living. Once focused almost entirely on cognition, the definition now includes both a component relating to mental functioning and one relating to an individuals' functional skills in their environments. Intellectual disability is subdivided into syndromic intellectual disability, where intellectual deficits associated with other medical and behavioural signs and symptoms are present, and non-syndromic intellectual disability, in which intellectual deficits appear without other abnormalities. Down **syndrome** and fragile X **syndrome** are examples of syndromic intellectual disabilities.

The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) officially defines speech and language impairments as a communication

disorder such as stuttering or stammering, impaired articulation, a language impairment, or a voice impairment that adversely affects a child's educational performance. Each point in this official definition represents a speech and language subcategory. A communication disorder such as stuttering provides an example of a fluency disorder. Other fluency issues include unusual word repetition and hesitant speech. Impaired articulation indicates impairments in which a child experiences challenges in pronouncing specific sounds. A language impairment can entail difficulty comprehending words properly, expressing oneself and listening to others. Finally, a voice impairment involves difficulty in voicing out words; for instance, throat issues that may cause an abnormally soft voice.

Physical disability (wheel chair users, crutch users) is an impairment that makes one unable to use his or her limbs to perform a function. Such children cannot easily move around the school environment, may have difficulty in getting to school, may not participate in games with other children, and may find some school infrastructure such as playground, toilet etc., inaccessible.

Learning disabilities, or learning disorders, are an umbrella term for a wide variety of learning problems. A learning disability is not a problem with intelligence or motivation. Kids with learning disabilities are not lazy or dumb. In fact, most are just as smart as everyone else. Their brains are simply wired differently. This difference affects how they receive and process information. In simple terms, children and adults with learning disabilities see, hear, and understand things differently. This can lead to trouble in learning new information and skills, and putting them to use. The most common types of learning disabilities involve problems with reading, writing, counting, reasoning, listening, and speaking.

Visual impairment (low vision, totally blind) is a condition of some one being unable to see the blackboard, cannot read print textbooks, and cannot write in notebooks.

Hearing impairment (hard of hearing, total deafness), is a condition of a learners being unable to hear.

Developmental disability results in problems with growth and development. For example, learners with intellectual disability (slow learners, autism, **dyslexia**) may not be able to understand

the teacher, or to socialise with other children, and may need more time to accomplish class works.

Mental health and emotional disabilities: This is a mental disorder or illness which is perceived outside by the majority of the society as antisocial or other behavioural problems. Children with brain disorders such as bipolar disorder, anxiety disorders, or even depression have emotional dissabilities.

Gifted and talented learners: These are learners who have higher abstract thinking. They often get bored in class after finishing tasks quickly, and may not be understood by the teacher. A gifted learner may have a specific talent or be gifted in a specific area.

Ways to help learners with special needs

N.B. Why do we learn about learners with special needs?

We learn about children with special needs because with proper care and education, every child can reach his or her full potential. Learners with special needs require extra attention, teaching, care and love.

The table below shows some classroom strategies to help children with special needs:

Impairment	Classroom strategies
Visual	❯ Ask the children where they can see best and allow them to sit in that place ❯ Write with yellow chalk on a clean chalkboard ❯ Use big writing on the chalkboard ❯ Sit next to them and help them
Hearing	❯ Look at them when speaking ❯ Speak clearly and loudly ❯ Sit next to them and help ❯ Write instructions on the chalkboard or on paper
Physical	❯ Help them to move around ❯ Allow them to sit in a place where they can move around easily ❯ Encourage them as they take more time and practice to write ❯ Copy important notes for them on paper, if it takes them too much time to copy all

Learning	◉ Encourage them to utilise the time given to them to finish work and to answer questions and sit close to them and help
	◉ Give the learner a slate (**urubaho**) to help them communicate
	◉ Speak slowly and use simple words
	◉ Give the child real objects to use

Ways to help children with special needs

A teacher must understand that students with special needs need to be taught differently. Some strategies are necessary to enhance the learning environment.

Strategies that can be used

- **Inclusion:** in this strategy, learners with special needs spend all, or most of the school day with fellow learners who do not have special needs.
- Specialized services may be provided inside and outside the regular classroom. These include speech and language **therapy**, occupational **therapy**, physical **therapy**, rehabilitation, counseling.
- They might also leave the regular classroom for services that require privacy, such as counseling sessions with a social worker.
- Facing the learner while you speak might help learners with a hearing impairment
- Use large writing on the blackboard and on visual aids
- Try to understand the specific talents of the learner and develop them.
- Break the task down into small steps or learning objectives. Ensure learners start with what they can easily do, and then move on to a new harder task.
- Give the learner lots of practice and time. This is called " over-learning". It helps to ensure the child has mastered a skill.
- Be motivational. Disabled learners need and should get lots of specific praises. Instead of just saying, "you did well, " or "I like your work," be sure you provide specific praising comments that link the activity directly with the recognition.
- Be positive. A positive attitude is the single most important quality for anyone who works with children with special needs.

● The child's eating, sleeping, and exercise habits may be of great importance. If children with learning disabilities are eating right and getting enough sleep and exercise, they will be better able to focus, concentrate, and work hard.

Application Activity 15.1

1. Using internet or relevant textbooks and persons as resources, identify who the children with special needs are. Present the results of your findings to the class.

2. Roles play the case of learners with visual impairment and find out how you can help such a student. How do you feel? Describe his or her attitude and the reaction of the students of the class.

3. Identify the types of disability in each of the cases below and fill in the table.

Case 1: Francine is 10 years old, but she still cannot read her own name.

Case 2: John is an albino. His eyes look unusual and he cannot copy from the blackboard.

Case 3: Claude cannot walk well. He has no wheelchair but can move slowly with the help of a crutch.

Case 4: Nelly never answers the teacher when he talks, but she can copy the notes on the blackboard very well.

Case 5: Peace is very intelligent. She cannot use one of her hands. Her writing is poor and difficult to read.

Case 6: Fred has down's syndrome. He cannot read or write.

Case study	Impairment
1.	
2.	
3.	
4.	
5.	
6	

4. Given the impairment below, suggest possible strategies to help the learners with such impairment. Present the results to the class.
   1. Visual
   2. Hearing
   3. Learning
   4. Physical

15.2. Impact of inclusive education

Learning Activity 15.2

Use internet and relevant textbooks and research on the impact of inclusive education. Write an essay. Afterwards present it to the class.

Around the world, children are excluded from schools where they belong because of disability, race, language, religion, gender, and poverty. But every child has the right to be supported by their parents and community to grow, learn and develop in the early years, and to go to school upon reaching school age.

When all children, regardless of their differences, are educated together, everyone benefits. This is the role of inclusive education.

Inclusive education has many benefits:

Benefits of inclusivity in a classroom(inclusive education)	Consequences of no inclusivity in a classroom
◉ Learners with Special education needs can access basic education ◉ Special education needs learners can interact with their peers and develop social skills ◉ Special education needs learners have an opportunity to become adults who can work and contribute to the community ◉ All learners gain respect for others ◉ Inclusive classrooms develop generic competences of cooperation and life skills ◉ Reduces dropout rates in schools ◉ Creates motivating environment for special education needs learners	◉ May increase **absenteeism** and dropouts ◉ Violates Human Rights ◉ Special education needs learners may be bored in class ◉ Special education needs learners may not be able to learn effectively and will lag behind other learners ◉ Learners may not develop respect for others, can create an environment of **shame** or bullying ◉ Can create disorder in class ◉ Families with special education needs children may feel neglected ◉ Demotivates learners

Application Activity 15.2

1. Use internet and relevant textbooks and research on the impact of inclusive education.
2. Point out two consequences of the absence of inclusive education

Unit summary

Inclusive education is based on the right of all learners to learn together for a quality and equitable education. It acknowledges that the diversity of backgrounds and abilities is an opportunity. There are many strategies that can be used to help the learners with special needs like extra attention, care, love, etc.

Glossary

Dyslexia: impaired ability to learn or read

Absenteeism: habitual absence from work

Shame: a painful emotion resulting from an awareness of inadequacy or guilt or a state of dishonour

Therapy: (medicine) the act of caring for someone (as by medication or remedial training etc.)

Syndrome: a pattern of symptoms indicative of some disease

Albino: a person with congenital

Albinism: white hair and milky skin; eyes are usually pink

End unit assessment

1. Identify children with special needs and suggest ways in which such children can be helped.
2. Define the following terms
    a) Special educational needs
    b) Special needs education
    c) Inclusion
    d) Integration
3. Explain the benefits of inclusive education.

Unit 16 Tolerance and respect

Key unit competence

Recognize and respond to the effects of bias, prejudice, intolerance and stigma on individual and families.

Learning outcomes:

At the end of this unit I will be able to:

- Define the terms bias, prejudice, stigma or intolerance, harassment, rejection and bullying.
- Describe the Impact of bias, prejudice, stigma, intolerance on healthy relationships among peers, people living with HIV/AIDS, people with disabilities, people who are perceived to be different, etc.
- Identify the emotional, economic, physical and social consequences of prejudice, stigma, harassment, and rejection.

Introductory activity:

Discuss the Tolerance and respect. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Introduction

This unit consists of the definitions of major terms such as bias, prejudice, stigma, intolerance, harassment, rejection, and bullying. It also analyses the impact of those negative attitudes on healthy relationships among people. Thirdly it calls for the responsibility of everybody to support or defend people who are being harassed or bullied..

16.1. Definition of the terms bias, prejudice, stigma or intolerance, harassment, rejection and bullying.

Learning Activity 16.1

Make a research on the internet or in a dictionary about the definition of bias, stigma, intolerance, harassment, rejection and **bullying**. Make a report to the class.

- **Bias** is inclination towards something. Partiality, preference. Inclined to one side. A preconceived opinion about something, or someone.
- **Bullying** is an act of intimidating a weaker person to do something, especially with repeated coercion. Persistent acts intended to make life unpleasant for another person. In many cases, bullying is also defined as the activity of repeated, aggressive behaviour intended to hurt another individual, physically, mentally or emotionally. It can be individual, physical, verbal, relational or collective etc. Schools, students; teenagers can be targeted because of clothes, shoes, colour of your skin etc. Bullying is a punishable offense in all schools.
- **Prejudice** is an opinion formed beforehand or without knowledge of the facts. Any pre-conceived opinion or feeling, whether positive or feeling negative. It is preconceived, usually unfavourable, judgments toward people or a person because of gender, political opinion, social class, age, disability, religion, race/ethnicity, language, nationality etc.

- **Stigma** is a mark of infamy or disgrace. It is also defined as an association of disgrace or public disapproval of something, such as an action or condition. e.g. HIV infected person.
- **Intolerance** is the fact of not accepting other people's opinions or beliefs or practices. Refusal to tolerate or respect persons of a different social group, especially members of a minority group. e.g. religious intolerance.
- **Harassment** is persistent attacks and criticism causing worry and distress or an excessive intimidation. It is behaviour which appears to be disturbing or threatening. This includes sexual harassment which refers to persistent and unwanted sexual advances, typically in the workplace, where the consequences of refusing are potentially very disadvantageous to the victim.
- **Rejection** is refusal of accepting other people's performance. Denying others opinions or beliefs. Act of pushing someone or something away.

Application Activity 16.1

Define the terms: Bias, stigma and rejection.

16.2. Impact of bias, prejudice, stigma, intolerance on healthy relationships among peers, people living with HIV/AIDS, people with disabilities, people who are perceived to be different

Learning Activity 16.2

Do the following activities:

- Explain why many schools oblige students to wear uniforms.
- Explain why "canteens" were abolished in many schools.
- Show the impact of wearing non-uniform clothes in schools
- How can you help students from poor families who are victims of discrimination. Present the finding to the class.

> - Using the internet and relevant books, explain why prejudice, stigma, harassment, and bullying are harmful. Present the result to the class.
> - Role play a case study of a student living with HIV who is a victim of stigmatisation. Describe the consequences of stigmatisation.

Impact of stigma

HIV related stigma and discrimination refers to prejudice, negative attitude and abuses directed at people living with HIV and AIDS.

The consequences of stigma and discrimination are the following:

- Stigma makes the victims develop fear and mistrust of others and do not want to meet them. They develop a practice of non-self-esteem. Besides, the victims of stigma and discrimination can suffer from the following:
  - Loss of income and livelihood
  - Difficulty to get married and failing to produce children
  - Being hopeless and having feelings of worthlessness
  - Lack of reputation.
- It leads to **depression** and anger in the victims
- It leads to poor care in the health sector
- It leads to withdrawal of care-giving in the home
- It makes some people ashamed by family, peers and the wider community.
- It results in poor treatment of patients in healthcare and educational settings.
- It makes people fear to come out.
- The victims develop a practice of self-stigmatisation.

Impact of prejudice

- The prejudiced person may be affected in many ways. People, who make wrong assumptions about others, whether because of race or health status or any other reason, limit the personal growth of victims.
- Victims of prejudice may experience shame and anger, leading to detrimental behaviour, such as aggression.
- They tend to perform worse when they feel they are being stereotyped.

- Prejudice forces the victims to have a false social status that strongly influences who they are, what they think, and even the actions they take.
- Prejudice greatly influences what people expect from the future and how they feel about their chances for self-improvement, referred to as their life chances.
- People acting out their prejudices cause domestic violence, crime, or even death.
- Opportunities in life are lost and personal relationships damaged when people act upon their prejudice.

Impact of intolerance
- It leads to disunity among the peers because some people will be tolerated in groups while others are segregated.
- It makes people feel like the social misfits. People with disabilities who are not tolerated by peers in society feel isolated.
- It also leads to school drop outs. A learner who is not tolerated may decide to drop out of school.
- Intolerance leads to desperation. This is usually with people living with HIV/AIDS, and disabilities. Such people once not be accommodated in society, they despair and this may lead to death mostly with patients.
- It makes someone wild, rude or arrogant for he or she knows that the public is against them.
- It makes such people live with regrets for the rest of their life. Intolerance makes one regret the state of health he or she is in.
- It leads to suicide.
- Intolerance leads to hatred, and malice by those whom it is directed to.

Impact of bias
- It leads to loss of confidence (self-esteem).
- It leads to crimes against those biased including violence and death.
- It leads to exclusion from society which can lead to psychological problems.
- Bias makes an individual lose a sense of belonging.
- Bias at work places may lead one to be fired from places of work, hence unemployment results.
- It leads to loss of reputation.

Effects of bullying

In case of **bullying**, a student or a teenager who is bullied feels powerless, **humiliated** and lonely. He or she may not want to go to school, participate in sports or get on the bus with others.

Bullying can affect those who are bullied, those who **bully** and those who witness bullying.

An image showing bullying

(Source: https://www.sott.net/image/s4/88153/medium/teen_bullies.jpg)

On those who are bullied

- **Depression** and **anxiety**, increased feeling of sadness and loneliness, changes in sleep, loss of interest in activities they used to enjoy.
- Decreased academic achievement and school participation. They are more likely to miss lessons or drop out of school.

On those who bully others

- Abuse of alcohol and other drugs in adolescence and as an adult.
- Get into fights and drop out of school
- Engage in early sexual activity
- Are abusive towards children and adults

On bystanders

Children who witness bullying are more likely to:

- Have increased use of alcohol and other drugs
- Have **depression** and **anxiety**
- Miss or skip school

The consequences of harassment

- It leads to disbelief.
- It causes anger.
- It leads to self-blame: "I shouldn't have been there."
- It leads to loss of self-confidence: "I'm so stupid for letting this happen. I must be as bad as they say".
- It causes a feeling of powerlessness: "nothing is going to stop this", "no one will believe me".
- It leads to isolation, withdrawal, illness, **depression**.
- It causes loss of sleep.
- It leads to loss of appetite.
- It causes headache, stomach aches.
- It leads to increased **anxiety** or panic attacks.
- It leads to feeling demoralised.
- It makes one feel **humiliated**.
- It can cause fear of coming to school.
- It leads to inability to concentrate at school.
- It causes increased absenteeism at school.

The emotional, economic, physical and social consequences of prejudice stigma, harassment and rejection

- Prejudice affects society when discriminatory views are translated into institutional policy. This can lead to racial segregation and a lower quality of life of the victims.
- Prejudice can have adverse impact on a person's **psyche**.
- Prejudice can affect children at an early age. Children can harbour racial views as early as 5 to 11 years.
- Prejudice can have far reaching effects on society, such as the holocaust in Germany under Adolf Hitler.
- Minorities can be scapegoats for societal failings, leading to an atmosphere of violence and isolation.
- Discrimination and harassment leave the individual confused and broken down.
- Financially, it causes people to lose their jobs.

- People who face racial discrimination may regroup with some vengeance in mind against other groups. This can fuel conflict and social discord.
- It can cause difficulty in interpersonal relationships, including relationships with teachers and peers.
- It causes general feeling of unhappiness or **depression**.
- It creates feelings of fear and **anxiety** related to personal or school matters.

Support to victims of these negative attitudes

The following ways can be suggested to support the victims of such injustices:

- Use a respectful language because language reveals a lot about what we think and how we feel. For example, do not ask a person how he caught HIV/AIDS.
- Treat everybody with respect and awareness; even if you are different. For instance "A Chinese must be accepted by a Rwandan as equal because all are human beings.
- Show **empathy** towards the victims and try to understand their problems because it can also happen to you.
- Educate and inform people about the **misconceptions** without. Consider people with disability the same as other persons.
- To avoid these negative practices, political leaders have to elaborate laws to protect children against bullying, harassment, prejudice, stigma, intolerance. Parents, school staff, and other adults in the community can help children prevent bullying by talking against it. Building a safe school environment, inclusive education (code of conduct) and creating a community - wide bullying prevention strategy can do much. The bullied student reports to a trusted adult such as parent, teacher, or a guardian.
- The bullied student surrounds himself with supportive friends and stays in groups.
- The bullied student can also avoid places where they are bullied.

In conclusion, tolerance provides an opportunity to learn from others while respecting and valuing their differences in religious and cultural beliefs. Tolerance works as a barrier to prejudice and brings people of a community together.

Being a good role model and setting an example of respect can teach others to be tolerant.

Application Activity 16.2

How can you support a bullied student?

- ◉ Using the internet, research the strategies to avoid the negative practice of stigma, bullying, bias, intolerance, and segregation at school and in the community. Present the result to the class.
- ◉ Role play a case of bullying and harassment in your class and propose appropriate action to stop these bad attitudes.

Unit summary

This unit explains some terms such as prejudice, stigma, intolerance, bullying, bias, and it also focuses on the consequences of these negative attitudes in the family and community in general, particularly at school.

It analyses available support mechanisms to report and assist people experiencing stigma, bullying and discrimination.

At its end, this unit recalls the importance of tolerance, acceptance and respect to healthy relationships.

Glossary

Anxiety:	a vague unpleasant emotion that is experienced in anticipation of some (usually ill-defined) misfortune or a relatively permanent state of worry and nervousness occurring in a variety of mental disorders, usually accompanied by compulsive behaviour or attacks of panic
Bully:	a person who deliberately intimidates or is cruel to weaker people
Depression:	a mental state characterised by a pessimistic sense of inadequacy and a despondent lack of activity or sad feelings of gloom and inadequacy
Empathy:	understanding and entering into another's feelings

Humiliated:	subdued or brought low in condition or status or made to feel uncomfortable because of shame or wounded pride
Misconception:	an incorrect conception
Psyche:	that which is responsible for one's thoughts and feelings; the seat of the faculty of reason or the immaterial part of a person; the actuating cause of an individual life
Stigmatise:	accuse or condemn openly or formally; classify or describe as disgraceful or mark with a stigma (= a symbol of disgrace or infamy)

End unit assessment

1. Explain the following terms: Bias, prejudice, stigma, bullying, harassment
2. What is the impact of stigma on healthy relationships among peers?
3. What are the consequences of harassment at school?
4. Suggest any 3 strategies to stop bullying at school.

Bibliography

Alan, F 2000, An Introduction to Modern European History: 1890–1990, Hadder and Stoughton Educational, London.

Alderman Clifford, I 1967, The story of the French Revolution, Julian Messuer, New York.

Allan, t 2001. The modern World. Oxford university press. Oxford, UK.

Arthur, JK 1998, The Internal Dimension of Genocide in Rwanda, University Press, New York.

Bamusananire, E 2006, Contemporary African History, unpublished manuscript, Unilak, Kigali.

Bamusananire, E 2009, Rwanda since independence, London.

Barnett, M 2003, Eye Witness to a Genocide, Cornell Paperbook, New york.

Basil, D 1966, The African Past, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Bill F 1998, The Making of Contemporary Africa, Antony Rowe Ltd, Chippenham.

Cartyle, T 1934, The French Revolution, The Modern Library, New York.

Crowder, M 1968, West African under colonial Rule, Hutchinson, London.

Crowder, M 1971, West African Resistance, Hutchinson, London.

Destexhe, A 1995, Rwanda and Genocide in the Twentieth Century, University Press, New York.

Henig, R 1985, Origins of the Second World War 1933–1939, Routledge.

Khapoya. VB 1998, The African Experience, Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey.

Kupermam, A 2001, The Limits of Humanitarian Intervention, Brookings, Washington D. C..

Kwami, HA 1997, Guns over Kigali, Woeli Publishing Services, Accra.

Malcolm C et al 1999, Modern World History, Heinemann Educational Publishers, Oxford.

Martel, G 1986, The Origins of the Second World War Considered, Unwin and Heinemann Hyman.

Michael, C 1978, The Story of Nigeria. Faber and Faber, London.

Murphy, D et. al 2004, Europe: 1760–1871, Collins Educational Publishers, Hammersmith, London.

Nothedge, FS 1986, The League of Nations, its Life and Times, Leicester University Press.

Overy, R 1987, The Origins of the Second World War, Longman, London.

Pernand, et al 1963, The French revolution. G Fawcett Publications, reenwich Conn.

Prumier, G 1999, The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide, 2nd ed, Colombia University Press, New York.

Rayner, E 1992, The Great Dictators: International Relations, 1918–39, Hadder and Stoughton.

Richards, D 1977, An Illustrated History of Modern European History 1789–1984, 7th ed, Longman, London.

Taine, H 1931, The Ancient Regime. Petersmith, New York.

Taylor, A 1961, The Origins of the Second World War, Hamish Hamilton.

Thompson, J 1928, The French Revolution, Alfred A. Knopf, New York.

Webster, J, Boohen, A and Tidy, M 1980, The Revolutionary Years: West Africa Since 1800, Longman, London.

Williamson, D 1994, War and Peace: International Relations, 1914–45, Hadder and Stoughton Educational, London.

Unity and Reconciliation Commission 2011, History of Rwanda from the beginning to the end of the Twentieth.