History
for Rwanda Schools

Learner's Book
Senior 5

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Contents

Introduction

Changes in schools

This textbook is part of the reform of the school curriculum in Rwanda: that is changes in what is taught in schools and how it 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 thing in schooling was to learn knowledge – that is, facts and ideas about each subject. Now, the main idea 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 tell 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 experiences you have had and from 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.

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.

Practical 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 learner's 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 over time.

Observation Activity

Good luck in using the book!

Unit 1

First and Second Republics of Rwanda

Key unit competence

Examine the achievements and failures of the First and the Second Republics in Rwanda

Introduction

This unit is about the history of Rwanda during the First and the Second Republics. This period deals with the history of Rwanda from 1962, the year during which the country of Rwanda regained its independence up to 1990, the year that was marked by the beginning of the Liberation War. This war opened a new era which would be marked by many political and socio-economic changes and would be won by the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) in 1994 after stopping the genocide that was perpetrated against the Tutsi. This victory contributed to the collapse of the Second Republic and Rwanda opened a new page of its history with the coming of RPF to power.

This unit will examine various achievements of the First and the Second Republics in Rwanda in political and socio-economic areas. At the same time, it will focus on the failures of the two regimes and factors that led to their collapse.

Links to other subjects

This unit can be linked to other subjects like General Studies and Communication Skills and Economics.

Main points to be covered in this unit

Achievements and failures of the First Republic, 1962–1973

- Political evolution: The new institutions of the Republic of Rwanda
- From multipartism to monopartism
- Management of the problem of *Inyenzi* incursions: the beginning of genocide against the Tutsi.
- Economic evolution: Perpetuation of the colonial economic model
- Development of economic infrastructure
- Socio-cultural evolution: Education and health systems
- Failures and reasons for the fall of the First Republic

Achievements and failures of the Second Republic 1973–1990

- Political evolution: New political institutions
- Economic evolution
- Priority investment in infrastructure
- Socio-cultural evolution: Health and education
- Failures and reasons for the fall of the Second Republic

Achievements of the First Republic 1962–1973

Activity 1

1. What kind of regime was adopted at the time of the independence of Rwanda?
2. Describe the political institutions that were established on the eve of the acquisition of independence of Rwanda.
3. Explain the different means that the Mouvement Démocratique Républicain–PARMEHUTU (MDR–PARMEHUTU) used to eliminate opposition political parties.
4. Why was the Mouvement Démocratique Républicain–PARMEHUTU (MDR-PARMEHUTU)–the only political party which presented candidates for presidential and legislative elections in 1965?

Activity 2

1. Account for the reactions of the First Republic towards the problem of Rwandan refugees.
2. How were the Tutsi who lived in Rwanda treated during the attacks of *Inyenzi*.
3. What happened to the leaders of the Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandaise–RADER–and the Union Nationale Rwandaise–UNAR–after the attack of the *Inyenzi* on December 24th, 1963 in Bugesera?

Activity 3

Carry out research on the economic evolution of Rwanda during the First Republic based on the perpetuation of the colonial economic model and find answers to the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Explain the major economic issues that Rwanda faced after the acquisition of its independence.
2. Identify and evaluate the strategies and measures that the government of President Grégoire Kayibanda adopted to address these problems.

Activity 4

Carry out research on the development of economic infrastructure planned and/or implemented by the First Republic of Rwanda and answer the following questions. Present the results of your study to the class.

1. What are the main achievements of the First Republic of Rwanda in the area of banking?
2. In the framework of the Five-Year Development Plan (1966–1971) some projects which aimed to macadamise the road axes linking the country of Rwanda to the outside world had been conceived. Priority was given to which roads?
3. Which infrastructures did the First Republic of Rwanda set up and also inaugurate?
4. What were the achievements of the First Republic of Rwanda in rural development?

Activity 5

Conduct research on the socio-cultural evolution during the First Republic of Rwanda and answer the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Assess the achievements of the First Republic of Rwanda in education.
2. Evaluate the achievements of the First Republic of Rwanda in health.

Activity 6

Conduct research on the failures and reasons for the fall of the First Republic and answer the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. What were the major failures of the First Republic of Rwanda?
2. Identify the factors that contributed to the fall of the First Republic of Rwanda.

Political evolution

Rwanda just after independence

At the time of recovering Rwanda's independence, Grégoire Kayibanda bullied his way into political prominence and was more than willing to use ethnic terror and divisions to maintain his rule.

By independence day on July 1st, 1962, Rwanda had no constitution. PARMEHUTU leaders had prepared a document to be used as a constitution during the coup d'état of Gitarama. But this text was not published in the official Gazette of Ruanda-Urundi. Moreover, the colonial authority continued thereafter to dictate laws for the new authorities.

A constitution project was proposed by PARMEHUTU and the Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la Masse (APROSOMA). The vote took place during the meeting of November 23rd, 1962; 33 votes for, no vote against and 4 abstentions (3 from UNAR and 1 from APROSOMA). The final text was signed on November 24th, 1962 by 40 deputies.

Rwanda had a government headed by a president of the republic and a parliament. According to the constitution, the power of the government was allocated to the president of the republic who was at the same time head of state and head of government.
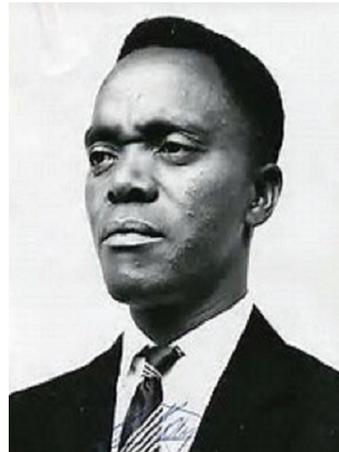
Grégoire Kayibanda, President of Rwanda from October 1961 to July 1973. (Source: Google/image)

The parliament had the power to supervise the actions of the president of the republic and his government (Article 73). Under the First Republic, three legislatures were elected: in 1961, 1965 and 1969, until the dissolution of the parliament following the July 5th, 1973 coup d'état.

From Multipartism to Monopartism

The 1962 constitution devoted its article 10 to a multiparty system. However, the ruling party, MDR PARMEHUTU, turned itself into a 'state party', behaving just like a single party from 1963 after eliminating and assimilating other political parties.

MDR PARMEHUTU fused with the state and the two institutions became one and the same at all administration levels. It means that the president of the republic was at the same time the president of MDR PARMEHUTU party. At the level of prefectures, the préfets were leaders of PARMEHUTU. The same applied in communes and the lower administrative levels.

MDR PARMEHUTU used different mechanisms to monopolise political power. The party utilised intimidation tactics, arbitrary arrests and violence against opponents. At times although not often, it also tried to negotiate. In fact in such circumstances that APROSOMA disappeared in 1961, after the defection of its leaders to MDR PARMEHUTU. These included Aloys Munyangaju and Germain Gasingwa.
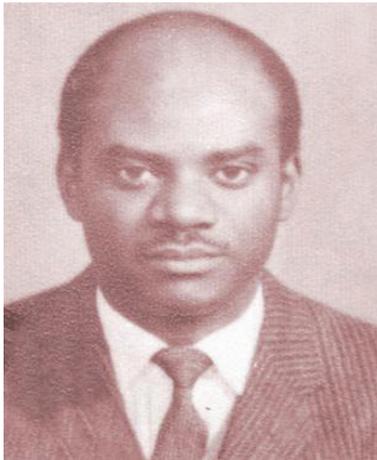
Rwagasana Michel (1927-1963). (Source: Google/image)

RADER and UNAR on the other disappeared due to the killing of their leaders. These included Prosper Bwanakweli, Ndazaro Lazare and Karinda Callixte from RADER; and Michel Rwagasana, Afrika, Burabyo, Joseph Rutsindintwarane, Gisimba, Mpirikanyi and Ndahiro Denis from UNAR who were murdered in 1963. They were executed in the prison of Ruhengeri when *Inyenzi* had just launched major attacks and had penetrated Bugesera up to Kanzenze.

After recruiting some opposition leaders in its ranks and killing others, MDR PARMEHUTU transformed itself into a single party. In 1965, MDR PARMEHUTU was the only party which presented candidates for presidential and legislative elections.

The *Inyenzi* incursions

The first challenge faced by the First Republic was the problem of refugees. The attitude of the government of the First Republic varied with time.

At the beginning of the 1960s, the provisional government had shown concern and established a state secretariat for refugees. But after every *Inyenzi* attack, the Tutsi inside the country would be killed. Survivors would seek asylum outside the country.

The major attacks of *Inyenzi* were the following:

- The December 21st, 1961 attack from Uganda via Kinigi targeting individuals in Ruhengeri, Kigali and Gitarama.
- The April 1962, attack from Uganda targeting the eastern parts of the country.
- The July 3rd to 4th, 1962, attack from Goma by approximately 80 to 100 *Inyenzi*. Four of the captured *Inyenzi*, were executed in Ruhengeri prison.
- The December 24th, 1963 attack in Bugesera. Attackers came from Burundi, via 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

warned the *Inyenzi* that: "*If they try to conquer Kigali by fighting, it would be the total and quick end of the Tutsi*".

- 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).

After the Bugesera attack, many Tutsi were killed at Gikongoro prefecture and the deaths were estimated between 8,000 and 10,000. 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 whatsoever.

The attack on Rwanda launched in Bugesera was under the command of François Rukeba, one of the main UNAR activists. This ill-prepared attack failed, and many Tutsi fell victim to the massacres which were organised in retaliation. The word *Inyenzi*, which literally translates to cockroach, was first used in the 60s. It was initially used to designate UNAR movements as they organised incursions into Rwanda. Its meaning later extended to the entire Rwandan Tutsi population. Occasional incursions into Rwandan territory continued to occur in Rwanda until 1967. Between 1959 and 1967, nearly 20,000 Tutsis were killed during the repression against UNAR, and 200,000 others fled the country.

Economic evolution

Economic problems

At independence, many government offices were in Bujumbura which had been the colonial capital of Ruanda-Urundi. Rwanda was under-equipped. There were a few infrastructures. The country did not have a radio, an airport, permanent roads, a telephone system, hotels, a university or any other institution of higher learning. Everything had to come through Bujumbura or through Belgian Congo.

In addition, Rwanda lacked the financial means. It had only one donor: Belgium. As a result Rwanda was dependent on foreign donors for most of her needs.

Another economic problem faced by Rwanda was the poor functioning of the monetary and customs union between Rwanda and Burundi. Moreover, the two countries did not have very good relations because they had two different political regimes: Rwanda was a republic while Burundi was a constitutional monarchy.

The country was going through an extremely difficult crisis including the deficits in the balance of payments because in 1962 prices rose by 50 per cent and by 1964, prices had risen by 300 per cent. The Rwandan currency depreciated while agricultural and mineral production declined. This resulted in a big fall in exports and a big gap in foreign exchange.

To address this situation, Rwanda asked for assistance from western countries and from international organisations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Rwanda's western donors were mainly Belgium and United States of America (USA). Belgium and IMF had just granted Rwanda a little more in terms of loans while the USA had donated food and some money to buy equipment.

Besides external assistance, the government of Rwanda took other measures to get the country out of the economic crisis. It reduced expenses of all ministries including funds allocated to education. Another proposed solution was the *First five year economic development plan of 1966–1971.* The plan was based on an analysis of the economic and social conditions, and challeges that Rwanda had to face in order to define its economic development.

Plans were made to construct tarmac roads linking the country to all her neighbours in the frame-work of the five-year development plan (1966-1971). The following roads were to be built:

- Kigali–Gatuna
- Kigali–Rusumo
- Kigali–Butare
- Ruhengeri–Cyanika

It is essential to note that before the coup d'état that brought the First Republic in 1973 to an end, construction had only started on the Kigali- Gatuna road in 1971. The construction of this road was completed in 1977. In addition, the Rusumo bridge at the Akagera River linking Rwanda and Tanzania and the bridge over Nyabarongo River were constructed.

In rural development, the emphasis was placed on the reclamation of marshlands in order to improve agricultural production and the distribution of improved seeds and plants in some parts of the country. New crops like rice were introduced. Some cattle dips were put in place to fight ticks.

Socio-cultural evolution

Education system

The First Republic made very few achievements in education and health. The First Republic tried to give free education and health services.

At independence, Rwanda had a few secondary schools such as Groupe Scolaire d'Astrida in Butare, Ecole Technique Officielle de Kicukiro, College Sainte André in Kigali and College du Christ Roi in Nyanza.

By 1962 there were 23 secondary schools and this number increased to 63 schools in 1972. The number of pupils in primary schools increased from 261,306 in 1962 to 425,000 pupils in 1972 due to the double shift system. The budget allocated to education also increased from 168,264,000 Frw in 1962 to 563,194,000 Frw in 1972.

The first national university was opened on November 3rd 1963 in Rwanda. It was started by a Canadian priest called Levesque with 50 students distributed in three faculties: medicine, arts and sciences. It was launched at Ruhande in Butare (Huye District today) with the assistance of Switzerland and Canada. By 1971–1972, the enrolment had reached 470. The Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) was started in 1966. Despite these efforts in education, no tangible fruits were evident as indicated by the small numbers produced during this period.

National University of Rwanda. (Source: Google/image)

Health

In the health sector, the First Republic also tried to make some efforts. The focus was put on the construction of new dispensaries whose number increased from 67 to 142 in 1972. Steps were also taken to address malnutrition and poor conditions of hygiene. As a remedy, some medical centres were constructed to provide health education in order to sensitise people on how to prevent certain diseases. Breastfeeding mothers were provided with child care skills. The government also set up nutrition centres for malnourished children.

To take care of disabled children, a centre for physically handicapped children was built at Gatagara. A psychiatry centre for the mentally handicapped was built at Ndera. This centre known as Caraes Ndera was run by the Brothers of Charity. In preventive medicine, vaccination campaigns were initiated between 1965 and 1970.

Reasons for the Fall of the First Republic

Institutionalisation of discrimination against Tutsi

From 1959 onwards, the Tutsi population was targeted, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths. A population of almost two million Rwandans were refugees for almost four decades. The First Republic, under President Grégoire Kayibanda, institutionalised discrimination against the Tutsi and periodically used massacres against the Tutsi as a means of maintaining the **status quo**.

In 1965, Rwanda was declared a one-party state under MDR/PARMEHUTU, which was the architect of the racist ideology. The regime of Kayibanda did not manifest a good will to repatriate the refugees. Instead, the state killed the Tutsi whenever the *Inyenzi* attacked the country.

Transfer of ethnicism to regionalism

In 1965, PARMEHUTU won every seat in the National Assembly. In spite of this achievement, this party experience had started to internal tensions since 1963. These tensions fell into two categories:

There were inter-personal rivalries and disagreements in the distribution of jobs as the party organs and state structures came closer and closer. There was increasing discontent among emerging cadres, students and individuals with primary and secondary

education. Very fierce local political competition was combined with rivalries at national level. Bourgomasters and prefects competed intensely. Whereas the former drew upon their clientele networks and the legitimacy as elected officials, the latter used state structures and party influence. Divisions emerged due to the struggle for jobs. The state decided to expose ethnic divisions so as to unify the regime.

The purges which began in February 26th 1973 were initially provoked by students, but also encouraged and led by political authorities. Along with PARMEHUTU, the authorities aimed at uniting the regime by defining a common enemy. Northern soldiers (particularly Lieutenant Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, the Chief of Police, who was from Ruhengeri) who, planned to cause a political crisis, also targeted the Tutsi population ("Mututsi mvira aha"). The purges, initially involved the posting of lists of Tutsi students and staff, asking them to leave universities and companies. This problem later run out of control.

Consequently, Grégoire Kayibanda punished several northern dignitaries by dismissing them from jobs and removing them from locations associated with power: Lieutenant Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe was appointed director of the Nyundo Seminary while 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 *prefects*. The divide between the south and the north was firmly established.

From February–March 1973**,** purges were organised in schools and in public administration against the Tutsi population. Tutsi students appeared on lists posted in all secondary schools and at the university of Rwanda and signed '*Mouvement des Étudiants'* ('Students' Movement') or *'Comité de Salut Public'* ('Committee of Public Safety'). They felt threatened and had to flee from these institutions.

In mid-February, the movement reached the National University of Rwanda in Butare and the secondary school of Kabgayi managed by the Josephite brothers. This movement, which had started in schools, spread to public administration and private companies. In ministries, hospitals, banks and shops, the Committee of Public Safety posted lists identifying the Tutsi. Private individuals were requested to fire their Tutsi servants. From the towns, this spread to the countryside. In the prefectures of Gitarama and Kibuye, the houses of the Tutsi were burned down and they were told to leave.

Different explanations are given for the source of this **turmoil**. Though orders were given through the administration, they may have originated from people close to Grégoire Kayibanda. They may also have come from Alexis Kanyarengwe, the Chief of Police, who was from Ruhengeri.

Afterwards, the names of some 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 certain politicians, including that of Rwasibo Jean Baptiste. On March 22, Grégoire Kayibanda made a pacification speech and announced the creation of a ministerial commission in charge of inspecting schools.

Another cause of the rivalry between the north and the south was that PARMEHUTU members of the south especially in Gitarama, the home area of President Kayibanda tended to dominate PARMEHUTU and government power at the expense of the northern region. For example, in the last government formed by President Grégoire Kayibanda in 1972, there were six ministers out of eighteen. One third came from Gitarama, the region of Kayibanda. Kayibanda was accused of behaving like a monarch who played around, and causing misunderstanding in the government.

There was a failed coup attempt by Nyatanyi Pierre the chief of cabinet under President Kayibanda and Muramutsa Joachim, commandant of the Kanombe unit. Because these two officers were from the north the coup was seen as a 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.

Towards the fall of the First Republic

The first signs of the decline of the First Republic appeared in October 1968, when a parliamentary commission of inquiry report on the administration of the country was rejected by the majority of the members of the parliament. This was because of interpersonal and regional differences in the ranks of PARMEHUTU. The report had serious accusations against President Kayibanda. The accusations in the report included favouritism and **nepotism**, intimidation, misuse of political power and impunity which characterised the political and public life of the regime.

As a result of this report, members of parliament were divided into two camps. Some supported the report while others opposed it. The supporters of the report were suspended from the decision making organs of the party. They were also prevented from contesting the legislative elections of 1969.

Another factor that contributed to the reinforcement of regional divisions was the constitutional amendment of 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 north wanted to take power while the south wanted to keep it.

In order to solve the problem of discontent in political and military ranks that was linked to regionalism, President Kayibanda resorted to violence and ethnic cleansing of the Tutsi. Kayibanda wanted to hide the regional divisions in the country by turning public and international attention to what had been considered as a lesser evil or no evil at all.

In carrying out this plan, Tutsi children were chased out of schools and the few Tutsi in minor administrative positions were dismissed, and others murdered. These crimes were planned and carried out by top ranking officials in the government.

This impunity degenerated into regional confrontation. The Hutu of the north started to resent and fight the Hutu of the central part of the country favoured by President Kayibanda. It was under these circumstances that Habyarimana Juvenal, the minister of defence decided to intervene militarily. He overthrew Kayibanda in the coup d'état of 5th July 1973. Kayibanda and many officials in his regime were thrown into prison. They faced court martial. They were sentenced to death or given long prison sentences.

Achievements of the Second Republic (1973–1990)

Activity 7

Research on the political evolution of Rwanda during the Second Republic and find answers to the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Identify and explain the political and institutional changes made after the coup d'état of July 5th, 1973.
2. What were the new political institutions set up by the Second Republic?

Activity 8

Research on the economic evolution of Rwanda during the Second Republic and find answers to the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Identify the benefits which Rwanda expected to gain from regional integration during the Second Republic.
2. What were the causes of the economic crisis that hit Rwanda from 1986?
3. What measures were adopted to address the above crisis?
4. Evaluate the achievements of the government of Rwanda in economic infrastructure during the Second Republic.

Activity 9

Discuss the strategies adopted by the government of Rwanda to reduce infant mortality, to promote and achieve curative care and preventive education.

Activity 10

Conduct a study on the socio-cultural evolution of Rwanda during the Second Republic and write an essay on one of the following topics. Afterwards, read your essay to the class.

1. What were the reasons that led to the failure of the 1978/1979 education reform?
2. Comment on how the ethnic and regional balance was applied by the Second Republic.

Activity 11

Write an essay on reasons for the fall of the Second Republic.

Political evolution

On July 5th, 1973, President Kayibanda was overthrown in a coup d'état led by Major General Habyarimana Juvenal. The latter was assisted by the following senior military officers: Lieutenant Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe, Majors Aloys Nsekarije, Benda Sabin, Ruhashya Epimaque, Gahimano Fabien, Jean Népomuscéne Munyandekwe, Bonaventure Ntibitura, Serubuga Laurent, Buregeya Bonaventure and Simba Aloys.

The coup leaders dissolved the National Assembly, suspended the 1962 constitution and banned all political activity. They at the same time put in place what they called a National Peace and Unity Committee composed of 11 senior officers to replace the ousted government. Given the state of insecurity the country was going through before the coup d'état of 5th July 1973, this committee was greeted with a lot of hope, even among the Rwandan refugees. In President Habyarimana's declaration on July 5th, 1974, much was said about national peace and unity. He castigated regionalism, public immorality, and corruption.

President Juvénal Habyarimana (1937 – 1994). (Source: Google/image)

On July 5th 1975, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana etablished Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND). The Party's main objective was to unify, encourage and intensify efforts of all Rwandans to enhance economic, social and cultural development in an atmosphere of national peace and unity.

In 1977, the Commission for Administration and Institutional Affairs of Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND) prepared a new constitution. In October 1978, the constitution was adopted by government and the MRND Central Committee.

On the December 20th 1978, the new constitution was adopted by the population in a referendum with a reported 89 per cent of the votes. At the same time Habyarimana was elected through universal suffrage as president of Rwanda with a 99 per cent majority.

Article 7 of the constitution declared Rwanda a single party state under the MRND where every citizen was a member right from birth. In reality, this was the establishment of a one party political system. The president of the MRND party had to be the sole presidential candidate. The new constitution abolished the National Assembly and replaced it with The National Development Council (NDC). The first National Development Council or Conseil National pour le Développement(CND) was elected in 1983.

At the diplomatic level, the Second Republic made international openness and cooperation one of its main priorities. Rwanda therefore increased the number of its diplomatic representatives abroad.

On December 19th, 1983 Juvénal Habyarimana was re-elected president of Rwanda with 99.98 per cent of the votes. After five years, on December 19th, 1988 Juvénal Habyarimana was re-elected again for five years winning 99.8 per cent of the votes.

In June 1990, French President François Mitterrand gave a speech at La Baule in France in which he announced that French aid would be conditional upon democratisation in Africa. Following this speech, Rwanda experienced a slight opening up towards a multi-party system.

Thus, on July 5, 1990, during his traditional July 5 speech, the day of the Second Republic's 17th anniversary, Juvénal Habyarimana was in position to announce these political changes: the separation of the party bodies from state structures, and the possible implementation of a multi-party system, though he remained very vague about the details of how this would be implemented.

On September 1st 1990, thirty-three Rwandan intellectuals published a manifesto 'for a multi-party system and democracy'.
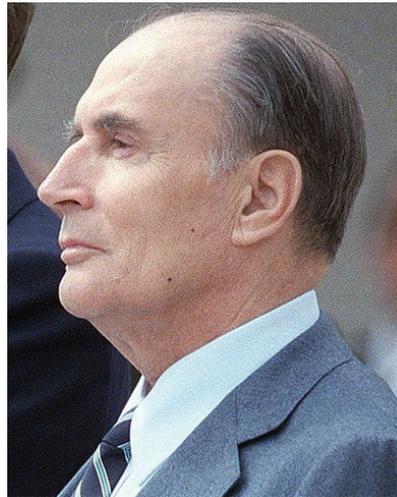
French President François Mitterrand (1916–1996). (Source: Google/image)

On September 25th, 1990 Juvénal Habyarimana named the *Commission Nationale de Synthèse* CNS or (National Synthesis Committee), in charge of developing the first draft for a constitution allowing many political parties.

Economic evolution

Under the Second Republic, the *Second Five-year period of the economic, social and cultural development plan* which covered the period from 1977 up to 1981 was implemented. This plan had four missions:

- Ensuring food security of the population and address the population growth rate.
- Promotion of human resource management.
- Improvement of the social conditions of individuals and the community.
- Improvement of the Rwandan position vis-à-vis external relations.

The objective of this second five year development plan was the creation of many jobs in order to provide young people in rural areas with opportunities to participate in the social and economic life of the country.

Towards the end of 1980–1981, the primary school cycle changed from 6 years to 8 years. This reform established professional schools known under the name of *Centre de l'Enseignement Rural*

et Artisanal Integré (CERAI). These professional schools admitted students who had missed secondary school enrollment for 3 years. In such schools, students could learn professional skills such as woodwork, electricity, masonry and plumbing.

From 1982 to 1986, the *Third Five-year period of the economic, social and cultural development plan* was also adopted with the following aims:

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

The Rwandan diplomatic representation in foreign countries increased. In 1979, Rwanda had hosted the Sixth Franco – African Conference. In 1976, Rwanda had just been a co-founder of the Communauté Economique des Pays des Grand Lacs (CEPGL). It was also host to the headquarters of the Kagera River Basin Organisation (KBO).

The Second Republic made a great effort in agriculture. Cash crops especially tea, coffee and pyrethrum were promoted by the increase in acrage cultivated and the creation of factories. These include the tea factories of Shagasha, Mata, Gisovu, and Nyabihu, and the pyrethrum factory processing in Ruhengeri.

The government of the Second Republic focused a particular attention on food crops like maize, rice, soya beans, sugarcane, etc. Some factories were also set up to process these crops like the Maïserie de Mukamira, Sucrerie de Kabuye, and others.

Emphasis was also put on the creation of agricultural projects. In almost all former prefectures, there were such projects like Développement Global de Butare (DGB), Projet Agricole de Gitarama(PAG), Développement Rural de Byumba (DRB) and Crête Congo Nil.

Regarding animal husbandry, the accent was placed on rearing one cow in a cowshed and planting reeds and other kinds of grasses to feed the cows. To improve the existing breeds of cows, strategies such as the importation of bulls, artificial insemination, research, fighting cattle diseases, etc were adopted.

Concerning infrastructural development, the following infrastructure were put in place by the Second Republic:

Kigali International Airport (Source: Google Rwanda image)

Amahoro Stadium (Source: Google Rwanda Image)

King Faisal Hospital (Source: Google Rwanda Image)

- Asphalting of the following routes:
  Kigali–Gatuna
  Kigali–Butare–Akanyaru
  Kigali–Ruhengeri–Gisenyi
  Kigali–Kibungo–Rusumo
  Butare–Gikongoro–Cyangugu
- Construction of several buildings to serve as offices, for different ministries and hospitals; for example King Faisal Hospital,
- Extension of electricity network
- Construction of Kanombe Airport
- Construction of Amahoro National Stadium

From 1980 to 1986, the country enjoyed economic growth due to a combination of positive external and internal factors. This included good climate high prices of coffee, tea and minerals, and a considerable flow of external capital into the country.

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

- The drastic fall of the world coffee and tin prices
- The over devaluation of the Rwandan franc
- The poor management of public funds
- The demographic explosion prevailing in Rwanda since 1940, hence the reduced yields from land.

To address this economic crisis, the government of Rwanda applied the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) dictated by the Bretton Woods Institutions (International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank) with a view to stabilising the economy and benefiting from financial support of those institutions.

IMF and the World Bank. (www.Wikipedia.org)

Socio-cultural evolution

Health

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

The government also put in place a policy which aimed at creating nutrition centres in order to educate parents on nutrition and hygiene.

Government improved hygiene conditions by putting emphasis on the most vulnerable groups such as women and children. In order to find a solution to hygiene related-problems, the government established nutritional centres at health centres. Thus it achieved curative care and preventive education, including vaccination, nutrition, maternal and child protection.

In 1979 the government established the Broad-Based Vaccination Programme (PEV/BVP) whose objective was to reduce infant mortality through vaccination against certain targeted diseases which included tuberculosis, whooping cough, tetanus, polio, measles and diphtheria.

In 1987, the government established the Programme National de Lutte contre le SIDA (PNLS) or National Programme for the Fight against AIDS whose objective was to control, prevent, reduce and conduct research on AIDS. In the same year, the government launched the Programme National de Lutte contre le Paludisme (PNLP)or National Programme for Fight against Malaria. In 1989 the Programme for Acceleration of Primary Health Care (PASSP) was also put in place.

This programme aimed at encouraging community participation in **self-reliance** and management of health services at their health centres.

Education

In this sector, the following were the achievements of the Second Republic:

Many reforms were made at all levels of education in Rwanda. Among these was the construction of new primary and secondary schools.

During the school year of 1978–1979, primary education was revised. The primary cycle changed from 6 years to 8 years. Training in professional skills was introduced in Primary 7 and Primary 8, and Kinyarwanda became a language of instruction from P 1 up to P 8.

At the secondary education level, the Ordinary Level was reduced and specialisations sections introduced in the second year of secondary education. But this reform failed due to lack of:

- teaching materials
- qualified teachers in the newly introduced subjects
- appropriate evaluation methods for the reform.

So, in 1991, these reforms were revised, the primary education cycle was brought back to 6 years.

At university level, the Institut Pédagogique National (IPN) was fused with some departments of the National University of Rwanda. The new campus of Nyakinama was created in 1980–1981 as the result of this fusion. Besides, the duration of studies in most faculties was reduced from 5 to 4 years.

Reasons for the Fall of the Second Republic

The imprisonment and killing of the politicians of the First Republic

During the two years that followed the coup, the former 'leaders' of the First Republic were assassinated or imprisoned. From 1974 – 1977, 58 people — individuals who were either close to Grégoire Kayibanda and public figures of the First Republic — were assassinated upon orders from Théoneste Lizinde, chief of security at the interior ministry. According to some sources, the repression affected up to 700 people.

Lack of freedom of speech and press

The Second Republic was against multipartism. Whoever attempted to criticise the regime was intimidated or imprisoned. For instance, on September 18th, 1990 the trial of the priest André Sibomana, who was the director of the bi-monthly publication *Kinyamateka*, and three of his journalists opened in Kigali after the publication of articles denouncing corruption in the government. On July 3rd and 6th, 1990 the *Cour de Sûreté de l'État* (State Security Court) had Vincent Rwabukwisi, the editor-in-chief of *Kanguka* arrested. He was accused of having interviewed King Kigeri V Ndahindurwa in exile in Nairobi and of plotting with refugees.

Beside these cases, other examples of violation of human rights are the murder of the former chief editor of Kinyamateka newspaper, Father Sylvio Sindambiwe and Nyiramutarambirwa Felicula, a former member of parliament.

Economic crisis

By the end of the 1980s, the regime was becoming ineffective. The falling price of coffee caused a severe crisis in the country and fueled discontent.

From 1986, there was a fall in the prices of coffee and tin. Coffee represented 75 per cent of the national economy.

In January 1988, one-sixth of the Rwandan population was affected by a famine which killed 250 people.

In 1989, coffee prices decreased by 50 per cent. There was an increase in credits from 189 million US dollars up to 941 million and reduction of foreign currency reserves from 144 million US dollars up to 30 million.

The Rwandan Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 330 US dollars fell to 200 US dollars in 1990. In 1989, the national social budget was reduced to 40 per cent.

In 1991, Rwanda signed an agreement with the World Bank to implement a Structural Adjustment Plan (SAP) which led to the devaluation of the Rwandan franc on two occasions: its value fell by 40 per cent in November 1990, then again by 15 per cent in June 1992. Though the SAP was only partially implemented, the main effect of the devaluation was inflation, which reached 19.2 per cent in 1991 and an increase in demand because of the liberation war.

Institutionalisation of ethnic and regional balance or quota system

The regime of Habyrimana was not a model of democracy as its leaders claimed. The regime forced people into a single party system and partisan politics based on ethnic and regional segregation. The regime led to growth of the Rukiga-Nduga conflict which was characterised by the exclusion of Tutsi and Hutu of Nduga from schools and key posts in national leadership positions like during Kayibanda regime.

This discrimination which was institutionalised by the Second Republic from 1981 was known as "ethnic and regional balance or **quota** system". The system saw Tutsi children excluded from secondary and tertiary education. This policy also tended to discriminate against the Hutu from all other parts of the country, especially the south. These areas were allocated fewer places in secondary schools and in university, in the national army, administration and diplomatic service on the basis of ethnic and regional belonging. The best and numerous positions in all fields were reserved for the Hutu from the north.

This policy applied in all government institutions was a serious violation of, especially, the right to education. This culminated into the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The policy excluded bright and gifted children just because they were Tutsi.

Enrollment in Public Secondary schools in September 1989 by Prefecture

Prefecture	Places available	Places given	Difference
Butare	836	696	-140
Byumba	722	662	-60
Cyangugu	461	443	-18
Gikongoro	514	466	-48
Gisenyi	649	1045	+396
Gitarama	836	792	-44
Kibungo	501	425	-76
Kibuye	468	412	-56
Kigali	970	1005	+35
Ruhengeri	736	746	+10
TOTAL	6 693	6 693	+442 - 442

Source: Kinyamateka, *No. 1308, October, 1989*

In the table above, only three prefectures had their places increased. These were Gisenyi with + 396 places, Kigali with + 35 places and Ruhengeri with + 10 places. Other prefectures lost their available places like Butare which lost 140 places. That shows the unfairness in the distribution of places in secondary schools and university due to regionalism and ethnieism. The places reserved for Tutsi were effectively reduced in each prefecture.

Centralisation of power in the hands of a small group of people "Akazu"

Between 1985 and 1990 most of the leadership positions were reserved for Hutus. Power was held by elites from the north-west of the country, in contrast with the pro-southern orientation of the First Republic. One-third of the 85 most important governmental positions were given to persons born in the prefecture of Gisenyi. After ten years of economic growth, the economic crisis and regional favouritism destabilised the government. Rivalry for posts increased, power struggles became more fierce, and mafia-type behaviour and structures thrived. One of the main power centres was known as the *Akazu*. It was organised around Agathe Kanziga — Juvénal Habyarimana's wife—and her brothers. In April 1988, the assassination of Colonel Stanislas Mayuya, who was considered the likely successor of the president, was carried out by this power centre.

Division among Rwandans from the north-west began in the 1980s. It started when two highly regarded senior military officers, Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe and Major Théoneste Lizinde were accused of plotting a coup d'état. Lizinde was accused of killing some politicians who had served in the First Republic from the south. This misunderstanding divided the politicians and people from the north. As a result, political power was monopolised by a small part of the north-west from Bushiru in the ex-commune of Karago. Finally, power was concentrated in the hands of President Habyarimana, his immediate family, and his in-laws. This was termed *Akazu* meaning "from one single household".

Glorification of Habyarimana and dictatorship

As years went by, President Habyarimana started developing a personality cult. This was done through political mobilisation and glorification of the President by his political party using animation

and his portrait which appeared everywhere in public and private surroundings.

In addition to this personality cult, President Habyarimana set up a dictatorship. There was a single party, the Revolutionary National Democratic Movement (MRND), and power was concentrated in the hands of a small group of President Habyarimana's family. No single decision could be made whatsoever without the dictator's consent.

Opposing the return of refugees

In June–July 1986, the Central Committee of MRND, the highest decision-making body in the Habyarimana regime, examined the problem of Rwandan refugees **scattered** around the world, especially in the neighbouring countries. As a solution, the Central Committee resolved that the refugees were not to return into the country. The Central Committee strongly advocated that refugees should find a way of integrating into their countries of asylum. According to the Central Committee, Rwanda was overpopulated and incapable of receiving and accommodating her own people back. Only those who had the capacity to cater for themselves, it was decided, should apply individually for consideration to return to Rwanda.

It was in that context that they declared that any refugee who wished to return should show proof of his or her financial capacity to support himself/herself once allowed to repatriate to Rwanda. Habyarimana himself advocated that a child of a refugee should not be called a refugee and so he started negotiations with Uganda to reintegrate Rwandan refugees. In February 1989, President Habyarimana established a special commission for refugees' problems and met Uganda government officials.

This position of President Habyarimana and his government prompted the refugees to call for an international conference in Washington in August 1988 in which they rejected this position and reaffirmed their inalienable right to return to their homeland. This was one of the causes of the National Liberation War which sarted on October 1st, 1990.

Unit summary

The year 1962 was marked by the recovery of Rwanda's independence. This was preceded by ethnic **turmoil** from 1959 that led thousands of Rwandans to become refugees in neighbouring countries. The First Republic that replaced Belgian colonial rule failed to reunite Rwandans who had been divided by the colonisers. Instead, the regimes of Kayibanda and Habyarimana perpetuated the colonial policy which relied on divisionism.

After the establishment of the First Republic, Rwanda was faced with many problems. The country was insecure due to the incursions launched by *Inyenzi* from neighbouring countries. The response of Rwandan leaders was the killing of thousands of Tutsi who had remained in the country. Another major issue was the economic crisis. At independence, Rwanda had no adequate resources to insure its financial self-reliance.

Despite these financial limitations, some economic and social infrastructures such as banks, roads, bridges, schools, and hospitals were set up by the First Republic. However, due to a number of factors including the divisions between the Rwandans from the north and those from south, the domination of the main administrative posts by the people from Gitarama in the government of Kayibanda, and insecurity caused by the killing of the Tutsi who had become the **scapegoat** in the rivalries between the Bakiga and Banyenduga, the First Republic was deposed by Juvénal Habyarimana who set up the Second Republic in 1973.

This regime was not different from that of Kayibanda in the approach to social relations. Although, it supported unity of the Banyarwanda in the beginning, later it introduced the policy of ethnic and regional balance or **quota** system. This aimed at excluding Tutsi and Hutu of Nduga from schools and main administrative posts.

The Second Republic registered some achievements. Infrastructure like roads, football stadiums, bridges, administrative offices, and Kanombe airport, were built and rehabilitated. Schools, health centres, and hospitals were also built.

However, the Habyarimana regime was characterised by bad governance. There was corruption, dictatorship, **nepotism**, mismanagement and **embezzlement** of the public funds, violence against the opposition and journalists, arbitrary imprisonments,

and political assassinations. There was an economic crisis from 1987 onwards, and unwillingness to address the problem of Rwandan refugees.

For all the above problems, the Habyarimana regime was fought by Rwandan people from both outside and inside the country. The Rwanda Patriotic Front launched the October 1990 Liberation War which ended in the removal of the Habyarimana regime in July 1994.

Glossary

Diaspora:	the dispersion or spreading of something that was originally localised (as a people or language or culture)
Embezzlement:	the fraudulent appropriation of funds or property entrusted to your care but actually owned by someone else
Intrigues:	a crafty and involved plot to achieve your (usually sinister) ends
Manipulate:	influence or control shrewdly or deviously
Nepotism:	favouritism shown to relatives or close friends by those in power (as by giving them jobs)
Quota:	a proportional share assigned to each participant
Rift:	a personal or social separation (as between opposing factions, e.g. "they hoped to avoid a rift in relations")
Scapegoat:	someone who is punished for the errors of others
Scattered:	occurring or distributed over widely spaced and irregular intervals in time or space
Status quo:	the existing state of affairs
Turmoil:	disturbance usually in protest or violent agitation

Revision questions

A. Multiple Choice Questions

1. Before her independence Rwanda was colonised by
   a) France
   b) Belgium
   c) Germany and Belgium
   d) None of these

2. Two senior officers planned a coup d'état against President Kayibanda but it aborted
   a) Biseruka and Kanyarengwe
   b) Nsekarije and Simba
   c) Nyatanyi and Muramutsa
   d) None of these

3. The National University of Rwanda was established in
   a) 1961
   b) 1957
   c) 1963
   d) 1964

4. MRND was founded in
   a) 1971
   b) 1975
   c) 1976
   d) 1978

5. The quota system was introduced in Rwanda by
   a) Lizinde Theoneste
   b) President Habyarimana
   c) President Kayibanda
   d) None of these

B. Fill in the Blanks

1. The post of the president of republic of Rwanda was first given to ....

2. On July 5th 1973, ... was overthrown from power in a coup d'état led by Major General Habyarimana Juvenal.

3. In 1965, the PARMEHUTU won every seat in the National ....

4. Alexis Kanyarengwe was appointed director of the Nyundo ....

5. In 1991, Rwanda signed an agreement with the World Bank to implement a .... which led to the devaluation of the Rwandan franc.

C. Answer True or False

1. President Kayibanda was elected by the parliament for all the mandates during which he ruled Rwanda.
2. *Inyenzi* was a name given to an army that attacked Buganda from Rwanda in 1960s.
3. Rwanda recovered its independence on July 24th, 1961.
4. President Kayibanda was elected for the second mandate in 1966.
5. The following roads; Kigali-Gatuna, Kigali-Rusumo, Kigali-Butare, Ruhengeri-Cyanika were constructed by the First Republic.

Revision questions

1. Describe the new political institutions put in place in Rwanda on the eve of her independence.
2. Evaluate the socio-economic achievements of the First Republic.
3. Account for the methods used by Kayibanda to fight against the *Inyenzi* rebels.
4. Explain why Grégoire Kayibanda failed to unify the Rwandan citizens.
5. Assess the economic and social infrastructures built by the Second Republic.
6. Identify the advantages that Rwanda expected from the regional integration.
7. Identify and explain the causes of the economic crisis that hit the Second Republic of Rwanda from 1987.
8. Explain reasons for the failure of the 1978/1979 education reforms.
9. Outline the features of the ethnic and regional balance policy during the Second Republic?
10. Evaluate the failures of the first and second republics.
11. Examine the factors that led to the downfall of the Kayibanda and Habyarimana regimes.

Unit 2

Genocide Denial and Ideology in Rwanda and Abroad

Key unit competence

Explain measures of preventing genocide from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere

Introduction

In 1994, a genocide was perpetrated against the Tutsi. Before, during and after that genocide, its perpetrators set up ways of denying it. Even the international community hesitated to consider the massive killing of the Tutsi as genocide.

Three forms of the denial of genocide against the Tutsi have been identified: literal genocide denial, interpretative and implicatory genocide denial. Literal genocide denial consisted of refusal to accept that Rwanda genocide had taken place. The interpretative genocide denial aims at saying that in Rwanda there had been a double genocide. The implicatory genocide denial supports the opinion that the Rwanda Patriotic Army also participated in the genocide.

Genocide denial and genocide ideology are unbearable. The government of Rwanda set up different strategies to combat it including law n°18/2008 of 23/07/2008 relating to the punishment

of the crime of genocide ideology. At the international level, different conferences were organised and the problem of genocide, its denial and ideology were examined in order to search for ways of fighting them.

Links to other subjects

Conflict transformation in General Studies and Communication Skills

Main points to be covered in this unit

- ❯ Forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology of genocide denial
- ❯ Ways of fighting against different forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology

Forms and channels of Genocide Denial and Ideology

Activity 1

Define the following concepts: ideology, genocide ideology and genocide denial. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 2

Carry out research on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and then discuss different ways used to deny this genocide. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 3

Carry out research on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and then explain the three forms of denial of that genocide. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 4

Carry out research on the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and analyse how the **banal** denial was manifested in Rwanda and abroad. Present the results of your study to the class.

Activity 5

Conduct a study on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and demonstrate with examples how the literal genocide denial was manifested in Rwanda and abroad. Present the results of your study to the class.

Activity 6

Conduct a research on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and show how the interpretative form of genocide denial was manifested in Rwanda and abroad. Present the results of your study to the class.

Activity 7

Carry out research on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and show how the implicatory form of genocide denial manifested in Rwanda and abroad. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Definition of Concepts

Definition of the terms "ideology", "genocide ideology" and "genocide denial"

Definition of the concept "ideology"

An ideology is an organised collection of ideas. The word ideology was used in the late 18th century to define a "science of ideas".

An ideology is a comprehensive vision, or a set of ideas proposed by the dominant class to all members of a society. The main purpose behind an ideology is to introduce change in society through a normative thought process. Ideologies tend to be abstract thoughts applied to reality and, thus, make this concept unique to politics. Ideologies are very common in the world of politics and have been used; for example, to provide guidance and to persuade.

Definition of the concept "genocide ideology"

Genocide ideology is a collection of thoughts characterised by conduct, speeches, documents and other acts aiming at exterminating or inciting others to exterminate people basing on ethnic group, origin, nationality, region, colour, physical appearance, sex, language, religion or political opinion, committed in normal periods or during war.

Definition of the term "genocide denial" in Rwanda

Genocide denial is an attempt to deny or minimise statements of the scale and severity of an incidence of genocide for instance the denial of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and the holocaust.

Where there is near universal agreement that genocide occurred, genocide denial is usually considered as a form of illegitimate historical revisionism. However, in circumstances where the generally accepted facts do not clearly support the occurrence of genocide, the use of the term may be an argument by those who argue that genocide occurred.

Some ways used to deny the 1994 genocide against Tutsi

- The minimisation of genocide in any behaviour exhibited publicly and intentionally in order to reduce the weight or consequences of the genocide against Tutsi.
- Minimising how the genocide was committed.
- Altering the truth about the genocide against the Tutsi in order to hide the truth from the people.
- Asserting that there were two genocides in Rwanda: one committed against the Tutsi and the other against Hutu or saying there had been acts of mutual killing, etc.

Forms of Genocide Denial and its manifestation in Rwandan Ssociety and Abroad

In 1994, the Hutu extremists in Rwanda's government then in power, planned, organised for and guided through public institutions genocide against the Tutsi and Hutu opposed to the genocide plan. Simultaneously, they also organised how after committing it they could deny it as it happens in all the cases of genocide. This is the last stage (8th) in the process of genocide. To deny here means to deny something that was collectively organised and involved targeted, deliberate killings of specific groups of unarmed civilians identified on the basis of origin, and usually targeting those with suspect political loyalties and their relatives.

The 1994 genocide against the Tutsi was committed according to 'home-made' Rwandan plans already underway by as early as 1992 as it has been suggested by the historical and legal record, of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda and of numerous studies. Since 1994, the genocide denial has taken three main forms: Literal genocide denial, interpretative and implicatory genocide denial. In the case of the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, all these three forms of genocide denial are more or less linked to one another.

Literal genocide denial involves negating the facts of genocide, silencing talk of genocidal plans and killings. Literal denial becomes harder to sustain once evidence emerges that genocide plans were made and executed right across Rwanda. Following this, interpretative genocide denial reframes or relabels, the events of the genocide, viewing them as part and parcel of civil war, rather than genocide. Subsequently, implicatory genocide denial becomes prevalent, and involves explicit counter-accusations that genocide was planned by those previously viewed as saving the victims. The Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) government is thus accused of planning genocide, not only in Rwanda but also in eastern Congo, now Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). A double genocide thesis is part of both the interpretative and implicatory forms of genocide denial. All the three forms of denial tend to reinforce two parallel and mutually incompatible accounts of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, of the past, and tend to further polarise political and public opinion, reinforcing divisions over the past, present and future direction of the country.

Banal denial

This kind of denial is manifested through the films in which French soldiers seen rescuing, Belgian or French missionaries refuse to do so towards the thousands of Tutsi that were being killed. These powerful film sequences convey one key quality of everyday denial in the sense that rescuing the expatriates while abandoning the Tutsi to their killers constitutes one of the very flagrant aspects of the genocide denial.

Some researchers like Freud have demonstrated that some forms of silence or **fantasy** serve to protect an individual's ego from deep-rooted fears and memories, including from memories of trauma. Denial in this every day, individual sense signals the failure to accept reality, but also has a certain logic since it makes escape during a psychologically impossible situation possible. Some interpersonal forms of denial thus appear normal psychological responses to abnormal situations.

The soldier's turning up the music is an example of **banal** denial; his being under orders to save only non-Rwandans, and white expatriates in particular, is something else; it is collective denial.

In a wider sense, the term 'denial' refers to something society-wide, something organised. In collective forms of denial, like genocide denial, individual, more **banal** responses through denial may also be instrumentalised.

Another scholar, Cohen, focuses rather on how to analyse social and collectively organised forms of denial, of which genocide denial is a prime example. He suggests that when entire societies, including governments, and social groups, move to ignore past atrocities, to minimise the significance of human suffering, then this constitutes collective denial, and can even involve official denial by the state.

Collective genocide denial has serious long-term consequences for criminal justice which cannot be equated with more **banal** forms of individual denial, analysed by Freud as coping mechanisms. Whilst genocide denial has both individual and collective manifestations even before the genocide became reality, denial of its true purpose can be shown to be part and parcel of the logic of extremist Hutu power political ideology, at least from 1990, and perhaps even from the time of the first attacks on the Tutsi in 1959,with Belgian assistance.

Through a set of historical spirals of conflicting claims about which group is the original, real or ultimate victim, these three broad forms of genocide denial can however be roughly equated with three broad phases of recent Rwandan history.

Literal denial

Although literal denial was predominant in the early post-genocide years in Rwanda, it has not yet disappeared. Literal denial involves either the full intention to deceive or forms of self-deception that result in disbelief, silence or claiming not to know.

Knowledge may be directly denied, sometimes even in the face of clear evidence to the contrary. Silence, indifference and treating evidence as if it does not merit serious consideration, are all strategies of literal genocide denial.

Literal genocide denial was mainly confined to the private sphere during the early post-genocide years. It still appears in some research, in internet blogs, and among the lawyers of those accused of genocide at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda.

The head office of International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha. (www.Wikipedia.org)

Interpretative denial

Arguably, this becomes the dominant form of genocide denial in post-genocide Rwanda. Interpretative genocide denial involves re-categorising evidence that is established, and goes beyond negating, ignoring or silencing talk of genocide. Higher moral goals are often invoked in cases of interpretative denial, such as: revolutionary struggle,

ethnic purity, western civilisation', or in the case of Rwanda, legitimate self-defence and a striving for ethnic-based self-determination.

Interpretative genocide denial involves use of euphemisms, and the relativising of atrocities by one's own side as an understandable response to the threat of the 'other side.' Like literal genocide denial, interpretative genocide denial can form part of international scholarly **discourse**, or be part of public popular opinion. In the media, the most common expression of interpretative denial was to present the genocide of Tutsi as simply part of a wider 'civil war' of all against all, rather than a targeted genocide.

Implicatory denial

This third form of genocide denial consists of retaliatory counter-accusations, and explicit justification for one's position, through anticipatory counter–accusation against the other party. Implicatory genocide denial has been aimed at restoring a sense of self-worth among those accused of genocide crimes. By claiming, for example, that the Rwanda Patriotic Front really started the genocide themselves, by shooting down the plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April 1994, implicatory genocide denial tries to prove that if genocide was committed, it was not by those accused but by the 'other side' in a civil war.

The aim is also to exonerate all atrocities and lay the blame on others. In implicatory denial, the other side is always guilty of lies, propaganda, ideology, disinformation or prejudice, and thus of triggering the genocide.

Those accusing the RPF in this way seek to exonerate themselves from any responsibility for genocide themselves. Implicatory denial has arisen mainly since 2003, and mainly through legal institutions in France and Spain, and on internet sites of the political opposition to the Rwanda Patriotic Front. In more details, each of these three basic forms of genocide denial can be presented.

Literal denial 1994–1998

At first, silence was the most common form of literal genocide denial. Silence remains salient well after the initial post-genocide years, sometimes in a surprising crude fashion. At a conference

organised at the Peace Palace in The Hague, on Peace and Stability in the Great Lakes Region, silence of this kind was evident.

Up to the late 1994s, during scholarly conferences, in various academic journals, in the media, and elsewhere, the events of April to July 1994 were still called a civil war, ethnic massacres or other terms that avoided use of the of the word "genocide". Those who termed it genocide were still in a minority at that time, and were even claimed to be propagating a genocide myth.

Transitional government members mostly stuck to the literal denial narrative of the April–July 1994 period. They even claimed to have done nothing wrong, and that most of those killed were Hutu, killed by the 'ethnic' enemy, the Rwanda Patriotic Army.

This literal genocide denial was in line with the ideology that Hutu power ideologies represented the heroic little men against a cunning enemy, the Tutsi, who it was claimed were determined to slaughter every last Hutu man, woman and child. Killings were presented as mostly spontaneous, to centuries of feudal oppression by Tutsi overlords. Literal denial was evident during the early years of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, in the accounts used by defence lawyers. Genocide was thus transformed into something else—killings based on mutual and long-standing ethnic hatred, or ancient rivalries of clans and castes. The fact that genocide had been planned well in advance was denied, and so it could be claimed that the killings were just killings, and not a deliberate genocide of a minority, the Tutsi.

In 1997 one organisation, called *Africa Direct*, organised a conference in London entitled 'The Great Genocide Debate'. The programme and presenters suggested that since there were massacres on 'all sides' in Rwanda in 1994, this was a civil war and not genocide. Aidan Campbell, in the now defunct Trotskyist magazine, *Living Marxism*, claimed this too.

At the same time Luc de Temmerman, the Belgian defence lawyer of some leading genocide suspects at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, simply claimed: "…there was no genocide. It was a situation of mass killings in a state of war, everyone was killing their enemies".

This civil war thesis was common in the media too, especially in the early post-genocide years. The situation changed when the

former minister Jean Kambanda set a historical precedent being the first accused person to acknowledge and affirm his guilt for the crime of genocide before an international criminal tribunal. He therefore became the first political leader to take responsibility for the deliberate planning of genocide, and for its implementation.

Although he much later appealed, this was a turning point and marked an end to widespread individual literal denial among perpetrators, who would now find it much harder to sustain silence in the face of such a senior administrators' admissions of responsibility. As head of the provisional government, his guilty plea departed from the prevalence of literal genocide denial among the others appearing at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda at that time.

Through the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, a broadly-shared legal and academic consensus emerged that genocide had indeed taken place in Rwanda, and was targeted against the Tutsi population and those who supported them. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda proceedings, from each region of the country, witness and expert testimony soon filtered into academic research, and literal genocide denial started to be challenged and gradually gave way to more subtle, interpretative forms of genocide denial after 1998 or so. Since then, it was obvious to most impartial observers, to most legal experts and to emerging historians of the genocide period to conclude that what happened in Rwanda in 1994 was the intent to destroy the Tutsi as a people.

The historical evidence of genocide was thus overwhelming, and the one-sided killings of April 6–July 1994 within Rwanda started to be widely referred to as genocide.

In response, a gradual shift took place from literal to more interpretative forms of genocide denial. These started with the familiar argument that this was not one-sided genocide but two-sided civil war, an argument later developed into the so-called double genocide thesis.

Interpretative denial 1998–2003

Civil war in Rwanda as elsewhere provides a convenient cover for one-sided genocide to be planned and implemented. In the case of Rwanda, the evidence is that the machinery of genocide was

geared around targeted killings well before 6 April 1994, when killings started, triggered by the shooting down of the president's plane.

Interpretative denial involves distancing, and sometimes even victim-blaming, as in this statement to an African Rights researcher: "It wasn't genocide, but rather a civil war. The people defended themselves. It was bad luck if you were Tutsi because it meant certain death, and therefore you were eliminated".

Several key elements of interpretative denial appear in this single statement. First, the speaker regards genocide as simply part of war and claims those who died were not targeted but were simply unlucky.

The general effect of his words is to suggest that perpetrators were not responsible for the outcome of the killings of the unfortunate victims. Interpretative genocide denial can thus appear to render victims responsible for their own deaths.

The statement shows how literal denial says it was not genocide. For instance, Rene Lemarchand has claimed that the genocide against the Tutsi was a retributive genocide, a punishment for past atrocities committed by the Tutsi elsewhere. However, in that case, he is viewing motivations for genocide as somehow genuine causes.

The double genocide thesis goes further than the civil war argument, and moves from interpretative towards more implicatory forms of genocide denial. The double genocide thesis is not supported by empirical evidence about patterns of killings inside Rwanda between April and July 1994. Verwimp's study, for example, confirms that killings in Rwanda during this period fitted with the definition of genocide as an organised, systematic attempt to eliminate a specific and targeted population.

Interpreting data in order to 'prove' the double genocide thesis is part of interpretative genocide denial, therefore. And such accusations of double genocide started even before the genocide began. In fact, there is no doubt that genocide denial has been a political weapon of perpetrators even before the genocide against the Tutsi took place in 1994. Legal instruments alone are not enough to tackle genocide denial, and yet such instruments also can be instrumentalised in a highly polarised political climate when open criticism and implicatory denial may, from some angles, look surprisingly similar.

Some scholars suggest that marked social conflicts between classes and castes were not invented by European colonisers, and were already firmly embedded into Rwanda's pre-colonial social fabric.

Implicatory denial: 2003 onwards

Implicatory denial explicitly accuses the other of being behind the genocide all along and thus seeks to lay the blame on others instead of those already accused of genocide. Implicatory denial turns around the existing legal and political accusations of victims, prosecutors and researchers, and suggests that those who claimed to end the genocide and to support victims of genocide are in reality perpetrators of genocide themselves.

The general message is that things are not always what they seem, a message conveyed by theories that the Rwanda Patriotic Front was involved in a conspiracy at the start of the genocide. At an individual level, a perpetrator engaged in this kind of implicatory denial claims the survivors associations only exist to persecute the Hutu in general, and the prisoners in particular.

Implicatory denial thus involves accusing victims in some cases, and the Rwanda Patriotic Front government in other cases, of being the real perpetrators behind the scenes.

Ways of Fighting Against Different Forms and channels of Genocide Denial and Ideology

Activity 8

Conduct research on the 1994 genocide against Tutsi and discuss different ways that have been proposed to fight against the different forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology at the African level. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 9

Conduct research on the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi and debate the different ways that had been proposed to fight against the different forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology at national level. Present the results of your findings to the class.

At African level

Before speaking of the strategies or ways of fighting against the different forms and channels of genocide denial and ideology, it is essential to reflect on the real or perceived causes of genocide. In fact, the perceived or real causes of genocide provide the foundation for the peddling of genocide ideology by extremists in our society. What then is genocide ideology? Whether genocide is an actual ideology or not is debatable but it is certainly a developing stream of ideas rooted in fear and thirst for power usually in the context of a history where the people are of different origin. Genocide is an extermination or destruction of the other who has been part of a whole but is now being separated and targeted as an enemy (and man's spontaneous reaction to the enemy, as we have learnt through history, is to eliminate the enemy).

So the genocide ideology begins with the process of identification and stigmatisation of the 'other' that is, **labelling** of the 'other' and eventually the separation of the 'other' from the rest of 'us'. The cumulative process of segregation of the 'other' is initiated by the political leadership and disseminated through various means including addressing the public at political rallies, teaching students at schools, universities and other institutions of learning and **indoctrinating** the general public including party militants through the radio and television broadcasts and dissemination of disinformation and propaganda through print and electronic media. The 'other' is presented by 'us' as dangerous, unreliable, and, like a dangerous virus, must be destroyed.

The separation of 'us' from the 'other' or 'them' is through racial or ethnic segregation which may then result in **internment**, **lynching**, proscription or exile. The process of separation begins when political leaders start to brand a section of their own population as the 'other', 'these people', 'enemy of the state', 'enemy of the people',

'security risk', 'rebel sympathiser', 'accomplice', 'cockroaches' 'Inyenzi', or similar derogatory remarks. Cultural or racial branding like 'atheist', 'communist', 'Muslim', 'Christian' or 'white', 'black' or 'Arab' have also been known to have been used. The result of the separation of 'us' from the 'other' by the political leadership is the process through which genocide ideology evolves.

These examples of the early warning signals at the formative stages of genocide ideology are not exhaustive. Extremists are very resourceful people and are constantly inventing new ways and vocabularies for identifying, stigmatising and dehumanising the 'other'. Once the 'other' is sufficiently stigmatised and dehumanised, it becomes easy, and even necessary for 'us' to massacre 'them' without any sense of guilt or remorse. Every African will recognise some or all of these processes either in their own national histories or elsewhere.

Yet, it is not possible to construct the 'other' before establishing the identity of the 'us'. The political leadership ensures that the public understands that the 'us' is more superior, intelligent and deserving of a better life, with higher dignity and respect than the useless and backward 'others'. How can the law then deal with such situations and discourage or prevent the use of political demagoguery?

It is important to understand how the 'ideology' of genocide becomes part of the dominant **discourse** of a society where the 'other' is terrorised by the 'us' into silence. The hand of the state is never far from any genocide or mass killings. The state plays a major role, either as active participant or silent supporter, accomplice or collaborator. To commit the crime of genocide, considering the scope and magnitude of mass murder that is required for it, also needs a monopoly of arms, of propaganda, of terror, of resources and of power. Only the state in modern history possesses such resources. To that extent, without the participation, complicity, collaboration or corroboration of the state, it is most unlikely that any group of individuals can commit the crime of genocide. Crimes of genocide have, in the past, been committed when the state refuses, declines or fails to meet its responsibility under both national and international law.

The first duty of the state is to protect its entire citizenry without discrimination. Genocide or mass killing is either a failure of the state in the sense of an omission to protect or it is an act

of the state as in commission of genocide and other crimes against humanity. However, as demonstrated at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, the participating citizenry is not entirely blameless either. The active participation of the Interahamwe (comprised not of drunken ill-disciplined men but of highly politicised, well-trained, armed youth responsive to the interim government's demands) in the Rwanda genocide is well documented.

The challenge of the law must be the establishment, through active parliamentary law or judicial law making, of laws and decisions that address the complex circumstances that permit ordinary people to turn against each other in mass killing **sprees**, and to identify mechanisms for acting on early warning signals to emerging discrimination and discriminatory practices of the state and its functionaries as well as the people themselves. Good governance demands that states' have a 'Best Practice' standard operating procedure to which all member states of the African Union must comply with the possibility of effective sanctions for noncompliance.

After the Second World War the international community recognised the dangers of these practices and adopted laws to prevent the development of a genocide ideology. However, after Europe's **pogroms**, genocides and holocausts against each other and against the people they had colonised, they adopted the 1948 Genocide Convention but not much appeared to have changed as is demonstrated by mass killings in the former Yugoslavia.

For Africa, if the experiences of Rwanda, Darfur, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Democratic Republic of the Congo or Somalia are anything to go by, then Africa has a long way to go notwithstanding that the law has a definition for genocide.

Africans must also sit down and agree to stop killing one other. At the street level, the **discourse** on the subject by ordinary citizens is at a different level. It is wrapped in the grasp of 'victimhood', packaged by the finery of racial, ethnic, religious and geographical trimmings. It is propelled by talk of 'marginalisation', 'ethnic, racial or religious discrimination', of 'lack of equal access to the national cake'. It speaks the language of power and counter-force, through legal as well as undemocratic and unlawful means. It is this arena of **discourse** that the state must seriously address.

What politicians say to the people, what professional and civil society leaders interpret from the actions of political leaders, what idioms and sound-bytes the media exploits and what language religious and cultural leaders utilise in sensitising people about the dangers of targeting and segregation of the 'other' should be the stuff of concern to African leaders – both political and civic. The lessons of Rwanda relate to ensuring that all Africans do not have to undergo pogroms in order to emerge from the fire of socio-political change.

Besides, countries have to adopt the good governance and anti-corruption principles. What socio-legal, political and cultural mechanisms should also be adopted to further promote unity a life that is, at the very least, in consonance with human dignity.

Ethnicity will not disappear anytime soon in Africa given our racist colonial history, and the selective rewarding of a few against the interests of the majority.

There is an on-going challenge with privatisation, globalisation, and death of socialism and shunning of socialist ideals, the marginalisation of egalitarian ideas rooted in social worth and equity and the rejection of most African customs, values and family structures. These factors have exacerbated or halted prompt and effective response to genocide ideology.

These differences, including focusing on individual rather than group rights, have been taken to an extreme length, resulting in breeding segregationist ideals leading to power struggles, coups, election rigging and denial of political space to the 'other' as the 'us' continues to monopolise state power and the means of inflicting violence on the 'other'.

Continued control of state power using all means necessary often results in an acute politicisation of ethnicity and the rise of repression on the one hand and resistance on the other. The signs are always there for the keen observer to notice. When political and military leaders begin to address a section of society as cockroaches, pigs, criminals, backward elements, and biological substance, it is important that these utterances are taken seriously as warning signs suggesting that part of the population is being classified as the 'other'.

These express classifications are a prelude to genocide, signifying that genocide is being gradually implanted in the minds of the unsuspecting population. Left to continue unabated, unchallenged and unrestrained, this behaviour will snowball into a fully-fledged genocide ideology.

In view of the human rights jurisprudence read together with the jurisprudence developed at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, International Criminal Tribunal for ex-Yugoslavia and Special Court for Sierra Leone, the courts should take greater liberty in interpretation of social policies, read into legislation the requirement for social justice and re-interpret law in consonance with social equity and fair distribution of natural and other resources in order to counter the development of genocidal ideologies.

Efficient nation building and the treatment of citizens on an equal, fair and non discriminatory basis, the essence of good governance, is a positive counter mechanism to the rise of segregationist ideas. All ethnic groups in a state should in theory and practice feel represented in government and other state institutions. Loyalty must be to the state and not to particular ethnic groups or only to governments of the day simply because the leadership of that government is military. Leaders must therefore treat their citizens in a manner that they themselves would wish to be treated after they have left office.

Abuse of judicial process by prosecuting the 'other', or opposition leaders or former heads of state without sufficient evidence or reasonable cause undermine efforts to fight genocide ideology. Governments have to make efforts to eradicate such bad practice.

It is also important and necessary to domesticate decisions and judgments of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. In fact, knowledge of conditions that lead to genocide is helpful and can be used to fight genocide ideology. It is our collective responsibility to ensure that at the national level, the jurisprudence of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda is understood and used as one of the tools for effectively fighting genocide ideology.

African governments must recognise the state's internal propensity for abuse of the monopoly of power and its use against the people. To counter this inherent difficulty, it is suggested that constitutions of different countries and their laws establish adequate and self-managing monitoring and checking mechanisms that act as an

early warning system to the rise of a genocidal ideology or any other tendency that can lead to crimes against humanity. Such a system, with the assistance and support of the African Union for example, should incorporate within it independent institutions through which the citizens can intervene to raise the alarm against segregation and targeting of a section of the population as the 'other'.

The African judiciary must be equipped with additional powers to interpret and restrain actual or potential mischief brewing in the society. African states would benefit by creating propaganda mechanism aimed at warning the people that state functionaries can also become monsters.

Such self-governing mechanisms arouse citizen consciousness to remain vigilant against the self as well as against others who profit from death and destruction. Domesticating international jurisprudence taken from African situations like Rwanda, Sudan, Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone, to name but a few, and establishing national and regional policies, with laws against hate speech, anti-discriminatory behaviour, for equitable measures in resource allocations, checking of abuse of power, controlling ethnic, religious or other segregationist mass social arrangements is perhaps one of the best ways of telling ourselves "Never again".

At national level

The law related to the punishment of the crime of genocide ideology has to be applied not only to punish but also to discourage all the persons in Rwanda found guilty with the crime of genocide ideology.

Apart from punishing, a campaign of sensitisation has to be led to educate the Rwandans about the evils of the genocide ideology and denial and the negative impact on the policy of the unity and reconciliation, the pillar of the development of the country.

Rwandan and foreign scholars have also to write to combat genocide ideology and denial spread in different written documents like the media of different types, books, and internet.

The decent conservation of existent genocide memorials of the genocide against the Tutsi and the construction of others will constitute a permanent evidence to challenge the revisionists of the genocide against Tutsi.

Unit summary

Recognising the massive killing of the Tutsi as genocide was not easy. Main perpetrators of the genocide planned before hand how to deny that they had prepared for a genocide against the Tutsi. Three forms of genocide denial had been used in most cases.

The first form, the literal genocide denial involved negating the facts of genocide, silencing talk of genocidal plans and killings. Literal denial has been combated by showing evidence which proved that genocide had been planned and was executed right across Rwanda.

The second form, interpretative genocide denial viewed the events of the genocide as a civil war, rather than genocide, whereas the implicatory genocide denial advanced the idea that the genocide was planned by those previously seen as saving the victims. Therefore, the Rwanda Patriotic Front government was accused of having planned the genocide, not only in Rwanda but also in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. The thesis of a double genocide was also part of the interpretative and implicatory forms of genocide denial.

All these forms of the genocide denial were fought and the international community finally accepted that in Rwanda a genocide had been committed against the Tutsi in 1994. Testimonies given and confessions made by the prisoners at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda at Arusha played a great role in this struggle against genocide denial.

However, even if the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi has been recognised as such, there are still many people who still deny it. Different ways of fighting genocide denial and ideology have been proposed at the African and national levels. These include the respect of international conventions, adoption of the good governance and anti-corruption principles and establishment of related institutions, and the punishment of the crime of genocide ideology.

Glossary

Banal:	repeated too often; overfamiliar through overuse
Discourse:	extended verbal expression in speech or writing
Fantasy:	fiction with a large amount of imagination in it
Inconsonance:	a state which is characterised by the absence of harmony
Indoctrinating:	teach doctrines (a belief or system of beliefs) accepted as authoritative by some group or school; teach uncritically
Internment:	the act of confining someone in a prison (or as if in a prison)
Labelling:	assign a label to; designate with a label (mark)
Lynching:	putting a person to death by mob action without due process of law
Plea:	(law) a defendant's answer by a factual matter
Pogrom:	organised persecution of an ethnic group (especially Jews)
Spree:	a brief indulgence of your impulses, a period of activity, especially a criminal activity
Trigger:	put in motion or move to act

Revision questions

1. Define the following terms: genocide denial, genocide ideology
2. Describe different forms of genocide denial that have been manifested in Rwanda and outside the country.
3. What are the strategies adopted by the government of Rwanda to fight the genocide denial and ideology.
4. Find out, what the African community has already done to prevent genocide denial and ideology from spreading.

Unit 3

Origin of Islam and its Impact in West Africa

Key unit competence

Explain the origin of Islam, its role in the expansion of West African empires and its impact

Introduction

Islam was founded by Muhammad Ibn Abdullah in Saudi Arabia in 622 AD. Islam is a monotheist religion and its followers are called Muslims. This religion has five pillars: charity to the poor, fasting during Ramadhan, making a pilgrimage to Mecca, praying five times a day, and cleanliness.

Islam was spread in Asia before being imposed on the people of North Africa by Arabs between 639 and 708 AD. From this region, Islam spread to West Africa. Different methods were used to spread Islam. These included the Trans Saharan Trade and jihads. The spread of Islam was influenced by religious fanatics and commercial traders.

In West Africa, jihads mainly aimed at purifying Islam and converting the pagans. At the end of the jihads, immense regions of West Africa were transformed into Muslim empires and were ruled according to the Sharia.

Links to other subjects

Migration in Geography, wars and conflicts in General Studies and Communication Skills, commercial relations in Economics

Main points to be covered in this unit

- Origin of Islam
- Role of Islam in the expansion of empires of West Africa
- Spread of Islamic civilisation and its effects
- Causes and consequences of Jihad movements
- Role of Islam in the expansion of empires in West Africa
- Spread of Islamic civilisation and its effects
- Causes of jihad movements
- Examples of jihad leaders
- Consequences of jihad movements

Birth of Islam and its Spread in West Africa

Activity 1

Carry out research on the origins of Islam and answer the following questions. Present results of your findings to the class.

1. Locate on a map the two main cities of Medina and Mecca.
2. Explain the following terms: Islam and Muslim.
3. Who is the founder of Islam?
4. Describe the childhood of the founder of Islam.

Activity 2

Carry out research on the founding of Islam and answer the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Who was Khadijah?
2. Describe the main events in the founding of Islam.
3. Explain the following terms: Hegira, Kaaba and Caliph.

Activity 3

Carry out research on the Koran and pillars of faith and answer the following questions. Present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Explain each of the five pillars of Islam.
2. List down the other obligations of Muslims.
3. Explain the following terms; Koran, Sura.
4. Identify the role played by angel Gabriel in the founding of Islam.

Activity 4

Carry out research on the spread of Islam and answer the following questions. Present the results of your study to the class.

1. Which methods did the followers of Muhammad use to spread Islam?
2. List down the regions that were conquered by Muslims up to the 15th century.

Activity 5

Examine the factors that favoured the Arabs in their conquests. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 6

Conduct research on the spread of Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 7

Conduct research on the first five methods that were used in the spread of Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 8

Conduct research on the effects of the spread of Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Origin of Islam

The religion of Islam started in Saudi Arabia in the Middle East in 622 AD. The word **Islam** means the act of submitting, or giving oneself over, to God (Allah); the followers of Islam are called **Muslims**, which means believers.

Islam was founded by an Arab merchant named **Muhammad Ibn Abdullah**. He came to be known as the Prophet of Allah or God.

Muhammad the founder of Islam

In 571 AD, a child named Muhammad was born to a poor widow in Mecca. When he was six, his mother died and he went to live with his poor uncle. He worked as a camel driver when he reached his teens. At the age of 25, he married a rich 40 year old widow named Khadijah, who ran a rich caravan.

According to Islam, the prophet Muhammad received many divine revelations during his life. These revelations were written down and together make up the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam.

Muhammad was very successful in the caravan business. Then he became troubled by the drinking, gambling and corruption in Mecca. He began to spend a lot of time alone in a cave on a hillside outside the city. There, he thought and fasted and he decided that all the Meccans had been led to evil by their belief in false gods.

He concluded that there was only one God, Allah, the same God as the God of the Jews and Christians.

In 610 AD, when he was about 39 years old, Muhammad had a revelation or vision. In 613 he began to preach to the people of Mecca, telling them that the only God was the all-powerful Allah before whom all believers were equal. In 620, Muhammad preached to a group of pilgrims from Yatrib. They invited him to come to Yatrib and be their leader.

Mecca, Saudi Arabia. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

The al-Haram Mosque in Mecca, Saudi Arabia, holds the holiest shrine of Islam, the Kaaba. As the birthplace of Islam's founder, the Prophet Muhammad, Mecca is considered as a holy city. It is a pilgrimage point for Muslims worldwide, who are expected to visit the city at least once in there life if they are able to do so.

During the summer of 622 several hundred of Muhammad's followers fled from Mecca to Yatrib. The year 622, called **Anno Hegira** or "*The year of the Flight*", became the first year of the Muslim calendar. Yatrib became **Medina al Munawara**, the City of the Prophet. From Medina, Muslims launched attacks on Meccan caravans and defeated the Meccans in battle. Finally, in 630, Muhammad returned in triumph to Mecca where he destroyed the idols in the Kaaba and dedicated the black stone to Allah.

Medina, Saudi Arabia. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

Medina, in western Saudi Arabia, is a sacred city that only Muslims are permitted to visit. The Prophet Muhammad took refuge in Medina after fleeing Mecca in 622 AD, and the city's numerous mosques remain a destination for large numbers of Muslims on their annual pilgrimage. The income derived from visiting pilgrims forms the basis of Medina's economy.

In 632 AD, after 10 years, Muhammad fell ill and died. He was succeeded by a leader called Khalifa or Caliph, successor. The first Khalifa was Abu Bakar, Muhammad's father – in-law. The Khalifa ruled from Medina. Mecca in Saudi Arabia became the holy city of Islam.

Koran and Pillars of faith

The heart of Islam is the Koran (Qur'an) or Muslim holy scriptures. Muslims believe it was directly revealed to Muslims by Allah. The Koran is written in Arabic, and consists of 114 chapter, called Suras. Each chapter is divided into verses called Ayat (singular Aya which means sign or proof). It contains stories, legends, philosophy, and the advice given to Muhammad by the angel Gabriel.
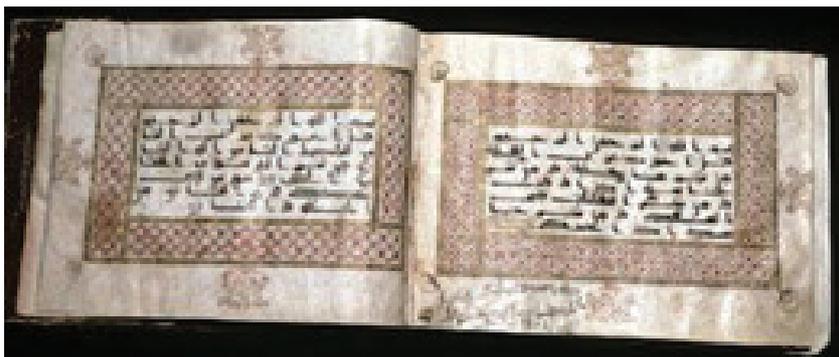
Illustrated Text of the Qur'an. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

This beautifully decorated page comes from a Qur'an of the late 8th Century or early 9th Century. Muslims believe that the Qur'an is an infallible transcription of God's message to Muhammad. As the messenger of God and seal of the prophets, Muhammad was charged with the responsibility of relaying this message to all believers. Divided into 114 suras, or chapters, the Qur'an is meant to be recited or chanted as part of Islamic worship.

The Koran identifies the basic beliefs of Islam and tells how good Muslims should live. It describes the **pillars of faith**, or the five duties all Muslims must fulfill.

1. The confession of faith (shahada), "There is no god but God, Muhammad is the messenger of God, Allah" (*La ilala illa Allah; Muhammadun rasulu Allah*).
2. To pray five times a day while facing Mecca at dawn, noon, late afternoon, sunset and evening (*salat*).
3. To give charity to the poor (*zakat*)
4. To fast from sunrise to sunset during the holy month of Ramadhan (*sawm)*
5. To do pilgrimage (hajj) to Mecca two months after Ramadhan. Every able bodied Muslim is obliged to make pilgrimage to Mecca, at least once in their lifetime.

Spread of Islam

When Muhammad died in 632, his followers needed a new leader. A group of Muslims chose a new leader whom they called **Khalifa**. The first Khalifa was Abu Bakar and the next three Khalifas were elected for life. They kept in close touch with the people and took advice from their most trusted friends.

For this reason, they were called the *Rightly Guided Caliphs*. They honoured Muhammad's wish to carry the word of God to other people. They did this by fighting jihads or holy wars, against infidels or non believers. They sent Muslims warriors into Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt, North Africa and south Europe; and conquered them.

Spread of Islam. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

In the 7th and 8th centuries, the religion of Islam spread through conversion and military conquest throughout the Middle East and North Africa. By 733, just 100 years after the death of Muhammad, the Islamic state stretched from India in the east to Spain in the west.

Their conquest of Spain brought them into Europe. They advanced into France where they were defeated at Tours in 732 by Charlemagne, the king of the Franks.

In Spain, the Muslims established their own society at Cordoba and Granada. But these communities were conquered by Christians in 1492.

The Arabs were successful in their conquests for many reasons:

- Islam, as their religion, united them.
- They believed those who died while fighting infidels went to paradise, which encouraged them to fight so hard.
- The Arabs were fearless fighters and were led by strong leaders.
- Their leaders planned and carried out surprise attacks on their enemies.
- They were skilled in fighting using camels and horses.
- They promised protection to the people who surrendered without a fight and allowed them to keep their land.

Spread of Islam in West Africa

Activity 9

Carry out research on the methods used to spread Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 10

Analyse the first five effects of the spread of Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your analysis to the class.

Activity 11

Analyse the last five effects of the spread of Islam in West Africa. Present the results of your analysis to the class.

Activity 12

Carry out research on jihad movements in West Africa and answer the following questions. Present the results of your research to the class.

1. What is a jihad?
2. Which regions of West Africa experienced jihads?
3. Who were the main jihad leaders in West Africa?
4. Discuss the main causes of the jihad movements in West Africa.

Activity 13

Examine the reasons why Uthman Dan Fodio declared a jihad in Hausaland. Present the results of your study to the class.

Activity 14

Conduct research on the jihad movements in West Africa and describe the course of the jihad fought by Uthman Dan Fodio in Hausaland. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 15

Conduct research on jihad movements in West Africa and comment on the life of Al Hajj Umar before his jihads. Present the results of your research to the class.

Activity 16

Conduct research on jihad movements in West Africa and analyse the reasons that encouraged Al Hajj Umar to declare a jihad on infidels in the Sudan. Present the results of your research to the class.

Activity 17

Conduct research on the reasons for the success of jihads in West Africa. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 18

Carry out research on the consequences of jihads in West Africa. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Islam started slowly in Arabia and later spread to other parts of the world including the African continent. It first spread in North Africa by about the 14th century. By 1850, it had spread to most

parts of West Africa through the early trade contacts between the Arabs and the Berbers and the Turkish occupation of North and West Africa.

Methods used in the spread of Islam in West Africa

Islam spread in West Africa in the 19th century through both peaceful means and by force (jihads). The following methods were used:

◉ **Commercial activities:** Trade between North Africa and West Africa involved the Berbers who were Muslims. They converted the West Africans to Islam. This trade is also known as the Trans Saharan Trade. Sahara refers to Dar-Al-Islam, meaning the country of Islam.

◉ **Migration:** Due to hot climate, some communities from North Africa and the Sahara migrated to western Sudan and the forest region of West Africa e.g. the Berbers, the Wolof, the Serere and the Fulani who were mainly Muslims. They integrated with the people of West Africa who also joined Islam.

◉ **Muslim missionaries:** Muslim fanatics came to West Africa to convert people to Islam through preaching and building mosques. For example, a **Creole** missionary Muhammad Shita converted many people and built mosques in Freetown, Furah Bay and Lagos.

◉ **Education:** Muslim schools were built in West Africa and many Arab scholars arrived to teach Islamic principles to the children of West Africa who eventually converted to the faith.

◉ **Conversion of local leaders:** Some African kings and chiefs who joined Islam encouraged their subjects to convert. Those who got interested in leadership joined Islam as a symbol of loyalty.

◉ **Jihads:** Muslim fanatics declared a holy war in order to reform Islam which was declining in the region e.g. the Fulani jihads in Hausaland, Macina, Tukolar, and the Mandika Empire etc.

◉ **Prestige:** Those who made pilgrimages to Mecca came back with wealth, and new ideas. They were considered heroes in their communities. This inspired others to convert in order to enjoy such status.

◉ **Muslim solidarity:** Islam was based on the simple theology of brotherhood which won the admiration of other non-Muslims who joined in order to be integrated into the society by sharing the brotherhood in problems and happiness.

- **Similarity with African culture:** Islam tolerated similar African practices. It accepted polygamy, discourage immorality and it also tolerated traditional African religion.
- **Oppression from African leaders:** People from the Hausa states faced a lot of oppression and brutality from their leaders. They decided to join the jihad movements, hence they voluntarily accepted Islam faith.

Effects of the spread of Islam in West Africa

The spread of Islam affected West Africa as follows:

- The rulers who undertook pilgrimages to Mecca brought with them technology and scholars from the Muslim world. These influenced and changed the political, economic and social life in West Africa.
- Many people abandoned their traditional ways and adopted Islamic practices such as attending Juma prayers, fasting and pilgrimages to Mecca.
- Islam introduced literacy as well as Islamic education; for example, Arabic language and scripts were taught. As a result the cities of the Niger became great centres of learning, e.g. Timbuktu University.
- Islam helped to unite empires with different tribes, culture, language and customs. Different ethnic groups united under one religion.
- The leaders employed educated Muslims such as secretaries, administrators and judges. These were conversant with Arabic writing and reading.
- The coming of Islam increased and strengthened trade links between West and North Africa; the Arab World and Europe.
- Islam gave rise to the growth of small states which developed into large empires which used the Islamic system of government and laws.
- The Sharia was law introduced into West African states.
- It discouraged slave trade among Muslims in West African states though in western Sudan it encouraged slavery.
- It affected African culture by eroding African traditional cultural practices like taking alcohol, taming dogs, etc. So many Africans abandoned their traditional ways.

Jihad Movements in West Africa

A *jihad* is an Islamic religious movement or a holy war that is fought by fanatic Muslims against those who do not believe in their faith. It aims at spreading, purifying and strengthening Islam.

The 19th century saw a wave of jihads or Islamic movements in northern Sudan. Although, the causes were religious, they had a mixture of political, economic and intellectual causes.

The first jihads in West Africa took place in Guinea in Futa Jallon in 1720s. They were led by **Ibrahim Musa.** In the 1770s there was yet another jihad in Senegal in Futa Toro led by **Sulayman Bal**. In 1808, **Uthman Dan Fadio** started holy wars in the Hausa states (Daura, Kano, Katsina, Zaria, Rano, Gobir and Hiram). Other West African jihadists were Seku Ahmadu of Macina, Al Hajj Umar of Tukolor and Ahmed Bello.

Causes of Jihads in West Africa

- **To purify Islam:** After the decline of Mali and Songhai, there was a decline in Islam in western Sudan. Islam was mixed with pagan practices. Therefore, there was a need to **revive** Islam.
- **To stop unfair judgments in courts of law:** There was a lot of corruption and **bribery** in the courts which were against the teaching of Islam.
- **Local political competition:** The Fulani were discriminated. The Fulani leaders of the jihads aimed at overthrowing the government of the Hausa people and to establish a government favourable to their people.
- **Widespread belief in the Mahdi (Saviour):** According to the Muslims, a Madhi was supposed to emerge during the 13th century of the Islamic calendar. This started from 1785 to 1882.
- **To overthrow pagan governments:** The jihadists wanted to establish governments based on Islamic rule. Strict Muslims in West Africa could not tolerate rule by pagans. Muslims were also forced to go to war against fellow Muslims which was contrary to Islamic practice.
- **To spread Islam:** This was aimed at the people who had resisted conversion to Islam. Thus they would be forced to join Islam.
- **Desire to spread Islamic education:** Through the conversion of pagans who were against Islamic education, the jihadists hoped to build an ideal Islamic society through education.

- ◉ **Overtaxation:** Governments in western Sudan imposed heavy taxes on the Fulani town merchants while the Fulani pastoralists or nomads were opposed to the heavy taxation.
- ◉ **Methods used to collect taxes:** The tax collectors were harsh. They whiped and imprisoned the people who failed to pay. Some of the property was confiscated. This is why the people welcomed Islam.
- ◉ **Defence of African independence:** The West Africans joined jihads in order to protect their independence and fight against slave trade. This was because according to Sharia, no Muslim is supposed to enslave or sell another Muslim.

Therefore, the time was right for a revolution that only needed someone to start it. This was provided by the arrival of men filled with religious **zeal** and reformist ideas and with the ability to lead and organise. For example, Uthman Dan Fodio, Al Hajji Umar, Seku Ahmadu among others.

Examples of the Jihad leaders

Uthman Dan Fodio and his caliphate. (Source: Google.rw/image)

Uthman Dan Fodio

The first jihad in western Sudan took place in Hausaland in 1804. This jihad was led by Uthman Dan Fodio. He was a Fulani and a scholar. He was born in 1754 at Martha in Gobir.

He received Islamic education from various teachers but finally he ended up in Agades under the famous Islamic teacher Jibril Ibn Umar. At the age of 20, he started his career as a writer and teacher in Senegal. From here, he started missionary tours in Hausaland, especially Zamfara, Kebbi and Daura.

In his preaching and writing, he attacked all unreligious tendencies. He condemned corrupt and unjust governments, and illegal taxation. He insisted on complete acceptance of the spiritual and moral values of Islam.

He soon mobilised a large number of followers. Most of these believed that he was the Mahdi or the saviour. His fame attracted the administration of Sultan Bawa, the leader of Gobir. He was employed as the **tutor** of the Sultan's son. All these increased Fodio's influence.

Because of this influence, he successfully negotiated with Sultan Bawa of Gobir to release all Muslim prisoners. He also requested the king to grant freedom of worship and also exempt Muslims from un-Islamic taxes.

Unfortunately, Bawa was succeeded by Sultan Nafata and later Yunfa who did not support Uthman Dan Fodio. Because of Uthman's growing influence, Yunfa arranged the assassination of Fodio but he managed to escape.

Along with his brother Abdullah and son Mohammed Bello, Fodio escaped to Gudu outside Gobir.

At Gudu, many Fulani tribesmen joined him and he was elected commander of the faithful, Amir Al Munimin. He then, declared a jihad on the non believers in 1804 and confronted Yunfa's army.

After a prolonged fight, Yunfa's army was defeated and he was killed at Akolawa. Serious resistance against Fodio's army collapsed in 1809. Immediately, Fodio declared the Sokoto Caliphate and he became the undisputed caliph.

Once the conquest period was over, Fodio returned to his work of writing books since he was basically an Islamic scholar.

He divided the empire between his son and his brother. Mohammed Bello his son was in charge of the eastern region and Abdullah his brother the western region. Fodio died in 1817 and his son Mohammed Bello was recognised as the caliph of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Al Hajj Umar
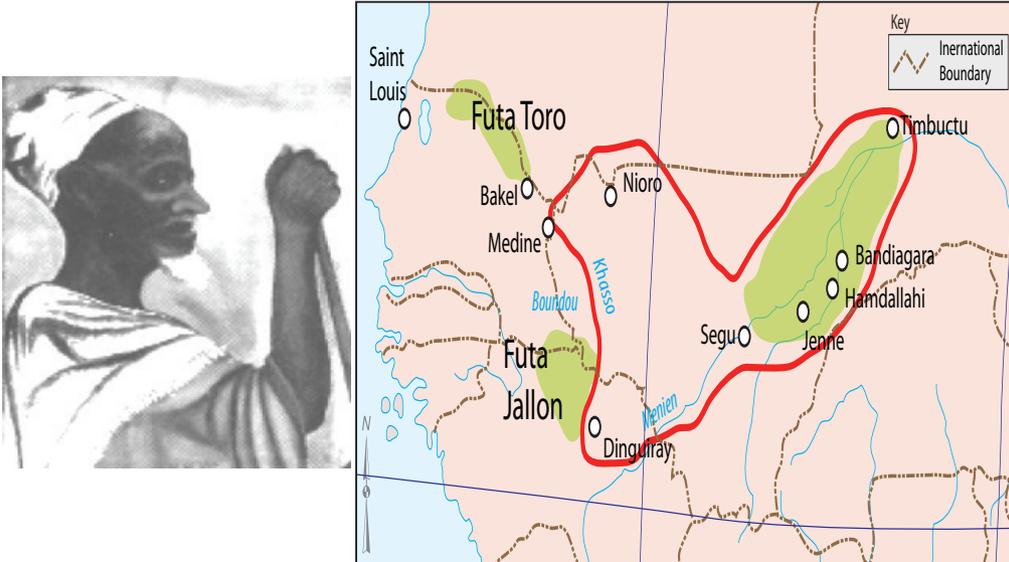
Al Hajj Umar and Tukolor Empire. (Source: Google.rw/image)

Al Hajj Umar was born in 1794 in Futa Toro. His father was a Tukolor scholar. Umar belonged to the Tijaniyya brotherhood and his first teacher was Abd Al Karim. Umar was also a disciple of Uthman Dan Fodio.

In 1825, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Tijani authorities were impressed with the works of Umar and he was appointed the Khalifa or religious leader of the Tijaniyya in western Sudan in 1831. He was charged with the duty of reviving and spreading Islam in the region.

While away, he was impressed by the reformist ideas of the day. He witnessed Mohammed Ali's revolution in Egypt. He also spent sometime in Bornu, Sokoto.

In Sokoto, he was impressed by the leadership possibilities opened by jihad. He married the daughters of both Alkanem of Bornu and Mohammed of Sokoto.

He witnessed the expansion and spread of Islam through a jihad. He was also convinced that the revival and purification and spread of Islam would be possible through embracing Tijaniyya ideas.

In 1838, he returned home with even greater inspiration and determination to purify and spread Islam.

He settled at a place called Fouta Djalon. From here he made extensive tours, teaching, preaching and converting.

In his book "Rinah", he attacked evil and illegal tendencies. He condemned mixed Islam. He appealed to the masses, assuring them of favoured treatment on the day of judgement as members of the Tijaniyya. His teachings were well received by the ordinary persons. These had been alienated by the Quadiriyya. His fame as a scholar and teacher attracted a large following. He was regarded as the Mujahidin (soldiers fighting in support of their strong Muslim beliefs).

His growing fame and influence alarmed the Quadiriyya scholars and Fouta Djalon political authorities. In 1851, he fled to Dinguiray.

Here, he established an armed camp with his faithful disciples as well as students attracted from West Africa. These were mainly from the lower classes.

He equipped the army with European weapons bought from the coastal towns of West Africa. He even established a workshop of gun smiths who could repair guns. At a later stage, Al Hajj Umar was able to manufacture some of these arms, thus supplying his army.

In 1852, Umar declared a holy war on infidels in the Sudan. In 1854, he conquered the Wangara states. By 1857, he was ready to attack the Bambara of Segu. Nevertheless, this brought him into conflict with the Muslim state of Massina.

After this, Umar diverted his attention against French imperialists. This was a mistake that he would regret later. By 1863, the Tukolor Empire extended from Futa Djalon to Timbuktu.

In February 1863, Al Hajj Umar was killed in the famous Massina uprising. This was spear-headed by the Quadiriyya leaders who were opposed to his Tijaniyya principles. But the empire under his eldest son and successor Ahmadi Bin Sheikh, survived till it was over-run by the French in 1893.

Umar strengthened Islam expanded the borders of the Tukolar Empire, and promoted Islamic literacy. For example, he set up new centres of Islamic education in western Sudan.

Lastly, in his efforts he made the Tijaniyya sect more popular than the Quadiriyya. Today, the Tijaniyya is more dominant in West Africa.

Success of Jihads in West Africa

The jihad leaders succeeded in their holy wars due to the following factors:

- Disunity among non-Islamic states in West Africa against fanatic Muslims.
- Jihad movement in West Africa enjoyed good leadership.
- These jihads were led by elites who had very convincing rhetoric or persuasive speech that won then big numbers of followers.
- The possession of fire arms by the jihadists.
- The hope to gain economic achievements. The non-Muslims who were poor supported the jihads with hope of raiding for wealth.

Consequences of Jihads in West Africa

- The jihads led to closer contacts with the outside world. This was true with Saudi Arabia and the Middle East. In fact a pilgrimage made by Al Hajji Umar to Mecca in 1825 further exposed the Sudan to the outside world.
- They led to the spread and revival of Islamic culture for example the way of dressing with items such as the veil, the turban and the daily prayers and the hijja.
- Literate Muslim officials were employed by kings and emperors as clerks, secretaries, judges, auditors, inspectors and teachers. This strengthened Islamic way of life.
- Large and powerful Islamic states were formed under Muslim rulers like Uthman Dan Fodio of Sokoto, Muhammad Bello of Sokoto, Seku Ahmad of Macina, Al Hajji Umar of Tokolar and Al Kanemi of Dinguiray.
- They caused clashes and conflicts between the pagans and the Muslims. For example there was enslavement of non-Muslims as permitted by the Koran. This led to tribal wars and antagonism.
- Strong states emerged to resist European infiltration. Jihads united the masses and their leaders against French colonialists.
- A centralised system of administration was introduced and managed according to the Koran.

- There was the stabilisation and efficient management of the economy in the Islamic states. They abolished unlawful taxes and levied taxes as stipulated in the holy Koran.
- They led to the decline of the African traditional religions. This is because leaders of traditional religion and people who refused to change to Islam were executed.
- The jihads, checked the spread of Christianity in West Africa. This is because the Christian Missionaries were not allowed to enter Muslim lands.

Unit summary

Islam is a monotheist religion that was founded by Mohammed in Saudi Arabia in 622 AD. After his return to Mecca from Medina, Mohammed was occupied with the spread of Islam within the neighboring countries. After his death, his successors called caliphs continued to expand Islam and conquered almost the whole part of the Middle East.

With the occupation and conversion of the Ottomans or Turks, Islam had found the dynamic people who contributed later to its expansion to North Africa and Europe.

Once Islam was adopted by North Africans namely the Berbers, it then spread to West Africa through firstly, the Trans Saharan Trade and secondly, the jihad movements. The jihads aimed at purifying Islam, stopping unfair judgments in courts of law, spreading Islamic education, overthrowing pagan governments. The main jihad leaders were Uthman Dan Fadio in the Hausa States, Seku Ahmadu of Macina, Al Hajj Umar of Tukolor and Ahmed Bello.

The spread of Islam to West Africa led to the spread and revival of Islamic culture. Other effects include, the decline of African traditional religions, the creation of a new order of administration known as a centralised system of administration and administration in accordance to the requirement of Koran, large and powerful political states were formed as Islamic were.

Glossary

Antagonism: the relations between opposing principles, forces or factors, e.g. the inherent antagonism of capitalism and socialism

Bribery: the practice of offering something (usually money) in order to gain an illicit advantage

Creole: of or relating to a language that arises from contact between two other languages and has features of both or a person whose parents have different races

Elitism: the attitude that society should be governed by an elite group of individuals

Enslavement: the act of making slaves of your captives or the state of being a slave

Gunsmith: someone who makes or repairs guns

Hegira: the flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622 which marked the beginning of the Muslim era; the Muslim calendar begins in that year

Infidel: a person who does not acknowledge your god

Retrieving: get or get back; recover the use of or go for and bring back

Tutor: a person who gives private instruction

Zeal: excessive fervour to do something or accomplish some end

Revision questions

A. Multiple Choice Questions

1. The following are the pillars of Islam except:
    a) Confession of faith (*shahada*
    b) Praying five times a day at down, noon, late afternoon, sunset and evening; they pray facing Mecca (*salat*)
    c) Giving charity to the poor (*zakat)*
    d) Fasting from sunrise to sunset during the holy month of Ramadhan (*sawm)*
    e) Fighting a jihad war

2. The following are Hausa States except:
   a) Daura,
   b) Kano,
   c) Katsina,
   d) Zaria,
   e) Bornu
3. The success of Jihads in West Africa was due to the following factors:
   a) Disunity among non-Islamic States in West Africa against fanatic Muslims
   b) Jihad movement in West Africa enjoyed good leadership;
   c) These jihads were led by elites who had very convincing rhetoric or persuasive speech that won then big numbers of followers
   d) The possession of fire arms by the jihadists
   e) All of them.
4. The causes of jihads in West Africa are the following
   a) To purify Islam
   b) Methods used to collect taxes
   c) Defence of African independence
   d) Over taxation
   e) Methods used to collect taxes
   f) All of them
5. The Arabs were successful in their conquests for many reasons except the following:
   a) They believed those who fought infidels went to paradise, which encouraged fighting.
   b) The Arabs were fearless fighters and were led by strong leaders.
   c) Their leaders planned and carried out attacks on their enemies completely by surprise.
   d) They were skilled in fighting using camels and horses.
   e) They ensured the protection to the people who gave in without a fight and allowed them to keep their land.
   f) The possession of nuclear bombs.

B. Fill in the Blanks:

1. In 610 AD, when he was about 39 years old, Muhammad had a revelation or_____.
2. The Muslims call their God with the name of _____.
3. In Saudi Arabia, the holiest shrine of Islam is called _____.

4. Finally, in 630, Muhammad returned in triumph to Mecca; where he destroyed the idols in the Kaaba and dedicated the black stone to_____.

5. The first Khalifa was Abu Bakar, Muhammad's _____.

6. Jihads were launched to stop unfair judgments in courts of law. These courts were full of _____and _____ which were against the teaching of Islam.

7. Uthman Dan Fodio went on missionary tours through out Hausaland especially _____, _____and _____.

C. Answer True or False

1. Islam has five pillars including fighting a holy, a jihad war against infidels.

2. Eating pork is not forbidden by Islam Religion.

3. The successors of Muhammad have the title of caliph.

4. Only two jihad leaders existed in West Africa.

5. Yatrib was the former name of Medina.

6. In West Africa two brotherhoods were in a great antagonism: Quadiriyya and Tijaniyya.

Open questions

1. Describe the birth and spread of Islam.

2. Account for the means used in the spread of Islam in West Africa.

3. Analyse the factors for the success of jihadists in West Africa.

4. Examine the causes of the outbreak of the jihad movements in West Africa.

5. Evaluate the achievements of the jihad leaders: Uthman Dan Fodio and Al Hajj Umar.

6. Examine the effects of the jihad movements in West Africa.

Unit 4

European Domination and Exploitation of Africa in the 19th Century

Key unit competence

Describe European domination, exploitation in Africa and its consequences in the 19th century.

Introduction

In the 19th century, due to a number of factors many European countries conquered and began to control the African continent. After the occupation of the so-called dark continent, European countries used different methods to exploit their colonies. This included taxation, forced cash crop growing, forced labour, land alienation, development of legitimate trade, and discouraging of industrialisation.

Such European practices negatively affected African countries in diverse ways. Economically, the European colonial methods led to the following effects: forced labour, migration of labour force, resettlement of Africans, over exploitation of Africans and over dependence of the African economy on Europeans.

At the socio-political level, the domination of Africa by European masters also negatively affected African countries. Colonisation led to the disruption of the traditional African cultures and introduction of Christianity, the creation of new political and administrative entities and the authoritarian rule.

Links to other subjects

Migration in Geography, wars and conflicts in General Studies and Communication Skills, commercial relations in Economics.

Main points to be covered in this unit

- European domination in the 19th century
- Colonial methods of African exploitation
- Consequences of European domination and exploitation of Africa in the19[th] century

European Colonial Methods used in the Economic Exploitation of African Countries

Activity 1

Carry out research on the colonial conquest and domination of Africa and answer the following questions. Then, present the results of your findings to the class.

1. What are the main factors that motivated European imperialists to come to Africa?

2. Explain the different reasons that led Otto von Bismarck to convene a diplomatic summit of European powers in the late nineteenth Century.

Activity 2

Explain the European colonial methods of taxation and forced cash crop growing in the economic exploitation of Africa. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 3

Analyse the European colonial methods of forced labour and land alienation in the economic exploitation of the African countries. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 4

Examine the use of legitimate trade in the economic exploitation of African countries. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 5

Discuss the colonial method of discouraging industrialisation in the economic exploitation of African countries. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 6

Describe the colonial transport policy in the economic exploitation of Africa. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 7

Discuss the colonial education policies in the economic exploitation of the African countries. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

The Colonial Conquest and Domination of the African continent

Between the 1870s and 1900, Africa faced European imperialist aggression, diplomatic pressures, military invasions, and eventual conquest and colonisation. At the same time, African societies put up various forms of resistance against the attempt to colonise their countries and impose foreign domination.

By the early twentieth century, however, much of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, had been colonised by European powers. European imperialists push into Africa was motivated by three main factors: economic, political, and social.

Colonisation developed in the nineteenth century following the collapse of the profitability of the slave trade, its abolition and suppression, as well as the expansion of the European capitalist industrial revolution.

The imperatives of capitalist industrialisation—including the demand for assured sources of raw materials, the search for guaranteed markets and profitable investment outlets—spurred the European **scramble** and the partition and eventual conquest of Africa. Thus the primary motivation for European **intrusion** was economic.

Africa: Different European colonial empires. (Source: Google/image)

The Scramble for Africa

But other factors played an important role in the process. Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were competing for power within European power politics. One way to demonstrate a country's power was through the acquisition of territories around the world, including Africa. The social factor was the third major

element. As a result of industrialisation, major social problems emerged in Europe: unemployment, poverty, homelessness, social displacement from rural areas, and so on. These social problems developed partly because not all people could be absorbed by the new capitalist industries. One way to resolve this problem was to acquire colonies and export this "surplus population." This led to the establishment of settler-colonies in Algeria, Tunisia, South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and central African areas like Zimbabwe and Zambia. Eventually the overriding economic factors led to the colonisation of other parts of Africa.

Thus it was the economic, political, and social factors and forces that led to the **scramble** for Africa and the attempts by European commercial, military, and political agents to declare and establish control in different parts of Africa through commercial competition, the declaration of exclusive claims to particular territories for trade, the imposition of tariffs against other European traders, and claims to exclusive control of waterways and commercial routes in different parts of Africa.

This **scramble** was so intense that there were fears that it could lead to inter-imperialist conflicts and even wars. To prevent this, the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck convened a diplomatic summit of European powers in the late nineteenth century. This was the Berlin Conference, held from November 1884 to February 1885. The conference produced a treaty known as the Berlin Act, with provisions to guide the conduct of the European inter-imperialist competition in Africa. Some of its major articles were as follows:

- Notification (notifying) other powers of a territorial annexation
- Effective occupation
- Freedom of trade in the Congo basin
- Freedom of navigation on the Niger and Congo Rivers
- Freedom of trade to all nations
- Suppression of slave trade by land and sea

This treaty, drawn up without African participation, provided the basis for the subsequent partition, invasion, and colonisation of Africa by various European powers.

Causes of scramble and partition

Need for raw materials for European industries

There was need for raw materials to supply European industries which had grown as a result of industrial revolution. The raw materials included gold, diamonds, copper, iron ore, cotton, coffee, cacoa, tea and palm oil.

Market for the manufactured goods

There was mass production of goods by European industries and European countries could not provide market to all the commodities. European countries were also practicing protectionism in order to protect their markets. They thus came to Africa to get markets; e.g. the occupation of Senegal by the French.

Need for areas where to invest their surplus capital

European countries had accumulated a lot of capital from their industrial products; they had to look for areas outside Europe where they could invest their surplus capital.

Need to control economically strategic areas to improve trade

In order to be sure of their improvement of trade, the European countries were ambitious to control the economically strategic areas. For example, the occupation of Egypt by the British was for such reasons.

Discovery of minerals in most parts of Africa

This encouraged the Europeans to come and control some parts of Africa in order to be the masters of those areas rich in minerals. There was gold in Ghana, diamonds and gold in South Africa, copper and diamonds in Congo.

To give protection to European traders and trading companies

European traders asked their home governments to come and occupy areas in Africa where they operated in order to protect them from hostile tribes and chiefs who had created insecurity to their business.

To resettle high population from Europe and provide them with jobs

The need to settle the unemployed, criminals and people who were suffering from chronic diseases and undesirable in Europe forced European countries to get lands to settle them in Africa. E.g. Occupation of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and South Africa respectively by the French and the British.

To control strategic areas

European countries got involved in occupying strategic areas for their defense; e.g the occupation of the Suez Canal and the straight of Gibraltar by Britain.

British occupation of Egypt in 1882

Britain got interested in controlling the Suez Canal in 1882 after pushing France out. The French decided to avenge against the British by occupying the Upper Nile and the land from Senegal to Djibouti in the east. To pre-empt this plan, the British took over Kenya, Uganda and Sudan before the French could come in.

French occupation of Tunisia and Morocco

The French occupation of Tunisia and Morocco due to their proximity to Europe, astride the Mediterranean Sea and the straight of Gibraltar encouraged other powers to join the race for colonies.

Growth of nationalism and jingoism

Colonisation was a sign of prestige and glory for the Europeans and in order to show their power, Europeans had to occupy large areas as colonies. This was why the great European powers got large lands in Africa.

Compensation for major losses

Britain had lost America after the American war of independence in 1776. Their pride, prestige and major source of their raw materials and wealth was lost. France lost Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia in 1871 after the 1870 – 1871 Franco-Prussian war. After achieving some degree of stability, the French Prime Minister Jules Ferry began to look for colonies in Africa as compensation.

Activities of King Leopold II of Belgium in Congo

He took over Congo for himself and not for Belgium his country. As means of counteracting Leopold's activities, the French took over Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville) while British also declared the lower Niger regions as their protectorate.

The activities of Pierre Savrogna de Brazza in Congo and Ivory Coast

He was a French explorer who signed colonial treaties with African local leaders. This forced other European powers to also look for colonies in Africa.

The influence of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference

It had given a green light to colonisation by outlining procedures for the partition of Africa.

Humanitarian factors

Humanitarians in Europe urged their countries to occupy territory in Africa to stop slave trade and improve the way of living for Africans.

The scramble, partition and conquest of Africa by the Europeans was followed by the introduction of colonial economic policies which helped them to effectively exploit Africa. The Europeans adopted new methods of exploitation which were similar in different areas of Africa.
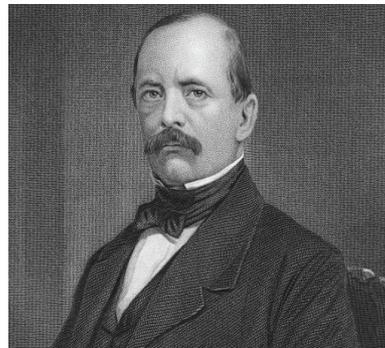
German chancellor Otto von Bismarck 1815–1898. ource: www.Wikipedia.org

Colonial Methods of African Exploitation

Taxation

It was the main method of generating revenue for supporting colonial administration. The commonest were the hut and gun taxes. The method of collection was brutal and harsh, and often caused resistance wars. For instance, the Hut Tax War of 1898 in Sierra Leone.

Taxation was also important to force or condition Africans either to grow cash crops or to work on European farms. This was because in order to get money for paying taxes these were the only possible alternatives. In some areas like the Congo Free State and Angola, taxes were paid in form of natural products and animals. Failure to pay taxes in these areas would lead to confiscation of property and sometimes **mutilation**.

Forced cash crop growing

To meet the primary demand for colonisation of Africa, cash crop growing had to be boosted. Some crops like rubber were grown traditionally, some were grown such as pyrethrum by Europeans while others like coffee and cotton were grown by Africans under the supervision of Europeans. These cash crops were needed to supply raw material to industries in Europe.

Europeans did not encourage the production of food. Forced labour undermined the production of food crops. This led to famine in African societies which had been traditionally self sufficient in food. The African economies were developed as producers of raw materials in form of cash crops and minerals, and as consumers of European manufactured goods.

Forced labour

Africans were forced to work on European farms, mines and construction sites of colonial offices and roads. Their labour was either paid cheaply or not paid at all. In the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique there was a unique form of forced labour called contract labour. Africans were rounded up and taken to Principle and Sao Tome to work in sugar cane plantations.

Due to this forced labour, African societies experienced famine. A lot of time was spent on work for Europeans.

Land alienation

This was the most evil form of exploitation of natural resources. Africans in settler colonies were hit hardest by this practice, for example in Kenya, South Africa, Rhodesia, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique. In some areas of Africa, Africans were forced to settle in reserve camps leaving fertile and mineralised plots of lands to Europeans. This policy caused resistance in many areas of Africa.

In Rwanda, the church alienated huge chunks of land to build churches, schools and people were forced out of their land.

Development of legitimate trade

After realising the benefits of slave trade and its abolition, they introduced legitimate trade. This form of trade is said to have brought peace and stability as it eliminated the raids and suffering caused by slave trade.

Legitimate trade was monopolised by Europeans who transferred all the profits to their countries. They paid low prices for African products and highly priced their exports to Africa. Worse still, the legitimate trade involved the exchange of high valued African products like gold, copper, diamonds, cotton, coffee, **rubber**, and palm oil among others. Exports to Africa included beads, used clothes, **bangles**, spices and glassware.

In Rwanda, the European trader named Borgrave d'Altena purchased cows at very low prices so as to supply beef to the colonialists.

Discouraged industrialisation

To control the monopoly for trade in raw materials and market for their manufactured goods in Africa, Europeans extremely discouraged manufacturing industries. In Egypt, Lord Cromer established processing plants for cotton lint while cotton cloth production was done in Britain.

Cromer also set up tariffs on locally manufactured foods 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 industries to the extent that even groundnuts were exported in the shells. Only primary processing industries were set up to reduce the volume of raw materials. The prices for raw materials were very low while the manufactured goods from Europe were sold at high prices. This was a clear indication of colonial exploitation.

Development of road and railway transport

To support legitimate trade, road and railway transport networks were established. These networks connected the interior of African colonies to the coast.

Roads were mainly established in areas rich in resources where colonialists had direct gains. The main purpose was to facilitate the effective exploitation of raw materials.

In Togo, Germany constructed railway lines and named them according to the produce they were meant to carry such as Cotton line, Palm oil line and Iron line.

In Rwanda, the railway project planned by the Germans from Dar-es-Salaam via Tabora to Rusumo stopped because of World War I.

Education system

The colonial education system was controlled by Christian missionaries. In the colonial schools, Africans were trained to serve as lower cadres, known as "colonial auxiliaries". The main products of these schools best suited the posts of houseboys, house girls and clerks. They could not make engineers, doctors and other professional careers.

The colonial education system produced people who liked European ways of life. As a result they exploited fellow Africans. In Rwanda, education was exclusively given to the sons of chiefs. In French, Portuguese and Italian colonies education was used for assimilation purposes.

Liberal subjects such as, political science, literature and history were neglected in order to keep Africans away from forming revolutionary movements against colonialists. To colonialists, the best subjects fit for Africans were bible study, reading and writing of languages.

Consequences of European domination and exploitation of African countries

Activity 8

Organise a debate on the consequences of migration as a result of the colonial economy. Present the results of your debate to the class.

Activity 9

Organise a debate on the following consequences of the colonial economy: exploitation of Africans and dependence of the African economy on Europeans. Present the results of your debate to the class.

Activity 10

Discuss the consequences of colonial infrastructures. Thereafter, present the results of your debate to the class.

Activity 11

Carry out research on the disruption of the traditional African cultures and introduction of Christianity as a consequence of colonial domination. Present the results of your debate to the class.

Activity 12

Debate on the creation of new political and administrative entities. Present the results of your debate to the class.

Activity 13

Debate on the introduction of authoritarian rule. Present the results of your debate to the class.

Consequences of colonial economy

Migration

The colonial powers used forced labour in the exploitation of Africa. This economic policy was introduced in order to exploit Africa. All adults were subjected to forced labour. Those who failed to accomplish it were punished. Africans were also beaten or had their properties confiscated.

As result of this forced labour, some Africans resisted European colonialists. Others preferred to migrate to the neighbouring countries where the situation was quite different. E.g. Some Rwandans migrated to Uganda which was under British control. Others were forced to migrate to Democratic Republic of Congo as workers in mines.

Resettlement of Africans

Another consequence of colonial economic policies was the resettlement of Africans due to land alienation. They were displaced from their fertile soils to provide space for colonial economic projects such as infrastructure.

Exploitation of Africans

All colonial economic policies resulted in the exploitation of Africans. Examples include taxation and labour policies.

Dependence of African economy on Europeans

The over dependence of the African economy was due to poor colonial economic policy. This policy discouraged industralisation and also destroyed local African industry. The African economy was reduced to a market for European goods. The Europeans got the raw materials at low prices while their manufactured goods were sold at high prices in Africa.

Development of infrastructure

Europeans colonialists succeeded in the development of communication lines. Railways were constructed in many parts of Africa to connect the interior of Africa to the coast. The aim was to facilitate the economic exploitation of Africa. Communication lines only extended to areas rich in resources; for example, minerals.

Consequences of European domination in Africa

Disruption of traditional African cultures and introduction of Christianity

Colonialism affected African societies in various ways. It disrupted the traditional tribal cultures and religions and introduced Christianity and subjugated Africans to European rule.

The introduction of Christianity led to suppression of many ancient practices, although some survived. Some had already been introduced to the Caribbean islands by African slaves. Tribes often competed for colonial industrial products. In some cases, tribes still warred among each other as before colonialism. An aristocratic class of European managers and directors sprang up to operate the colonies. Like the American Indians, many African tribes lost their lands, were mistreated, or became second-class citizens in a segregated society.

Creation of new political and administrative entities

European colonisation of Africa led to the demise of old African kingdoms and empires and the emergence of new political entities. Some of the old societies were reconstructed and new African societies were founded on different ideological and social premises. Consequently, African societies were in a state of flux, and many were organisationally weak and politically unstable. They were therefore too weak to resist the European invaders.

As a result of poor technology, Africans were defeated by colonialists. African forces in general fought with bows, arrows, spears, swords, old rifles, and cavalries while the European forces, fought with more deadly firearms, machines guns, new rifles, and artillery guns. Thus in direct encounters European forces often won the day. However Africans put up the best resistance with the resources they had.

By 1900 most of Africa had been colonised by European powers. After the conquest of African states, the European powers set about establishing colonial state systems.

The introduction of authoritarian rule

The colonial state was established to facilitate effective control and exploitation of the colonised societies. As a result of their origins in military conquest and because of the racist ideology of the colonialists, the colonial states were authoritarian. Because they were imposed and maintained by force, without the consent of the governed, the colonial states never had the effective legitimacy of normal governments. Second, they were authoritarian because they were administered by military officers and civil servants appointed by the colonial power. While they were all authoritarian, bureaucratic state systems, their forms of administration varied,

partly due to the different national administrative traditions and specific imperialist ideologies of the colonisers and partly because of the political conditions in the various territories that they conquered.

Unit summary

During the 19th century, some European countries were interested in the colonisation of Africa. The main reason for their **scramble** for African continent was the search for raw material and market for their manufactured products. In order to exploit African countries, Europeans used different methods including taxation, forced cash crop growing, forced labour, land alienation, development of legitimate trade, discouraging of industrialisation, development of road and railway transport, and the education system.

The activities of Europeans in Africa had a great impact on African societies. The dimensions of that impact are both socio-political and economic. This includes migration of labour force, resettlement of Africans, development of communication infrastructures, the introduction of authoritarian rule, disruption of the traditional African cultures and introduction of Christianity.

Glossary

Bangle:	jewelry worn around the wrist for decoration
Disparity:	inequality or difference in some respect
Frenzied:	1. affected with or marked by frenzy or mania uncontrolled by reason.
	2. excessively agitated; distraught with fear or other violent emotion
Interplay:	reciprocal action and reaction or interaction
Intrusion:	1. entry to another's property without right or permission
	2. entrance by force or without permission or welcome

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

Rubber: an elastic material obtained from the latex sap of trees (especially trees of the genera hevea and ficus) that can be vulcanised and finished into a variety of products

Scramble: to move hurriedly

Stake: put at risk or place a bet on

Revision questions

1. What are the main reasons for European colonisation of Africa?
2. Explain the term "scramble".
3. Describe the features of the colonial economy.
4. The colonial African economy was said to be unfair. Explain how true this assertion is.
5. The colonial activities in Africa were only profitable to Africans to a small extent. Discuss.
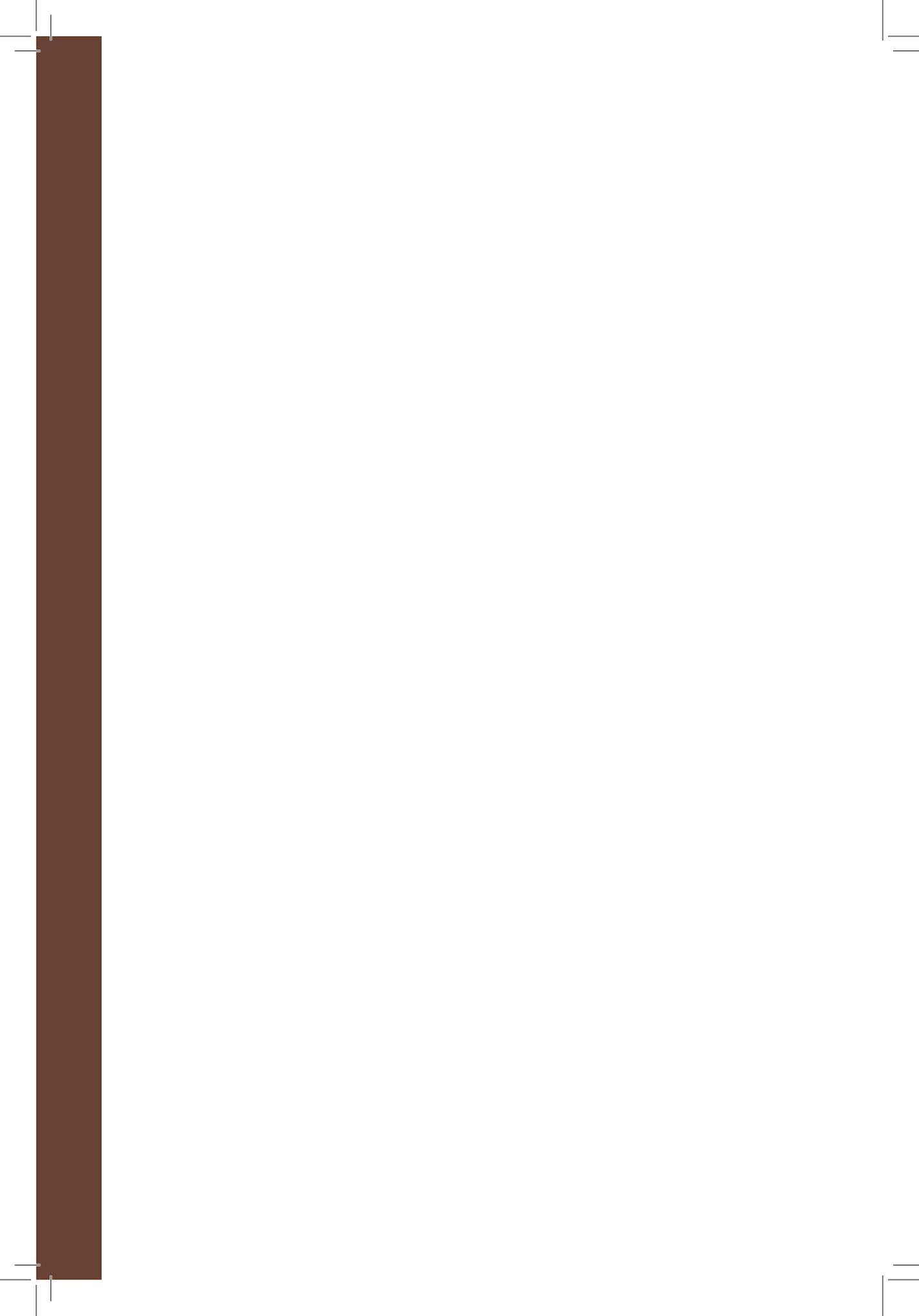
Unit 5

Impact of Colonial Rule on African Societies

Key unit competence

Assess the political, economic and social transformations brought about by colonial rule in Africa

Introduction

The 19th and 20th centuries have been marked by the domination and exploitation of Africa by European countries. The coming of Europeans to Africa was aimed at the economic gains they expected to obtain from selling their manufactured commodities and the raw materials they intended to get from African countries.

Europeans had to establish their control in order to achieve their economic objectives. This resulted in European domination of Africans. In most cases, the colonial activities benefited Europeans and not the Africans. Consequently, this impacted African societies negatively.

Links to other subjects

Wars and conflict in General Studies and Communication Skills and migration in Geography

Main points to be covered in this unit

- ❯ Colonial activities in Africa
- ❯ Impact of colonial rule in Africa

Colonialism and Capitalism

Activity 1

Define the terms colonialism and capitalism and then present your work to the class.

Activity 2

With examples discuss the different types of colonialism and present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 3

Examine the following negative effects of Colonisation on African societies: loss of independence and division of African peoples. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 4

Evaluate the following negative effects of Colonisation on the African societies: loss of political power, killings, and sexual abuse. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 5

Assess the following negative effect of Colonisation on African societies: Change of African ways of life. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 6

Organise a debate on the following negative effect of Colonisation on African societies: Exploitation of African resources. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 7

Discuss the following negative effect of Colonisation on the African societies. Introduction of taxes and forced labour. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 8

Explain the following negative effect of Colonisation on the African societies: extraversion of the African economy. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 9

Account for the following negative effect of Colonisation on the African societies: colonialism retarded development. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

During the 19th century and early 20th century, imperialism started in Europe as a result of industrialisation in order to sustain economic prosperity. Protectionist policies in many countries limited the markets and the demand for manufactured products.

Therefore, the European powers considered imperialism as a means to secure foreign markets and guarantee consumption for their products by monopolising trade with their colonies. Additionally, the rapid industrialisation made it necessary to seek cheap sources of raw materials to supply their businesses at home. These economic interests, and nationalism, called for the building

of huge worldwide empires, where imperial powers established their control over vast territories, including most of Asia, Africa, Polynesia, and the Americas.

Colonialism aimed at the economic exploitation of colonised nations to benefit the mother country. As colonial states began controlling the economy of the colonised territory, the economic interests of the colonised were ignored. Instead, colonialists wanted to maximise their profits and gains, regardless of the consequences on the colonised areas. In most cases, the colonial economic policies had negative effects.

In order to have a common understanding of the aims of colonial powers in Africa, the definitions colonialism and capitalism are essential.

Definition of the Concepts: Colonialism and Capitalism

Colonialism and capitalism cannot be understood separately especially when it is a matter of finding answers to the impact that the two practices had on African society.

Colonialism is the policy and practice of a power in extending control over weaker people or areas. Colonialism is also defined as a relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders.

The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant capital. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonised population, the colonisers are convinced of their own superiority and of their mandate to rule.

Capitalism is defined as the possession of capital or wealth; a system in which private capital or wealth is used in the production or distribution of goods; the dominance of private owners of capital and of production for profit.

This definition shows that capitalism is a system in which only those with the rights to capital and machinery can produce for the whole society while the rest of the people who have no business skills or interests remain dependent on the owners of capital who decide on the fate of the lives of the masses. This is the same as

colonialism whereby the political, social and economic powers are in the hands of the minority colonial administrators.

Types of Colonialism

Historians often distinguish between two overlapping forms of colonialism:

Settler colonialism involves large-scale immigration, often motivated by religious, political, or economic reasons.

Exploitation colonialism involves fewer colonists and focuses on access to resources for export, typically to the mother country. This category includes trading posts as well as larger colonies where colonists would constitute much of the political and economic administration. However they rely on indigenous resources for labour and material. Prior to the end of the slave trade and widespread abolition, when indigenous labour was unavailable, slaves were often imported to the Americas, first by the Portuguese Empire, and later by the Spanish, Dutch, French and British.

Plantation colonies would be considered exploitation colonialism. However, colonising powers would utilise either type for different territories depending on various social and economic factors as well as climate and geographic conditions.

Surrogate colonialism involves a settlement project supported by a colonial power, in which most of the settlers do not come from the ruling power.

Internal colonialism refers to inequalities in power between areas of a nation state. The source of exploitation comes from within the state.

Negative Effects of Colonisation on African Societies

Loss of African independence

African communities lost their independence because they ceased to be self-governing states. They were brought under colonial administration either through peaceful signing of agreements or military conquest.

Division of African tribes

People from the same tribes were divided by colonial boundaries drawn arbitrarily. They lived under different political, economic and social systems. For instance, a big group of Banyarwanda lives in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Europeans caused conflicts among social groups. For example, the Belgian rulers of Rwanda-Urundi provided identity cards indicating social groups.

In addition, the partitioning of colonies of imperial powers created territories that encompassed numerous ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups into single political entities. The partitioning did not correspond to the historical, cultural, or ethnic boundaries of pre-colonial African societies. Such states had diverse ethnic populations which were forced to join single political entities.

The artificially-formed states had no historic or cultural similarities to legitimatise their existence. This has led to political instability based on ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences.

Countries deeply divided among ethnic lines, a result of imperialism, not only led to the political instability of the former colonies, but also, in some cases, led to serious violence. In Kenya the competition of two different ethnic groups for the control of the government has led to a situation comparable to a civil war.

Loss of political power

African rulers lost their traditional political power. These who tried to resist were defeated and deposed like Kabalega of Bunyoro, Mwanga of Buganda and Musinga of Rwanda while others were killed, for example Mkwawa of the Hehe, Abushili and Isiki.

King Kabalega of Bunyoro
1850–1923). Source: Google/image)

Killing and inhuman treatment

Under German rule, the Namibians were forced to live in camps where many people died. Those found outside the camps were killed. The women were forced to be concubines of the German. They bore children who were later abandoned.

Colonialism led to wars that depopulated societies. In Namibia the Herero and Nama people faced genocide as a result of the extermination order given by General Von Trotha. About 80,000 Herero people were killed.

Colonialism also caused a lot of suffering. In Namibia the people were beaten, imprisoned under harsh conditions and women raped by German soldiers.

General Von Trotha (July 3, 1848, March 31, 1920). (Source: www. Wikipedia.org)

Change of African lifestyle

The arrival of Europeans in Africa introduced radical change in African societies. History has proven that the changes that Europeans brought did not do any good to Africans. The environment became that of "survival of the fittest" which the indigenous people were not used to. The colonial conquest had a twofold impact: it forcibly seized rural means of production, and it pursued agrarian commercialisation. African communal life has suddenly turned out to be individualistic. The people had to adapt to the changes although not all societies could completely transform successfully. Most of the land was taken by Europeans through tricky treaties that illiterate chiefs and kings blindly signed. For example, some Nama and Herero Chiefs like Samuel Maherero signed treaties and entered into land sale business that in the end resulted in the loss of huge chunks of land.

Exploitation of African resources

The long-term well-being of the colonised nation was of no interest for the imperial state. Any form of sustainable development was unnecessary for colonialists. This is the reason why

deforestation is a serious problem for many nations which had been under colonial rule.

Colonial powers, in their quest for economic prosperity, disregarded the need for the sustainable management of forest areas and established minimally-regulated lumber industries. These sought only short-term profits for colonialists and their mother country. Thus, unsustainable overexploitation of natural resources followed. The effects are clear. The environmental degradation caused by the self-interest of colonialists is now difficult to reverse. It is connected with the rampant poverty and hunger in former colonies.

Introduction of taxes and forced labour

Africans were forced to pay taxes like hut tax, gun tax and later on poll tax was introduced by the colonial government to force Africans to provide labour for colonial governments and for European settlers and to make their colonies financially self-reliant.

Africans were frequently forced to provide labour for European settlers and for government building and agricultural programmes. Forced labour resulted in widespread African discontent and migration to areas where the Africans hoped to get paid work.

Distortion of the African economy

Colonial investment and construction focused on the development and construction of communication lines, railways, plantations and mines. However, these investments did not contribute to the economic transformation of the colonies into industrialised nations. These investments were only intended to support the exploitation of natural resources and agricultural capacities. Colonialists established an economy which depended on the export of a few selected natural resources and agricultural products. This exposed the economy to market price fluctuations.

The unwillingness of imperial powers to reinvest the profits gained from their colonies in colonial industrial development kept colonies under a weak agricultural economy. This also deprived them of their natural resources.

Retarding of development

In colonies with centralised states and white settlement colonialism retarted development. In centralised states colonialism not only blocked further political development, but also indirect rule made local elites less accountable to their citizens.

After independence, these states were ruled by selfish rulers. These states suffered from racism, stereotypes and misconceptions which have caused problems, especially in Burundi and Rwanda.

In settler colonies, there was exploitation of the people and loss of land. This caused the impoverishment of Africans. The evolution and spread of technology plus the absence of slavery makes it likely that, without colonialism, African ways of life would have slowly improved. Increase in inequality and the racial and ethnic conflicts intensified by colonialism, show that African countries would be better off today if they had not been colonised.

All in all, there is no country today in sub-Saharan Africa that is more developed because it was colonised by Europeans.

Positive Effects of Colonisation on the African Societies

Activity 10

Discuss the following positive effect of Colonisation on African societies: development of the education system. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 11

Organise a debate on the following positive effect of Colonisation on African societies: development of modern transport infrastructures. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 12

Assess the following positive effects of Colonisation on the African societies: Introduction of new crops and agricultural methods. Present the results of your discussion to the class.

Activity 13

Find out the benefits of the modern medicine introduced in Africa by Europeans. Present your findings to the class.

Positive Effects of Colonisation on African Societies

Development of education system

The colonial governments supported education services which were mainly managed by missionaries. The missionaries founded the first primary and secondary schools which still play leading role in development. The colonial governments carried the financial burden of supporting mission schools.

Development of modern transport infrastructure

The modern transport and communication network and facilities were developed in many parts of Africa. Railway networks and roads, and bridges were built. Motor vehicles, bicycles, steamers and air planes were introduced.

Introduction of new crops

New cash crops were introduced and promoted. They included cotton, tea, coffee, sisal, rubber, pyrethrum and wheat. Experiments were made on new species of both crops and livestock which were adapted to the local conditions.

Africans adopted the new agricultural methods introduced by the colonial governments such as plantation farming, cash crop growing and terracing, etc.

Development of the health system

Europeans introduced modern medicine in Africa. They constructed hospitals, health centres and dispensaries. They also organised programmes to fight against killer diseases by vaccination. These diseases include polio, pneumonia, measles, tuberculosis, leprosy and small pox.

Unit summary

The colonisation of Africa by European countries during the 19th and 20th centuries led to negative and positive consequences. These effects resulted from the activities of European colonial masters. The few positive colonial effects on African societies include the introduction of new agricultural methods and new crops in Africa, development of modern transport and communication lines, introduction of modern education and the development of the modern health system.

It should be noted that colonisation was generally marked by the preoccupation of serving European interest, leaving aside the African cause. Thus, the European relations with Africans during the colonial period were at a large scale negative. The latter comprised the extraversion of the African economy, introduction of forced labour, introduction of taxes, over exploitation of African resources, loss of land, loss of Africans' judicial power, disruption of African governments, loss of African identity and the disappearance of African civilisations, etc.

Glossary

Cluster: a group of similar things

Predatory: living by or given to victimising others for personal gain

Plausible: reasonable, valid, and truthful

Surrogate: providing or receiving parental care though not related by blood or legal ties

Modus Vivendi: a temporary accommodation of a disagreement between parties pending a permanent settlement or a manner of living that reflects the person's values and attitudes

Revision questions

1. Define the concepts of colonialism and imperialism and find out the differences.
2. Describe the types of colonialism.
3. In what way was the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi a result of colonialism?
4. Demonstrate how the modus Vivendi of Africans was far different on eve of the colonial period from that of after the arrival of Europeans.
5. Explain at least ten negative effects of colonisation on African societies.
6. Find out and explain at least six positive effects of colonisation on African societies.

Unit 6

Major European Events: 1836 – 1878

Key unit competence

Evaluate the major events that took place in Europe between 1836 and 1878, their causes, course and effects.

Introduction

The history of Europe from 1836 up to 1878 was characterised by many revolutions and wars. Congresses were organised and treaties signed to address the conflicts.

The 1848 revolutions affected diplomatic relations in Europe. The congress system was weakened. It had been formed as an alliance to maintain the peace in Europe. The success of these revolutions inspired other people for example Italians, Germans and Greeks who were under foreign domination to fight for their independence.

The weakness and collapse of the Congress system in Europe led to conflicts between the European powers as a result of disagreement on the Eastern question of 1815–1878. During the Berlin Congress of 1878, organised by the German Chancellor Otto Von Bismarck, European powers redefined the diplomatic principles and revised their diplomacy. As a result of this congress, Bismarck maintained peace in Europe until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

Links to other subjects

This unit can be linked to other units like Wars and conflicts in General Studies and Communication and Skills.

Main points to be covered in this unit

- ◉ Causes and effects of the 1848 European revolutions
- ◉ Reasons for the success and the failure of the 1848 European revolutions
- ◉ Reasons why the 1848 European revolutions did not take place in some countries
- ◉ Italian unification
- ◉ German unification
- ◉ Eastern question
- ◉ Berlin Congress

Part One

The 1848 European Revolutions

Activity 1

Carry out research on the possible reasons for the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. Present the results of your research to the class.

The 1848 European revolutions were a series of uprisings in Europe. The revolutions were started by the middle class and nobility who demanded constitutional and representative governments, and by workers and peasants who revolted against capitalist practices that were responsible for poverty.

The revolutions broke out in France, Austria, and the Italian and German states. People rose against **conservative** governments and demanded for political, social and economic reforms. Those revolutions were also against the negative consequences of the Vienna settlement and Metternich system.

Street fighting in Vienna, 1848. Austria, was the scene of some of the most intense fighting during the revolutions of 1848 in Europe. The emperor fled and Prince Metternich was forced to resign as foreign minister. This painting shows the imperial forces suppressing the revolutionaries in October 1848. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Despite the violent efforts of governments to crash the revolutions, new revolutionary ideas such as democracy, liberalism, nationalism and socialism gained popularity.

Causes of the 1848 Revolutions

The need to end the unfair decisions of the Vienna Settlement

The Vienna Settlement aimed at safeguarding against future French aggression and formed buffer states by bringing the Italian and German states under the control of Austria. This did not respect the principle of nationalism. For this reason the Italians and Germans revolted in 1848.

The oppressive regime of Metternich

Metternich the chancellor of Austria used a harsh-spy network that terrorised people. This forced, the Germans and Italians to rise up for independence.

The collapse of the Congress System

The success of the 1830 Belgian revolution marked the end of the Congress System. This provided an opportunity for the oppressed people to revolt against their leaders.

The growth of nationalism

Because of nationalistic feelings, the German and Italian states rose up to demand for respective national unifications. Elsewhere in Europe people demanded for constitutional rule and an end to despotism.

The rise of new personalities in European politics

They included Mazzini and Garibaldi of Italy, Louis Kossuth of Hungary, Von Bismarck and Stephen Baron of Prussia and Louis Blanc and Lamartine in France. New personalities mobilised support against the oppressive rulers of Austria.

The effects of epidemic diseases

The poor people were affected by diseases like cholera, typhoid and tuberculosis and died in large numbers. The leaders provided no solution to the situation. They became unpopular leading to the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions.

The negative effects of the rapid population growth

In eastern and central Europe the rapid population growth led to urban congestion, food shortage and unemployment. The masses blamed this on their respective governments. This led to the revolutions of 1848.

The corruption and inefficiency of the rulers

In many states of eastern and central Europe, the rulers were corrupt and inefficient. This compelled the masses to revolt against Louis Philippe for instance in 1848.

The influence of socialist ideas

Socialist ideas were initiated by Karl Marx. Socialists argued that capitalism was responsible for unemployment, inflation and

exploitation of the employees. This encouraged the people to join the 1848 revolutions.

The success of the previous revolutions

The French revolution of 1789 and the 1830 Belgian revolution encouraged the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions. The oppressed people believed their struggle would be successful like in France and in Belgium.

The negative impact of industrialisation

The spread of industrialisation to many European countries created many economic and social problems like unemployment, low wages, long hours of work, poor accommodation, rural-urban migration, inflation, and starvation. These problems forced the poor populations in urban areas to join the 1848 revolutions.

The long term effects of the 1789 French revolution

The French revolution had left behind strong ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. It had also overthrown dictatorship and bad governance in France. Therefore, people in different European states in 1848 were guided by those ideas and wanted to achieve what the French had witnessed in 1789.

The Common Characteristics of the 1848 Revolutions

Activity 2

Examine the characteristics of the 1848 European revolutions. Present your work to the class.

All the 1848 revolutions were urban based, meaning that they were concentrated in cities and towns, while the countryside remained peaceful.

Many of the 1848 revolutions were led by educated people like professors, doctors, lecturers, lawyers, journalists and even teachers who understood the weaknesses of their home governments. E.g.

Mazzini in Italy, Louis Blanc and Lamartine in France and Kossuth in Hungary.

The revolutions of 1848 lacked foreign assistance because they occurred at the same time and each country was busy suppressing its own revolution. This also explains why they were defeated.

Almost all the revolutions of 1848, except in France, were against the unfairness of the Vienna Settlement which restored bad leaders, neglected the principles of nationalism, and encouraged domination of small countries by the big powers.

The 1848 revolutions took place at the same time: from January to March 1848.

The revolutions took place in less industrialised and agricultural states like Italy, German, Hungary and France.

All of them had an element of the French revolution of 1789: the demand for constitutional changes.

All the revolutions failed, except in France where King Louis Philippe was removed.

The revolutions, except the revolution in France, were organised and carried out against the common enemy: Metternich of Austria and his spy network system.

The revolutions were partly caused by the effects of natural disasters like bad weather, epidemics, starvation and scarcity. This explains why there were no revolutions in Britain where these natural disasters did not occur.

The revolutions except in France lacked the support of the national armies. For instance in Germany, Italy and Hungary the revolutionaries were not supported by their national armies. This was due to the ignorance of revolutionaries about the use of the army. In Italy, and Austria the soldiers feared to participate because their kings were dictators.

The revolutions had similar effects such as loss of lives, destruction of property and exiling of the leading politicians except in France.

The Effects of the 1848 Revolutions

Activity 3

Analyse the effects of the 1848 revolutions in Europe. Present the result of your analysis to the class.

The 1848 revolutions which occurred mainly in central and eastern Europe resulted in positive and negative effects:

The 1848 revolutions caused loss of lives on a large scale. More than 500 people were killed in France. In Berlin over 300 and 3000–5000 in Austria. In Hungary 13 generals and 1000 other politicians were killed.

The 1848 revolutions caused many demonstrations against Metternich who fled to exile in London. This led to the decline and collapse of his system.

Apart from Metternich, many other people were forced into exile. These included Louis Philippe, Mazzini, Kossuth, Garibaldi, Prince Metternich and Charles Albert. In addtion, ordinary people rose to high positions.

The 1848 revolutionary movements contributed to the Italian and German **unification** in 1871 because the Metternich system which posed obstacles to the unification had collapsed. In addition the revolutions led to the rise of new men who provided able leadership that led to the unifications. These included Otto Von Bismarck and Stephen in Germany, and Victor Emmanuel II of Piedmont, Gavainag and Louis Blanc in France.

The revolutions ended feudalism and serfdom. In September 1848, Emperor Francis I of Austria passed the Emancipation Act under which peasants were permitted to own land. Serfdom was also brought to an end in Hungary. This improved lives of peasants in Europe.

This marked the end of privileges for the nobles and clergy in many parts of Europe.

The 1848 revolutions taught revolutionaries a lesson that for any revolution to be successful it should be militarily strong instead of relying solely on intellectual ideas.

The 1848 revolutions were successful for a short time in some states. For example in Hungary, Lajos Kossuth established the Hungarian republic and a parliament at Budapest in March 1849; the Frankfurt Assembly was established in May 1848 for the German states; in Italy, Garibaldi and Mazzini set up a Roman republic in 1849. However, these republics were shortly lived.

The 1848 revolutions in central Europe marked the **awakening** of various peoples to national consciousness. In that year the Germans and the Italians started their movements for the unification and creation of **nation-states**.

Although the attempts at revolution failed in 1848, the movements gathered strength in subsequent years. After a long struggle, an Italian kingdom was created in 1861 and a German empire in 1871. Other European peoples who agitated for national independence in 1848 include the Poles, the Czechs, the Hungarians, and the Christian peoples in the Balkans under the rule of the Ottoman sultan.

The 1848 revolutions led to the success of socialism in Europe. The socialists successfully organised the workers and peasants to fight against capitalism. Although socialism was suppressed, it later dominated eastern Europe, divided Europe into the two ideologies of communism and capitalism up to 1989 and beyond.

The 1848 revolutions also led to the rise of dictatorial governments and the politics of revenge in the countries where they failed. For example in Hungary and Austria, the constitutional reforms were canceled. General Haynau forced Kossuth into exile and killed many Hungarians. In Bohemia Winschgratz killed many Czech rebels as revenge.

The Success of the 1848 Revolutions

Activity 4

Debate the different factors which made the 1848 revolutions successful in some European countries. Consider France as a case study. Present the outcome of your debate to the class.

Factors for the success of the 1848 Revolutions in France

Good leadership: Louis Blanc and Alphonse Marie Lamartine were good leaders who mobilised the masses and demanded for change during the 1848 revolution in France.

Support from the army: Like during the previous revolution of 1789, the revolutionaries in France were supported by the army. This support encouraged the revolutionaries to succeed.

War experience: Most of the revolutionaries who fought in the February revolution in France had also participated in the 1789 revolution where they got experience in fighting. This enabled them to be successful in the 1848 revolution.

Support from the masses: Due to the poor social conditions, effects of the bad weather and outbreak of epidemic diseases, the masses supported the revolutionaries who promised them rapid reforms.

Nationalism and unity: Like in 1789, the people were strongly united. They were determined to overthrow Louis Philippe who had became unpopular.

Financial support from the middle class: Due to the economic problems France was facing which included unemployment, low wages, inflation, corruption and **embezzlement** of public funds, the middle class preferred to support the revolutionaries who promised better conditions.

The rise of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte in 1848 boosted the popularity of revolutions because he was a nephew to Napoleon Banaparte. He attracted big support from the population.

Lack of external interference: Because the revolutions broke out at the same time in many European countries and due to the collapse of the congress system, there was no external **interference** in France. And Louis Philippe could not get any support from his fellow kings in Europe.

Napoleon III. (Source: www. Wikipedia.org)

Failure of the 1848 Revolutions

The 1848 revolutions failed in most of the European states like Austria, Hungary, Italian and German states, except in France. The failure of these revolutions was due to the following factors:

The revolutions were not supported by the peasants and lacked foreign support because most countries were facing the same situation.

As a result of economic hardships, the revolutionary leaders and their supporters were very poor and could not finance a prolonged struggle or afford to purchase fire arms.

Ideological conflicts and lack of proper common strategy weakened the revolutions. For example in Germany the northern states wanted a little Germany under Prussia while the southern states wanted a big Germany under Austria.

Austria had a song army led by efficient army commanders like General Windschgratz who defeated revolutionaries in Vienna and Hungary, and Raditsky who defeated the Italian revolutionaries at Novaro and Custozza.

The revolutionaries failed to fulfill the promise made to their supporters. They concentrated on talking and failed to deliver what they had promised, for example in the German and Italian states.

Poor mass mobilisation also contributed to the failure of the revolutions. They were urban centred and failed to involve people in rural areas.

Religious differences among the revolutionaries weakened the revolutions. In Germany the southern states supported Austria, a fellow Catholic state, while the northern states which were

Protestant supported Prussia. Charles Albert, a Catholic did not want to attack Austria while Pope Pius IX supported Austria against the revolutionaries.

The dismissal of liberal ministers in September 1848 by King Fredrick William IV also played a role in the failure of the revolution in Prussia.

Unfair representation in the constituent assembly mainly in Prussia also contributed to the failure of the revolutions in the German states.

Why the 1848 European Revolutions did not take Place in some Countries

Activity 6

Analyse why some countries did not experience the 1848 revolutions. Present the results to the class.

The 1848 revolutions mainly affected the central areas of Europe which were under the control of Metternich and did not extend to all European countries. Britain, Belgium, Holland and Russia did not experience revolutions due to the following reasons:

In Belgium, a revolution was not possible because of the constitutional arrangements achieved as a result of the 1830 revolution. For instance, the right to vote was already extended to include members of the middle class. There was also improvement in public works.

Britain and Belgium had already established the parliamentary system. Many constitutional changes had taken place and they were also easily implemented by parliament without the use of force like in other countries.

In Britain the parliamentary system had focused on improving working conditions. The working day was already shortened. The working conditions of women and children were also addressed.

In 1834, the British parliament passed a law to improve the living conditions of the poor.

Britain was a more advanced industrialised society. It was able to meet the needs of the growing population, especially employment, compared to other European countries where the effects of industrialisation caused political instability.

By 1846 Britain had a law to improve the living conditions in **slums**. Improvements in sanitation, drainage, street lighting and medical services led to better conditions of living in comparison to central Europe.

Britain was also never affected by the Vienna settlement which created a lot of political **dissatisfaction** in Europe. This helped Britain to escape the revolutions of 1848.

Part Two

The Italian Unification

Activity 7

Analyse the political situation in Italy before 1815 and prepare an essay to present to the class.

Italian unification refers to the amalgamation or union of various Italian states to form one Italian kingdom in 1871. The various states that formed a united Italy include Piedmont, Lombardy, central states of Parma, Modena and Tuscany, Naples and Sicily, Nice, Venetia, Savoy and the papal states.

Before 1815, Italians were under the control of Austria. In 1805, Napoleon I forced Austria out of Italy in the famous "Italian Campaign". He divided the Italian states in three parts: the kingdom of Italy in the north, kingdom of Naples in the south and central Italian states. Many Italians had admired Napoleon for his victories over the Austrians, and for the republican ideas that took root in the parts of Italy under French control during the Napoleonic wars.

After the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815, the Italian states had high hopes for regaining their independence and freedom. However, by the Vienna Settlement these Italian states were put under foreign domination as follows:

- Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena and Tuscany under Austria.
- Papal states under Pope Pius IX.
- Naples and Sicily under the Spanish King.
- Piedmont and Sardinia were left under the Italian King Victor Emmanuel II.

The Italian nationals hated foreign domination and they started several nationalistic movements. In 1820, a secret society called *Carbonari Movement* was formed by Giuseppe Mazzini. He believed that Italy should not only be independent, but also a united republic.

In 1831 he organised what he called *La Giovine Italia* (Young Italy) *Movement*. The new society, whose motto was "God and the People," wanted to unite Italy.

He formed it in order to spread the ideals of nationalism and republicanism to the Italian people. Its goals were education and rebellion, and revolutionary cells were formed all over Italy.

Giuseppe Mazzini (June 22, 1805 up to March 10, 1872). (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

However, due to the lack of massive mobilisation, the movement failed to unify Italy before 1850. Even the 1848 revolutionaries failed to unify the Italian states until 1871.

Factors that had Delayed the Italian Unification before 1850

Activity 8

Examine the obstacles to Italian unification. Present your work to the class.

Several obstacles explain why the Italian unification failed before 1850.

Economic backwardness: The Italian economy lacked industries, it was poor, and transport and communication networks were not well developed. Therefore, without a strong economic base, Italian unification was always frustrated.

Austria and Metternich system: Austria had a very large, well trained, organised and equipped army which was effectively commanded. Metternich had established a strong spy network, and used a policy of divide and rule. The Italians were not militarily strong by 1848 and that is why the Carbonari Movement and the Young Italian Movement failed to unify Italy.

The Vienna Settlement of 1815: The Vienna settlement negatively affected the unification of Italy, because the peacemakers enlarged the Italian states and again put them under foreign control. This made unification difficult.

Lack of strong leaders: Italian unification delayed because of lack of capable leaders. The leaders who had tried like Mazzini and Garibaldi did not get support from the nobles and clergy because they were from peasant families.

Problem of Pope Pius IX: Pope Pius IX did not have the vision of a united Italy. He was greatly opposed to the unification of Italy because he did not want the two Catholic countries to go to war. However, he had encouraged liberalism and nationalism to grow throughout the Italian peninsula.

Foreign interference: In 1848 Mazzini and Garibaldi attacked the papal states and formed the Roman republic. But in 1849, France under Napoleon III intervened and the pope was restored by the French troops under **General Cudinol**.

Geographical terrain: The Italian terrain made movement and communication difficult. Communication across the rivers was impossible as they freeze in winter. So, the movements of nationalists spreading the ideas of unification were hindered.

High level of illiteracy: About 90 per cent of Italians were not educated and therefore had no political ideas which made it difficult

for the masses to understand the struggle for unification. This is why, the struggle for unification only took place around urban areas as the rural people were not actively involved.

Ideological differences: Many Italians lacked a common stand while others served in the army. They had no common language which made it hard to criticise and mobilise other Italian states for unification.

Divisions among Italian nationalists: The Italians in piedmont supported monarchism and used French as their language, while Garibaldi and Mazzini who spoke Italian supported republicanism. As a result they did not unite in their struggle and they were defeated.

Lack of secrecy: As a result of Metternich's spy network, the Austrian police penetrated the secret societies by pretending to support the Italian cause. The Austrian Secret Police was so effective that it leaked the plans and activities of the Italian movements before hand and as a result they were suppressed.

Military weaknesses: The Italians were militarily weak; they lacked good weapons, military leaders, military bases and good military tactics.

Anti-reform leaders: The leaders who led the different stages during the early days of the unification never wanted to support the struggle for the unification. In addition, some Italian kings collaborated with Austrian rulers to persecute Italian nationalists who wanted unification.

Negative attitude of European powers: Some European powers had a negative attitude towards the Italian unification. France feared an independent Italy as her neighbour. Austria never wanted to allow Italians to get independence because Italy was her colony, while Britain was indifferent about Italian unification.

Violet methods: The leaders of the unification process used a lot of force to achieve their goal. This forced Austrian rulers to also react violently. The use of violence scared away many Italians who supported the unification struggle. This weakened the Italian struggle.

Factors that Facilitated the Italian Unification Process of 1850–1870

Activity 9

Analyse the factors that favoured Italian unification by 1871. Present the results of your analysis to the class.

The unification of Italy which was finally completed in 1871 was as a result of a number of factors. These factors include:

Collapse of the Congress system: After 1856, there were no more congresses in Europe because the big powers fought each other during the Crimean War. Therefore, the revolutionary struggles in Italy could not easily be suppressed due to the lack of unity among European powers.

Downfall of Metternich: As a leader of the Austrian Empire, Metternich had used Austrian spies and army to stop Italian unification. However, in 1848 he was overthrown and exiled to London. The collapse of Metternich's system enabled Italian freedom fighters to succeed.

Eatablishment of an internal base in Italy: Before 1848, there was lack of an internal base for the unification struggle. However, after 1849, Piedmont was used as an internal base to coordinate the unification activities. Therefore, the return of the nationalists from exile to operate from Italy allowed unification activities to move faster.

Support from foreign countries: During the Italian unification process, the foreign powers supported Italy in the following ways:

- **France:** The Italians received direct assistance from France in 1859 by which Lombardy was liberated from Austria. However, Garibaldi disliked this because Italy lost Nice to France.
- **Britain:** Britain extended loans which helped Piedmont to **overcome** the economic crisis. Britain also maintained the policy of non-intervention which helped Garibaldi to liberate Naples and Sicily in 1860.
- **Belgium:** Like Britain, Belgium had financially supported the struggle for Italian Unification.

- ◉ **Prussia:** In 1866 Prussia assisted in the liberation of Venetia from Austria.

Emergence of capable leaders after 1848: Before 1850, Italian leaders failed to lead unification. After 1850 new leaders who provided strong leadership emerged. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour strengthened the army and the economy and secured foreign assistance. In addition Charles Albert helped emancipate Venitia and Rome.

Change of government in Britain: This favoured the unification in Italy because the coming to power of Gladstone as prime minister of Britain and Lord John Russell helped the Italians as they assisted them in the liberation of Parma, Modena and Tuscany through a referendum in 1860.

Activities of the Carbonari and the Young Italian Movement: The Carbonari and Young Italian Movement established a strong foundation for the unification of Italy. They encouraged the growth of nationalism, unity and the idea for independence. They mobilised Italians against Austrian foreign rule. Those activities united Italians, prepared them for the struggle and reduced ostacles to unification.

The 1870 – 1871 Franco-Prussian war: During this war, Napoleon III was forced to withdraw the French troops from Rome in 1870. This enabled the Italian patriots to take over Rome and this marked the completion of the Italian unification in 1871.

Role of the Italian scholars: The Italian philosophers, lecturers, teachers and writers wrote publications which encouraged nationalism, they condemned Austrian domination and revealed **atrocities** committed against the Italians. This created the spirit of nationalism and Italian nationalists decided to fight against the Austrian domination.

Role of Pope Pius IX: Pope Pius IX rose to power in 1848 and unlike Pope Grégoire he was a liberal. He supported libralism and nationalism and liked the idea of Italian unification. It also weakened Metternich who was an obstacle to unification.

Role of press: The *Risogrimento* which was a newspaper introduced by Cavour exposed Austrian atrocities against Italians and sensitised Italians about the importance of unity.

Reform of Piedmont's economy: By 1860, the economy of Piedmont had been reformed and grown to the level of competing with the Austrian economy and to challenge Austria. It became possible to access adequate resources to support unification. Piedmont also became strong enough to lead the unification process.

Reduction of the powers of the Catholic Church in Italy: The Catholic Church was a big barrier in the unification of Italy because it was opposed to fighting Austria a fellow Catholic country. In 1850, Camillo Benso di Cavour brought to an end the powers of the Catholic Church. He stopped church control of politics, education, and land. Thus, this allowed many liberal Catholics to fight against Austria without condemnation from the Catholic Church.

Outbreak of the Franco–Prussian war of 1870–1: It was fought between France and Prussia. Due to this war, France was forced to withdraw her soldiers from Rome to go and fight in Prussia in 1870. This provided an opportunity for liberation forces to take over control of Rome. This marked the completion of the Italian unification in 1871.

The Role Played by Giuseppe Mazzini in Italian Unification

Activity 10

Evaluate the role played by Giuseppe Mazzini during the struggle for Italian unification from 1850 up to 1870. Present your work to the class.

Giuseppe Mazzini (22 June 1805 10 March 1872), nicknamed "*The Beating Heart of Italy*", was an Italian politician, journalist and **activist** for the unification of Italy.

His efforts helped create the independent and unified Italy composed of several separate states, that had been dominated by foreign powers.

Giuseppe Mazzini was an Italian revolutionary who fought to oust the Italian nobles and expel the Austrians from his country. He

lived in France where he organised uprisings in Italy. While in exile he was sentenced to death in absentia in 1832.

He helped define the modern European movement for popular democracy in a republican state.

He bitterly resented the **absorption** of his native republic of Genoa into the kingdom of Sardinia-Piedmont in 1815.

In 1827 he joined the revolutionary Carbonari Movement, but after his imprisonment at Savona (1830-31) he abandoned that organisation as ineffective.

Exiled, he founded the Young Italy Movement (La Giovine Italia) in Marseille, France, in July 1831. It established branches in many Italian cities. Mazzini argued that through coordinated **uprisings**, the people could drive the Italian princes from their thrones and oust the Austrians from the Italian **peninsula**.

He used propaganda to mobilise and sensitise the Italians. This is why they called him a *"Prophet of the Italian unification"*. By 1833 his movement had about 60,000 members.

On March 8,1848, Mazzini launched a new political association, the *Associazione Nazionale Italiana* in Paris**.** The high point of Mazzini's career was the revolutions of 1848-49, when he returned to Italy and was elected one of the leaders of the new Roman republic. But when the republic fell in July 1849 to an invading French army, Mazzini once again had to flee.

His efforts to spark republican uprisings in Mantua (Mantova) (1852) and Milan in 1853 were unsuccessful. The leadership of the Italian nationalist movement was taken over by Camillo di Cavour of Sardinia-Piedmont who supported a liberal monarchy.

Mazzini came back to Italy during the wars of 1859 and 1860 but took no pleasure in seeing the establishment in 1861 of a unified Italian kingdom rather than a republic.

In 1862 he again joined Garibaldi during his failed attempt to free Rome. In 1866 Venetia was ceded by France, which had obtained it from Austria at the end of the Austro-Prussian war, to the new kingdom of Italy, which had been created in 1861 under the Savoy monarchy. In 1867 he refused a seat in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. He was still plotting to gain Venice and Rome when he was jailed in Gaeta from August to October 1870 at the time King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia was seizing Rome.

In failing health, Mazzini retired to Pisa, where he died on March 10, 1872.

The Role Played by Giuseppe Garibaldi in Italian Unification

Activity 11

Evaluate the role played by Giuseppe Garibaldi during the struggle for Italian unification from 1850 up to 1870. Present your work to the class.

Content

Giuseppe Garibaldi July 4, 1807 up to June 2, 1882. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

Giuseppe Garibaldi was born in 1807 and was an Italian patriot, soldier, and freedom fighter who led the 19th-century movement known as the Risorgimento. This movement sought Italian unification and independence. The kingdom of Italy was finally established in 1861, due in large part to Garibaldi's leadership and military successes against occupying European forces.

He was an Italian general and politician. He is considered, with Camillo Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II and Giuseppe Mazzini, as one of the founders of the state of Italy.

Garibaldi was a central figure in the Italian Risorgimento. He personally commanded and fought in many military campaigns that led eventually to the formation of a unified Italy. He generally tried to act on behalf of a legitimate power, which does not make him exactly a revolutionary. He joined the Young Italian Movement in 1833 and become a follower of Mazzini.

In 1848, after a long period in exile in Tunisia, Brazil, Cuba, Uruguay and USA, Garibaldi returned to Italy. Together with Mazzini they participated in the 1848 revolution in the papal states, leading to the formation of the Roman republic where he was appointed general by the provisional government of Milan in 1848.

In 1859 during the liberation of Lombardy, he fought on the side of Piedmont and he carried out a successful campaign in the Alps, where he harassed the Austrians with guerilla attacks.

In 1860, he crossed with 1,000 volunteers popularly known as *Red Shirts* fighters from Caprera and liberated Naples and Sicily which he surrendered to the king of Piedmont.

In 1866, he led the Italian army against Austria in the Seven Weeks War in which Prussia defeated Austria and after which Venetia was granted to the kingdom of Italy.

Garibaldi, in a popular colour lithograph. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Giuseppe Garibaldi landing in Sicily, 1860. (Source: Google)

Garibaldi turned his attention to securing Rome for the Italian kingdom. He organised the Society for the Emancipation of Italy and visited Sicily, where he raised a force of volunteers.

He was opposed by Victor Emmanuel, who did not want to risk war with France, which was protecting the pope in Rome. Victor

123

Emmanuel defeated Garibaldi at the battle of Aspromonte on August 29, 1862. Garibaldi was wounded and captured in that battle but was soon pardoned and released.

Despite the Aspromonte incident, the government went to Garibaldi again in 1866. Italy had made an alliance with Prussia to defeat the Austrians. Italy was promised Venice if the alliance was victorious. Garibaldi successfully invaded Tyrol with a volunteer force. This was one of the few Italian victories in a war won primarily on the strength of the Prussian army. Venice became part of Italy in 1866.

In 1867 Garibaldi again raised a volunteer force with the aim of annexing the papal states to the kingdom of Italy. After a number of initial engagements, he was defeated by combined papal and French forces at the battle of Mentana on November 3, 1867. He was taken prisoner to Varignano, near La Spezia but was held for only a short time.

In 1870 he offered his services to the French government and fought with his two sons in the Franco-Prussian war. Rome was annexed to Italy in October 1870, and Garibaldi was elected a member of the Italian parliament in 1874. In his last years he sympathized with the developing socialist movement in Italy and other countries. Garibaldi's autobiography, *Autobiography of Giuseppe Garibaldi,* was published in 1887.

In 1879 he founded the League of Democracy, which advocated universal suffrage, abolition of ecclesiastical property, emancipation of women, and maintenance of a standing army.

The Role Played by Camillo Benso di Cavour in Italian Unification

Activity 12

Evaluate the role played by Benso di Cavour during the struggle for Italian unification from 1850 up to 1870. Present your work to the class.

Camillo Bensodi Cavour, (August 10, 1810–June 6, 1861) was born in Turin.

Camillo Benso di Cavour became the chief architect of Italian unification under Sardinian King Victor Emmanuel II. With Cavour's help, Victor Emmanuel was made king of Italy in 1861 and Italy was officially unified in 1870.

He was a leading figure in the movement toward Italian unification. He was the founder of the original *Italian Liberal Party* and prime minister of the kingdom of Piedmont-

Camillo Cavour August 10, 1810, up to June 6, 1861. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Sardinia, a position he maintained (except for a six-month resignation) throughout the second Italian war of independence and Garibaldi's campaigns to unite Italy.

Between 1838 and 1842 Cavour began several initiatives in attempts to solve economic problems in his area. Firstly he experimented with different agricultural techniques on his estate, such as the use of sugar beet, and was one of the first Italian landowners to use chemical fertilisers. He also founded the Piedmontese Agricultural Society.

Cavour was a strong supporter of transportation by steam engine, sponsoring the building of many railroads and canals. In his spare time, he again traveled extensively, mostly in France and the United Kingdom.

In 1849, Cavour founded a newspaper called *Rosirgimento* meaning "resurrection" which advocated for a constitutional government and independence of the whole of Italy from foreign troops. He was elected as a member of parliament in 1848. He became the minister of agriculture, industry and commerce in 1850. In 1851, he became the minister of finance and in 1852 he was appointed as prime minister by King Victor Emmanuel II.

Napoleon III promised to support Cavour. (Source: Google)

Cavour's long term goal was to expel Austrian power from Italy and expand Italy by annexing Lombardy and Venetia to Sardinia. In 1858, he negotiated a secret deal with Napoleon III who promised to support Sardinia in case it faced a war with Austria.

A year later, he provoked that war. With the French help, Piedmont - Sardinia defeated Austria and annexed Lombardy.

After his death on June 6, 1861, his successors completed his dream by negotiating with Bismarck and Italy acquired Venetia in a Peace Treaty that ended the Austro-Prussian war in 1866.

He is remembered for the following contributions during Italian unification:

He founded a newspaper called *Risorgimento* which means "resurrection" or "renewal". In his newspaper, he published the need for constitutional and parliamentary democracy. He also exposed the oppressive administration of Austrian rulers. This created nationalism and attracted support for independence from Austria.

He solicited for funds from foreign powers especially from Britain and France.

He improved the economy of Piedmont by signing commercial treaties with Britain, France and Belgium which made it easy for Piedmont to benefit from free trade with European countries.

He carried out military reforms in Piedmont which strengthened the military base of Piedmont. This helped address military obstacles to Italian unification.

He abolished the powers of the pope and Catholic Church in Italy by stopping the church from controlling politics, education and land. This encouraged the liberal Catholics to support the idea of unification.

He reconciled revolutionary fighters like Mazzini, Garibaldi and King Victor Emmanuel II.

He introduced political reforms like drafting of the constitution for Piedmont which created a political base that favoured the unification of Italy.

He fought against illiteracy and ignorance in Italy by introducing learning centres in Piedmont. These schools acted as mobilisation centres for supporting the unification struggle.

He improved the economy, trade and transport of Piedmont by encouraging agriculture, industrialisation, building of roads, railways, telegraph lines and canals. This partly solved economic backwardness and supported the movement of nationalists and troops.

He is credited for introducing civil reforms in land, education and finance in the state of Piedmont which reduced the power and influence of the church.

Cavour engaged European powers to provide diplomatic support for the unification. He supported the allies against Russia in the crimean war. He also supported France and Prussia against Austria. This helped him get support against Austria which was an obstacle to Italian unification.

The Role Played by Victor Emanuel II in Italian Unification

Activity 13

Examine the role played by King Victor Emmanuel II in the struggle for Italian unification from 1850 up to 1870. Present your work to the class.

King Victor Emanuel II (14 March 1820 – 9 January 1878) was the eldest son of Charles Albert, Prince of Carignano and Maria Theresa of Austria. His father succeeded a distant cousin as king of Sardinia in 1831.

He was king of Sardinia from 1849 until, on 17 March 1861, when he assumed the title King of Italy to become the first king of a united Italy. The Italians called him the *Father of the Fatherland*.

King victor Emmanuel II encouraged all political **activists** who had been exiled to come back home like Mazzini and Garibaldi and he accepted to work with Cavour. He appointed him in 1852 as a prime minister. This helped Cavour to introduce his domestic and foreign policies.

King Victor Emmanuel II 1820 to 1878. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Lastly, he continued with the struggle for the unification of Italy after the death of Cavour in 1861. His role led to the liberation of Rome and Venetia which completed the unification. He is credited for the following contributions:

He accepted leadership of the struggle for Italian unification as proposed by Cavour.

He appointed Cavour to various ministerial positions which enabled Cavour to introduce economic and political reforms that helped the Italians to attain their independence.

He accepted to use Piedmont as the centre of the unification; hence he solved the problem of lack of an internal base from which the Italians achieved their unification.

His foreign policy won for Piedmont foreign support and prestige.

He allied with Bismarck in 1866, and agreed to remain neutral when Bismarck fought Austria and in return he would be supported to liberate Venetia.

After the withdrawal of Cavour from the struggle in 1859, Victor Emmanuel maintained the gains of the struggle. This encouraged the central states to join Piedmont.

He marched his troops to occupy Rome after France had withdrawn her soldiers to go and fight in the Franco - Prussian war of 1870 – 1871.

Roles of Foreign Powers

Activity 14

Assess the role of the foreign powers in the Italian unification. Present the results of your assessment to the class.

Besides the roles played by Italian nationalists to attain the Italian unification, foreign powers also supported the Italians during their struggle for their unification.

They inspired the Italians as united monarchies like Britain and France among others.

Britain and France supported the Piedmontees to annex the central duchies of the Italian states i.e. Parma, Modena and Tuscany in 1860.

France provided military support of 200 000 troops to Piedmont in the liberation of Lombardy from Austria in 1859.

Britain remained neutral during the liberation of Lombardy in 1859, Venetia in 1866 and Rome in 1870. This allowed the Italians to carry out the liberation.

Prussia assisted the Italians in the liberation of Venetia in 1866 when Austria was defeated in the Austro-Prussian war.

Disagreement between the great powers served the interests of the Italians. These included Russia vs. Austria from 1820 onwards, Britain, France and Turkey vs. Russia in the Crimean War of 1854–1856, and the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871.

Foreign powers provided financial support. Britain and Prussia financed some of the expeditions of Piedmont.

France, Britain and Switzerland provided asylum to Italian revolutionaries and patriots.

There was neutrality of the foreign powers following the invasion and the annexation of the papal states (Rome).

Some European powers like France, Britain and Belgium concluded economic ties and exchange of technology with Piedmont.

Different Stages in the Italian Unification

Activity 15

Describe the different stages taken to achieve the Italian unification by 1871. Present your work to the class.

Process of Italian unification. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

The Prombières pact and liberation of Lombardy

After the 1856 Paris treaty, France delayed to assist Italians. However an attempt by an Italian patriot called Felice Orsini to assassinate Napoleon III, forced Napoleon III to form a military alliance with Cavour.

In 1858, Cavour and Napoleon III of France signed a secret military agreement at Prombières known as *the Pact of Plombières*. Cavour and Napoleon III agreed to a joint war against Austria. Piedmont would gain the Austrian territories of Lombardy and Venetia and some territories of the former Venetian Commonwealth in the Adriatic, as well as the duchies of Parma and Modena, while France would be rewarded with Piedmont's territories in Savoy and Nice. Central and southern Italy, being largely under-developed and of little interest to the wealthier north, would remain largely as it was, although it was suggested that the emperor's cousin Prince

Napoleon would replace the Habsburgs in Tuscany. To allow the French to intervene without appearing as aggressors, Cavour was to provoke the Austrians by encouraging revolutionary activity in Lombardy.

By this first stage, Austrian troops under Emperor Francis Joseph I had been defeated by the French forces led by Napoleon III at the battle of Solferino on June 24ᵗʰ, 1859. The Piedmontese forces commanded by Victor Emmanuel II later had the better of the Austrians at San Martino. The Austrians accepted to sign the **armistice** of Villafranca on July 12ᵗʰ 1859 and Piedmont annexed Milan and Lombardy. Austria left the peninsula and there was a creation of a **confederation** of seven states of northern Italy.

The revolt of the central states and their annexation to Piedmont

In December 1859, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the papal states were unified into the *United Provinces of Central Italy*, and, encouraged by the British, began seeking annexation by the kingdom of Sardinia. Cavour, who triumphantly returned to power in January 1860, wished to annex the territories, but realised that French cooperation was necessary. Napoleon III agreed to recognise the Piedmontese annexation in exchange for Savoy and Nice. On March 20, 1860, the annexations occurred. Now the kingdom of Sardinia controlled most of northern and central Italy.

Liberation of Naples and Sicily and annexation to Piedmont

Garibaldi, a native of Nice, was deeply resentful of the French annexation of his home city. He hoped to use his supporters to regain the territory. Cavour, terrified of Garibaldi provoking a war with France, persuaded Garibaldi to instead concentrate his forces on the Sicilian rebellions. On May 6, 1860, Garibaldi and his force of about a thousand Italian volunteers landed near Marsala on the west coast of Sicily.

Garibaldi's army attracted bands of rebels, and the combined forces defeated the opposing army at Calatafimi on May 13. Within three days, the invading force increased to 4,000 men. On May 14, Garibaldi proclaimed himself dictator of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel. With the support of the population he captured Palermo, the capital of sicily at the end of May.

Garibaldi then crossed over to the mainland and entered Naples where he declared himself dictator of the two sicilies, a territory that covered Italy and the Island of sicily.

After organising a plebiscite in both southern Italy and Naples, Garibaldi handed over the territory to Victor Emmanuel whom he gave the title of king of Italy.

Victor Emmanuel II meets Garibaldi near Teano. (Source: www.Wikipedia. org)

Garibaldi then retired to the Island of Caprera, while the remaining work of unifying the peninsula was left to Victor Emmanuel.

Liberation of Venetia

In the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 known as *The Seven Weeks War*, Austria contested with Prussia the position of leadership among the German states. The kingdom of Italy seized the opportunity to capture Venetia from Austrian rule and allied itself with Prussia. Austria tried to persuade the Italian government to accept Venetia in exchange for non-intervention. However, on April 8, 1866 Italy and Prussia signed an agreement that supported Italy's acquisition of Venetia, and on June 20, 1866 Italy declared war on Austria.

Victor Emmanuel led the Italian army but it was defeated by the Austrian army at the battle of Custrea on June 24. Garibaldi's volunteers defeated an Austrian force in the battle of Bezzecca, and moved toward Trento.

Meanwhile, Prussian Prime Minister Bismarck saw that his own ends in the war had been achieved, and signed an armistice with Austria on July 27, 1866. Italy officially laid down its arms on August 12, 1866.

Prussia's success on the northern front obliged Austria to cede Venetia. Under the terms of a Peace Treaty signed in Vienna on October 12, 1866, Emperor Franz Joseph had already agreed to cede Venetia to Napoleon III in exchange for non-intervention in the Austro-Prussian war and thus Napoleon III ceded Venetia to Italy on October 19, 1866 in exchange for the earlier Italian **acquiescence** to the French annexation of Savoy and Nice.

Annexation of Rome

Victor Emmanuel negotiated the removal of the French troops from Rome through a treaty, with Napoleon III in September 1864, by which the emperor agreed to withdraw his troops within two years. The pope was to expand his own army during that time so as to be self-sufficient. In December 1866, the last of the French troops departed from Rome. After their withdrawal, Italy excluding Venetia and Savoy, was freed from the presence of foreign soldiers.

In July 1870, the Franco-Prussian war began. Napoleon III recalled his army from Rome.

In September Victor Emmanuel took over control of Rome after the French withdrawal. A plebisute was held that supported annexation of Rome by the kingdom of Italy. This marked the completion of the unification of Italy.

The German Empire and Otto Von Bismarck

Activity 16

Examine the contributions of Otto Von Bismarck to the rise and consolidation of the German Empire. Present your work to the class.

The German Empire was born in 1871 after the defeat of France during the Franco-Prussian war. It was proclaimed at the Hall of Mirrors in France by Emperor William I and survived for 47 years

under the three emperors. These include William I who reigned from 1871 up to 1888, Emperor Fredrick William III in 1888 and Kaiser William II who reigned from 1888 up to 1918. Bismarck was chancellor from 1871 until 1890.

Otto von Bismarck was born in 1815, in a wealthy family in the Prussian province of Saxony. His father, was a junker estate owner and a former Prussian military officer. Bismarck was well educated and fluent in English, French, Italian, Polish, and Russian.

He was a conservative German statesman who dominated European affairs from the 1860s to 1890. After a series of short victorious wars he unified numerous German states into a powerful German Empire under Prussian leadership, and then created a "balance of power" that preserved peace in Europe from 1871 until 1914.

In 1871, Otto von Bismarck was chancellor of the German Empire, but retained his Prussian offices (including those of minister-President and Foreign Minister).

Because of both the imperial and the Prussian offices that he held, Bismarck had near complete control over domestic and foreign policy. The office of minister-president of Prussia was temporarily separated from that of chancellor in 1873, when Albrecht von Roon was appointed to the former office. But by the end of the year, Roon resigned due to ill health and Bismarck again became minister-president.

Otto Von Bismarck in 1873. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Bismarck's domestic and foreign policies 1871–1890

Internal policy

Bismarck's internal policy had the following features:

The policy against Catholics: The Catholics were not in good relationship with the new German Empire because it was led by Protestant Prussia. They wanted to teach the dogma of papal **infallibility** in schools while Bismarck could not accept this.

To solve this problem, Bismarck introduced the *May Law* in 1873 by which he expelled **stubborn** Catholics from Germany, imprisoned and killed some Catholic bishops, took over the authority to appoint priests and bishops, withdrew the German ambassador from the Vatican, and forced Catholic schools to sit examinations set by the state.

However, this law caused much criticism from socialists so that he was forced to repeal it.

The constitution of 1871: Bismarck introduced a new constitution which guaranteed the freedoms and rights for all the Germans and provided for two assemblies in the parliament, i.e. the Bundesrat (lawmaking body) and the Reichstag (for debating and suggesting amendments to the laws).

The policy against socialists: The socialists were another problem in the new empire of Germany. They demanded the abolition of capitalism, introduction of state socialism and for more powers to vote in the parliament.

To solve this problem, Bismarck introduced the exceptional laws in which he exiled the stubborn socialists, arrested and killed some of them, and banned socialist meetings and newspapers.

However, these laws failed and Bismarck was forced to withdraw them. He introduced sickness insurance in industries, old age insurance for workers, laws against child labour and the public employment board to supervise the working conditions.

Military reorganisation: Bismarck introduced compulsory military service and built new military industries to produce new military equipment. He also nominated able military commanders. This strengthened the German army which helped him to prevent a war of revenge from France.

Administrative policy: Bismarck introduced a federal government in which he allowed states to control their own local affairs in education, religion and culture among others. The central government controlled taxation, army, trade and foreign affairs among others.

External policy

After the German unification with the defeat of France during the Franco-Prussian war, the main aim of Bismarck's foreign policy

was to focus on the isolation of France and prevent her from getting allies and preventing a war of revenge. To do so, he implemented the following policies:

Maintaining an occupation army in France: After the defeat of France in 1871, Otto Von Bismarck sent an army to occupy France with the purpose of ensuring that France paid the war reparation and to intimidate France so that she did not fight the war of revenge. In 1873, he withdrew this army which showed that he was a peacemaker in Europe.

Formation of the Dreikaiserbund in 1872: This was a league based on agreement of the three emperors of Austria, Russia and Germany formed in 1872. This term Drei Kaiser bund is a German term that means the three (drei) emperors (kaiser) and league (bund).

The objective of this agreement was to allow Bismarck capture the friendship of Austria and Russia in order to isolate France. In this agreement, all members accepted to support one another in case of a war from a non-member. It was to be renewed every year. By this league, Bismarck succeeded in keeping France isolated and therefore prevented the French war of revenge.

Maintaining good relationship with Britain: In order to keep good terms with Britain, Bismarck sent his son Herbert Bismarck to London as an ambassador. This way he won the attention of Britain and ensured that Britain could not ally with France, leading to the isolation of France.

Calling of the 1878 Berlin Congress: In 1878, there was a crisis in the Balkans resulting into potential conflicts between Britain and Austria on one side and Russia on the other side. Bismarck who now never wanted to lose friendship with both sides got involved and called the Berlin congress to settle the conflict.

In this congress, Bismarck tried to support British interests in the region, he supported Austrian control in Bosnia and Herzegovina and also supported France in Tunisia.

Consequently, Bismarck succeeded in preventing war between Britain, Austria and Russia but he was under the risk of losing Russia because he never supported her. He also succeeded in diverting French attention in Tunisia and prevented any war of revenge from France.

Formation of the Dual alliance in 1879: After the 1878 Berlin Congress, Bismarck feared the possible alliance between Russia and France. He concluded an agreement with Austria in 1879 known as the dual alliance.

In this alliance, Austria agreed to support Germany if France, Russia and any other power attacked her. In case France alone attacked Germany, Austria would remain neutral. Equally, Germany accepted to support Austria if Russia and France and any other power attacked her, while in case Austria was attacked by Russia alone, Germany would remain neutral. This alliance enabled Germany to maintain a strong relationship with Austria up to 1914.

The formation of the Triple alliance in 1882: This alliance was an agreement between Germany, Austria and Italy. The triple alliance was signed because Bismarck never wanted France to ally with Italy and he wanted to **convince** Italy to abandon Tunisia for France as one way to divert French attention from the war of revenge.

In this triple alliance, Germany, Austria and Italy accepted to support one another in case of war from a non-member. Again, Bismarck succeeded in isolating France in Europe.

Renewal of the Dreikaiserbund in 1883: Attempts to renew this agreement had been failing since 1878 due to misunderstandings between Russia and Germany in the 1878 Berlin Congress. However, Tsar Alexander II who had refused to renew the Dreikaiserbund died and was replaced by Tsar Alexander III who accepted to renew the Dreikaiserbund with Bismarck.

As a result, Tsar Alexander III promised to support Germany in case of war with France. Bismarck also promised to assist Alexander III to recover Bulgaria. By this renewal of the Dreikaiserbund, Bismarck succeeded in winning back Russia to his side hence leaving France further isolated.

Calling of the Berlin Conference (1884–1885): This conference was called by Bismarck in order to prevent any war between European powers during the partition of Africa. He also called this conference to announce that Germany had intentions of occupying some territories in Africa like other European powers. But strategically, he called the conference to **divert** French attention to her colonies through the principle of effective occupation.

Factors that Delayed German Unification

Activity 17

Examine the factors that delayed German unification. Present your work to the class.

The unification of Germany was officially declared on 18 January 1871 at the Versailles palace's Hall of Mirrors in France. Princes of the German states gathered there to proclaim Wilhelm (William) of Prussia as Emperor Wilhelm of the German Empire after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian war.

King William of Prussia and his prime minister, Otto von Bismarck, brought several German states under Prussia's leadership to form the German Empire. In 1871 William was crowned emperor of Germany.

King William I of Germany. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Attempts to form the German-speaking populations into a federation lasted for nearly a century. Unification exposed religious, linguistic, social, and cultural differences between and among the inhabitants of the new nation.

After the Napoleonic era, the Vienna settlement created The German Confederation of States. States like Bohemia, Moravia, Württemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Holstein, Schleswig, Baden, Hesse, Silesia and Posen among others were subjected to foreign rule except Prussia which remained under the control of the German King Frederick William I.

The German states that were under Austrian foreign rule, were brought together to form a single German state in 1871. However, before attaining this unification, the Germans had encountered the following obstacles:

Economic hardships: The Germans were poor with no industries, low income and low levels of education. Such an economic status could not challenge Austria.

Role of Prince Metternich of Austria: Metternich had spies in Germany and in 1819 he passed *The Carlsbad Decrees* that stopped political activities in German universities. This made it impossible for the Germans to unify themselves. Germans were not willing to identify with in the revolutionary movement in order to liberate Germany and this was because of the fear of Austrian spies.

Effect of the Reformation: The reformation which was championed by Martin Luther in 1517 led to the breakup of the Catholic Church and, consequently, the Protestant Church. This divided the Germans. The northern Germans were Protestants. While the southern states were Catholic. These religious differences were a hindrance to German unification.

Lack of strong army: Germany didn't have a well trained single army for all states to fight Austria. All states except Prussia never had an army and even the Prussian army was too weak to challenge Austrians. This delayed German's unification.

Lack of foreign support: The Germans did not get external support like the Italians and this made it difficult for them to address the major obstacle which was Austrian military strength.

Social class differences: The difference between the poor working class and the middle class undermined the success of the German unification. On December 15, 1848 the middle class supported Austria against the Frankfurt parliament members who wanted a socialist revolution.

Poor mass mobilisation: Before the year 1860, majority of the Germans were not informed about the importance of the German unification because of poor mobilisation due to the lack of mass media to sensitise the people.

Opposition from the conservatives: The conservative Prussian junkers and liberals at the May 1848 Frankfurt Assembly ignored the establishment of a strong army against Austria and concentrated more on patriotic issues.

Lack of good leadership: The German states agreed to unite but lacked strong leaders who would challenge Metternich and Austria. Frederick William IV believed in unification but he was a supporter of Austria while leaders of other states wanted to remain independent.

Factors that enabled German unification

Activity 18

Discuss the factors that enabled the Germans to achieve their unification in 1871. Present the outcomes of your discussion to the class.

The collapse of the Congress system by 1830 left Austria with no foreign assistance to check German nationalism.

The downfall of Metternich and his system which were the greatest obstacles in 1848 favoured unification because his successors were weak. They were not strong enough to maintain Metterich's regressive system.

Military reforms like increasing the Prussian army from 500,000 to 750 000 under the effective command of Von Roon and Von Moltke provided military power to challenge Austrian control of German states.

Improvements in the Prussian education system greatly solved the problem of ignorance and disunity that had hindered the unification among the Germans.

Prussia introduced reforms in industry, transport and military theology from 1860 onwards. This enabled her to finance the unification activities and also get modern weapons of war. Improvements in transport, trade, agriculture, industry and military technology strengthened Prussia's economy and army which helped support unification activities, especially wars with Denmark, Austria and France.

The rise of King William I in 1855 in Prussia. He appointed Bismarck a minister president in 1861 who used his position to fight for German unification. William also strengthened the army and the economy and this supported unification efforts.

The 1848 revolutions exposed the weaknesses of the army and disunity as obstacles to unification. This enabled the Germans to address the obstacles to unification.

Foreign support enabled unification efforts because in 1863 Bismarck allied with Austria and Russia to defeat Denmark. With Napoleon III of France and Alexander II of Russia, Bismarck defeated Austria in 1866. With Belgium and the southern German states Bismarck defeated France in 1871.

Mistakes and military weakness of the German enemies favoured unification. For example, the annexation of Schleswig by Denmark violated the 1852 London Treaty and left Denmark isolated in international affairs making it easy to defeat Denmark.

Role of Field Marshal Von Roon and Von Maltke who commanded the Prussian army that defeated Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1871 contributed to success of the German unification.

Improvements in the transport and communication network like the construction of roads, railways and bridges facilitated the movements of Germans patriots from one place or state to another while spreading the propaganda and message of unification. This also explains the success of German unification.

Role Played by Otto Von Bismarck in German Unification

Activity 19

Evaluate the role played by Otto Von Bismarck in the struggle for German unification, from 1850s to 1871. Present your work to the class.

To achieve the German unification, Bismarck played the following roles:

He advised King William I of Prussia not to resign and encouraged him to implement fundamental reforms in Prussia.

He suppressed the Prussian liberals from the Frankfurt parliament. They had spent much time in making speeches and opposed the coalition of a strong army.

He carried out fundamental reforms in the Prussian educational system which reduced on the illiteracy levels that had hindered mobilisation efforts.

He increased the Prussian army from 500,000 to 750,000 under the efficient command of Field Marshal Von Moltke and Von Roon.

He won diplomatic relations with European statesmen and states like Benjamin Disraeli of Britain in 1861 and in 1863 with Russia which enabled Prussia to defeat her enemies without Russia and Britain interfering.

He prepared Germany for the 1866 Austro-Prussian war through the Biarritz treaty with Napoleon III by which France promised neutrality hence facilitated the German unification in 1871.

In 1864 he defeated Denmark in an attempt to liberate Schleswig which was added to Prussia in 1865 following the August 1865 Gerstein convention.

Through his efforts, Prussia defeated Austria at Sadowa in 1866 and this resulted into the liberation of Holstein.

In 1869 he completed the unification of the northern German states and, as a result, a new constitution was promulgated which eliminated Austria from German affairs.

In the 1870 – 1871 Franco-Prussian war was led by Von Bismarck, Prussia defeated France at Sedan and the German unification was officially proclaimed at Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors.

Stages in the German Unification

Activity 20

Describe the different stages taken by the Germans to attain their unification in 1871. Present your work the class.

Defeat of Denmark and annexation of Schleswig

From the late 15th century, Schleswig-Holstein was controlled by Denmark. In 1852, the great powers had agreed to continue this status, but in 1863 the Danish king, Christian IX, annexed Schleswig-Holstein and integrated it more closely into Denmark.

Bismarck feared the Schleswig-Holstein question would unite German nationalists and also strengthen liberal and parliamentary forces in Prussia. He also had a conflict between Prussia and Austria, that would allow foreigners to intervene and determine the fate of the German states. Bismarck took the lead in denouncing Denmark's behaviour. He also turned to Austria and stressed the merits of Austrian-Prussian cooperation both to pre-empt the German nationalists and to **forestall** possible action by Britain, France, and Russia.

Austria was convinced by Bismarck's arguments and issued a joint demand with Prussia in January 1864 that Denmark restore the status quo. When Denmark refused, a joint Austrian-Prussian force occupied Holstein, and then invaded Schleswig. The Danish army was easily crushed by the combined Austrian and Prussian forces. Denmark's refusal to compromise, combined with the fact that its position was not legal, kept the rest of Europe from intervening. By midsummer 1864 the fighting was over. By the Gerstein Convention, of August 1865, Holstein was given to Austria as a reward while Schleswig was added to Prussia.

German unification stages. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

Defeat of Austria and annexation of Holstein

In 1866, Bismarck planned a war against Austria by forming the German Confederation which eliminated Austria. He had asked the Italians to unite with Germany against a common enemy and promised that at the end of the war he would hand over Venetia to Italy.

Besides, Bismarck secretly met Napoleon III and requested him to remain neutral in case war broke out between Austria and Prussia. Napoleon was promised territories along River Rhine but with no written document. Russia had insured Bismarck support because he had chased the Russian rebels who were in Prussia.

In June 1866, Austria declared war on Prussia. Prussia defeated Austria at the battle of Königgrätz. The king and his generals wanted to push on, conquer Bohemia and march to Vienna, but Bismarck, worried that Prussia might be defeated or that France might intervene on Austria's side, decided to make peace with Austria.

By the *Peace of Prague* of 1866, the German Confederation was dissolved; Prussia annexed Schleswig, Holstein, Frankfurt, Hanover, Hesse-Kassel (or Hesse-Cassel), and Nassau; and Austria promised not to intervene in German affairs.

To strengthen Prussian influence, Prussia and several other north German states joined the *North German Confederation* in 1867. King Wilhelm I served as its president, and Bismarck as its chancellor.

Annexation of south German states

After the victory in Austro-Prussian war and creation of North Rhine Confederation, Bismarck planned for the annexation of German states south of Rhine River. He had disappointed and humiliated Napoleon III by refusing to respect the agreement of 1865. Napoleon III requested Bismarck to support him to annex Belgium and Luxembourg. However, his request was rejected. Bismarck used this opportunity to publicise French intentions to the German states. As a result he won the economic and military alliance with southern German states.

At this stage, the unification of Germany was almost completed because all German states were now under a single administration by 1868.

Isolation and defeat of France in the Franco – Prussian war (1870–1871)

A suitable situation for war arose in 1870, when the German Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen was offered the Spanish throne, which had been vacant since 1868. France blocked the candidacy and demanded assurances that no members of the House of Hohenzollern become king of Spain. To provoke France into declaring war with Prussia, Bismarck published the *Ems Telegram*, a carefully edited version of a conversation between King Wilhelm and the French ambassador to Prussia. This conversation had been edited so that each nation felt that its ambassador had been disrespected, thus provoking anger on both sides in favour of war.

France mobilised and declared war on 19 July. The German states saw France as the aggressor. Swept up by nationalism and patriotic fanaticism, they rallied to Prussia's side and provided troops. The Franco-Prussian war (1870) was a great success for Prussia. The German army under the command of the king but controlled by Helmuth von Moltke, won victory. France was defeated at the battle of Sedan.

William's proclamation as emperor in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles; The grand duke of Baden (top step, with hand raised) leads the cheering. Bismarck is in the centre-right wearing white. (Source: www.Wikipedia. org)

By the Frankfurt Treaty, all the southern states and the French provinces of Alsace and Loraine were annexed to the northern German states to form the United German Empire. King William of Prussia was proclaimed German emperor on 18 January 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles.

Similarities and Differences in Italian and German Unification

Activity 21

Compare and contrast the Italian unification to the German unification. Present the results of your work to the class.

Similarities

Both unifications had Austria as a common obstacle in their unification struggle.

Both unifications had the Franco-Prussian war as the final event after which they concluded the unification.

Both unification struggles were an attempt to overthrow the arrangement of the 1815 Vienna Settlement which had put both German and Italian states under foreign domination.

Both unifications used force and violence to accomplish the goal.

Both unifications were held and delayed by the Metternich system where it was not possible to organise revolutions.

In both unifications, there was one state that led the struggle. That was Piedmont in Italy and Prussia in German.

In both unifications there was one outstanding leader who played a big role, Cavour in Italy and Bismarck in Germany.

Both unifications were frustrated by their kings, Charles Albert of Piedmont and Frederick William I of Prussia.

To some extent, all the unifications used diplomacy by their leaders; Bismarck and Cavour.

Both unifications were achieved in the same year: 1871.

Differences

While the unification of Italy was achieved mainly through foreign assistance, that of Germany was achieved by the military strength of the Prussian army.

The unification of Germany was supported by the economic unity of the German states as a result of the customs union which was established by 1844. This was not the case in Italy.

The sensitivity of the pope's position, which was an obstacle in the Italian unification was absent in the German unification.

The Italian unification struggle took a long time (1859 – 1871) while the German unification struggle took a shorter time (1864 – 1871).

The Italian unification was achieved at the expense of some Italian states like Nice which was given to France while no German state was lost during unification efforts.

In the German unification, the capital of Prussia, Berlin, remained the capital of the united Germany while the capital of Piedmont Turino was changed and Rome became the capital of united Italy.

Part Three

The Eastern Question

Activity 22

Analyse the factors that led to decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1820s. Present your work to the class.

The E*astern Question* was a term by European powers to refer to the problems in the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) from 1815 to 1878. During this period various European powers struggled to control Turkish territories.

From the 14ᵗʰ century, Turkey became aggressive and conquered a large area that included part of north Africa (Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and Libya), and eastern Europe (such as Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Crete). It further expanded to cover Walachia, Moldavia and Arabian states up to Mesopotamia and the Indian Ocean.

Within these boundaries, Turkey had many nationalities including Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians, and Africans. This made Turkey a very heterogeneous nation with many races.

Most of these were Christians under Muslim rule. They took advantage of internal administrative problems to demand for their independence.

At the height of its power (1683), the Ottoman Empire controlled territory in the Near East, Middle East, and North Africa, as well as central and southeastern Europe. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

The Eastern Question started with the decline of the Ottoman Empire and this decline was due to the following factors:

Big size: The Ottoman Empire had become too large to be effectively controlled by one administration based at Constantinople. This encouraged the captured states to break away and get their independence.

Growth of nationalism: This was prompted by the desire of different nationalities to struggle for independence from Turkey. For

example, Serbia and Egypt became independent in 1805, Algeria in 1807, and Greece in 1832.

Financial crises: The Turkish administrators were corrupt and embezzled funds which led to a financial crisis, and the decline of the empire.

Decline of military strength: The empire had lost its military strength by the end of the 18th century. That was why revolts like the 1821 Greek war of independence were successful.

Religious differences: The Muslims leaders exposed Christians to a lot of suffering and discrimination in education, administration and unfair taxation. Most of the revolts against Turkey were caused by the persecution of Christians. Revolts of Christians in Greece and Bulgaria weakened Turkey. The **persecutions** attracted the attention of the Christian countries of Russia, Austria and France. Their intervention worsened the problem leading to the success of the revolts in Greek and Bulgaria.

Influence of French revolutionary ideas: The states under the Turkish domination took advantage of the success of the French revolution to also demand for their independence.

Presence of powerful rival states: The interests of the big powers also contributed to the collapse of the Turkish Empire. Britain competed with Turkey in international trade while Austria and France were opposed to the influence of Turkey over the many states that it controlled.

Weak leaders: After its expansion to the Middle East, the Ottoman empire was ruled by weak sultans such as Muhammad and Abdul Al Madjid.

Rise of influential personalities: Popular leaders in Greece like Prince Alexander Hypslant and Capdistrious who challenged the sultans of the Ottoman Empire led to conflicts.

European selfish interests: European major powers like Britain, France and Russia aimed to break up the Ottoman Empire so as to expand their influence.

Russia constantly attacked Turkey and even exaggerated the problems in Turkey to the extent of referring to Turkey as "*the sick man of Europe*". This was because of the various political, economic, military and administrative weaknesses. Russia and other

foreign powers incited and supported the Greeks, the Wallachians, Moldavians, Bosnians and Bulgarians to revolt against Turkey.

The Greek War of Independence

Activity 23

Examine the reasons for the Greek war of independence against Turkey. Present your work to the class.

Nationalism: The Greeks were part of the Ottoman Empire since the 14th century when the Turks conquered and colonised them. By the beginning of the 19th century, nationalism had grown in Greece. In 1821 the Greeks started demanding for their independence in one of the districts called Morea where the Christians started killing Muslims and Muslims reacted by killing Christians. This led to the war for Greek independence.

The Greeks revolted against Turkish administration because of the desire for self rule and liberation from Turkish domination.

Greek ancient glory: The Greeks are credited with the beginning of modern civilisation. They believed in their superiority over the Turkish colonial masters. They revolted against Turkey in order to revive their ancient glory.

Level of literacy: Greece was the most civilised of Turkey's colonies. The Greeks were well educated. Because of their education, they were able to organise a rebellion against the Turkey.

Religious persecutions: The Ottoman Empire consisted of different religious groups that often turned against one another and the Muslim leaders of the empire did not respect other religions. There was no freedom of worship and many Christians were killed by the Muslims. The Greeks rose up in 1821 in order to get freedom of worship.

Influence of the French revolution of 1789: The success of the French revolution and the spread of revolutionary ideas in the empire inspired the Greeks to revolt. The Greek nationalists used the revolutionary ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity to mobilise the Greeks to fight for their independence.

Foreign assistance: The Greeks were supported by other European countries like France, Britain and Russia which inspired them to fight Turkey for their independence.

Collapse of the Congress System: The Congress System which was formed in 1815 as an association to fight the forces of nationalism and liberalism, had by 1821 started to collapse. The Greeks took advantage of this demand for their independence.

Unfair taxation: The Muslims imposed unfair taxation on Greeks. Greeks paid a lot of taxes and Muslims benefited at the expense of taxpayers. The Greeks rose up to get their independence and to stop unfair taxation.

Weaknesses of Turkey: In the 19th century, the Turkish military and political control weakened. This encouraged the Greeks to revolt against Turkish domination. The Greeks had also acquired naval supremacy over the Ottoman Empire and this encouraged them to go in for war to gain their independence.

Birth of a secret society: This was known as *Heteria Philika*, or the association/society of friends, lead by Alexandros Ypsilantis and Capodistrous. It was founded in 1814 with the major aim of driving the Turkish administration from Greece. By 1821, the society had become the official mouthpiece of the Greek war of independence with over 20,000 members.

Course of the Greek War of Independence

Activity 24

Describe the course of the Greek war of independence and present the result of your work to the class.

In March 1821, Ypsilantis organised a revolt in Moldavia and Wallachia against the Turkish Ottoman Empire. His aim was to first liberate the two islands before embarking on Greece. He also wanted to divert Turkish attention to the two islands and give the Greeks chance to declare their independence. They massacred many Turkish officials and nationals.

However, this revolt failed due to poor organisation and lack of full support from Wallachia. The result was that Ypsilantis was

defeated and fled to Austria where he was imprisoned for seven years by Metternich. Meanwhile, the Greeks massacred about 25 000 Muslims. The sultan of Turkey retaliated by massacring about 30 000 Greeks and hanged Bishop Gregorios in Constantinople on easter day.

The Greeks embarked on serious civil war that the Turks failed to suppress. In 1824, the sultan, overwhelmed by the continued Greek resistance and the threat of Russian intervention, requested Muhammad Ali of Egypt for military assistance. He sent an Egyptian army under the command of his son Ibrahim Pasha. The army conquered Greece from the Greeks in 1824. He headed to Morea, killing many Christians. This temporarily stopped the Greek revolt and it seemed a success for Turkey.

Muhammad Ali, the sultan of Egypt (1769 –1849). (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

In 1825, Tsar Alexander I of Russia called the Saint Petersburg Congress which was only attended by four powers over the Greek crisis and therefore failed to solve the crisis. The failure of the Saint Petersburg Congress to settle the Greek revolt and the continued massacring of Christians by Muhammad Ali gave Russia chance to openly assist the Greeks. Britain and France which were against this idea later joined Russia to assist the Greeks because they did not want to see Russia acting alone and increase her influence in the Balkan region to their disadvantage.

Despite protests from Austria and Prussia which sympathised with Turkey, Britain, France and Russia signed a treaty with Turkey in which Greece was granted self rule, but under the Turkish overlordship. This treaty, however, insured that force had to be applied if Turkey failed to accept the terms. Turkey refused to accept these terms expecting support from Prussia and Austria.

As a result, the French sent troops to Greece, the Russians marched an army to Turkey, and the British fleet sailed to Alexandria, Egypt. However, hostilities did not end until Russia and the Ottomans signed the treaty of Adrianople on September 14, 1829, and the Ottomans agreed to give up control of Greece. Britain, France, and Russia proclaimed Greece's independence in the London Protocol,

signed in February 1830. In treaty of Constantinople in 1832, the powers formalised their protection of Greece. This treaty included only southern mainland Greece and the Peloponnesus, excluding vast areas that are now part of Greece, but its signing was of importance.

Effects of the Greek War of Independence

Activity 25

Evaluate the consequences of the Greek war of independence. Present your work to the class.

The Greek war of independence led to massive loss of life as it led to the death of soldiers and civilians.

The Greeks got their independence in 1832. The Greeks together with the French and the British defeated the Turks at the battle of Navarino Bay in 1827 and in 1832 Greek independence was declared.

The war forced the sultan of Turkey to get conditional support from Egypt. It was agreed that at the end of the war Egypt was to be rewarded with Syria.

It contributed to the decline of Turkey and that was why Tsar Nicholas of Russia referred to Turkey as *"a sick man of Europe"*.

It led to the Syrian question which was a result of sultan's failure to reward Mohamed Ali of Egypt for his assistance against the Greeks. This forced Mohamed Ali to occupy Syria by force. This led to war between Turkey and Egypt.

The Greek war increased the rise of nationalism in Turkey. The success of the Greek war of independence encouraged other small states in the Ottoman Empire to demand for independence like in Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Montenegro and Bosnia.

The war led to the collapse of the Congress system. When the European powers met at Verona in 1822 and at Saint Petersburg in 1825, they were divided over the Greek war. Russia, France and Britain supported the Greeks while Austria and Prussia supported the Turks.

The war increased Russian influence in the Balkans through different treaties signed with Turkey like the treaty of Adrianople in 1829 and the Unkiaar Skelessi treaty in 1833 in which Russia gained military control of some Turkish territories.

The Greek war of independence led to hostility between European powers against Russia. Britain and France were not happy with the increase of Russian influence in the Balkans. Russian interests in Turkey also threatened the British and French economic interests in Turkey. Later this led to the Crimean war.

The Syrian Question

Activity 26

Examine the causes of the Syrian question in 1832–1841. Present your work to the class.

The Syrian question or the *Second Egyptian–Ottoman War* or *Second Turco-Egyptian War* lasted from 1832 until 1841 and was fought mainly in Syria. This is why it is called the (second) Syrian war. It was a conflict between the Sultan Mahmud II of Ottoman Turkey and Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt over the control of Syria, Morea and Damascus from 1832 to 1841. This war was caused by the following factors:

The Greek war of independence: This war forced the sultan of Turkey, Mahmud II to request Egypt in 1822 to support him to suppress the Greek revolt in Morea. He promised him some territories as reward for this assistance. This is how Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt got involved in the Balkan affairs, leading to conflicts with sultan in Syria.

The failure of Sultan Mahmud II of Turkey to honour his promise to Muhammad: Muhammad accepted to help the sultan in return for the territories of Morea, Damascus, Syria and Palestine. However, after the war with the Greeks, the sultan of Turkey failed to fulfill his promise. This caused the war between him and Muhammad resulting in the Syria question.

The military weaknesses of Turkey: Turkey had become militarily weak and this encouraged the sultan of Egypt to send his army to occupy Syria. This resulted in the Syrian question.

The economic strength of Egypt: Egypt was economically stronger than Turkey and this enabled her to arm her soldiers and capture Syria. Egypt also wanted to use Syria as her economic base in Turkey.

The success of the Greek war of independence: The Greeks achieved their independence after defeating combined forces of the Turkey and Egypt. So, the sultan of Turkey did not see any reason to reward Egypt. This forced Egypt to capture Syria, leading to the Syrian question.

The London treaty of 1827: This granted self-governance to Greece which meant that Muhammad Ali had not fully assisted the sultan to defeat the Greeks. The sultan of Turkey therefore refused to give Syria to Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, leading to misunderstanding between them.

Course of the Syrian Question

Activity 27

Describe the course of the Syrian question. Present your work to the class.

The Syrian question was caused by the failure of the sultan to Turkey respect the promise that he had made to Muhammad Ali after the Greek war of independence. He had promised Egypt the territories of Syria and Damascus as a reward for Egyptian military support against the Greeks.

Muhammad Ali decided to occupy Syria by force. In 1832 Egyptian troops overran Syria. The Egyptian invasion forced Mahmud II to seek Russian assistance. Russian forces poured into the Balkans and this worried Austria, Britain and France. The three powers fearing Russian expansion were forced to put pressure on the sultan Mahmud II to surrender Syria to Muhammad Ali, which the Sultan did in April 1833.

This was confirmed by the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi of July 1833. This treaty placed the Ottoman Empire under the exclusive protection of the Russians. This allowed them to dominate the straits of Bosporus and Dardanelles. Britain, wanted to nullify any Russian gains, by seeking to internationalise the straits.

Russia influenced the sultan to include a secret clause in the treaty which stated that the straits of Bosporus and Dardanelles would be closed in times of war to all ships except those of Russia. Thus Russia militarily and politically benefited to the disappointment of other European powers.

On June 29, 1839 an invading Ottoman army was again destroyed in Syria by Muhammad's general, Ibrahim Pasha at the battle of Nezib, putting him in possession of the whole of Syria. This threatened to place Istanbul and the entire eastern Mediterranean under his control. After the battle, the Ottoman fleet defected to Muhammad Ali. Britain, Russia and Austria promised to support the Ottoman Empire and to force Muhammad Ali (who had the support of France and Spain) to withdraw from Syria. Britain, Russia, France and Prussia signed the *Straits Convention of London* in 1841 by which the Syrian question was settled.

Muhammad Ali was forced to denounce his **claims** in Syria. He was confirmed as the hereditary ruler of Egypt and Turkey recovered Crete and Arabia. This convention also forced Russia to denounce the treaty of Unkiar Skellessi of 1833. Turkey would close the straits of Bosporus and Dardanelles to the warships of all nations including Russia so that no state threatened her. This was a great diplomatic victory for the British Prime Minister Lord Palmerstone.

Russia and France lost in the Syrian question and they were not to disturb Europe again. The situation remained calm and there was no war in the region up to 1853 when the Crimean war broke out in the Balkan region.

Effects of the Syrian Question

Activity 28

Assess the impact of the Syrian question. Present the outcomes of your assessment to the class.

It increased Russian imperialism in the Balkans: After taking Syria by force, Egypt threatened Constantinople and in order to save the city, Turkey requested for help from Russia. This enabled Russia to intervene in the Balkans.

It led to the unpopularity of Louis Philippe in France: Philippe had achieved glory by helping Muhammad Ali of Egypt to control Syria. However, he later withdrew his troops from Egypt and this made the glory seekers unhappy with Louis Philippe and discredited him in France.

Big powers intervention in the Balkans: This was when those big powers come as saviors, because Russia wanted to protect Constantinople while France and Britain wanted to stop Russia from dominating the Balkans.

Rivalry and suspicion between European powers: Russian influence increased in the Balkans as a result of the Syrian question through the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi which allowed Russia to intervene in Balkan affairs. As a result, up to the 1870s, Britain and Austria threatened to declare war on Russia.

Poor relations between Egypt, France and Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia: The expulsion of France and Egypt by big powers from Syria in 1841 after signing the Straits Convention, caused tension among European powers.

It worsened the conditions of the Ottoman Empire: It was another blow to the empire after the Greek war of independence which had hit the life of the empire. It weakened the Ottoman Empire because many small states also demanded for independence.

Hatred between Egypt and Turkey: The two countries never reconciled until Turkey totally disintegrated in 1914.

The Crimean War

Activity 29

Examine the causes of the Crimean war of 1854–1856. Present the result of your work to the class.

The Crimean war. (Source: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

The Crimean war was fought between Russia and the allied forces of the United Kingdom, France, the Ottoman Empire, and Sardinia. It began on the Crimean peninsula in 1853. The allies objected to expanding Russian power in the Black Sea area and to the seizing of land from the Ottoman Empire. Russia was defeated in 1856.

The war was part of a long-running contest between the major European powers for influence over territories of the declining Ottoman Empire. Most of the conflict took place in the Crimean peninsula, but there were smaller campaigns in western Anatolia, Caucasus, the Baltic Sea, the Pacific Ocean and the White Sea.

The Crimean War is known for the logistical and tactical errors during the land campaign on both sides (the naval side saw a successful allied campaign which eliminated most of the ships of the Russian navy in the Black Sea). Nonetheless, it is sometimes considered to be one of the first modern wars as it "introduced technical changes which affected the future course of warfare," including the first tactical use of railways and the electric telegraph. It is also famous for the work of Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole, who **pioneered** modern nursing practices while caring for wounded British soldiers.

Causes of the war

Many factors contributed to the outbreak of the Crimean war.

The violation of 1841 Straits Convention: Russia had violated this convention by capturing Wallachia and Moldavia which were Turkish territories.

Guardianship of the holy places of Jerusalem and Bethlehem: France and Russia were struggling to control the holy places of Jerusalem and Bethlehem which made the outbreak of the Crimean war inevitable. The sultan of Turkey Abd al-Madjid refused to give the control of the holy lands to Russia, and gave them to France. This prompted Russia to invade the Turkish territories of Wallachia and Moldavia, leading to the Crimean war.

Napoleon III of France: He wanted to revenge for his uncle's defeat in the 1812 Moscow campaign and this led to the Crimean war where France got a chance of fighting with Russia in 1854.

The refusal of Tsar Nicholas of Russia to recognise Napoleon III as an emperor: Napoleon III greatly detested the idea of Tsar Nicholas referring to him as "*My friend*" instead of "*My dear brother*" as was the norm of saluting fellow emperors in Europe. This worsened the conflict between them and lead to the war.

The collapse of the Congress system: The idea of the congress system was promoted by Metternich. However, the 1830 and 1848 revolutions led to the fall of Metternich and eventually the collapse of the congress system. European matters could no longer be diplomatically solved and that is why the conflict among European powers ended in war.

Protection of British commercial interests: This forced the British ambassador in Constantinople to encourage the sultan of Turkey to stand firm in his decision to give the right to protect the holy places to France and not Russia. This forced Russia to occupy Turkish territories, leading to the war.

The weakness of Turkey as the "sick man of Europe": Turkey mistreated her subjects and this led to revolts. Those revolts attracted the attention of the big powers who intervened in the empire's affairs. Besides, at the end of the 18th century the captured states of Turkey began breaking away. This encouraged Russia to occupy Wallachia and Moldavia leading to war in 1854.

The Russian occupation of Wallachia in July 1853: Moldavia and Wallachia were semi independent provinces of the Ottoman Empire under the sultan of Turkey. Russia occupied them to force the sultan to accept her claim of protecting the holy places. The sultan protested Russian occupation and declared war against Russia in October 1853. France and Britain joined Turkey and they shifted the war from Wallachia and Moldavia to the Crimean Island in Russia.

The role of some personalities: Strafford the British Ambassador in Constantinople encouraged the sultan of Turkey to give holy places to France and not Russia and this led to the war.

The Sinope massacre 1853: It was the most immediate event that led to the Crimean war. When Turkey declared war on Russia, she reacted by bombing a Turkish warship at Sinope, a Turkish province, in the Black Sea, killing many Turks on board. This attracted France and Britain to help Turkey by declaring war on Russia in March 1854.

Course of the Crimean War

Activity 30

Describe the course of the Crimean war, and then present your work to the class.

The war in the Danubian provinces: March – August 1854

The Danube campaign was opened when the Russians occupied the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia in May 1853, bringing their forces to the north bank of the river Danube. In response, the Ottoman Empire also moved their forces up to the river. This established monopolies at Vidin in the west, and Silistra, in the east, near the mouth of the Danube.

An Anglo-French naval expedition went to the Baltic in August but this was not effective and the area was in any case irrelevant to the causes of the war. Troops were also sent to Gallipoli to make a thrust into the Balkans. However, in August the Russians withdrew from Moldavia and Wallachia because Austria threatened to intervene,

but never actually intervened because she was internally too weak to risk war. Austria remained neutral in the Crimean war.

The war in the Crimea: September 1854–January 1855

The Crimean campaign opened in September 1854 with the landing of the allied force of 50,000 soldiers at Eupatoria, north of Sevastopol. After crossing the Alma River on September 30, 1854, the allies under the command of the British and French generals, Raglan and Saint Arnauld moved on to invade Sevastopol. The Russian army retreated to the interior. A Russian assault on the allied supply base at Balaclava was repulsed on October 25, 1854.

The failure of the British and French to follow up the battle of Balaclava led directly to another and much more bloody battle— the battle of Inkerman. On November 5, 1854, the Russians attempted to raise the siege at Sevastopol with an attack against the allies near the town of Inkerman which resulted in another victory for the allies.

Meanwhile, at Sevastopol, the allies had surrounded the city with **entrenchments** and, in October 1854, unleashed an all–out bombardment (the first of many) against the city's defenses. Winter, and a deteriorating supply situation on both sides, led to a halt in ground operations. Sevastopol remained invested by the allies, while the allied armies were hemmed in by the Russian army in the interior.

The war in the Crimea: January–September 1855

In February 1855 the Russians attacked the allied base at Eupatoria, where an Ottoman army had camped and was threatening Russian supply routes. The battle saw the Russians defeated, and led to a change in command. On the allied side the emphasis of the siege shifted to the right-hand sector of the lines, against the fortifications on Malakoff hill. In March there was fighting over the fort at Mamelon, located on a hill in front of the Malakoff. Several weeks of fighting saw little change in the front line, and the Mamelon remained in Russian hands.

In April the allies staged a second all-out bombardment, leading to an artillery duel with the Russian guns, but no ground assault followed. In May the allies landed a force at Kerch, to the east, opening another front in the Crimea in an attempt to outflank the

Russian army. The landings were successful, but the force made little progress thereafter. In June a third bombardment was followed by a successful attack on the Mamelon, but a follow-up assault on the Malakoff failed with heavy losses. During this time the garrison commander, Admiral Nakhimov, suffered a fatal bullet wound and died on 30 June 1855.

In August the Russians again attacked the base at Balaclava. The resulting battle of Tchernaya was a defeat for the Russians, who suffered heavy casualties. September saw the final assault. On 5th September another bombardment was followed by an assault on 8th September resulting in the capture of Malakoff by the French, and the collapse of the Russian defenses. The city fell on 9th September 1855, after about a year-long siege.

At this point both sides were exhausted, and there were no further military operations in the Crimea before the onset of winter. In 1856, the Crimean war ended with the signing of the *Paris Peace Treaty* between Russia and the allied powers.

Effects of the Crimean War

Activity 31

Analyse the effects of the Crimean war in European politics. Present the results of your work to the class.

The war and the treaty had political, social and economic effects on Europe.

The war marked the highest loss of lives and massive destruction of property in the history of Europe, 300,000 – 375,000 on the side of the allied powers and 220,000 troops dead on the side of Russia.

It marked the foundation of the nursing profession by English nurses, Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole, and the establishment of the Red Cross Society 1864. This improved on medical services.

The Crimean war. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

During the Crimean war, from 1853 to 1856, many British soldiers died from wounds and disease. Florence Nightingale set up a hospital near the battlefront and helped reduce the death rate among the sick and wounded.

The Russian revolution of 1917 broke out because the Tsar's regime became unpopular due to the defeat.

The war led Alexander II the successor of Nicholas I to start off efforts to overcome Russia's backwardness so as to achieve high levels of development like other European powers, especially in agriculture and industry.

The Italian unification efforts were boosted because Cavour was able to get assistance from France that helped in the liberation of Lombardy.

Napoleon III's prestige and popularity increased in France because of victory over Russia, their traditional enemy.

The Orthodox Christians in the Balkans were exposed to harsh treatment under Turkish rule.

The war marked the final collapse of the Congress System since the powers in the alliance fought against each other.

Free navigation on big waters like Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea and Danube River was guaranteed as a result of this war.

The independence of Turkey was guaranteed and was temporarily saved from Russian imperialism.

Tsar Nicholas I of Russia was forced to resort to fundamental reforms mainly in agriculture and industry.

The war led to the manufacture and use of more sophisticated weapons that were to be used during the world war II.

Because of siding with Russia, Austria lost the support of France and Britian and this paved the way for the unification of Germany and Italy.

The war attracted visitors from different parts of Europe. This changed the outlook towards political and social life in Turkey.

The 1856 Paris Treaty and its Impact on Europe

Activity 32

Assess the impact of the 1856 Paris Peace Treaty on European politics. Present your work to the class.

The Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 was a document that concluded the Crimean war of 1854–1856. It was signed by France, Britain, Turkey and Russia under the chairmanship of Napoleon III of France. It had the following impact on Europe.

The Paris Peace Treaty ensured the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire and admitted Turkey to the concert of Europe.

This treaty forced the sultan of Turkey to grant fair treatment to his Orthodox Christian subjects and temporarily checked Russian ambitions in the Balkans.

The Paris Peace Treaty also revised the Straits Convention of 1841 declaring the Black Sea neutral. It also made territorial adjustments by giving Bessarabia to Moldavia from Russia.

The treaty internationalised the navigation of Danube River and increased Napoleon III's prestige and popularity both in France and in Europe.

The treaty recognised Italy and Italy got support for her unification.

The treaty humiliated Russia following her territorial losses and worsened relations between the European powers with Russia.

Finally, the treaty led to the disintegration of the Turkish Empire by granting self governance to Moldavia and Wallachia.

The discussion of the European diplomats at Paris Congress (25th February up to 30th March, 1856). (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

The the Berlin Congress of 1878

Activity 33

Evaluate the reasons that led to the calling of the 1878 Berlin congress. Present your work to the class.

The congress of Berlin, which lasted from June 13, 1878 to July 13, 1878, was an assembly of representatives from Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire. Delegates from Greece, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro attended the sessions concerning their states, but were not members of the congress. It was presided over by the German chancellor Otto Von Bismarck and called to resolve the problem of the Eastern Question by renegotiating the treaty of San Stefano. That treaty, which had concluded the Russo-Turkish war in 1878, imposed extremely harsh terms on the Ottoman Empire. The other European powers objected.

The European power delegates at Berlin (June 13, 1878–July 13, 1878). (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

After winning the Russo-Turkish war, Russia by the San Stefano treaty of 1878 imposed extremely severe terms on the Ottoman Empire. Other European powers, notably Austria-Hungary and Britain, were alarmed at the growth of Russia's power and of the independent states created in the Balkans by the treaty. Concerned for their own interests in the Middle East, they insisted that the treaty be modified. Count Gyula Andrássy, foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, invited the European powers concerned to meet at Berlin.

Reasons for the calling of Berlin Congress

The failure of the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856 to settle revolts within the Balkans forced Otto Von Bismarck to organise the Berlin Congress in 1878.

Sultan Abd al-Madjid of Turkey failed to treat Christians fairly as promised during the Paris Peace Treaty of 1856.

Russian interests in the Ottoman Empire and the signing of the treaty of San Stefano in 1878 contributed to the calling of the congress.

There was need to settle territorial disputes among the European powers; for example, those between Russia, Turkey and Austria in the Balkans.

The congress was aimed at saving the Ottoman Empire from disintegrating as a result of Russia's imperialism.

The congress was also called to address the commercial rivalry between Russia, Britain and Russian imperialism which threatened Britain's trade.

Rebellions like in Bosnia and Herzegovina which were crashed with extreme brutality attracted the attention of the great powers. This led to the calling of the congress.

There was need to address the **complaints** of different states which were struggling for independence. These included Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria which had been subjected to the oppressive rule of the Ottoman Turks for a long time.

Bismarck wanted to maintain good relations with Austria-Hungary and Russia so as to maintain the balance of power in Europe.

Bismarck's desire to promote German **supremacy** and glory after unification in Europe also contributed to the calling of Berlin Congress in 1878.

Impact of the Berlin Congress on Europe

Activity 34

Assess the impact of the Berlin congress on European affairs. Present your work to the class.

There was peace in Europe for about 30 years, from 1878 to 1914 when world war I broke out.

France was given Tunisia in North Africa to compensate her for the loss of Alsace and Loraine during the 1870–1871 Franco – Prussian war.

The congress forced the Turkish sultan to promise better treatment to his Christian subjects.

The San Stefano treaty which was imposed on Turkey by Russia in March 1878 was brought to an end in order to save the Ottoman Empire from disintegrating.

Otto Von Bismarck who chaired the Berlin Congress gained international influence as a peace loving figure.

Italy lost her territory of Tunisia in North Africa which was handed over to France.

Russia lost control over Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria.

The congress ignored and suppressed nationalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This increased the conflicts in the Balkans in later years.

The southeast of Europe after the Berlin Congress. (Source: www. Wikipedia.org)

The relationship between Russia and Germany became worse as Russia refused to the renew the Dreikaiserbund League of 1872–1873 between Russia, Germany and Austria because Russia felt that Germany and Austria were not true friends.

It greatly led to the outbreak of the 1912–1913 Balkan wars which left a lot of damages in central Europe.

The Balkan wars broke out in two phases; the first in 1912 and the second in 1913. The first were organised by the Balkan Christians in mainly Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece against the oppressive policies of the Turkish Sultan. The second broke out mainly due to conflicts among the Christian states over sharing the disintegrating Ottoman Empire.

Unit summary

The period 1836–1878 was marked by great events in the history of Europe. It was a period dominated by revolutions, where almost all European countries were affected. Other major events were the unifications achieved by the Italians and the Germans in 1871 after defeating Austria. This inspired other oppressed people to demand for their independence. This led to the outbreak of a series of wars in the Balkans. For example, the Greek war of independence.

Glossary

Abdicate: to give up the position of being king or queen.

Absorption: the process of a smaller country, group, etc. becoming part of a larger country or group.

Activist: a person who works to achieve political or social change, especially as a member of an organisation with particular aims.

Armistice: a formal agreement during a war to stop fighting and discuss making peace.

Atrocity: a cruel and violent act, especially in a war.

Bankruptcy: the state of being bankrupt; without enough money to pay what you owe.

Buffer state: a small country between two powerful states that helps keep peace between them.

Capitulation: act of agreeing to do something that you have been refusing to do for a long time. Act of ending resistance or accepting defeat.

Claim: to demand or ask for something because you believe it is your legal right to own or to have it.

Complain: to say that you are annoyed, unhappy or not satisfied with somebody/something.

Confederation: an organisation consisting of countries, businesses, etc. that have joined together in order to help each other.

Conservative: opposed to great or sudden change; showing that you prefer traditional styles and values.

Convince: to make somebody/yourself believe something is true

to persuade somebody to do something

Dissatisfaction: a feeling that you are not pleased and satisfied.

Divert: to make somebody/something change direction

To take somebody's thoughts or attention away from something

Entrenchment: the fact of something being firmly established.

Extravagancy: state of being extravagant; spending a lot more money or using a lot more of something than you can afford or than is necessary.

Federation: a country consisting of a group of individual states that have control over their own affairs but are controlled by a central government for national decisions, etc.

Forestall: to prevent something from happening or somebody from doing something by doing something first.

Infallibility: act of never being wrong, never making mistakes or always doing what it is supposed to do.

Interference: act of helping people by addressing problems they face.

Nation-state: group of people with the same culture, language, etc. who have formed an independent country.

Peacemaker: a person who tries to encourage people or countries to stop arguing or fighting and to make peace.

Peninsula: an area of land that is almost surrounded by water but is joined to a larger piece of land.

Persecution: act of treating somebody in a cruel and unfair way, especially because of their race, religion or political beliefs.

Plebiscite: a vote by the people of a country or a region on an issue that is very important.

Resign: to officially tell somebody that you are leaving your job, an organisation, etc.

Slum: an area of a city that is very poor and where the settlements are dirty and in bad condition.

Supremacy: a position in which you have more power, authority or status than anyone else.

Unification: act of unity; to join people, things, parts of a country, etc. together so that they form a single unit or country.

Uprising: a situation in which a group of people join together in order to fight against the people who are in power.

Revision questions

1. Account for the outbreak of the 1848 revolutions.
2. What were the effects of the 1848 revolutions?
3. What were the common characteristics of the 1848 revolutions?
4. Explain why Britain escaped the 1848 revolutions.
5. All the 1848 revolutions in Europe failed with the exception of France. Why?
6. Explain the factors which delayed the Italian unification.
7. Why was the struggle for Italian unification successful between 1850 and 1871?
8. Explain the contribution of Camillo Benso di Cavour in the Italian Unification.
9. Examine the role played by foreign powers in the unification of Italy.
10. Assess the role of King Victor Emmanuel II in the unification of Italy.
11. Explain the obstacles to the German unification before 1860.
12. Account for the success of the unification of Germany.
13. Describe the role played by the Prince Otto von Bismarck in the German unification.

14. Compare and contrast the Italian unification with German unification.

15. Why did Tsar Nicholas II of Russia describe the Turkish Empire as the 'sick man of Europe'?

16. Account for the outbreak of the Greek war of independence in 1821.

17. Assess the impact of the 1821–1832 Greek war of independence on Europe.

18. What were the causes of the Crimean war of 1854–1856?

19. What were the effects of the 1854–1856 Crimean war?

20. Assess the significance of the 1856 Paris Peace Treaty in Europe.

21. What were the reasons for summoning the Berlin Congress in 1878?

22. Assess the impact of the Berlin Congress of 1878 on Europe.

Unit 7

National Duties and Obligations

Key unit competence

Analyse the national duties and obligations

Introduction

National Itorero Commission, Imihigo contract performances, umuganda community activities and community policing are some of the several other home-grown solutions chosen by the government of Rwanda to overcome problems in its recent history. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, the government of Rwanda decided to rebuild Rwanda and her economy using Rwandan cultural values and practices.

It is in this regard that Itorero was restored in 2007 whereas Imihigo was initiated in 2006. To these two national duties and obligations, umuganda has also been added to enhance socio-economic development by using the Rwandan culture of volunteerism. Since peace is a major order of development, the government has introduced community policing which engages the community in ensuring peace.

All these home-grown solutions have already helped the country to make tremendous achievements even if some challenges encountered in carrying out these policies are yet to be overcome.

Links to other subjects

This unit can be linked to other subjects like General Studies and Communication Skills

Main points to be covered in this unit

- ◉ Background of national duties and obligations
- ◉ Structure of national duties and obligations
- ◉ Role played by national duties and obligations in the development of the country
- ◉ Contributions of Rwandan citizens and non-citizens towards national duties and obligations (Itorero, community policing, Imihigo and Umuganda)
- ◉ Challenges faced during the implementation of national duties and obligations

Activity 1

Carry out research on national duties and describe the historical background of Itorero ry'Igihugu (National Itorero Commission). Thereafter, present the results of your findings to the class.

1. Define the term "*Itorero ry'Igihugu*".
2. Describe the background of Itorero ry'Igihugu.

Activity 2

Analyse the specific objectives of Itorero ry'Igihugu. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 3

Research on national duties and explain the vision and the mission of National Itorero Commission and evaluate the achievements of the National Itorero Commission. Present the results of your study to the class.

Activity 4

Conduct research on national duties and obligations and explain Rwanda's national taboos. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 5

Carry out a study on national duties and obligations and describe the background of Umuganda. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 6

Evaluate the achievements of Umuganda activities. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 7

Define the concept of Imihigo and describe its background. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 8

Evaluate the impact of Imihigo. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 9

Examine Imihigo challenges. Present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 10

Assess the implementation of Imihigo. Thereafter, present the results of your findings to the class.

Activity 11

Describe the structure of the community policing and evaluate its contribution in ensuring security.

Activity 12

Explain the day-to-day activities of community policing initiatives.

Itorero ry'Igihugu

In precolonial Rwanda, the *Itorero* was a cultural school. It was also the channel through which the nation conveyed messages on national culture to the people. This included information on language, patriotism, social relations, sports, dances and songs, and defence of the nation. It also played the role of a national forum for grooming leaders. Itorero trainees would delve deeply in discussions relating to national programmes and Rwanda's cultural values with the aim of reaching a common vision and instilling in themselves the virtues of humility, good conduct, and common understanding of what the country would expect of them, and the role of interdependence in the building of healthy socio-economic relations.

Today, the Itorero is a Rwandan civic education institution which teaches Rwandese to preserve their culture by believing in national unity, social solidarity, patriotism, integrity, bravery, tolerance, and the dos and don'ts of the society. Through Itorero Rwandans are also informed of government policies and programmes. This strengthens ownership of government programmes and promotes the role of the population in their implementation.

Historical background of Itorero ry'Igihugu

Itorero ry'Igihugu was a school in which a sense of patriotism, voluntarism and commitment to service was developed. Its activities included, military training, sports, and artistic expression which reflected patience, patriotism, heroism, and keeping secrets, recitals and music. Consequently, young people grew up with a good understanding and attachment to their culture. It was also through Itorero ry'Igihugu that future leaders were trained. They were taught cultural taboos, virtues of hard work, voluntarism, mutual aid and collaboration with others. It was through the activities of Itorero ry'Igihugu that Rwanda as a nation expanded and developed. Itorero was for boys. Girls were educated in urubohero where they learned to perform household activities like the art of making mats. During colonial rule these institutions were suppressed, and replaced by schools which exclusively focused on the cultural aspects of music and dancing. The suppression of institutions such as Itorero ry'Igihugu which brought Rwandans together in a non-discriminatory manner led to the development of divisions that partly led to the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

Between May 1998 and March 1999, the consultative meetings in Urugwiro recommended the revival of cultural values to promote good behaviours of citizens. It is in this spirit that the Rwanda government decided to draw from the Rwandan culture some home grown solutions to address challenges in governance, the economy and social welfare.

The idea of re-establishing Itorero ry'Igihugu was adopted during the leadership retreat that took place in Akagera in February 2007. It is in this perspective that the cabinet meeting of 12th November 2007 decided to revive Itorero ry'Igihugu and use it to instill a new mindset among Rwandans for speedy achievement of the development goals enshrined in Vision 2020.

Itorero ry'Igihugu was later revived at the official launch presided upon by His Excellency the President of the Republic of Rwanda on 16/11/2007 in the parliament buildings.

Rationale behind Itorero ry'Igihugu

Before colonialism, Itorero ry' Igihugu functioned as a school in which Rwandans would be mentored in Rwandan culture, and the values and taboos involved. This encouraged mutual respect, social

cohesion, national unity, patriotism, integrity, harmony and other virtues. These teachings were intended to help the young people to understand and uphold their culture. Intore, would be mainly trained in debating matters of national interest and in Rwandan cultural values.

Itorero ry'Igihugu has the objective of training self-respecting citizens who are identified by their national values, and are eager to quickly embrace innovations that have positive impact on their social welfare. Itorero ry'Igihugu also aims at cultivating visionary, patriotic, and exemplary leaders who promote the well-being of people at all levels of governance. A culture of selflessness and volunteerism is also being revived and entrenched among Rwandans. The mediation committees, Gacaca's people of integrity, community health counselors, the National Youth Council members, Women Council members and counselors at various administrative levels constitute groups of volunteers in the service of the nation.

What the Itorero ry'igihugu teaches is unique because it is based on principles and values of Rwandan culture. On the other hand, Urugerero (National Service) has much in common with what takes place in other countries. Participating in Itorero is the obligation of every Rwandan, regardless of status and social group. Participants include children from the age of seven years and the youth from 18 to 35 years. For the latter age group, participating in Urugerero is obligatory.

Specific objectives of Itorero ry'Igihugu

- Equip Rwandans with the capacity to analyse their problems in order to find solutions.
- Promote the Kinyarwanda language.
- Mentor Rwandans in collective action, team spirit and promotion of innovation and performance contracts.
- Mentor Rwandans to understand and participate in the implementation of national programmes.
- Educate Rwandans to be physically fit, clean in their homes, protect the environment, strengthen democracy, engage in constructive debate, enforce the law, and fight corruption and violence.
- Educate Rwandans in building and promoting the culture of peace based on mutual trust, respect, humility, respect

of human rights, and protection against discrimination and genocide ideology.

❯ Educate Rwandans to be efficient in service delivery, courageous, and to deliver goods and efficient services.

Vision

Rwandans should:

❯ Have a shared mindset and values to promote their unity and patriotism.

❯ Be aware of the goals of the country, ways to achieve them and their contribution in implementing them.

❯ Be self confident in solving their problems.

❯ Have a shared vision to strive for self development and pride to develop their country.

Mission

To mentor Intore with:

❯ Values based on Rwandan culture.

❯ Motivation for positive change.

❯ A desire 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.

❯ Respect for dignity (ishema) and the heroic aspects (ibigwi) of Rwandan culture and Rwanda's national values.

❯ Speed and respect for time: A country in hurry.

❯ Customer service mentality: Constant improvement and anticipation.

❯ Quality of delivery: High standards, spirit of excellence, efficiency.

❯ Completion or aiming at results: we finish what we start.

❯ Self respect: National pride.

Rwanda's national taboos

❯ Inattention to results: status and ego.

❯ Avoidance of accountability: missed deadlines.

❯ Lack of commitment: ambiguity.

❯ Fear of conflict: artificial harmony.

❯ Lack of trust: invulnerability.

Achievements of the National Itorero Commission

From November 19th, 2007, Itorero ry'Igihugu was launched in all the districts. In December 2007, a ceremony to present Intore regiments at district level to 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 colorful ceremony which was marked by cultural festivals. Each district's Intore regiment publically announced its identification name. At the national level, all the 30 district intore regiments constitute one national Itorero, but each district regiment has its Identification Name. Each district regiment may have an affiliate sub-division which can also carry a different identification name.

The Itorero for Rwandan **diaspora** has the authority to develop its affiliated sub-division. From November 7th 2007 up to the end of 2012, Itorero ry' Igihugu trained 284,209 Intore.

In order to enable each Intore to benefit and experience change of mindset, each group chooses its identification name and 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 personal objective that in turn contributes to the success of the corporate objectives.

The number of Intore who have been trained at the village level is 814,587. Those mentored at the national level carry out mentoring in villages, schools, and at work places. In total, 1,098, 599 Rwandans have been mentored.

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 however, 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. Later, they had to join Urugerero where they participated in various activities designed to promote social cohesion, community wellness and national development. Intore mentored at that time totalled 40,730. Among them, 19,285

were female, while 21,445 were male. However, those who joined Urugerero were 37,660, with 18,675 female participants.

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 are from community mediators, various councils, community health workers, Community Policing Committees/CPCs, and Red Cross volunteers.

Actual Urugerero activities started on 17/1/2013, but they were 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 pioneer group of Urugerero achieved the following:

- Sensitising Rwandans on the eradication of genocide and its ideology and encouraging them 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.
- Organising 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, those who had not yet registered for mutual health insurance, and those legible for paying tax . Making inventories of the districts' property, school dropouts, children of school going age who are not yet in school, and illegal marriages.

Some groups of Intore in Urugerero opted to demonstrate how speedy and exceptional service could be rendered while working with various public offices. This was done in health centres, cell offices, and District offices, especially in the issuing of documents, data entry in computers and customer care.

Activities relating to manual community work include vegetable gardening for family consumption, construction of shelters for

vulnerable families, participation in the construction of cell offices and landscaping of their compounds.

In environmental protection, Intore constructed terraces and planted trees as a measure of preventing soil erosion.

Activities relating to the promotion of the volunteer services in National Development Programmes: In Rwandan culture, "volunteerism" means rendering a sacrificial and selfless service out of love either to a national cause or to a needy neighbour.

Below, we look at the outcome, outputs and activities relating to fraternity, national identity and participation in national programmes through Urugerero.

Umuganda

As part of efforts to reconstruct Rwanda and nurture a shared national identity, the government of Rwanda drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programmes to the country's needs and context. The result is a set of home grown solutions from culturally owned practices translated into sustainable development programmes. One of these home grown solutions is Umuganda.

Modern day Umuganda can be described as community work. On the last Saturday of each month, communities come together to do a variety of public works. This often includes infrastructure development and environmental protection. Rwandans between 18 and 65 years of age are obliged to participate in Umuganda. Expatriates living in Rwanda are encouraged to take part. Today close to 80 per cent of Rwandans take part in monthly community work.

As part of Vision 2020 development programme, the government implemented Umuganda a community service policy. It was designed to help supplement the national budget 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, the construction of schools, feeder roads, road repair, terracing, reforestation, home construction for vulnerable people, erosion control, and water canals.

People doing umuganda activities. (Source: www.rwandapedia.rw)

The goals of Umuganda:

- Supplement national resources by doing specific activities.
- Instill a culture of collective effort in the population.
- Resolve problems faced by the population using locally available resources.
- Restore the dignity of manual labour.

Planning for Umuganda is done in council meetings at the cell level. It is the responsibility of local leaders as well as national leaders to mobilise the population to participate in Umuganda. Community members meet and agree on the date (usually a weekend) and the activity. Participation in Umuganda is compulsory for all able-bodied citizens. This policy is expected to lead to a more cohesive society as all the members come together to complete a project that benefits the community. The word Umuganda can be translated as 'coming together for common purpose to achieve an outcome'. In traditional Rwandan culture, members of the community would call upon their family, friends and neighbours to help them complete a difficult task.

Achievements

Successful projects include the building of schools, medical centres and hydro electric plants as well as rehabilitating wetlands and creating highly productive agricultural plots. The value of Umuganda to the country's development since 2007 has been estimated at more than US $60 million.

Professionals in the public and private sectors also contribute to umuganda. They include engineers, medics, IT specialists, and statisticians, among others.

The military personnel also participate in social activities like the building of schools and hospitals. This inspires the population to be very active as well.

Umuganda value has increased from Rwf12 billion in 2012 to Rwf17 billion in 2015 and Rwf19 billion in 2016. With the increase in monetary activities, Umuganda has seen Rwandans build over 400 offices of micro finance institutions commonly known as Umurenge Sacco, and 11,000 classrooms for the country's 'twelve year basic education' which has increased school enrolment to over 95 per cent of children in Primary Schools.

Imihigo

Imihigo is the plural Kinyarwanda word of Umuhigo, which means to vow to deliver. Imihigo also includes the concept of Guhiganwa, which means to compete. Imihigo describes the pre-colonial cultural practice in Rwanda where an individual sets targets or goals to be achieved within a specific period of time. The person must complete these objectives by following guiding principles and be determined to overcome any possible challenges that arise.

Imihigo is one of the home grown solutions. In 2000, a shift in the responsibilities at all levels of government as a result of a decentralisation programme required a new approach to monitoring and evaluation. Local levels of government were now responsible for implementing development programmes which meant that the central government and people of Rwanda needed a way to ensure accountability.

In 2006, Imihigo (also known as performance contracts) was introduced to address this need. Since its introduction, Imihigo has

been credited with improving accountability and quickening the pace of citizen centred development activities and programmes. The practice of Imihigo has now been extended to ministries, embassies and public service staff.

In the application of Imihigo, the districts are responsible for implementing programmes under this broad **agenda** while central government assumes the task of planning and facilitation. Planning ensures that the national objectives of growth and poverty reduction are achieved. The decentralisation policy is also designed to deepen and sustain grassroots-based democratic governance. It promotes equitable local development by enhancing participation and strengthening the local government system, while maintaining effective functional and mutually accountable linkages between central and local governments. This entails enhancing participation, promoting the culture of **accountability**, and fast-tracking and sustaining equitable local development as a mechanism to enhance local fiscal autonomy. It also means employment and poverty reduction and enhancing effectiveness and efficiency in the planning, monitoring, and delivery of services. The principle of subsidiary underpins the decentralisation policy, which is designed to ensure transparency and accountability for local service delivery through participation in planning. This also applies to civil society, faith-based organisations, the private sector, and development partners.

Impact of Imihigo

Rwanda has made tremendous progress in socio-economic advancement in the last decade. Over the Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) 1 period, the average real GDP (Gross Domestic Product) growth rate was 8.2 per cent and poverty was reduced from 56.7 per cent to 44.9 per cent between 2006 and 2011. Access to education and health services has become universal with 96 per cent of school-aged children now enrolled in primary schools, and 90 per cent coverage of health insurance. These achievements illustrate the impact of development policies on the framework of a vision resting on home-grown solutions. This diverse set of instruments embraces participation and consensus based on culture and national identity, as guiding principles.

Within the commitment of evidence-based policy making, the impact, scope and documentation of Home-Grown Initiatives/ Solutions (HGI/S) is systematically pursued. It is against this background that the Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) was mandated by the cabinet meeting held on 4th November 2011 to conduct monitoring, research and policy dialogues on the home-grown initiatives and solutions. One of the most prominent HGI/S has been the Imihigo, or performance contract policy in public administration reform. Imihigo has been implemented since 2006 as a tool to accelerate national development. Over the years, the practice has evolved into a tool for effective planning, implementation, performance evaluation and accountability for all public institutions and staff.

More specifically, findings from Imihigo are used to inform the government of Rwanda about the following:

Performance: Provide feedback on the delivery of outputs and the impact on the beneficiaries.

Accountability: Whether public spending is addressing the appropriate priorities and making a difference in the lives of citizens.

Knowledge: Increasing knowledge about what policies and programmes work, enabling the government at central and local levels to build an evidence base for future policy development and the identification of ways to improve effectiveness.

Decision-making: Providing evidence to enable policy-makers, planners and finance departments to agree on the need for intervention.

Co-ordination: Identifying key stakeholders expected to be involved in specific areas/programmes/projects, extent of participation and coordinated.

Beneficiaries' satisfaction: The extent to which beneficiaries are happy with government interventions and the level of consultation.

Imihigo challenges

Problems of measurements

There is no standard for measuring the value of Umuganda. The first issue has to do with the output on increasing the value and

participation in Umuganda. For instance, some districts measure its value based on the number of people participating on the day multiplied by the daily labour (mostly farming) rate applicable in that district. Other districts attempt to estimate the financial cost of achievements on the day of Umuganda. In both cases Umuganda lasts only three hours. A key defect in the first approach is that calculations are based on a full day's work rate when Umuganda only lasts an average of three hours. The output can be overestimated.

Budget versus needs

There is a clear discrepancy between allocated budget and the magnitude of citizen needs at the local administrative level. Harmonising citizen's needs with the available budget is the key challenge. While there are always several competing needs for a limited budget, appropriate apportionment implies that the limited resources should respond to the most pressing demands.

Competing agendas

There are competing agendas between the central and local government. Urgent assignments from line ministries and other central government agencies interfere with local planning. Despite efforts for joint planning meetings between the central and local levels, unplanned for requests from the central government consume local resources (finances and time) particularly when the demands are not accompanied with implementing funds. In some instances, money to implement an inserted item will be promised but not delivered when it comes to the implementation phase or local authorities are told to insert items and are then told to get resources from private sources.

Low ownership of Imihigo

Imihigo should be based on the needs of citizens at the local level and national development priorities. However, Imihigo ownership is relatively low among the intended beneficiaries. There is a "dependency syndrome" where citizens depend on government to provide them with free or subsidised goods. Citizens also compete for lower categories of Ubudehe in order to become eligible for free healthcare and Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme (VUP). These programmes are responsible for low ownership of Imihigo.

Understaffing and low capacity

Lack of staff, insufficient financial means, lack of data base to facilitate planning, monitoring, and evaluation and heavy workload constitute major challenges in local governments. Many districts posts are occupied by staff without the required skills. There are also challenges in staff recruitment and low staff retention in sectors and the cells.

These shortages affect the implementation of Imihigo. District staff is overloaded and they may not have enough time to implement Imihigo targets. Local government staff also lack skills in monitoring and evaluation. This is necessary for Imihingo to be effective.

Delays in funds disbursement

Some of the key challenges to Imihigo are delays in funds disbursement, be it from the central government or from development partners. Delays in funds disbursement are the most important factor affecting service delivery at local government level, equally important as insufficient staff. There are two related issues that make it difficult to implement Imihigo targets in a timely manner. First, there is a discrepancy between the fiscal year and the period of Imihigo signing. This challenge comes from the relationship with stakeholders most of whom use the calendar which starts in January against the district's fiscal year which starts in July. As a result time is lost before Imihigo can be effectively implemented. More specifically, Imihigo are usually signed 2-3 months after the fiscal year has started. This means that almost a quarter is lost.

Issues in implementation of Imihigo

- The lag between the passing of the budget and the Imihigo translates to a loss of the first quarter in implementation.
- Most Imihigo are implemented in the last quarter due to delays in either the transfer of financial resources to the districts or delays on the part of the district to request for disbursement.
- Shifting priorities take away resources (time, finances) from implementing Imihigo.
- Some targets are included in Imihigo without adequate control of the sources of funds for implementation.
- In some situations, Imihigo without proper local contextualisation are difficult to implement. A good example was when the

evaluators found farmers in some hilly parts of the country using land tillers on terraces in efforts that were clearly designed to reach the target of agricultural mechanisation. The tool was not appropriate for the terrain.

◉ Some targets were not achieved due to a third party such as those in charge of water, electricity and road construction where delays in implementation were related to lack of control over the operations of Energy, Water and Sanitation Authority (EWSA) and Rwanda Transport Development Agency (RTDA).

◉ There are challenges in establishing measurement standards from one district to another. An output that requires building households for the vulnerable may have a house value ranging between 2m and 15 million. There is an assumption that an implemented item meets requisite standards and yet these may not be in place. Guidance from the central government for standard setting should be strengthened as well as a team for quality assurance to ensure implemented items meet the quality standards.

◉ Some achievements were inflated. A good example is an output for building a house claimed to be 60 per cent complete when a site visit would place it at a far less per centage.

◉ There are challenges in common planning for district trans-boundary items such as feeder road construction.

◉ Understaffing and high turnover at the local administration level calls for improved capacity building and need to improve the environment for service delivery.

Community Policing

When **Rwanda National Police (RNP)** was established in 2000, it adopted the community policing strategy to build ties and work closely with members of the community to fight crime. Since then, the department for community policy has reduced crime throughout the country. The department 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 is focused on the prevention of crime and disorder, by partnering with the public to increase police visibility in all communities so as to solve, prevent and reduce crime.

Community policing enables the police to engage citizens in reporting incidents or to use volunteers to provide timely reports that help in anti-crime operations.

Before and during the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, citizens were always scared and full of mistrust for law enforcing agencies.

Law enforcers were used by politicians to intimidate citizens and this gave them a bad reputation because citizens saw them as part of the problem, rather than protectors.

This negative view of the police had to be quickly addressed by providing services professionally and being open and approachable.

This strategy has improved police response to crime, because many reports are now provided by community members. This shows that they trust the police.

Unlike the previous law enforcers who served the criminal desires of a genocidal regime, the police now serve the citizens professionally and ensure that they have a say in the security of their communities.

Contribution

The Rwanda Governance Scorecard produced by the Rwanda Governance Board in 2016, presented results from a nationwide survey, which indicated that 92 per cent of the citizens trust the Police. This is an indicator of professional services, discipline and partnership.

It is when the community and the police work together for their common good that citizens will trust the police.

Once the citizens trust the officers, they will 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 fulfill its mission of making the people living in Rwanda feel safe and secure.

The day-to-day activities of community policing initiatives

Conducting investigations has always been paramount in police missions. For this reason, the police have used community policing to build strong investigative activities countrywide so as to get credible information from citizens.

The police also work with groups such as Community Policing Committees (CPCs), Youth Volunteers in Crime Prevention, as well as individual citizens in general.

CPCs were introduced in 2007 and they are made up of ordinary citizens chosen by the community. They operate in cells and sectors to collect information that helps in crime prevention. They also sensitise residents about the need to collectively overcome crime.

The Youth Volunteers in Crime Prevention is an organisation that has over 7,000 young men and women spread throughout the country. They aim at promoting security and participating in crime prevention. They have been influential in aiding Police operations and also in sensitising fellow youth against crime.

On a regular basis, they partner with Police District Community Liaison Officers (DCLOS) to immediately respond to information about criminality and to lay strategies for approaching the challenges in society.

The DCLOs are heavily involved in community issues in order to make policing more effective.

The police also work together with motorists' associations to ensure that road safety is respected. They also link with the business community to protect the country against economic crimes.

Students in discussions on community policing initiatives (Photo: RNP Media Centre) in 2014. (Source: www.rwandapedia.rw)

Community policing programmes

The police have an understanding with authorities of all the 30 districts of Rwanda. One of their mandates under this agreement is to ensure that all strategies, including that of community policing, are fully operational.

The police also work with the *Ombudsman's* office, prosecution and other public entities to ensure that cases are properly documented and information on justice is properly shared. Through such initiatives, citizens gain more trust in the ability of the police to maintain law and order and to follow up on the information they provide with professionalism.

Community policing helps the police to address problems such as drug abuse, human trafficking and gender-based violence. Every district faces its unique challenges, but through community policing the police identify the root causes of these challenges and find solutions.

In cases involving drug abuse and gender based violence, police get information from responsible members of society   and use it in operations to raid homes.

The issue of human trafficking is not intense in Rwanda, but the police is always aware of this threat. Citizens across the country

volunteer information whenever such cases occur and police acts immediately to rescue victims.

On top of that, the police reach out to citizens during social events like Umuganda and sensitisation campaigns to discuss crime prevention. During these events, real problems are dissected and solutions are found.

Community policing has become so popular in Rwanda that citizens are always willing to contribute ideas on how to maintain public order.

Unit summary

The National Itorero Commission has helped Rwandans to strengthen their unity and also initiated the youth and adult persons into the culture of volunteerism. The community activities carried out in umuganda have also added value to the achievements of the government.

The Imihigo performance contracts have also played a great role in boosting the implementation of governmental programmes. Community policing has helped to improve the keeping of law and order.

Glossary

Accountability: 1. responsibility to someone or for some activity

2. a list of matters to be taken up (as at a meeting)

Agenda: a plan for matters to be attended to

Disbursement: 1. the act of spending or disbursing money

2. amounts paid for goods and services that may be currently tax deductible (as opposed to capital expenditures)

Ombudsman: a government official who investigates complaints by private persons against the government

Overloaded: fill to excess so that the function is impaired

Taboo: 1. behaviour or action that is not allowed in a society

2. a prejudice (especially in Polynesia and other South Pacific islands) that prohibits the use or mention of something because of its sacred nature

Revision questions

1. Describe the background of the following national duties and obligations:
   a) Itorero ry'Igihugu.
   b) Imihigo.
   c) Umuganda.
   d) Community policing.
2. Evaluate the achievements of the National Itorero Commission.
3. Assess the strengths and weaknesses of Imihigo performance contracts
4. What is the role played by community policing in the security of Rwanda?
5. Assess the role played by umuganda in the socio-economic development of Rwanda.

National and International Judicial Systems and Instruments

Key unit competence

Analyse the national, international judicial systems and instruments and how justice has been delayed and denied in Rwandan society

Introduction

The international judicial system is dominated by the international Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

In Rwanda, the judicial system is divided into ordinary and specialised courts. The ordinary courts are headed by the high council of the judiciary. This was established by the Rwandan Constitution of 4/06/2003, article 157 and 158, as amended. It is the supreme organ of the judiciary.

Links to other subjects

This unit can be linked to justice and democracy in General Studies and Communication Skills

Main points to be covered in this unit

- Concepts of judicial systems
- National and international judicial systems and instruments.
- Structure and organisation of national and international judicial systems and instruments
- Different ways in which justice in Rwanda has been delayed and denied

Concepts of Judicial Systems

Activity 1

Explain the concepts of the judicial systems, and then present your work to the class.

The judicial or court system interprets and applies the law on behalf of the state. The judiciary also provides a mechanism for the resolution of disputes.

In some nations, under the **doctrine** of separation of powers, the judiciary does not make law (which is the responsibility of the legislature) or enforce law (which is the responsibility of the executive), but rather interprets law and applies it to the facts of each case.

In other nations, the judiciary can make law, known as c*ommon law*, by setting precedent for other judges to follow, as opposed to statutory law made by the legislature. The judiciary is often tasked with ensuring equal justice under the law.

In many **jurisdictions**, the judiciary has the power to change laws through judicial review. Courts with judicial review power may annul the laws and rules of the state which are incompatible with a higher norm, such as primary legislation, the provisions of the constitution or international law. Judges are responsible for the interpretation and implementation of a constitution, thus charged with creating the body of constitutional law in common law countries.

For a people to establish and keep the rule of law great care must be taken in the appointment of unbiased legal experts who are truthful and cannot be corrupted. For the law to be accepted, courts must stick to justice and the laws must be culturally relevant.

The term judiciary is also used to refer collectively to the personnel, such as judges, magistrates and other adjudicators, who form the core of a judiciary (sometimes referred to as a "bench"), as well as the staffs who keep the systems running smoothly.

Justitia, a symbol of the judiciary. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

In some countries the judiciary includes legal professionals and institutions such as prosecutors, state attorneys, ombudsmen, public notaries, judicial police service and legal aid officers. These institutions are sometimes governed by the same administration that governs courts. In some cases the judiciary also administers private legal professions such as lawyers and private notary offices.

National Judicial Systems and Instruments

Activity 2

Analyse the Rwanda national judicial systems. Thereafter, present the outcomes of your work to the class.

After the High Council of the Judiciary, there is the Supreme Court as the coordinating organ of justice in Rwanda. It was instituted for the first time by the constitution of January 28th, 1962. It was composed of five members appointed by the president of the republic. It was also composed of five sections: Department of Courts and Tribunals, the Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State and the Audit Office.

According to the constitution of December 28th, 1978, the Supreme Court with five sections was replaced by four high jurisdictions which were separated from each other. These included the Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court (composed of the Court of Appeals and the Council of State) and the Audit Office.

During the post-genocide period (from 1994 to 2003) the Fundamental Law established the Supreme Court which consisted of five sections: the Department of Courts and Tribunals, the Court of Appeals, the Constitutional Court, the Council of State and the Auditor's Office. With the April 18th 2000 reform to the Fundamental Law, it was provided with the sixth section named Department of "Gacaca jurisdictions".

Apart from the Supreme Court, there is a High Court with the chamber of international crimes, the chamber of Nyanza in southern province, the chamber of Rusizi in western province, the chamber of Rwamagana in the eastern province and the chamber of Musanze in northern province. There are intermediate and primary courts in the districts of Nyarugenge, Gasabo, Nyagatare, Ngoma, Muhanga, Huye, Nyamagabe, Rusizi, Karongi, Rubavu, Gicumbi and Musanze.

Heaquarters of the High Court in Kimihurura.(Source: Google.rw/image)

The specialised courts include the Commercial High Court at Nyamirambo with its branches at Musanze and Huye, and the military courts.

International Judicial Systems and Instruments

Activity 3

Analyse the international judicial systems and their instruments. Present your work to the class.

The ICJ was established in 1945 by the UN Charter. The court started its work in 1946 as the successor to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The statute of the International Court of Justice, similar to that of its predecessor, is the main constitutional document constituting and regulating the court.

The court covers a wide range of judicial activity. Chapter XIV of the United Nations Charter authorises the UN Security Council to enforce the court's rulings. However, such enforcement is subject to the veto power of the five permanent members of the council.

Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands, seat of the ICJ. (Source: www. Wikipedia.org)

The International Criminal Court (ICC or ICCt) is an intergovernmental organisation and international tribunal that sits in The Hague in the Netherlands. The ICC has the jurisdiction to prosecute individuals for the international crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes.

Official logo of ICC

The ICC is intended to complement existing national judicial systems and it may therefore only exercise its jurisdiction when certain conditions are met, such as when national courts are unwilling or unable to prosecute criminals or when the United Nations Security Council or individual states refer investigations to the court. The ICC began functioning on 1 July 2002, the date that the Rome Statute entered into force.

The Rome Statute is a multilateral treaty which serves as the ICC's foundational and governing document. The states which become party to the Rome Statute are member states of the ICC. Currently, there are 124 states which are party to the Rome Statute and therefore members of the ICC.

The establishment of an international tribunal to judge political leaders accused of international crimes was first proposed during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 following the First World War by the Commission of Responsibilities. The issue was addressed again at a conference held in Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations in 1937. This resulted in the conclusion of the first convention stipulating the establishment of a permanent international court to try acts of international terrorism. The convention was signed by 13 states, but none ratified it and it never entered into force.

Following the Second World War, the allied powers established two *AD hoc* tribunals to prosecute axis power leaders accused of war crimes. The International Military Tribunal, which sat in Nuremberg, prosecuted German leaders while the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Tokyo prosecuted Japanese leaders. In 1948 the United Nations General Assembly first recognised the need for a permanent international court to deal with atrocities of the kind prosecuted after the Second World War. At the request of the General Assembly, the International Law Commission (ILC) drafted

two statutes by the early 1950s. These were abandoned during the Cold War which made the establishment of an international criminal court politically unrealistic.

In 1994, the ILC presented its final draft statute for the International Criminal Court to the General Assembly and recommended that a conference be convened to negotiate a treaty that would serve as the Court's statute. To consider major substantive issues in the draft statute, the General Assembly established the Aᴅ Hoc Committee on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, which met twice in 1995. After considering the committee's report, the General Assembly created the Preparatory Committee on the Establishment of the ICC to prepare a consolidated draft text. From 1996 to 1998, six sessions of the Preparatory Committee were held at the United Nations headquarters in New York City, during which NGOs provided input and attended meetings under the umbrella organisation of the Coalition for an ICC (CICC). In January 1998, the Bureau and coordinators of the Preparatory Committee convened for an Inter-Sessional meeting in Zutphen in the Netherlands to technically consolidate and restructure the draft articles into a draft.

Finally, the General Assembly convened a conference in Rome in June 1998, with the aim of finalising the treaty to serve as the court's statute. On 17 July 1998, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court was adopted by a vote of 120 to 7, with 21 countries abstaining. The seven countries that voted against the treaty were China, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Qatar, the United States, and Yemen. Following 60 ratifications, the Rome Statute entered into force on 1 July 2002 and the International Criminal Court was formally established. The first bench of 18 judges was elected by the Assembly of States Parties in February 2003. They were sworn in at the inaugural session of the court on 11 March 2003.

The court issued its first arrest warrants on 8 July 2005, and the first pre-trial hearings were held in 2006. The court issued its first judgment in 2012 when it found Congolese rebel leader Thomas Lubanga Dyilo guilty of war crimes related to using child soldiers.

Structure and Organisation of the International Judicial Systems

Activity 4

Describe the structure and organisation of the international judiacial systems. Thereafter, present your work to the class.

The structure and organisation of the International Court of Justice

The ICJ is composed of fifteen judges elected to nine-year terms by the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council from a list of people nominated by the national groups in the Permanent Court of Arbitration. The election process is set out in Articles 4–19 of the ICJ statute. Five judges are elected every three years to ensure continuity within the court. Should a judge die in office, the practice has generally been to elect a judge in a special election to complete the term.

No two judges may be nationals of the same country. According to Article 9, the membership of the court is supposed to represent the "main forms of civilisation and of the principal legal systems of the world". Essentially, that has meant common law, civil law and socialist law (now post-communist law).

There is an informal understanding that the seats will be distributed by geographic regions so that there are five seats for western countries, three for African states (including one judge of Francophone civil law, one of Anglophone common law and one Arab), two for eastern European states, three for Asian states and two for Latin American and Caribbean states. The five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (France, Russia, China, the United Kingdom, and the United States) always have a judge on the court, thereby occupying three of the western seats, one of the Asian seats and one of the eastern European seats. The exception was China, which did not have a judge on the court from 1967 to 1985 because it did not put forward a candidate.

Public hearing at the ICJ. (Source: www.Wikipedia.org)

Article 6 of the statute provides that all judges should be "elected regardless of their nationality among persons of high moral character" who are either qualified for the highest judicial office in their home states or known as lawyers with sufficient competence in international law. Judicial independence is dealt with specifically in articles 16–18. Judges of the ICJ are not able to hold any other post or act as counsel. In practice, members of the court have their own interpretation of these rules and allow them to be involved in outside arbitration, hold professional posts as long as there is no conflict of interest. A judge can be dismissed only by a **unanimous** vote of the other members of the court. Despite these provisions, the independence of ICJ judges has been questioned. For example, during the *Nicaragua Case*, the United States issued a communiqué suggesting that it could not present sensitive material to the court because of the presence of judges from eastern bloc states.

Judges may deliver joint judgments or give their own separate opinions. Decisions and advisory opinions are by majority. In the event of an equal division, the President's vote becomes decisive. Judges may also deliver separate dissenting opinions.

Generally, the court sits as full bench, but in the last fifteen years, it has on occasion sat as a chamber. Articles 26–29 of the statute allow the court to form smaller chambers, usually of 3 or 5 judges, to hear cases. Two types of chambers are provided for in article 26. These are chambers for special categories of cases, and *AD hoc* chambers to hear particular disputes. In 1993, a special chamber was established, under Article 26(1) of the ICJ statute, to deal specifically with environmental matters.

Organisation of the International Criminal Court

The ICC is governed by an assembly of states parties, which is made up of the states which are party to the Rome Statute. The assembly elects officials of the court, approves its budget, and adopts amendments to the Rome Statute. The court itself, however, is composed of four organs: the Presidency, the judicial divisions, the Office of the Prosecutor, and the registry.

The presidency is responsible for the proper administration of the court (apart from the Office of the Prosecutor). It comprises the president and the first and second vice-presidents—three judges of the court who are elected to the presidency by their fellow judges for a maximum of two three-year terms.

The judicial divisions consist of the 18 judges of the court, organised into three chambers; the pre-trial chamber, trial chamber and appeals chamber which carry out the judicial functions of the court. Judges are elected to the court by the Assembly of States Parties. They serve nine-year terms and are not generally eligible for re-election. All judges must be nationals of states party to the Rome Statute, and no two judges may be nationals of the same state. They must be "persons of high moral character, impartiality and integrity who possess the qualifications required in their respective states for appointment to the highest judicial offices".

The Office of the Prosecutor is responsible for conducting investigations and prosecutions. It is headed by the chief prosecutor, who is assisted by one or more deputy prosecutors. The Rome Statute provides that the Office of the Prosecutor shall act independently. No member of the office may seek or act on instructions from any external source, such as states, international organisations, non-governmental organisations or individuals.

The Registry is responsible for the non-judicial aspects of the administration and servicing of the court. This includes, among other things, the administration of legal aid matters, court management, victims and witnesses matters, defence counsel, detention unit, and the traditional services provided by administrations in international organisations, such as finance, translation, building management, procurement and personnel. The Registry is headed by the registrar, who is elected by the judges to a five-year term.

Ways in which justice has been denied and delayed in Rwanda

Activity 5

Discuss different ways in which justice has been denied and delayed in Rwanda. Thereafter, present the results of your discussion to the class.

During the First and the Second Republics, the culture of impunity was prevailing in Rwanda. The Tutsi were targeted and killed and the perpetrators of these crimes were not punished. Moreover, the properties of the Tutsi were either destroyed or confiscated. For instance in 1963, more than 8,000 Tutsi were killed in Gikingoro. In the same period, Kayibanda ordered the execution of 27 leaders of UNAR and RADER who had been imprisoned in Ruhengeri without any form of legal procedure. In 1973, a big number of Tutsi were chased from their jobs and schools. Their killers however remained unpunished.

During the Liberation War which started on October 1st, 1990, the Tutsi were attacked by government soldiers and Interahamwe. Many Tutsi in Bugesera, Kibuye, Ngororero, Murambi in Byumba, the Bagogwe in Ruhengeri and Gisenyi and the Bahima of Mutara were killed. The people who committed these crimes did not face justice.

After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, justice faced the problem of delay due to the following reasons:

- Absence of laws punishing the crime of genocide:
- There was lack of competent judiciary tribunals and judges because many of them had either been killed during the 1994

genocide against the Tutsi or had fled the country. In addition, the few judges who remained were not skilled enough.

◉ The situation was complicated by the big number of genocide prisoners. It was difficult to judge all the criminals in a short time. This is why in 2005 the government of Rwanda introduced the Gacaca courts to judge the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi.

◉ Many countries which host the genocide criminals refuse to judge them or to send them to Rwanda; for example, France.

Unit summary

The judicial system interprets and applies the law in the name of the state. This system also provides a mechanism for the resolution of disputes.

In countries which apply the doctrine of separation of powers, the judiciary does not make laws. It rather interprets the law and applies it to the facts of each case.

The international judicial system is controlled by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) and the International Criminal Court (ICC).

In Rwanda, the judicial system is divided into two kinds of courts: ordinary and specialised courts. The ordinary courts are headed by the High Council of the Judiciary. This is established by the Rwandan Constitution of 4/06/2003 in article 157 and 158. It is the supreme organ of the judiciary.

Glossary

Dispute: an argument or a disagreement between two people, groups or countries; a discussion about a subject where there is disagreement.

Doctrine: a belief or set of beliefs held and taught by a religion, political party, etc.

Guilty: being responsible for something bad or illegal.

Jurisdiction: the authority that an official organisation has to make legal decisions about somebody/something.

Substantive: dealing with real, important or serious matters.

Unanimous: a decision or an opinion agreed or shared by everyone in a group.

Veto: the right to refuse to allow something to be done, especially the right to stop a law from being passed or decision from being taken.

Workload: the amount of work that has to be done by a particular person or organisation.

Revision questions

1. Analyse the ways in which justice has been denied and delayed in Rwanda.
2. Explain the organisation of the International Court of Justice.
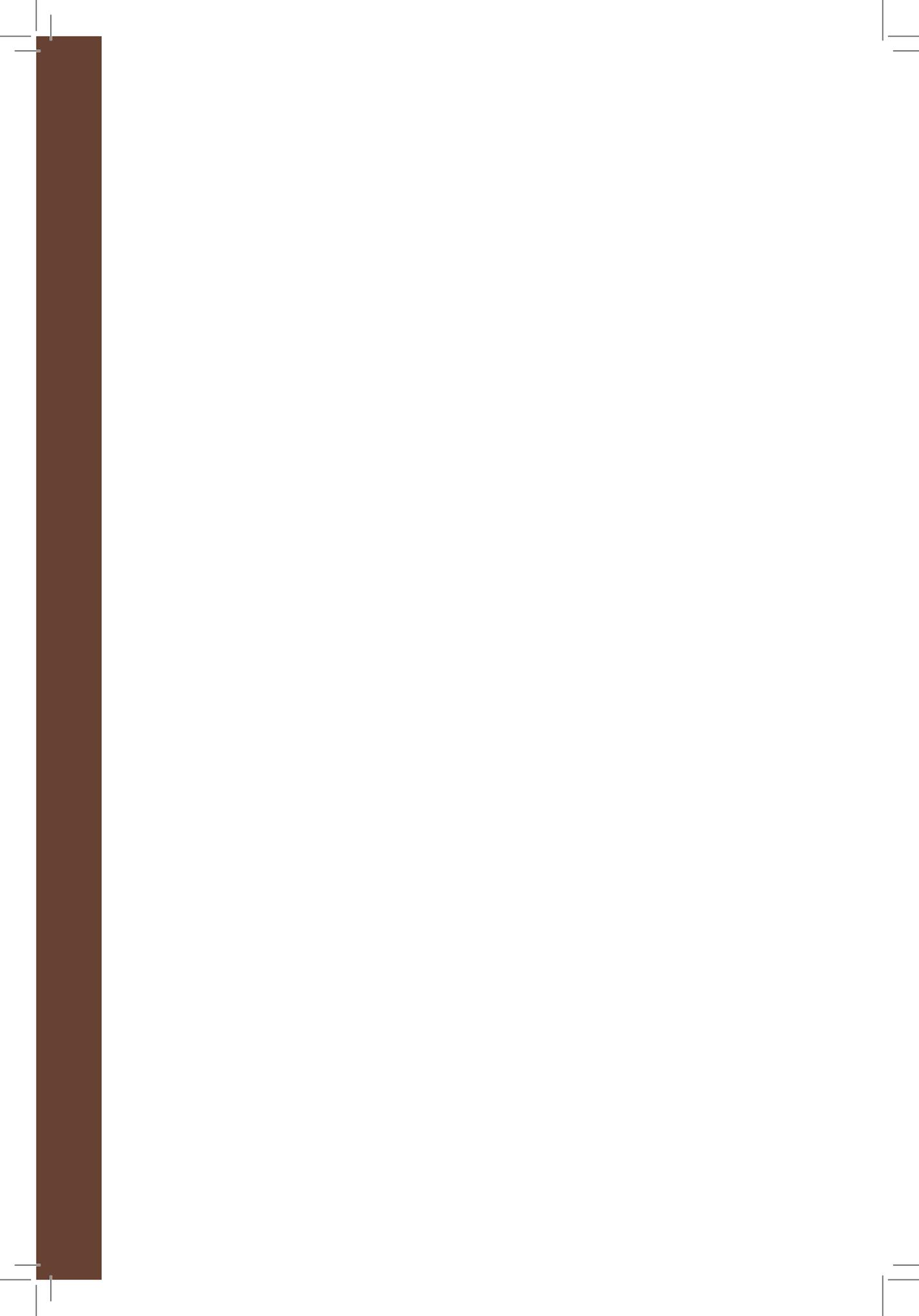
Unit 9 / Dignity and Self - Reliance

Key unit competence

Identify lessons that can be learnt from successful self-reliance policies of African leaders.

Introduction

Dignity means receiving respect from people and an individual's belief in his ability to do what is good. Self-reliance means making personal choices, rather than allowing other people to decide for you. It also means being independent. People have to avoid expecting foreign assistance from developed countries.

Dignity and self-reliance are the two ways suggested by the government in order to address socio-economic and political problems. This does not mean opposing international cooperation Rwandans, just do not want to be dependant on foreign aid. Self-reliance provides self-confidence and pride. This leads to sustainable and durable development.

With the concept of dignity and self-reliance. Rwandans can make individual choices. This means that Rwanda is on the right course of development.

Links to other subjects

Nationalism in General Studies

Main points to be covered in this unit

- Examples of African leaders whose self-reliance policies succeeded
- Factors for the success of self-reliance policies of some African leaders
- Lessons learnt from successful self-reliance policies of African leaders

Examples of African Leaders whose Self-Reliance Policies Succeeded

Activity 1

Carry out research on African self-reliance and then analyse the success of some African leaders. Present your work to the class.

Self-reliance in Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya

Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (1891–1978). (Source: Google/image)

Harambee is a Kenyan tradition of community self-help which involves fundraising for development activities. Harambee literally means "all pull together" in Swahili. It is also the official motto of Kenya and appears on its coat of arms.

Harambee events may range from informal lasting a few hours, in which invitations are spread by word of mouth, to formal, multi-day events advertised in newspapers. These events have long been important ways to build and maintain communities.

Following Kenya's independence in 1963, the first prime minister, and later first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta adopted "Harambee" as a concept of pulling the country together to build the new nation. He encouraged communities to work together to raise funds for all sorts of local projects, pledging that the government would provide their startup costs. Under this system,

wealthy individuals wishing to get into politics could donate large amounts of money to local harambee activities, thereby gaining legitimacy. However, such practices were never institutionalised during Kenyatta's presidency.

Ujamaa policy in Tanzania

Ujamaa ('familyhood' in Swahili) was the concept that formed the basis of Julius Nyerere's social and economic development policies in Tanzania after it gained independence from Britain in 1961.

In 1967, President Nyerere published his development blueprint, which was know as the Arusha Declaration, where he pointed out the need for an African model of development and this formed the basis of African socialism. The Swahili word *ujamaa* means 'extended family', 'brotherhood' or 'socialism'. As a political concept, it asserts that an individual becomes a person *through the people* or community.
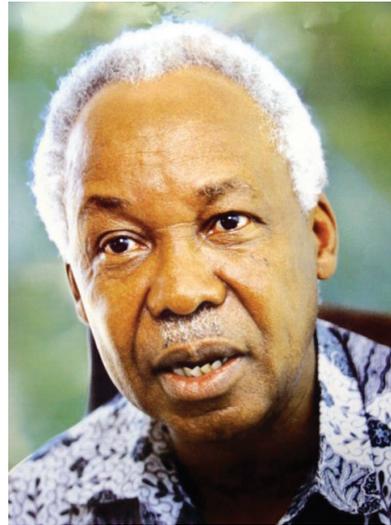

President Julius Nyerere (1922–1999). (Source: Google/image)

Nyerere used Ujamaa as the basis for national development. He translated the Ujamaa concept into a political-economic management model through several approaches:

- The creation of a one-party system under the leadership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in order to consolidate the cohesion of the newly independent Tanzania.
- The institutionalisation of social, economic, and political equality through the creation of a central democracy.
- The abolition of discrimination based on ascribed status.
- The nationalisation of the economy's key sectors.
- The villagisation of production, which essentially collectivised all forms of local productive capacity.
- The fostering of Tanzanian self-reliance through two dimensions: the transformation of economic and cultural attitudes. Economically, everyone would work for both the group and for him/herself; culturally, Tanzanians had to free themselves from dependence on developed countries. For Nyerere, this included Tanzanians learning to do things for themselves and learning to be satisfied with what they could achieve as an independent state.

◉ The implementation of free and compulsory education for all Tanzanians in order to sensitise them on the principles of Ujamaa.

◉ The creation of a Tanzanian rather than tribal identity through the use of Swahili.

Julius Nyerere's leadership of Tanzania commanded international attention and attracted worldwide respect for his consistent emphasis on ethical principles as the basis of practical policies. Tanzania under Nyerere made great strides in vital areas of social development. Infant mortality was reduced from 138 per 1000 live births in 1965 to 110 in 1985; life expectancy at birth rose from 37 in 1960 to 52 in 1984; primary school enrolment was raised from 25per cent (only 16per cent of females) in 1960 to 72per cent (85per cent of females) in 1985 (despite the rapidly increasing population); adult literacy rate rose from 17per cent in 1960 to 63per cent by 1975 (much higher than in other African countries) and continued to rise.
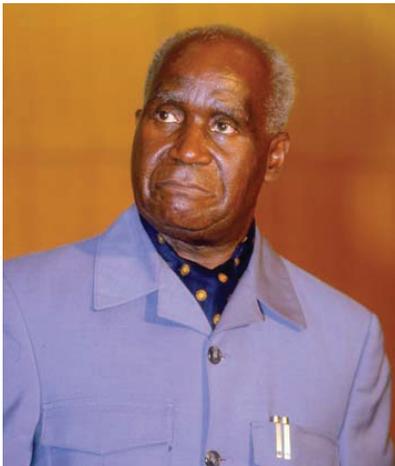
President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia born on April 28th, 1924. (Source: Google/image)

Kenneth Kaunda's Mulungushi Declaration

Mulungushi is a river (and a small town nearby) in central Zambia which has taken on a symbolic and historical meaning synonymous with the independence and identity of the nation. This name has been given to a number of events, localities, buildings and organisations, including: the Mulungushi Declaration, a policy statement made by President Kenneth Kaunda in 1968 on the nationalisation of the means of production.

A major change in the structure of Zambia's economy came with the *Mulungushi Reforms* of April 1968 where Kaunda declared his intention to acquire an equity holding (usually 51per cent or more) in a number of key foreign-owned firms, to be controlled by his Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO).

By January 1970, Zambia had acquired majority holding in the Zambian operations of the two major foreign mining interests, the Anglo American Corporation and the Rhodesian Selection

Trust (RST). The two became the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (NCCM) and Roan Consolidated Mines (RCM), respectively. Kaunda also announced the creation of a new parastatal body, the Mining Development Corporation (MINDECO), while the Finance and Development Corporation (FINDECO) enabled the Zambian government to gain control of insurance companies and building societies. Major foreign-owned banks, such as Barclays, Standard Chartered and Grindlays Bank successfully resisted takeover. In 1971, INDECO, MINDECO, and FINDECO were brought together under an omnibus parastatal, the Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO), to create one of the largest companies in sub-Saharan Africa, with Francis Kaunda as chairman of the board. The management contracts under which day-to-day operations of the mines had been carried out by Anglo American and RST were terminated in 1973. In 1982, NCCM and RCM were merged into the giant Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd (ZCCM).

Mandela's vision

Mandela's administration inherited a country with a huge disparity in wealth and services between white and black communities. In a population of 40 million, around 23 million lacked electricity or adequate sanitation; 12 million lacked clean water supplies, with 2 million children not in school and a third of the population illiterate. There was 33 per cent unemployment, and just under half of the population lived below the poverty line.
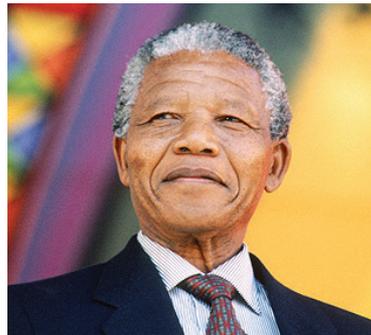
Nelson Mandela of South Africa (July 18, 1918 – December 5, 2013). (Source: Google/image)

Government financial reserves were nearly depleted, with a fifth of the national budget being spent on debt repayment, meaning that the extent of the promised Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was scaled back, with none of the proposed nationalisation or job creation. Instead, the government adopted liberal economic policies designed to promote foreign investment, adhering to the "Washington consensus" advocated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

Under Mandela's presidency, welfare spending increased by 13 per cent in 1996/97, 13 per cent in 1997/98, and 7 per cent in 1998/99. The government introduced parity in grants for communities, including disability grants, child maintenance

grants, and old-age pensions, which had previously been set at different levels for South Africa's different racial groups. In 1994, free healthcare was introduced for children under six and pregnant women. The provision extended to all those using primary level public sector health care services in 1996. By the 1999 election, the ANC could boast that due to their policies, 3 million people were connected to telephone lines, 1.5 million children were brought into the education system, 500 clinics were upgraded or constructed, 2 million people were connected to the electricity grid, water access was extended to 3 million people, and 750,000 houses were constructed, housing nearly 3 million people.

The Land Restitution Act of 1994 enabled people who had lost their property as a result of the Natives Land Act, 1913 to claim back their land, leading to the settlement of tens of thousands of land claims. The Land Reform Act 3 of 1996 safeguarded the rights of labour tenants who live and grow crops or graze livestock on farms. This legislation ensured that such tenants could not be evicted without a court order or if they were over the age of 65. The Skills Development Act of 1998 provided for the establishment of mechanisms to finance and promote skills development at the workplace.

The Labour Relations Act of 1995 promoted workplace democracy, orderly collective bargaining, and the effective resolution of labour disputes. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 improved enforcement mechanisms while extending a "floor" of rights to all workers. The Employment Equity Act of 1998 was passed to put an end to discrimination and ensure the implementation of affirmative action in the workplace.

Nkrumah's reforms

President Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972). (Source: Google/image)

Nkrumah improved transport and communication by setting up a number of roads and bridges.

During his rule, piped water and electricity were extended in most villages and towns.

He improved health by setting up health centres like Kumasi Hospital and also set up district and regional hospitals.

He reformed the education system by constructing several primary, secondary and tertiary institutions such as Ghana University.

He introduced scientific methods of farming like irrigation, mechanised farming, use of fertilisers and pesticides.

He Africanised the civil service by replacing European expatriates with Africans.

He emphasised the need to respect African culture and supported local artists to compose African songs and plays.

He ended sectarian and regional tendencies by defeating all the sectarian parties in the 1954 and 1956 elections. After winning them, he called for unity.

Factors for Success of Self-Reliance Policies of some African Leaders

Activity 2

Account for the success of self-reliance policies of some African leaders. Afterwards, present your findings to the class.

Some African leaders were successful in their self-reliance policies due to many factors including:

Favourable population mindset: In many countries, the African leaders took advantage of the situation because it was immediately after the achievement of African independence. The Africans massively supported their new African leaders, leading to the success of their policies.

Negative effects of colonialism: Africans had for long suffered from colonial constraints. This is why self-reliance policies were successful in many African countries.

Economic crisis after the independence: The economic crisis was among the immediate problems faced by Africans. Self-reliance was seen as solution to these problems. This led to their success because they were supported by the population.

Hon. Minister James Musoni (Middle) with Prof. Anastase Shyaka (Left) and Mr Fidele Ndayisaba (Right) at the launch of self-reliance campaign in Kigali. (Source: www.rgb.gov.rw)

Recovery of African identity: During colonisation, all African initiatives were undermined by Europeans. When Africans recovered their independence, their leaders wanted also to recover the African identity by implementing internal solutions to their problems. It was due to this that they found these policies successful.

Sign of obedience to their own leaders: Another factor for the success of the self-reliance policies is that Africans accepted them as one way to express their obedience to their new leaders.

Lessons Learnt from Successful Self-Reliance Policies of African Leaders

Activity 3

Analyse lessons from the success of the self-reliance as initiated and achieved by some African leaders. In the classroom, present the results of your analysis.

The success of self-reliance in some African countries inspires other developing countries and especially other African countries.

We also learn about the importance of dignity. The need to encourage Africans to be proud of our continent, our culture and customs.

We appreciate the importance of home growth solutions. It is a testimony that only Africans can find solutions to their problems.

The success of self-reliance supports respect of human rights and the campaign against racial discrimination. During European colonial rule, Africans were denied their rights. They were considered unable to manage their own affairs.

Unit summary

On the dawn of independence African leaders initiated policies aiming at achieving self-reliance. For instance, the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta adopted harambee as a concept of pulling the country together to build the nation while Julius Nyerere used ujamaa to achieve social and economic development in Tanzania.

Rwanda emphasised home grown solutions in order to address socio-economic and political problems. The two concepts of dignity and self-reliance guide the implementation of home grown solutions. Home grown solutions such as umuganda, ubudehe, Gacaca, and Agaciro development funds have been used to address problems in Rwanda.

Glossary

Grid: a pattern of regularly spaced horizontal and vertical lines

Pledging: promise solemnly and formally or give as a guarantee

Takeover: a sudden and decisive change of government illegally or by force

Revision questions

1. Identify three African leaders and explain their self-reliance policies.
2. Describe factors for the success of self-reliance policies of some African leaders.
3. What are the lessons from successful self-reliance policies of African leaders?

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