

HISTORY
Senior 5
Student's Book

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FOREWORD

Dear Student,

Rwanda Basic Education Board is honoured to present to you this Senior 5 History Book which serves as a guide to competence-based teaching and learning to ensure consistency and coherence in the learning of History subject. The Rwandan educational philosophy is to ensure that you achieve full potential at every level of education which will prepare you to be well integrated in society and exploit employment opportunities.

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

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

- Work on given activities which lead to the development of skills
- Share relevant information with other learners through presentations, discussions, group work and other active learning techniques such as role play, case studies, investigation and research in the library, from the internet or from your community;
- Participate and take responsibility for your own learning;
- Draw conclusions based on the findings from the learning activities.

I wish to sincerely extend my appreciation to the people who contributed towards the development of this book, particularly REB staff who organized the whole process from its inception.

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

Dr. MBARUSHIMANA Nelson

Director General / REB

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Joan Murungi

Head of Department/CTLR

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UNIT 1

ORIGIN OF ISLAM AND ITS IMPACT IN WEST AFRICA

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to explain the origin of Islam, its role in the expansion of West African empires and its impact.



Introductory Activity 1.1

By 622 A.D there was foundation of a new religion, called “Islam”. By reading some documents, carry out research about the Islamic religion in West Africa and examine its role in expansion of West African empires. Then, prepare a written document to be used during class discussion.

1.1 Origins of Islam



Learning Activity 1.1

Carry out research about Islamic religion, then identify its origin and its pillars. Prepare a summary in form of essay writing that you will use in class presentation.

Islam was founded by Muhammad Ibn Abdullah in Saudi Arabia in 622 A.D. 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 A.D. 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.

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.

1.1.1 Muhammad the founder of Islam

Muhammad was the son of Abd al-Muttalib ibn Hashim and Fatima bint Amr. He was born at Mecca in 571 A.D, after the death of his father. When he was six, his mother died and he went to live with his poor uncle, Abu Talib. 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 people of Mecca 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 their life if they are able to do so.

During the summer of 622 several hundreds 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 Mecca caravans and defeated the people of Mecca 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 A.D, 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.

1.1.2 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 chapters, 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,
2. Muhammad is the messenger of God, Allah" (La ilaha illa Allah; Muhammadun rasulu Allah).
3. To pray five times a day while facing Mecca at dawn, noon, late afternoon, sunset and evening (salat).
4. To give charity to the poor (zakat)
5. To fast from sunrise to sunset during the holy month of Ramadhan (sawm)
6. 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.

1.1.3 Spread of Islam in the World

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.



Application Activity 1.1

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. Identify the factors that facilitated the Arabs to be successful in their conquest.

1.2 The spread of Islam in West Africa



Learning Activity 1.2

From your personal research, examine the methods used by the Arabs to spread Islam 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.

1.2.1 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. These 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.

1.2.2 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 law was 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.



Application Activity 1.2

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.

1.3 Jihad Movements in West Africa



Learning Activity 1.3

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. Who were the main jihad leaders in West Africa?
3. Discuss the main causes of the 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.

1.3.1 Causes of Jihads in West Africa

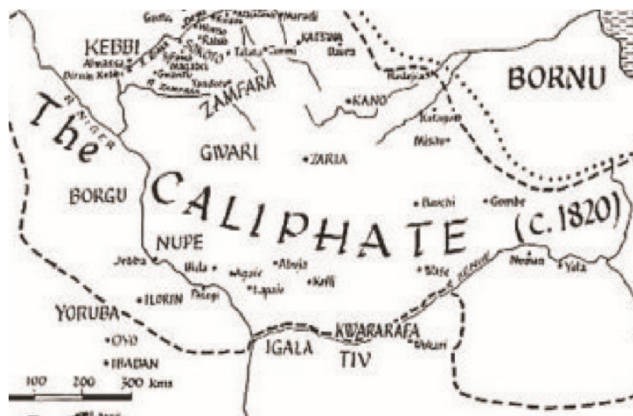
- **To purify Islam:** After the decline of Mali and Songhai, there was a decline in Islam in western Sudan. Islam was mixed with pagan practices. Therefore, there was a need to revive Islam.
- **To stop unfair judgments in courts of law:** There was a lot of corruption and bribery in the courts which 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.
- **Over-taxation:** 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 whipped 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 organize. For example, Uthman Dan Fodio, Al Hajji Umar, Seku Ahmadu among others.

1.3.2 Examples of Jihad leaders



Uthman Dan Fodio and his caliphate. (Source: <https://www.dw.com/en/usman-dan-fodio-founder-of-the-sokoto-caliphate/a-51995841>)

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 mobilized 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.

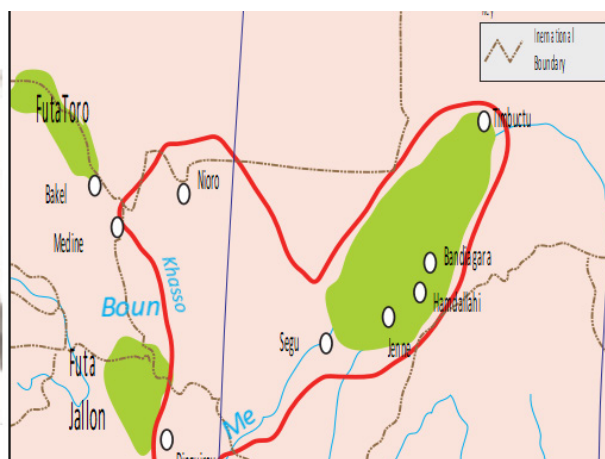
At Gudu, many Fulani tribesmen joined him and he was elected commander of the faithful, Amir Al Munimin. He then, declared a jihad on the non-believers in 1804 and confronted Yunfa's army.

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 recognized as the caliph of the Sokoto Caliphate.

Al Hajj Umar



Hajj Umar and Tukolor Empire. (Source: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/tukolor-empire-1852-1864>)

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 some time 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 Djallon. 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 Judgment 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 Djallon 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 Djalón 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.

1.3.3 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 them 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.

1.3.4 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 centralized system of administration was introduced and managed according to the Koran.
- There was the stabilization 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.



Application Activity 1.3

1. Identify the effects of the spread of Islam in West Africa.
2. Examine the reasons why Uthman Dan Fodio declared a jihad in Hausaland.
3. Examine the reasons for the success of jihads in West Africa.
4. Discuss on the consequences of jihads in West Africa.



End of Unit Assessment

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 dawn, 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)
 - f) 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 them 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 throughout 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:
7. Quadiriyya and Tijaniyya.

UNIT 2

MAJOR EUROPEAN EVENTS FROM 1836 TO 1878

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to evaluate the major events that took place in Europe from 1836 to 1878; their causes, course and the effects.



Introductory Activity 2.1

Account for the outbreak of the 1848 Revolutions. Present the results of your research to the class.

2.1 The 1848 European Revolutions

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.

2.1.1 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 terrorized 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 mobilized 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 1848 Revolutions.

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 industrialization

The spread of industrialization to many European countries created many economic and social problems like unemployment, low wages, long working hour, 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.

2.1.2 Common characteristics of the 1848 Revolutions

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 1848 Revolutions 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 industrialized 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 organized 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.

2.1.3 Effects of the 1848 Revolutions

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 addition, 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 organized 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.

2.1.4 Success of the 1848 Revolutions

Factors for the success of the 1848 Revolutions in France

Good leadership: Louis Blanc and Alphonse Marie Lamartine were good leaders who mobilized 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 Revolutions.

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 become 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 Bonaparte. 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: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Napoleon-III-emperor-of-France>)

2.1.5 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 strong 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 Custoza.

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 mobilization 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.

2.1.6 Why the 1848 European Revolutions did not take place in some countries

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 industrialized society. It was able to meet the needs of the growing population, especially employment, compared to other European countries where the effects of industrialization 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.



Application Activity 2.1

1. Examine the characteristics of the 1848 European Revolutions.
2. Analyze the effects of the 1848 Revolutions in Europe.
3. Debate the different factors which made the 1848 Revolutions successful in some European countries. Consider France as a case study.
4. While the 1848 Revolutions succeeded in France, they failed in other countries. Analyze the reasons for the failure.
5. Analyze why some countries did not experience the 1848 Revolutions. Present the results to the class.

2.2 The Italian and German Unifications



Learning Activity 2.2

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

2.2.1 The Italian Unification

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 organized 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:<https://prabook.com/web/giuseppe.mazzini/3733181#gallery>)

However, due to the lack of massive mobilization, 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

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, organized 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 criticize and mobilize 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

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.

Establishment 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 Venetia 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 mobilized Italians against Austrian foreign rule. Those activities united Italians, prepared them for the struggle and reduced obstacles 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 liberalism and nationalism and liked the idea of Italian unification. It also weakened Metternich who was an obstacle to unification.

Role of press: The Risogrimto which was a newspaper introduced by Cavour exposed Austrian atrocities against Italians and sensitized 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 1870–71: 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

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 organized 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 organization 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 mobilize and sensitize 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.

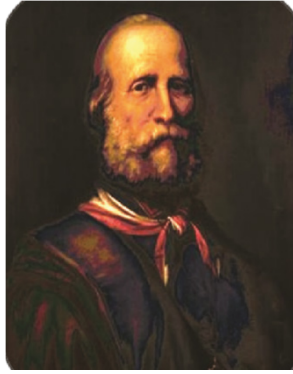
Mazzini came back to Italy during the wars of 1859 and 1860 but took no pleasure in seeing the establishment in 1861 of a unified Italian kingdom rather than a republic.

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

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.



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

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 became 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 the Seven Weeks War in which Prussia defeated Austria and after which Venetia was granted to the kingdom of Italy.



Giuseppe Garibaldi landing in Sicily, 1860. (Source: <https://www.amazon.com/Garibaldi-Marsala-Nlanding-Giuseppe-Lithograph/dp/B07C48M236>)

Garibaldi turned his attention to securing Rome for the Italian kingdom. He organized 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 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 the Italian Unification



Camillo Cavour August 10, 1810, up to June 6, 1861. (Source: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Camillo-Bensoconte-di-Cavour>).

Camillo Benso di Cavour, (August 10, 1810–June 6, 1861) was born in Turin. He 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-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 fertilizers. 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.

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 mobilization centres for supporting the unification struggle.

He improved the economy, trade and transport of Piedmont by

encouraging agriculture, industrialization, building 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



King Victor Emmanuel 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.



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.

Role of Foreign Powers

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 Piedmontese 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



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 realized that French cooperation was necessary. Napoleon III agreed to recognize 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 organizing 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: <https://www.historypod.net/10/26/26th-october-1860-garibaldi-hands-southern-italy-to-victor-emmanuel/#:~:text=On%20the%2026th%20October,him%20control%20of%20southern%20Italy>)

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 plebiscite was held that supported annexation of Rome by the kingdom of Italy. This marked the completion of the unification of Italy.

2.2.2. The German Unification

The German Empire and Otto Von Bismarck

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 Frederick 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.



(Source: <https://www.pinterest.cl/pin/473018767091685711/>)

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.

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 reorganization: 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

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. 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 mobilization: Before the year 1860, majority of the Germans were not informed about the importance of the German unification because of poor mobilization due to the lack of mass media to sensitize 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.



King William I of Germany. (Source: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/William-I-emperor-of-Germany>)

Factors that enabled German unification

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 Metternich'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 technology 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 Moltke 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

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 mobilization 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

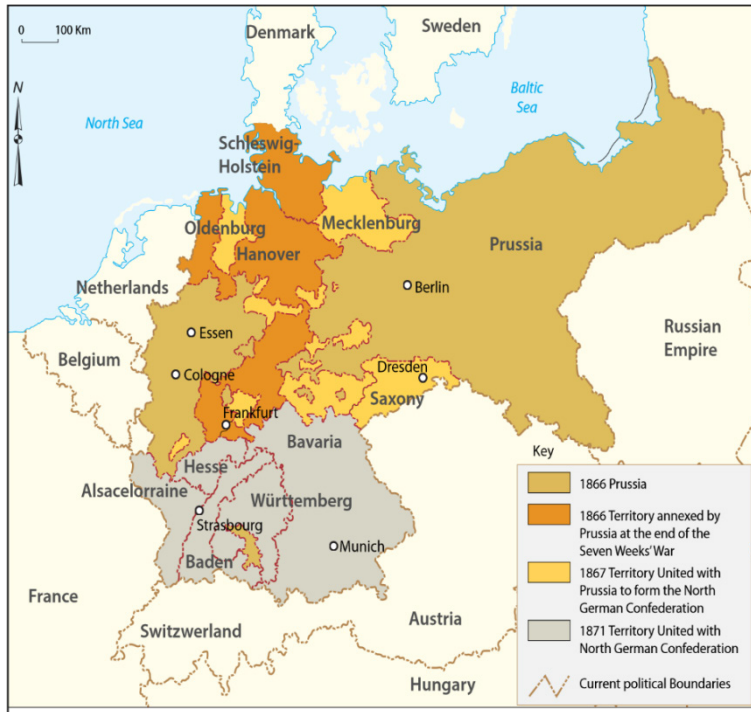
Defeat of Denmark and annexation of Schleswig

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 publicize 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 mobilized 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: <http://en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/history/key-dates/proclamation-german-empire-1871>).

By the Frankfurt Treaty, all the southern states and the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine 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.



Application Activity 2.2

1. Examine the obstacles to Italian Unification.
2. Analyze the factors that favoured Italian Unification by 1871.
3. Evaluate the role played by Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour and King Emmanuel II in the struggle for Italian Unification from 1850 up to 1870.
4. Assess the role of foreign powers in the Italian Unification.
5. Describe the different stages taken to achieve the Italian Unification by 1871.

2.3 Similarities and differences in Italian and German Unifications



Learning Activity 2.3

Discuss the common features of the Italian and German Unifications. Present the results of your work to the class.

2.3.1 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 organize 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.

2.3.2 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.



Application Activity 2.3

Compare and contrast Italian and German Unifications. Present your work to the class.

2.4 The Eastern Question



Learning Activity 2.4

Analyze the factors that led to the decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1820s. Present your work to the class.

2.4.1 Factors for the decline of Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century

The Eastern 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: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

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 Majid.

Rise of influential personalities: Popular leaders in Greece like Prince Alexander Hyslant 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.

2.4.2 The Greek War of Independence

Nationalism: The Greeks were part of the Ottoman Empire since the 14th century when the Turks conquered and colonized 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 civilization. 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 civilized of Turkey's colonies. The Greeks were well educated. Because of their education, they were able to organize 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 mobilize 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, led 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

In March 1821, Ypsilantis organized 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 organization 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.



Muhammad Ali, the sultan of Egypt (1769–1849). (Source: https://military.wikia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_of_Egypt)

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.

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 sympathized with Turkey, Britain, France and Russia signed a treaty with Turkey in which Greece was granted self-rule, but under the Turkish over-lordship. 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 formalized 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

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 Unkiar 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.

2.4.3 The Syrian Question

The Syrian question or the Second Egyptian–Ottoman War or Second Turko-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

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 Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Britain, wanted to nullify any Russian gains, by seeking to internationalize the straits.

Russia influenced the sultan to include a secret clause in the treaty which stated that the straits of Bosphorus 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 Skelessi of 1833. Turkey would close the straits of Bosphorus 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

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.

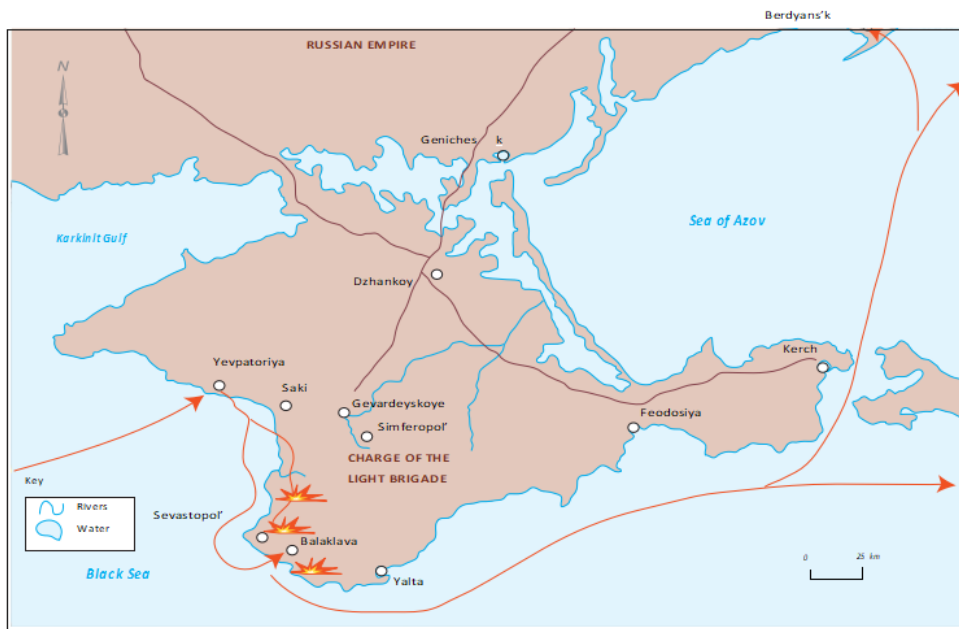
Rivalry and suspicion between European powers: Russian influence increased in the Balkans as a result of the Syrian question through the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi which allowed Russia to intervene in Balkan affairs. As a result, up to the 1870s, Britain and Austria threatened to declare war on Russia.

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.

2.4.4 The Crimean War



The Crimean war. (Source: <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/crimean-war>)

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-Majid 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 recognize 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 led 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

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

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: <https://www.nam.ac.uk/explore/crimean-war>)

During the Crimean war, from 1853 to 1856, many British soldiers died from wounds and disease. Florence Nightingale set up a hospital near the battlefield 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 Britain 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.



Application Activity 2.4

Analyze the effects of the Crimean war in European politics. Present the results of your work to the class.

2.5 The 1856 Paris Treaty and its impact on Europe



Learning Activity 2.5

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 internationalized the navigation of Danube River and increased Napoleon III's prestige and popularity both in France and in Europe.

The treaty recognized 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: <https://www.napoleon.org/en/history-of-the-two-empires/paintings/the-congress-of-paris-25february-30-march-1856/>)

2.5.1 The Berlin Congress of 1878

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: https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Congress_of_Berlin)

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 Andr ssy, 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 organize the Berlin Congress in 1878.

Sultan Abd al-Majid 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 crushed 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.

2.5.2 Impact of the Berlin Congress on Europe

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: Microsoft student with Encarta Premium 2009)

The relationship between Russia and Germany became worse as Russia refused to renew the Dreikaiser bund 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 organized 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.



Application Activity 2.5

1. Evaluate the reasons that led to the calling of the 1878 Berlin Conference.
2. Assess the impact of the 1878 Berlin Conference on European affairs. Present your work to the class.



End of Unit Assessment

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.

UNIT 3

EUROPEAN DOMINATION AND THE EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to describe the European domination, exploitation in Africa and its consequences in the 19th Century.



Introductory Activity 3.1

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.

3.1 European colonial methods used in the economic exploitation of African countries



Learning Activity 3.1

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.

3.1.1 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 colonization. At the same time, African societies put up various forms of resistance against the attempt to colonize their countries and impose foreign domination.

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

Colonization 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 industrialization—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: <http://exploringafrica.matrix.msu.edu/colonial-exploration-and-conquest-in-africa-explore/>)

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 industrialization, 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 colonization 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 colonization 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, cocoa, 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 strait 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 preempt 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 Strait of Gibraltar encouraged other powers to join the race for colonies.

Growth of nationalism and jingoism

Colonization 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 Savroigna 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.

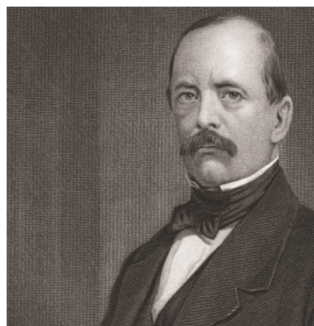
The influence of the 1884–1885 Berlin Conference

It had given a green light to colonization 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. Source: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Otto-von-Bismarck>

3.1.2 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 colonization 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 Principe 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 mineralized 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 realizing 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 monopolized 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 industrialization

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 their 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.



Application Activity 3.1

1. Analyze the European colonial methods of forced labour and land alienation in the economic exploitation of the African countries.
2. Examine the use of legitimate trade in the economic exploitation of African countries.

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

3.2 Consequences of European domination and exploitation of African countries



Learning Activity 3.2

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

3.2.1 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 industrialization 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.

3.2.2 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 colonization 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 organizationally 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 colonized 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 colonized 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 colonizers and partly because of the political conditions in the various territories that they conquered.



Application Activity 3.2

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



End of Unit Assessment

1. What are the main reasons for European colonization 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 4

IMPACT OF THE COLONIAL RULE ON THE AFRICAN SOCIETIES

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to assess the political, economic and social transformations brought by the colonial rule in Africa.



Introductory Activity 4.1

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

4.1 Colonialism and Capitalism



Learning Activity 4.1

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

During the 19th century and early 20th century, imperialism started in Europe as a result of industrialization 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 monopolizing trade with their colonies. Additionally, the rapid industrialization 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 colonized nations to benefit the mother country. As colonial states began controlling the economy of the colonized territory, the economic interests of the colonized were ignored. Instead, colonialists wanted to maximize their profits and gains, regardless of the consequences on the colonized 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.

4.1.1 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 colonized 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 colonized population, the colonizers 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.

4.1.2 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, colonizing powers would utilize 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.

4.2 Effects of Colonization on African society



Learning Activity 4.2

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

4.2.1 Negative effects of colonization 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 live 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 legitimize 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



King Kabalega of Bunyoro 1850–1923).

Source: <http://www.nzdl.org/gsdmod?e=d-00000-00---off-0unescoen--00-0----0-10-0---0---0direct-10---4-----01l--11-en-50---20-about---00-0-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-10-0utfZz-80-0&a=d&cl=CL1.10&d=HASHc3697d0c37be5024d365b7.9>

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

Killing and inhuman treatment

Under the German rule, 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.



General Von Trotha (July 3, 1848, March 31, 1920). (Source: [https:// www.pinterest.com/pin/300193131397909163/](https://www.pinterest.com/pin/300193131397909163/))

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.

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 commercialization. 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 colonized 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 programs. 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 industrialized 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 centralized states and white settlement colonialism retarded development. In centralized 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 colonized. All in all, there is no country today in sub-Saharan Africa that is more developed because it was colonized by Europeans.

4.2.2 Positive effects of colonization on the African societies

Development of the 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 organized programs to fight against killer diseases by vaccination. These diseases include polio, pneumonia, measles, tuberculosis, leprosy and small pox.



Application Activity 4.2

1. Assess the following negative effect of Colonization on African societies: Change of African ways of life.
2. Organize a debate on the following negative effect of Colonization on African societies: Exploitation of African resources.
3. 3. Discuss the following positive effect of Colonization on African societies: development of the education system.
4. 4. Find out the benefits of the modern medicine introduced in Africa by Europeans. Present your findings to the class.



End of Unit Assessment

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 colonization on African societies.
6. Find out and explain at least six positive effects of colonization on African societies.

UNIT 5

THE FIRST AND THE SECOND REPUBLICS OF RWANDA

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to examine the achievements and the failures of the First and the Second Republics of Rwanda.



Introductory Activity 5.1

From 1962 up to 1994, Rwanda was under the regime of the First and Second republics. Through the use of different books, documents and internet, make a research and assess the failures of those republics. Prepare a written supporting document you will use during the class discussion.

5.1 The First Republic (1962-1973)



Learning Activity 5.1

By 1962, Rwanda recovered its independence, and the following years, until 1973, it was under the First Republic under the regime of Kayibanda Grégoire. By using internet or visiting your school library, carry out a research about the first republic in Rwanda, then evaluate the achievements and the failures of this republic.

5.1.1 Evolution of new Republican institutions after Independence

The Constitution

The First Republic worked under the November 1962 Constitution. This means that Rwanda recovered its independence without a constitution as such.

The text was never regarded as mandatory. As matter of fact, when the Legislative Assembly studied a project of constitution (during its second session), it was not about the revision questions of the Gitarama text but a new project.

Therefore, in attempt to avoid a constitutional vacuum, a Parliament shifted into a constituent Assembly and studied a constitution project of which the final text was signed on the 24 November 1962.

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.

The November 1962 Constitution was prepared and proposed by PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA parliamentary groups with the assistance of the Belgian lawyers. 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.

It showed a clear will to break with the past by making the Republican form of the State. In fact, Article 2 of this Constitution stipulated that “King Kigeri V Ndahindurwa monarchy is abolished and cannot be restored”, that “Mwami Kigeri Ndahindurwa and his entire dynasty are declared deprived of their royal prerogatives”.



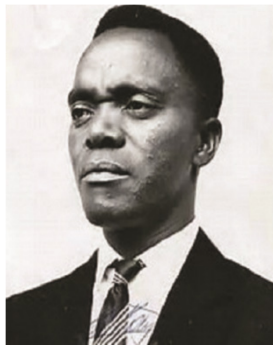
King Kigeri V Ndahindurwa

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.

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.

The President of the Republic and the Government

At the time of recovering Rwanda's independence, Grégoire Kayibanda paved his way into political prominence and was more than willing to use "ethnic" terror and "divisions" to maintain his rule. With the new Republican institutions, the Head of State took the title of the President of the Republic. For the first time, the post was given to Dominique Mbonyumutwa (January-October 1961). He was replaced by Grégoire Kayibanda on the 26th October 1961, after being elected by the National Assembly. He immediately put in place the Government



Grégoire Kayibanda, President of Rwanda from October 1961 to July 1973. (Source: National Archives of Rwanda/Photos

The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court was announced on the occasion of the 28th January Coup d'état of Gitarama and it was to be supported by articles 98, 99 and 102 of November 1962. However, it had no real power. In fact, when Grégoire Kayibanda changed some articles of the constitution in order to be re-elected for the 3rd term in 1973, the judges did not react, fearing dismissal. Putting in place new political and administrative structures. After independence, the political and administrative structures changed again. Territoires, Chefferies and Sous-Chefferies became Prefectures, Sub-Prefectures and Communes respectively and headed by Prefects, Sub Prefects and Burgomasters in that order. In this way, Rwanda was reorganized in 10 Prefectures (Butare, Byumba, Cyangugu, Gikongoro, Gitarama, Gisenyi, Kibuye, Kigali, Kibungo and Ruhengeri) and 143 communes.

5.1.2 From Multipartism to Monopartism Learning

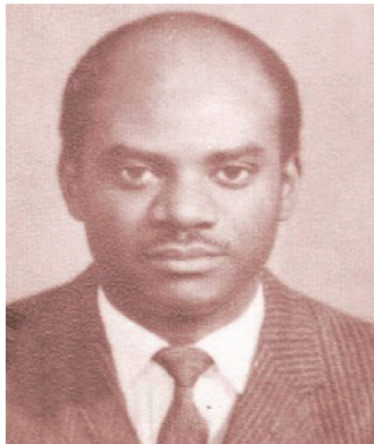
The 1962 constitution devoted its article 10 to a multiparty system. However, the ruling party, MDR PARMEHUTU, turned itself into a 'state party', behaving just like a single party from 1965 after eliminating and assimilating other political parties.

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 monopolize political power. The party utilized 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.

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 Ruhengeri Prison after Inyenzi launched major attacks and 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.



Rwagasana Michel (1927 - 1963)

Source: Rwanda National Heroes Commission Archives/Photos

5.1.3 Assessment of the First Republic (1962-1973)

Political problems

The first challenge faced by the First Republic was the problem of refugees.

Refugee problem. It rose with the 1959 crisis and increased as the time went on. In fact, after every “Inyenzi” attack, Tutsi inside the country were killed and those who survived would seek asylum outside the country.

“Inyenzi” attacks. “Inyenzi”-Ingangurarugo ziyemeje kuba Ingenzi- was a name given to young Rwandans who carried out raids against Rwanda (1961-1967). They refused exile in neighboring countries where they had been constrained to go as a result of the November 1959 crisis. Their objective was to fight the Belgians and the new PARMEHUTU leaders as well as to take back their right to citizenship.

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 organized

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 organized 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 Tutsi were killed during the repression against UNAR, and 200,000 others fled the country.

“Ethnic” ideology

Independent Rwanda inherited “ethnic” ideology that would hinder the socio-economic development of the country. Since the 1920s Ethnic ideology was introduced by the Belgian Colonial administration in the framework of the policy of “divide and rule”. From then onwards, the Belgians did their best to side with one faction of Rwandans in the administration of Rwanda.

The document known as the “Hutu Manifesto”, which was issued in March 1957, demonstrated that the colonial conception of the Rwandan society as defined the Hutu-Tutsi divide had taken hold. Moreover, the political parties that were created in 1959 were ethnically centered: APROSOMA attracted almost no one except the “Hutu”; UNAR was mainly composed of “Tutsi” conservatives; PARMEHUTU was a “Hutu” extremist political organization.

From 1st to 7th November 1959, a spark of violence erupted in Gitarama against the Tutsi and members of UNAR. It was sparked off by members of PARMEHUTU and APROSOMA and it spread in whole country, the Belgian administration morally and physically supported the PARMEHUTU party. Shortly after this crisis, Tutsi leaders were deposed and replaced by Hutu leaders. When independence was given, PARMEHUTU was the dominant party and it did all it could to eliminate other political parties. At the same time, Tutsi were discriminated in various sectors.

The effect of these violence devastating for the Tutsi: their dwellings were burned systematically, they were killed or displaced and became refugees in neighbouring countries. They were arbitrary arrests, imprisonment and assassinations of many Tutsi. Twenty chiefs were dismissed and 150 sub-chiefs were replaced by members of PARMEHUTU assisted by Colonel Logiest.

Economy

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.

Establishment of financial institutions. Some financial institutions like banks were put in place: The Commercial Bank (1962), the National Bank (1964) and the Rwanda Development Bank (1968). These institutions managed to finance a few factories and industrial companies.

Another economic problem faced by Rwanda was the poor functioning of the monetary and customs union between Rwanda and Burundi. Distribution of fiscal income was poorly managed. 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 began to rise drastically to reach 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 organizations 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. Economic dependence on the outside world.

Under-equipped and without local skilled labor, Rwanda was to resort to external aid or assistance. Yet, this one was given under several, difficult conditions liable to endangering both political and economic independence. For example, the Belgian technical assistance given to the country from 1962 had to be reduced in 1965 because this had grossly affected the Belgian national budget.

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 challenges 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 to improve agriculture sector, 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. In terms of animal production, some cattle dumps were put in place to fight ticks, which attack cows.

Attempt to get the country out of the economic crisis. The Government of the First Republic sought international assistance from international organizations and Western Governments. It also adopted political austerity measures by reducing expenses in all ministries. Since 1969, the economic situation in the country began to improve due to drastic reduction in military expenses linked with the end of “Inyenzi” incursions and increased assistance from Western countries. Belgium and the International Monetary Fund had just granted Rwanda a little more in terms of loans and the US had donated food and some money to buy equipment.

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 Ruhunde 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: <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/article/10618/news/education/navigating-the-university-jungle-tips-for-newbies>

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 sensitize 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, meaning “loving care of the sick’ was run by the Brothers of Charity. In

preventive medicine, vaccination campaigns were initiated between 1965 and 1970.

5.1.4 Failures of the First Republic

Government institutions were not respected. Grégoire Kayibanda and his MDR-PARMEHUTU denied the rights of the parliament to supervise the Government. The same went to the Supreme Court that failed to prevent Grégoire Kayibanda from changing some articles of the constitution in to be re-elected for the 3rd term in 1973. Changing the 1962 Constitution was initiated by the President himself instead of the people who were the source of PARMEHUTU.

The cause of rivalry was that the PARMEHUTU members of the South especially from Gitarama, the home area of President Kayibanda tended to systematically monopolize PARMEHUTU and Government power in a form of nepotism at the expense of the Northern region. This resulted into the loss of military support of which the majority of senior officers were from the Northern region and the rest of the country. There was a failed coup attempt by Pierre Nyatanyi who was then chief cabinet of President Grégoire Kayibanda and Joachim Muramutsa, commander of the Kanombe unit. The culture of impunity. The repression campaign against Tutsi was orchestrated by the Government and local administration. There were many deaths, arrests, burnt houses, stolen goods... Unfortunately, no political, administrative authority or a military was tried for these atrocities.

Institutionalization of discrimination against Tutsi. From 1959 onwards, the Tutsi 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, institutionalized 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 (“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 Nsekaliye 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 organized 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.

5.1.5 Downfall of the First Republic and the 5th July 1973 coup d'état

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 characterized 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 massacred and 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. For instance, in 1972, President Grégoire Kayibanda brought together his closest friends to develop a diversion plan. This plan consisted in dismissing Tutsi from schools and higher colleges as well as public, semi-public and private institutions. Lists of “undesirable” Tutsi were posted (26-29 February 1973) and the order to leave the institution was formulated everywhere in the same way. No prefecture was spared and all the Tutsi population was targeted; no government official from any school, public or private institution disapproved this act: every one kept silence. The argument that was developed by the Government and its followers consisted in saying that Hutu could no longer be the minority in the schools, public and private institutions, whereas they were demographically majority. Tutsi massacres (February-March 1973) that were prepared and coordinated by the Kayibanda Government led to the state of insecurity that opened the way for the 5th July 1973 Coup d’état.

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. Discriminatory ideology (Ethnicism and regionalism). Tutsi did not enjoy their basic rights while the power was concentrated in the hands of the PARMEHUTU members from Gitarama, the home area of President Grégoire Kayibanda.

No respect of the Republican institutions. President Grégoire Kayibanda did not allow the Parliament to achieve its mission of supervising the Government. Moreover, the Supreme Court found it difficult if not impossible to prevent Grégoire Kayibanda from changing some articles of the constitution without the population's consent. He wanted to be reelected for the 3rd term in 1973.

Habyarimana, then Minister of defense and chief of staff of the army, overthrew Grégoire Kayibanda in a military coup d'état on 5th July 1973. He declared that he had come to save a country that was about to be pushed into a bottomless chasm by a band of tired and irresponsible politicians.



Application Activity 5.1

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

5.2 The Second Republic (1973-1994)



Learning Activity 5.2

Research on the political, economic and social evolution of Rwanda during the Second Republic, thereafter give answers to the following questions:

- a) Identify and explain the political and institutional changes made after the coup d'état of July 5th, 1973.
- b) Discuss how the Second Republic reached to its end by 1994.

Present the results of your findings to the class.

5.2.1 The coup d'état of 5th July 1973 and establishment of the Second Republic

In the night of July 4th to 5th, 1973, the presidential guard under the general command of Major General Habyarimana, Minister of Defense and Chief in staff of the army led a coup d'état against the regime of Kayibanda Grégoire and Habyarimana took over the power. He was assisted by the following senior military officers: Lieutenant Colonel Alexis

Kanyarengwe, Majors Aloys Nsekarije, Sabin Benda, Epimaque Ruhashya, Fabien Gahimano, Jean Népomuscène Munyandekwe, Bonaventure Ntubitura, Laurent Serubuga, Bonaventure Buregeya and Aloys Simba.

The coup leaders dissolved the National Assembly, suspended the 1962 Constitution and banned all political activities. They suppressed MDR-PARMEHUTU Political Party, 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 5, 1974, much was said about national peace and unity. He castigated regionalism, public immorality, and corruption.



President Juvénal Habyarimana

5.2.2 Assessment of the Second Republic

Achievements of the Second Republic

In terms of political matter

On July 5th 1975, Major General Juvénal Habyarimana established 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 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 percent 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 reelected again for five years winning 99.8 per cent of the votes.



French President François Mitterrand (1916–1996).

Source: <https://www.gettyimages>.

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 democratization 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 democracy'. On September 25th, 1990 Juvénal Habyarimana named National Synthesis Committee CNS in charge of developing the first draft for a constitution allowing many political parties.

In terms of economic development

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.

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 emphasizing 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 Organization (KBO).

The Second Republic made a great effort in agriculture. Cash crops

especially tea, coffee and pyrethrum were promoted by the increase in acreage 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, Sucrierie 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: https://www.aeroport-kigali.com/kigali_international_airport.php



Amahoro Stadium

Source: <https://www.wolrdstadiums.com>

- Asphaltting 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 stabilizing the economy and benefiting from financial support of those institutions.



IMF and the World Bank.

Source: <https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/history/the-world-bank-group-and-the-imf>.

Socio-cultural evolution

In terms of socio-cultural development

Health

Under health, 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.

The office for National Population (ONAPO) to deal with Population growth.

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.



King Faisal Hospital
Source: <https://kfh.rw>

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

At the secondary education level, the Ordinary Level was reduced and specializations 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.

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.

5.2.3 Failures of the Second Republic

Increased dictatorship. With the aim of consolidating his regime, Juvenal Habyarimana took various measures. On 5th July 1975, Le Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement, (MRND) became a “Party State” as was MDR-PARMEHUTU under the First Republic. Moreover, the central committee of MRND was the highest decision-making body in the Habyarimana regime. The article 7 of the 24 December 1978 Constitution consecrates MRND as the sole political party and all Rwandans were automatically its members. Therefore, Juvénal Habyarimana, the President of MRND, was the sole candidate in the 1983 and 1988 presidential elections.

The Government made no significant efforts to solve the refugee problem. In June-July 1989, the central committee of MRND examined the problem of Rwandan refugees scattered around the world, especially in the neighboring countries. The central committee resolved that refugees were not to return massively into the country. It strongly advocated that refugees should find a way of integrating themselves into their respective countries of asylum. The central committee of MRND declared openly that Rwanda was overpopulated and incapable of receiving and accommodating the refugees returning back in the country.

Crashing all forms of opposition. Juvénal Habyarimana regime had zero tolerance to opposition. Opponents were subjected to political executions. Examples include Abbé Sylvio Sindambiwe (Former Director of Kinyamateka Newspaper) and Félicula Nyiramutambirwa (Former member of the MRND Central Committee).

Exclusion. There was a deplorable exclusion which was highly institutionalized right from 1981, in the name of “ethnic and regional balance/ the “Quota System”. Applied in all sectors of national life, the

“Quota System” had to allocate places in schools, the national army, administration and diplomatic services on the basis of ethnic and regional belonging.

5.2.4 Downfall of the Second Republic

Gross violation of Human Rights

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 criticize 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 3th 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.

Economic crisis from 1987. As the result of a drastic fall in international coffee prices, over evaluation of Rwandan currency, unfavorable climatic conditions and poor management of public affairs, and the demographic explosion prevailing in Rwanda since 1980, hence the reduced yields from land. This crisis exposed the weakness of Juvénal Habyarimana’s regime in terms of solving Rwandans’ problems. Hence his unpopularity.

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.

Institutionalization of ethnic and regional balance or quota system

The regime of Habyarimana 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 characterized 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 institutionalized 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 ethnicism. The places reserved for Tutsi were effectively reduced in each prefecture.

Centralization 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 destabilized the government. Rivalry for posts increased, power struggles became fiercer, and mafia-type behaviour and structures thrived. One of the main power centres was known as “Akazu”. It was organized around Agathe Kanziga - Juvénal Habyarimana’s wife-and her brothers everything was done in this family’s interests. 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 monopolized 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 mobilization 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.

The culture of impunity

This was seen in different crimes committed especially against the Tutsi. The perpetrators were not pursued or arrested instead they were awarded.

Crashing all forms of opposition

As shown above, being so intolerant to any opposition, the Habyarimana regime increased social discontent as Rwandans wanted to share the power and get rid of injustice. It is in this way he became so reluctant when he was requested to accept the multiparty system in 1991 at the end of "La Baule Summit" by his French Counterpart-Francois Mitterand.

No significant effort to solve the refugee problems

The Government of 2nd Republic made no significant effort to solve the Refugees problems.

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 as they were being rejected by the hosting countries. Resistance and fake justification as the country was overpopulated to not house any more people from the exile made possible the outbreak of the 1990 Liberation War that overthrew him. This was one of the causes of the National Liberation War which started on October 1st, 1990.

The liberation war (1990-1994)

It broke out as a response to solve the problem of refugees who were refused the right to citizenry. This resulted from the position of President Habyarimana and his government of establishing, in February 1989, a special commission for refugees' problems and meeting Uganda government officials to quest for the refugees' stay in Uganda. The refugees opted 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.

The failure of the 4th August 1993 Arusha Agreement. As a political compromise for Power sharing between the Government of Rwanda and the RPF out of which the "Broad-based Transition Government" was formed on September 10th, 1993, it failed to take off as Juvénal Habyarimana refused to swear in the new government and parliament in which RPF was to be part of. This became a significant sign of willing to monopolize the power by causing the chaos.



Application Activity 5.2

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



End of Unit Assessment

1. Discuss the main achievements under the first republic
2. Explain why Grégoire Kayibanda failed to unify the Rwandan citizens.
3. Identify the causes of the economic crisis in Rwanda during the Second Republic.
4. What were the Reasons that led to the failure of the 1978/1979 Education Reform?
5. Account for the failures of the First and Second Republics.

UNIT 6

GENOCIDE DENIAL AND IDEOLOGY IN RWANDA AND ABROAD

Key unit competence: Be able to analyze crucial stages of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and abroad and devise ways of reconstructing the Rwandan society as well as preventing Genocide from happening again.

6.1 The Concept of Genocide



Introductory Activity 6.1

Many books and movies have been produced on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Using them, analyze the structure and strategies that made possible the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. Afterwards, suggest how genocide can be prevented from happening again.



Learning Activity 6.1

Using the Internet, search for United Nations High Commission for Human Rights and read the whole Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide of 9th, December 1948. This will help you understand the international legal framework that deals with genocides. Evaluate how this convention has been applied in Rwanda then after, describe different steps of genocide development.

The term **“genocide”** derives from two words: A Greek word ‘genos’ meaning origin or species, and a Latin verb ‘caedere’, meaning to kill. It was first, used by Raphael Lemkin, a Polish born American lawyer who taught law at the University of Yale in the 1940s. He used this term ‘genocide’ uniquely to make it different from other crimes of mass killings. Generally, it is the mass extermination of a whole group of people, an attempt to wipe them out of existence.

Scientifically and legally, the definition of the term «Genocide» on the international level, adopted by the UN Convention, has remained substantially the same since it was initially formulated on 9th December 1948 in article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide defines “genocide” as any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, these acts were followed by a series of characteristics of the crime of genocide, representing serious violations of the right to life and the physical or mental integrity of members of the group such as:

- Killing members of the group;
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births with the group;
- Forcibly transferring of the group to another group.



Delegates attending the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the crime of Genocide of 9th, December, 1948

The Convention states that it is not just the acts of genocide themselves that are punishable, but also “conspiracy to commit genocide,” “direct and public incitement to commit genocide,” the “attempt to commit genocide” and “complicity in genocide.” It is the specific intention to destroy an identified group, either “in whole or in part”, that distinguishes the crime of genocide from a crime against humanity. The Convention also states that any country or state that endorsed the convention has the rights and legal authority to request any other state that ratified the convention to prevent against this crime of genocide. Genocide has two

phases: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor.

Mass atrocities or other crimes against humanity: According to international law and Rwandan organic law no 01/2012/OL of 02/05/2012 instituting the penal code article 120, define crimes against humanity as “any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population because of its national, political, ethnic imprisonment in violation of law, torture, rape or any other form of sexual violence, persecution, enforced disappearance of persons, the crime of apartheid, other inhuman acts of a similar character.”

In contrast with genocide, a crime against humanity do not need to target a specific group. Instead, the victim of the attack can be any civilian population, regardless of his/her affiliation or identity. Another important distinction is that in the case of crime against humanity, it is not necessary to prove that there is an overall specific intent. It is sufficient to be a simple intent to commit any of the acts aforementioned. Mass atrocities have been witnessed in China, Cambodia, Tibet, Argentina, El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala, Colombia, Bosnia and Sudan (Darfur) mass killing began when the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) and the justice and Equality (JEM) rebels took up arms in defense of the non-Arab population in Darfur who were the target of the Arab-led forces from Sudan however, they are not forms of genocide. The government responded with a heavy hand and organized ethnic cleansing against the non-Arab populations in Darfur. Many people lost their lives. The government got support from a local militia, Janjaweed.

Genocide is the mass extermination of a whole group of people, an attempt to wipe them out of existence. It is the specific intention to destroy an identified group, either “in whole or in part”, that distinguishes the crime of genocide from a crime against humanity. Thus, these acts were perpetrated against the Tutsi in Rwanda in 1994. This is why it is called the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. They were also perpetrated against the Jews by the Nazi (Holocaust/Shoah) in Germany.

Genocide is an international crime. For the Genocide to happen, it must be supported by the government. The government deliberates intentionally on eliminating part of its citizens and ensures that the plan is successfully executed. The government intending to commit genocide puts in place effective plans and measures to achieve the crime. The victims are killed not because of the crime they have committed, but because of belonging to a certain group of people meant to be eliminated or unwanted.



Application Activity 6.1

1. Carry out a research in a library or use internet and explain the tangible features of genocide.
2. Discuss acts perpetrated on victims of genocide and other mass atrocities /crimes.

6.2 Stages/Steps of Genocide development



Learning Activity 6.2

1. Explain the factors that lead to the development of genocide.
2. In distinct steps, describe how the Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda occurred.

The Genocidal government starts with classifying its people and divides them in “us versus them”, telling the people that there is a certain group of people within the country that has different origins and is distinguishable by nationality, ethnicity, race, or religion. It tries to show to the favored group that the targeted ones are the problem in the society and constitute an obstacle to the social wellbeing and development of the nation.

This Stage of classification of people is a primary method of dividing society and creating a power struggle between groups. This targeted group is then given symbols and dehumanizing names. The targeted group’s humanity is denied; the victim group is made subhuman. Words such as “vermin”, “snakes” and “cockroaches” are used to define the “other”, as well as comparisons to diseases, animals, or beasts. Hate gatherings are organized for torturing and exterminating the members of the targeted group in secret and in public, as a hatred campaign in different areas of the country is led by the people and politicians heading the state in different institutions.

The state usually organizes, arms and financially supports the groups that conduct the genocidal massacres. Often militias are organized to carry out the Genocide, in order to provide deniability to the state. The government and powerful citizens or hate groups provide the necessary arms, equipment, and instructions to torture and perpetrate the Genocide. Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast and print polarizing propaganda. Full extermination is the aim of the killing, because the perpetrators do not believe the victims to be truly human.

Finally, after the Genocide or extermination of the targeted group, the perpetrators and their sympathizers, seek methods to cover up the truth and evidences, denying that they committed any crimes, intimidating and attacking the Genocide survivors and many other efforts to block investigations that could reveal those who planned and executed the Genocide.

Genocide denial is an attempt to deny or minimize statements of the scale and severity of an incidence of genocide for instance the denial of the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi and the holocaust. 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. They use some ways such as minimization of genocide in any behaviour exhibited publicly and intentionally in order to reduce the weight or consequences of the genocide, minimizing how the genocide was committed. Altering the truth about the genocide in order to hide the truth from the people etc.

The different genocides recognized by the UN and international institutions have some differences and similarities. The essential difference of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda is that it is the only Genocide committed by Rwandans versus Rwandans themselves and at the same time stopped by Rwandans. Next to that, during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, over one million people vanished within a short period of three months.

People in Rwanda killed their fellow Rwandans, neighbors, relatives, intimate friends and people who had intermarried. The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was planned and committed in front of the eyes of UN peacekeeping and other international troops, who acted as mere bystanders instead of stopping or preventing the Genocide. Shockingly, they decided to withdraw their so called UN peacekeeping troops that were stationed in Rwanda while the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi was being committed.

Genocide never takes place suddenly. It is a culmination of a long process that usually takes place in distinct steps or stages. Various scholars have explained how genocide develops. Some of them include Gregory H. Stanton and Ervin Staub who have conceptualized the development of genocide as a progression. They have each provided a continuum of steps through which genocide develops.

The 10 stages of genocide according to Gregory H. Stanton

- **Classification:** is a primary method of dividing society and creating a power struggle between groups. Distinguishing people into ‘us’ and ‘them’ by race, identity, religion or nationality etc. In Rwanda, these identification cards were later used to distinguish Tutsi from Hutu in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
- **Symbolization:** This involves giving names or symbols to classify the victim group to distinguish them by religion, race, ethnicity or other identifying factors may become mandated information for use by the government.
- **Discrimination:** The ruling class, caste, or ethnic group excludes “inferior” groups from full rights. Laws are passed segregating and separating disfavored groups in housing, schools, transportation, hotels, and establishments, as well as laws against intermarriage. Usually takes a legal, cultural, custom, or political form used by the perpetrator group. They use power and authority to deny the rights of the victim group.
- **Dehumanization:** The perpetrator group treats the victim group as second class citizens. Dehumanization makes the victim group easily vulnerable to the dominant group. One group denies the humanity of another group, and makes the victim group seem subhuman. Words such as “vermin” and “cockroaches” (in German and Rwanda) are used to define the “other”, as well as comparisons to disease, animals, or beasts.
- **Organization:** Genocide is a group crime, so it must be organized. The state usually organizes arms and financially supports the groups that conduct the genocidal massacres. Often Militias are organized to carry out the genocide to provide deniability to the State. The government and powerful citizens or hate groups provide the necessary arms, equipment, and instructions to perpetrate genocide. Special army units or militias are usually trained and supplied with arms in readiness to carry out the nefarious activities
- **Polarization:** Efforts are made by the dominant group to draw a sharp wedge between them and the victim group. Hate groups spread propaganda to reinforce prejudice and hatred between the two groups. Extremists drive the groups apart. Hate groups broadcast and print polarizing propaganda. Laws are passed that forbid intermarriage or social interaction.
- **Preparation:** Meetings are held by perpetrators and plans are drafted for the impending genocide. Military plans and orders are drafted, and weapons are stockpiled and distributed. Sometimes former territories are annexed or invaded, and divisive treaties with neighboring States are developed. This is done to ensure

that everything takes place. Adequate preparations that entail identification of victims and tools for use are made.

- **Persecution:** Members of victim groups are forced to wear identifying symbols. Segregation based on ethnic or religious identity, segregation into ghettos is imposed; victims are forced into concentration camps. Victims also deported to famine-struck regions for starvation. This stage begins with identification and separation of victims due to differences between them and the perpetrators. Death lists are dressed.
- **Extermination:** the method of killing because the perpetrators do not believe the victims to be truly human. Often the genocide results in revenge killings creating a downward spiral of death. Killing of all the members of the victim group begins at this stage. With time, the killings take on genocidal proportions.
- **Denial:** Denial is the surest indicator of further genocidal massacres. Perpetrators go to great lengths to conceal their acts and deny having committed any crime. The perpetrators and their sympathizers begin using the forms of denial to defend their actions. Destruction of evidence, victim blaming and refusal to relinquish power will ensue the five forms of denial: deny the evidence, attack the truth tellers, deny genocide intent, blame the victims and deny that the facts fit the legal definition of genocide.

1	• Classification
2	• Symbolisation
3	• Discrimination
4	• Dehumanisation
5	• Organisation
6	• Polarisation
7	• Preparation
8	• Persecution
9	• Extermination
10	• Denial

The stages of genocide

Source: Inspired by the ten stages of genocide of G.H. Stanton and Elvin Staub

Violence usually evolves from one stage to another. In most situations, limited discrimination transforms into progressive discrimination, persecution and violence against victimized groups. Occurrence of intense violence and discrimination leads to a higher chance of it progressing to mass killings or genocide.

Lesser acts of discrimination and violence against the victim group, change and transform the perpetrator group negatively. Actions against the victim group are based on devaluing them. They are seen as less human hence the need to be removed from the perpetrators' 'world'. All efforts by the perpetrator group are geared towards committing violence against them.

Consequently, there is a bad change in the behavior of the perpetrator group due to these efforts. Institutions are also changed or where possible, new ones are created to help further the goals of the perpetrator group. The attitude of by-standers and the rest of the population undergoes change too, for the worse. The victim group is then subjected to high level of intense violence, which culminates into genocide.

The 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi was carefully planned and executed to annihilate Rwandan Tutsi. It was the fastest and cruelest genocide ever recorded in human history.

6.3 Causes, origins and ideological dimensions of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi



Learning Activity 6.3

Use internet, read available books in your library or watch a documentary film on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and answer the following questions:

1. Analyze causes, origins and ideological dimensions of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
2. Discuss genocidal ideology in post-independence Rwanda.

It is so hard to identify the root causes of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda. This because all Rwandans were united and shared the elements for national cohesion like same king, clans, language, values, same religion, culture and same country etc. However, the mainly among others, factors had contributed to the disunity of Banyarwanda and led to the genocide:

The loss of cultural identity

The influence of colonial education is responsible for the derision and diminution of the Rwandan culture. The colonial education made Rwandans adopt Western culture at the expense of their own. They were conditioned to regard his traditional as archaic and barbaric. During

the colonial period, the colonial masters deliberately applied a policy of “divide and rule”. The colonialists took the Tutsi and Hutu as two distinct “groups” instead of looking them as two social categories. The loss of their common cultural identity and the policy of divide and rule resulted in the first pogroms and massacres of 1959 and to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

The hatred culture of Rwandans vis-à-vis other Rwandans under the two Republics

Rooted from colonial period and because of bad leadership under the First and the Second Republics, the hatred culture was promoted and supported by divisionism worsened by regionalism and nepotism. This undermined the national unity among the Rwandans.

Hatred indicators showed through vilification and name calling that Rwandans were accustomed to using while addressing each other. Such names like “snake, enemy, malicious, fake, false, robber...” All that fueled hatred against each other.

Institutionalization of untruthfulness and the culture of impunity

Under the two Republics, the crimes were committed with the beliefs that the culprits will never be apprehended. Indeed, some people who committed big and atrocious crimes were rewarded by being promoted to important administrative positions. Corruption, favoritism, cheating, embezzlement and diversion of public funds, suspicion and mistrust were common.

Persecution and impunity

During the colonial period, the colonizers had favored a group of ‘Tutsi elites’ which was associated to colonial power as auxiliaries. When their alliance broke up in the end of 1950s, the colonizers changed alliance from supporting the Tutsi elites in power because some elite members of UNAR spearheaded by King Mutara III Rudahigwa were advocating for immediate independence that provoked a break up with the Tutsi. This change is the origin of the political and violence which happened since November 1959 characterized by mass killings of the Tutsi and members of UNAR party. Their houses were burned and destroyed systematically. The same scenarios of mass killing targeting Tutsi repeated in 1963/64, 1973 and in 1990-1994 up the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. They were scapegoats of the failure of the government.

The authors of such massacres were never punished for the crimes committed. On the contrary, many of them were promoted to positions of responsibility. On the side of international community, it always considered

the respective governments of Rwanda as the true representatives of the population. It totally ignored the crimes committed and the injustices those governments were responsible for.

Genocidal ideology in post-independence Rwanda

After regaining independence on 1/7/1962 until July 1994, the PARMEHUTU political party leadership (led by Kayibanda and MNRD led by Juvenal Habyarimana) encouraged Hutu hatred and divisionism towards the Tutsi. They denied them basic human rights including right to their country, education, job opportunities, etc.

The genocidal ideology identified the two antagonist groups like “Us” and “Them” or “You” and after proceeded by the nomination or qualification of those two groups. The genocidal ideology in Rwanda is based on ideas, attitude and practices of discrimination and hatred against the Tutsi. It has been implemented and disseminated by the political leaders since 1959. The Tutsi most important manifestation was persecution, killing, public hatred messages, loss of property, exclusion from political and administrative systems, discrimination in many sectors like education, forced exile, physical and psychological violence, etc.

Since independence, the Tutsi have been identified as “enemies” of the Hutu. In 1960’s, the first president of the Republic, Grégoire Kayibanda, used the hatred speeches to qualify the danger of the Tutsi to the Hutu due to the attacks of Inyenzi (groups of refugees) from outside of Rwanda. From 1990 with the attack of Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF-Inkotanyi), the ideological speeches pointed out again the “double treat presented by the Tutsi (of internal and of external)”.

Between 1990 and 1994, the Tutsi were qualified as the “enemy”, “outsiders” and “suspected” complots. From those qualifications and propaganda, many Newspapers and Radios, called upon all Hutu, “to kill all Tutsi before they were killed”.

Besides the presentation of the threats against the Tutsi, another factor was the dehumanization or qualification of enemy not as humankind but as an animal like rats, snakes or cockroaches. The aim was to incite public reactions against the Tutsi who were considered as a “common enemy”. This shows that genocide crime before being an act of physical destruction of the enemy, the genocidal ideology begins by developing ideas of exterminating the ‘group enemy’.

Discriminatory leadership

Under the two Republics (1962-1994), social inequality was maintained and encouraged by exclusion, favoritism and regionalism. It was

under the Second Republic that the policy of “division, exclusion” and regionalism balance” was reinforced. The social promotion was not based on meritocracy; a choice that has generated negative effects on the development of the country and the relationship among Rwandans.

The prefectures of Gisenyi and Ruhengeri monopolized more positions of responsibility in the public administration. The “quotas system” was adopted in 1970’s as a solution to social injustice. However, this policy led to the exclusion and discrimination of the Tutsi from schools and services. It deprived the Tutsi the right to education and employment.

Finally, the governments of the first and second republics had systematically ignored the problem of refugees who were roaming around in the neighboring countries since 1959. The reaction of the government was that the country was too overpopulated to receive more. It was this repeated refusal that made the Rwandese refugees in the neighbouring countries to organize themselves into a politico-military structure, named Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF – Inkotanyi) and opted return by force.



Application Activity 6.3

1. How effective are the testimonies from the survivors, repenting perpetrators, genocide memorials and reports on the genocide in educating the people of Rwanda?
2. What ideas, behaviours and actions do you think may lead to a recurrence of genocidal ideology in Rwanda if left to develop further.

6.4 Course of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi



Learning Activity 6.4

Use internet, read available books in your library or watch a documentary film on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and answer the following questions:

1. Analyze the course of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
2. Discuss the main actors of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
3. Analyze media or other tools used in the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

Genocide had already spread to whole country from 7th April 1994, the planners of genocide carried out a general genocide against the Tutsi. Following the power vacuum and incitement from the media and genocidal planners, the presidential guards, “Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi” militias (created in September 1991) started a systematic elimination and extermination of the Tutsi and key political personalities of the opposition who were against the genocide against the Tutsi.

Following the meetings held at the High Command of the Rwandese Armed Forces (FAR), the interim government was formed on April 8th, 1994. The former president of National Council of Development/CND (Conseil National de Développement) and member of MRND, Dr. Sindikubwabo Theodore, was nominated President of the Republic and Kambanda Jean as the Prime Minister. Kambanda was from the extremist wing of MDR known as Hutu power. He headed the government that was exclusively made up of ministers belonging to extremist fractions that were in favor of the genocide against the Tutsi.

That meeting adopted also the “Hirondelle Operation” which consisted of violating the cease-fire and breaking the fighting against RPF. By this operation, the Kigali City was “cleaned” using the list of Tutsi to be killed established before. On 9th April, an official communiqué announced the formation of a new government made up of extremist leaders from four political parties were represented in the government because of their “power” element that favoured the genocide.

In a meeting held on the 11th April 1994, the interim Prime Minister Kambanda Jean called on all leaders at L’Hôtel des Diplomates in Kigali, including Jean Baptiste Habyarimana (the only one Tutsi) the leader of Butare Province, to apply in their respective Prefectures “Hirondelle operation”. However, Dr. Jean Baptiste Habyarimana (Tutsi/PL/Butare Prefecture) and Godefroid Ruzindana (Hutu/PSD/Kibungo Prefecture) did not respond to this call and tried to unite their people and opposed genocide until they were dismissed and killed. He also openly called for “Insecticide operation” and what he called “the final solution” aimed at systematic extermination of the Tutsi and their accomplices, without “sparing neither babies, nor women, nor aged people as the insecticide does to cockroaches. It was after this meeting that genocide spread with a high speed throughout the whole country. It was “Apocalypse” promised one day by Colonel Théoneste Bagosora.



Mass killing of Tutsi by Interahamwe and impuzamugambi in 1994 devastated the country

The genocide against the Tutsi was characterized by many forms of extreme violence. The main tools used during this genocide against the Tutsi are machetes, grenades, bullets, nailed bludgeons called “nta mpongano y’umwanzi”, burning people alive, throwing living people into pit latrines, ditches, forcing family members to kill each other among others.

At the beginning, the killers in small groups killed the Tutsi victims in their homes, on the roads or arrested them at road blocks. Later on, the Tutsi looked for asylum in public places like churches, hospitals, health centres, schools, stadiums, etc. The killers followed them and killed them there.

The concentration of the Tutsi in such public places was encouraged by the local authorities with the plan of facilitating and accelerating mass killings as the assailants would find them in one place. These places served as the “death camps”. There were no safe places for the Tutsi.



Soldiers and interahamwe in the church killing Tutsi in 1994

April 12th, 1994, the interim government also known as “Abatabazi” fled the capital Kigali due to the advance of the RPF-Inkotanyi and relocated to Gitarama, at Murambi. Later on, it moved to Gisenyi and in refugee camps located in Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

Finally, RPF-Inkotanyi soldiers stopped the genocide and scored victory over the genocidal forces on 4th July 1994 when Kigali City and Butare were liberated.

Main actors of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

The main actors and killers included soldiers of the Rwandese Armed Forces (FAR) and Gendarmerie. In particular, the elite Presidential Guard carried responsibility to begin killings; another group of actors was made up of civil authorities from the top to the local authorities: members of the former President Habyarimana’s political party (the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and the interim government, the Prefects of prefectures, the Burgomasters, and the communal councilors who basically mobilized and encouraged people to kill Tutsis.

There were militias such as “Interahamwe and Impuzamugambi”, respectively formed as youth wingers of National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND) and Coalition for the Defense of Republic (CDR) political parties and members of Hutu Power.

The extremist Medias (newspapers, Televisions and radios) that disseminated the hate speeches during the genocide and encouraged the population to exterminate the Tutsi “enemy” namely Kangura, La Medaille Nyiramacibiri, and Radio Television des Mille Collines (RTLM).

The largest group of killers was composed of extremist Hutu. The targeted group for extermination were the Tutsi. This was done without any distinction of age, religion, region, etc.



Application Activity 6.4

1. Assess the implementation of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
2. How effective are the testimonies from the survivors, repenting perpetrators, genocide memorials and reports on the genocide in educating the people of Rwanda?

6.5 Denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi



Learning Activity 6.5

Read different documents or use the Internet to assess the denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda and abroad.

6.5.1 Rwanda immediately after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi

After the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi, Rwanda was a failed State. No working system was in place. No laws to punish genocidaires despite Rwanda being a member to the 1948 Convention, inexistent judicial system as all was destroyed, judges died or fled the country, the economy was in shambles, education, health, infrastructure, agriculture, investment, travel banning, etc.

There were on one hand thousands of victims and survivors struggling to have a minimum of life and in need of justice, and on the other hand, thousands of genocide suspects filling up prisons, also in need of timely justice. Importantly, accountability was necessary to end the culture of impunity.

6.5.2 Accountability for Genocide

To hold accountable perpetrators of genocide against Tutsi was conducted at three levels:

- The Rwandan national judicial system handled numerous trials of genocide;
- The Gacaca courts that used a traditional community based legal approach to try all but the most serious of crimes but more specifically serve Truth, Justice, Unity, Reconciliation, Ownership,
- The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) as an international community's effort to hold some of the most serious perpetrators accountable for their crimes;

6.5.3 Genocide Denial

Rule of thumb: a perpetrator of an offence will always hide or deny it.

Genocide cases, perpetrators generally hide their actions or, if confronted with truth, deny them.

Regarding Rwandan, Linda Melvern, explains that the denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi can be traced back during discussions at the UNSC in 1994. The interim government in 1994 started a disinformation campaign at the United Nations to spread the theory of spontaneous, out of control violence and promote the legitimacy of its actions within an international platform.

Denial is planned as the genocide is planned. It is the exit or cover up strategy. Multiple organized killings of Tutsi happened in Rwanda from the late 50's up to 1994 in Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Kibuye, Bugesera, Ngororero, etc. The state always blamed it on spontaneous reaction due to victims' provocation.

6.5.4 Forms of Genocide Denial

Genocide denial can take many forms:

- State or indicate that the genocide never happened;
- Distort the facts about genocide for the purpose of misleading the public;
- Affirm that there was a double genocide; committed by both sides against each other.
- State or indicate that the genocide was not planned, by minimizing its gravity or consequences, downplay the means by which it was committed or providing wrong statistics about the victims of the Genocide.

With regard to the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, denial took various forms:

- **Literal denial** (1994-1998) that claimed that no genocide happened in Rwanda. It involved systematically negating the facts of genocide, shutting up the truth and keeping silent about genocidal plans and killings;
- **Interpretative denial** (1998-2003) for which the 'drama' of violence was acknowledged, that it was an inter-ethnic conflict, and it was recast as something other than genocide. Facts are twisted to deny that the killings constituted genocide.
- **Implicatory genocide denial** (2003 to date) that acknowledges that genocide took place, but involves explicit counter-accusations to blame the 'other side', claiming a double genocide (Judi River, Untold story of BBC...)
- The increase of Social Media Platforms which became a new platform for the commission and propagation of genocide denial.
- We are witnessing a spike in genocide denial driven by the young

generation, mostly offspring of genocide perpetrators, fugitives and ideologues. This is worrying but not surprising. Most are in Europe and US, they take advantage of their systems under the pretext of freedom of speech, spread propaganda denying genocide against the Tutsi.

6.5.5 Criminalization of genocide denial

Although the prohibition of genocide denial is not recognized in international law, nor in the Genocide Convention of 1948, some countries have already enacted national laws punishing genocide denial, by extending their laws prohibiting holocaust denial. We can cite France and Belgium.

Additionally, the EU has adopted Acts under title VI of the EU Treaty Council Framework Decision on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law, which request each Member State to take measures necessary to ensure punishment of publicly condemnation, denying or grossly trivializing crimes of genocide as defined by the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

In Rwanda, Article 10 of the Constitution provides a positive obligation on the state to prevent, punish and fight against denial and revisionism of genocide as well as eradication of genocide ideology and all its manifestations.

Law N 59/2018 of 22nd August 2018 on the crime of genocide ideology and related crimes, is more explicit and defines the crime of genocide ideology which includes denial, with sentences for these crimes ranging between 5 and 7 years of imprisonment.

Furthermore, a non-government entity, company, cooperative or political organization can also be liable for the offence of genocide denial under Rwandan law and once found guilty, the court may, in addition to the penalty of a fine, order for their dissolution or prohibition of their operations in Rwanda.

6.5.6 How to fight genocide denial

Experience shows that its long struggle for older generations who were part and parcel of the country's journey since 1950's.

But we can dismantle these denial narratives by leveraging on the youth who make up 70% of the population.

Youth should learn, understand and not be cowed or defensive about the organization, execution and aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

They should also learn and understand ways to identify genocide denial, how to spot it on social media and how to respond to it.

They should also get involved in commemoration activities and connect with fellow youth who survived.

This fight is for our future-it is existential it involves us all, including Rwanda Finance Ltd. They should also amplify the voices of the survivors, relate to the facts, and explain that there was indeed Genocide against the Tutsi.

We should come together in responding and fighting back against revisionists like Judi Rever and other likeminded promoters of the 'double genocide' myth. For e.g, Judi Rever was scheduled to speak at the University of Cambridge Centre for Geopolitics on 21 April 2021, but 100 academics and journalists signed an open letter against the decision to give her such a platform. Such initiatives are important in fighting the likes of Judi Rever.

Rwandans should publish more on the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and promote reliable/truthful literature.

Countries should condemn, in the strongest terms, any efforts to deny or minimize the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi the same way they do with the Holocaust.

It is necessary to accelerate the processes of extradition and prosecution of genocidaires still at large. This is a prerequisite for everything as the fight against negationists can't happen in a context of impunity.

To fight against genocide denial and accept our history as Rwandans will lead us to the sustainable unity and reconciliation with our history, thus we build the Rwanda we want.



Application Activity 6.5

1. In group, discuss the denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
2. Assess the ideas, behavior and actions taken by Rwandans to fight against the denial of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
3. What ideas, behaviours and actions do you think may lead to fight against genocide denial in Rwanda and abroad?



End of Unit Assessment

1. Describe the 10 stages of genocide according to Gregory H. Stanton.
2. Discuss the causes of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
3. Describe the forms of Genocide denial.
4. Describe Rwanda immediately after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
5. Explain how we can fight genocide denial.

UNIT 7

THE NATIONAL DUTIES AND OBLIGATIONS

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to analyze the national duties and obligations.



Introductory Activity 7.1

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.

7.1 Itorero ry'Igihugu



Learning Activity 7.1

Analyze the specific objectives of Itorero ry'Igihugu. Present the results of your findings to the class.

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.

7.1.1 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.

7.1.2 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.

7.1.3 Specific objectives of Itorero ry'Igihugu

- Equip Rwandans with the capacity to analyze 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.

7.1.4 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.



Application Activity 7.1

1. Research on national duties and explain the vision and the mission of National Itorero Commission and evaluate the achievements of the National Itorero Commission.
2. Conduct research on national duties and obligations and explain Rwanda's national taboos. Present the results of your findings to the class.

7.2 Urugerero (National Service)



Learning Activity 7.2

Debate on the rationale of Urugerero. Present the results of your findings to the class.

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 totaled to 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 sensitization, collection of essential data base, and community work in support of vulnerable groups.

The pioneer group of Urugerero achieved the following:

- Sensitizing Rwandans on the eradication of genocide and its ideology and encouraging them to participate in activities organized to commemorate the genocide committed against Tutsi in 1994.
- Sensitizing the community on the importance of mutual health insurance, adult literacy, fighting against drug abuse, legalizing marriages especially for families that are cohabitating, and environmental protection. Organizing meetings at village levels
- Educating the community on Rwandan cultural values, unity, patriotism, and development.
- Educating the population on personal hygiene and cleanliness of their environment.
- 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.



Application Activity 7.2

Research on national service and explain the achievements of the pioneer group of Urugerero.

7.3 Umuganda



Learning Activity 7.3

Carry out a study on national duties and obligations and describe the background of 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 organized 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 mobilize 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.



Application Activity 7.3

Evaluate the achievements of Umuganda activities. Present the results of your findings to the class.

7.4 Imihigo



Learning Activity 7.4

Define the concept of Imihigo and describe its background. Present the results of your findings to the class.

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 decentralization 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 decentralization 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 decentralization 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 organizations, the private sector, and development partners.

7.41 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.

7.4.2 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. Harmonizing 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 subsidized 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 Imihigo 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.

7.4.3 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 contextualization 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 mechanization. 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.



Application Activity 7.4

Assess the implementation of Imihigo. Thereafter, present the results of your findings to the class.

7.5 Community Policing



Learning Activity 7.5

Describe the structure of the community policing and evaluate its contribution in ensuring security.

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.

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.

7.5.1 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 sensitize residents about the need to collectively overcome crime.

The Youth Volunteers in Crime Prevention is an organization 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 sensitizing 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)*

7.5.2 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 sensitization campaigns to discuss crime prevention. During these events, real problems are dissected and solutions are found.



Application Activity 7.5

Explain the day-to-day activities of community policing initiatives.



End of Unit Assessment

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.

UNIT 8

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL JUDICIAL SYSTEMS AND INSTRUMENTS

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to analyze the national, international judicial systems and instruments, and how justice has been delayed and denied in the Rwandan society.



Introductory Activity 8.1

Explain the concepts of the judicial systems, and then present your work to the class.

8.1 International and National Judicial Systems and Instruments



Learning Activity 8.1

Analyze the international judicial systems and their instruments. Present your work to the class.

8.1.1 Concept of judicial system and instrument

Judicial system

A system is a complex whole formed from related parts. i.e a combination of related parts organized into a complex whole. e.g a social Numbering heading, sections and subheadings plus activities system (Encarta Dictionary, 2007);

Judicial relates to judges. i.e relating or belonging to a body of judges or to the system that administers justice or relating to court judgments i.e relating to judges in performance of their duties or to judgment in a court of law.

Instrument (Law) is a legal document instituting a legal act (Encarta Dictionary, 2007).

Judicial system is the system of law courts that administer justice and constitute the judicial branch of government. It is also the branch of government that is endowed with the authority to interpret and apply the law, adjudicate legal disputes, and otherwise administer justice, (Hamilton, 2005).

Under the doctrine of separation of powers, the judicial system (the judiciary) generally does not make law (this is the responsibility of the legislature) or enforce law (this is the responsibility of the Executive), but rather interprets law and applies it to the facts of each case. It is the branch of the state often tasked with ensuring equal justice under the law (Fabri, 2000).

The judicial system usually consists of a Court of final appeal (called the “Supreme Court” or Constitutional court) together with lower courts.

Note: the concept “judicial system” 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 “Bench”) as well as the staffs who keep the system running smoothly.

In some countries and jurisdictions, the branch of judicial system is expanded to include additional professionals and institutions such as prosecutors, state lawyers, ombudsmen, public notaries, judicial police service and legal aid officers. All of these institutions are sometimes governed by the same judicial administration that governs courts, and in some cases the administration of the judicial branch is also the administering authority for private legal professions such as lawyers and private notary offices.

Judicial instrument

Judicial instrument refers, in this way, to any legal instrument (legal document) recorded with and authenticated by a public office or employee. To carry weight, any such instrument, must be genuine and authentic. Legal instruments consequently must bear the name, title, and seal of the official that issued them, and should be written in the presence of witnesses who attested to them, (Jennings, 1995).

Legal instrument is a legal term of art that is used for any formally executed written document that can be formally attributed to its author, records and formally expresses a legally enforceable act, process, or contractual duty, obligation, or right, and therefore evidences that act, process, or agreement. Examples include a certificate, deed, bond, contract, will, legislative act, notarial act, court writ or process, or any law passed by a competent legislative body in municipal (domestic) or international law.



Justitia, a symbol of the judiciary. (Source: <https://www.vectorstock.com/royalty-free-vector/the-goddess-justice-themis-symbol-logovector-28425899>)

National Judicial Systems and Instruments

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.



Headquarters of the High Court in Kimihurura. (Source: Google.rw/image)

The specialized courts include the Commercial High Court at Nyamirambo with its branches at Musanze and Huye, and the military courts.

8.1.2 International Judicial Systems and Instruments



Learning Activity 8.2

Analyze the international judicial systems and their instruments. Present your work to the class.

International judicial system

The international judicial system refers to a combination of courts, tribunals, judges, magistrates and other adjudicators interpreting and applying the international law in the name of all nations to solve world disputes.

The International judicial system is mainly dominated by international courts (these are formed by treaties among nations or under the authority of an international organization such as the United Nations-especially since 1945) and include ad hoc tribunals and permanent institutions but exclude any courts arising purely under national authority. The table below gives examples of international courts and ad hoc tribunals.

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 authorizes 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: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/860328335051369844>)

The International Criminal Court (ICC) is an intergovernmental organization 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.



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 Official logo of ICC 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 recognized 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 ad 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 organization 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 finalizing 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.

International judicial instrument

An International judicial instrument is any international legal instrument (legal document) recorded with and authenticated by international bodies in the respect of the international law. The international legal instrument obliges all states to enact, implement and monitor legislation agreed upon by all states parties.

International judicial instruments include: Charters, Constitutions, Treaties (agreement, protocol, covenant, convention, pact, or exchange of letters), Universal declarations, recommendations, etc.

8.1.3 Structure and Organization of the International Judicial Systems



Learning Activity 8.3

Describe the structure and organization of the international judicial system. Thereafter, present your work to the class.

The structure and organization of the International Court of Justice

Since 1945, the international legal system has been dominated by the United Nations and the structures were established as part of that organization. In this perspective, it is better to take one example of the international courts - International Court of Justice- as each one of the examples given in the table above may have its own structure depending on its mission.

By a resolution by United Nations on 18 April 1946 (Adoption of UN charter and Statute of the ICJ, 1945), International Court of Justice replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice, often called the World Court, attached to the League of Nations which that existed from 1922 to 1946.

It is the chief judicial organ of the United Nations. Its structure involves: Presidency, Chambers and Committees, Judges ad hoc and the Registry.

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 civilization 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: <https://www.icj-cij.org/files/casereLATED/163/163-20200116-PRE-01-00-EN.pdf>)

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.

All members of the UN are automatically parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The jurisdiction of the ICJ in “contentious disputes” between States is subject to the principle of consent. The ICJ

also has advisory jurisdiction. The UN Security Council and the UN General Assembly may request advisory opinions on any legal question.

The UN General Assembly may also authorize other UN organs or specialized agencies to request advisory opinions on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Organization 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, organized 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 organizations, non-governmental organizations 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 organizations,

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



Application Activity 8.4

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.



End of Unit Assessment

1. Analyze the ways in which justice has been denied and delayed in Rwanda.
2. Explain the organization of the International Court of Justice.

UNIT 9

DIGNITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to identify the lessons that can be learnt from the successful self-reliance policies of the African leaders.



Introductory Activity 9.1

Explain the concepts of dignity and self-reliance, and then present your work to the class.

9.1 Definition of concepts of dignity and self-reliance



Learning Activity 9.1

Define the concepts of dignity and self-reliance.

9.1.1 Dignity

Dignity refers to a proper sense of pride and self-respect i.e a sense of your own importance and value. According to Cambridge Dictionary (online), dignity is the importance and value that a person has, that makes other people respect them or makes them respect themselves. E.g in Rwanda, Dignity was one of the main characteristics of the social value UBUPFURA each Rwandan was supposed to have.

9.1.2 Self-reliance

Self-reliance is defined as the ability to do things and make decisions by yourself, without needing other people to help you. It is also “the value which consists of the use of the blessings and abilities God has given to you to care for yourself and your family and to find solutions for your own problems”. Matthew W. of South Africa says, “I think you are self-reliant when you don’t need your parents to do everything for you because you know how to take care of yourself.” Self-reliance is important for everyone.

When you are self-reliant, you can depend on your own skills to support yourself and to help others in your family and community.

For a country, Self-reliance refers to the ability of a country to depend on itself to meet its own needs (Rwanda National Dialogue Council December, 13-14, 2012).

Self-reliance:

- Enhances capacity and effectiveness to deal with the country's socio-economic and political problems;
- Instills people to be free rather than dependent on others, and is based on self-respect and partnership;
- Does not conflict with international co-operation and partnership;
- Leads to national pride, builds confidence and respect among citizens and State.

9.2 Factors for Success of Self-Reliance

Policies of some African leaders



Application Activity 9.2

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 colonization, 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.

9.3 Examples of African leaders whose self-reliance policies succeeded



Introductory Activity 9.2

Carry out research on African self-reliance and then analyze the success of some African leaders. Present your work to the class.

Self-reliance in Rwanda under King Mutara III Rudahigwa

In Rwanda, self-reliance was visible in the following ways under the leadership of King Mutara III Rudahigwa.

King Mutara III Rudahigwa (1931–1959)

Rwandans people being aware of negative effects of the policy of divide and rule applied by Belgians. Belgians applied this policy because they have seen that the kingdom of Rwanda had a strong centralized and organized leadership appreciated and respected by all Rwandans.

Educated people knowing what is happening elsewhere helped the king to struggle for self-reliance. e.g. Members of “High National Council” The growth of patriotism and nationalistic spirit. Patriotism is the factor of self-resilience in the way that people fight for national integrity, respect of national sovereignty and protect public property.

The sacrifice where one’s personal interests, one’s life is sacrificed for the sake of the general interests, self-denial, being visionary, exemplary, honesty and love of heroic needs. In his character, Mutara III Rudahigwa was against injustice, dishonest, nepotism and selfishness. He solved impartially conflicts and disputes publically (abolition of clientelism-Ubuhake in 1954).

Some Christian missionaries such as Catholic Church aligned with the Belgians in refusing self-reliance especially in education. This led the creation of Mutara Fund for public education. Rudahigwa later set up Schools e.g: College du Christ Roi of Nyanza, Intwari Primary School in Nyamirambo in Kigali City Suburb among others.

Dignity and self-reliance nature of Rwandans. Rwandan people respected and protected their leadership and their national heritage. Rwandans were interested in national development based on their own efforts. End of paternalism system, after Second World War colonial powers were destroyed by the war. They increased overexploitation on resources in their colonies and stopped to support financially their colonies. This was resented by Rwandans and the King himself.

These factors helped the King Mutara III Rudahigwa to achieve the following:

- He mediated between the Belgian colonialists and the Catholic Church;
- He highly advocated for equality, justice and the welfare of Rwandans by eliminating clientelism (Ubuhake) by obliging rich Rwandans to share cows and land equally by their servants;
- He advocated for democracy and fighting against injustice through the King’s Court by fighting for independence and self-determination of Rwandans;
- He worked hard to educate Rwandans through the establishment of the Mutara Fund that helped Rwandans students to study secondary schools and Universities in Europe without waiting for Belgians support for educating Rwandans;
- Rudahigwa offered scholarships to many Rwandans to study in Europe: He was interested in education of Rwandans without depending on foreign scholarship.

Under his monarchy, he eliminated all forms of slavery and advocated for unity and reconciliation among Rwandans: He did not want to continue applying the forms of inequality, injustice and slavery increased by Belgians.

He created High National Council that could solve political problems of Rwandans through dialogue without violence. All these achievements led to Rwandan dignity and self-reliance during his reign. And this is the reason why Rwandans choose Rudahigwa as one of Rwandan heroes.

His dreams started becoming the reality when the Triple Tacit Accord (Colonial rule-King Mutara III Rudahigwa- Catholic Church) on the systematic plan to rule over Rwandans made in early 1940s split apart in 1948. Many versions on the death of the King mention that this struggle may be one of factors that ended up to cost his life on July 25th, 1959.

Self-reliance in Kenya under Jomo Kenyatta



Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya (1891–1978). (Source: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/jomo-kenyatta>)

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.

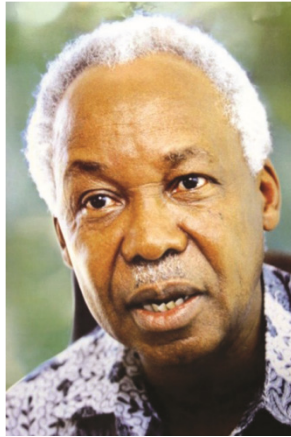
Harambee events may range from informal lasting a few hours, in which invitations are spread by word of mouth, to formal, multi-day events advertised in newspapers. These events have long been important ways to build and maintain communities.

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 institutionalized during Kenyatta's presidency.

Ujamaa policy in Tanzania

Ujamaa ('familyhood / Brotherhood' 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.



President Julius Nyerere (1922– 1999). (Source: <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/nyererejulius-k-1922-1999>)

In 1967, President Nyerere published his development blueprint, which was known 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.

Nyerere used Ujamaa as the basis for national development. He translated the Ujamaa concept into a political economic management model through several approaches:

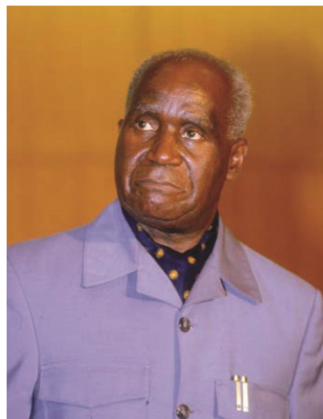
- The creation of a one-party system under the leadership of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in order to consolidate the cohesion of the newly independent Tanzania.
- The institutionalization of social, economic, and political equality through the creation of a central democracy.
- The abolition of discrimination based on ascribed status.
- The nationalization of the economy's key sectors.
- The villagization of production, which essentially collectivized 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 sensitize 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 25 per cent (only 16 per cent of females) in 1960 to 72 per cent (85 per cent of females) in 1985 (despite the rapidly increasing population); adult literacy rate rose from 17 per cent in 1960 to 63 per cent by 1975 (much higher than in other African countries) and continued to rise.

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 organizations, including: the Mulungushi Declaration, a policy statement made by President Kenneth Kaunda in 1968 on the nationalization of the means of production.



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia born on April 28th, 1924. (Source: Google/image)

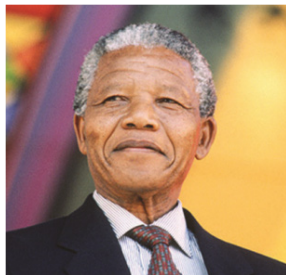
A major change in the structure of Zambia's economy came with the Mulungushi Reforms of April 1968 where Kaunda declared his intention to acquire an equity holding (usually 51 per cent or more) in a number of key foreign-owned firms, to be controlled by his Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO).

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



Nelson Mandela of South Africa (July 18, 1918 – December 5, 2013). (Source: Google/image)

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.

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 nationalization 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

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.



President Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972). (Source: <https://www.blackpast.org/globalafricanhistory/nkrumah-kwame-1909-1972e>)

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, mechanized farming, use of fertilizers and pesticides. He Africanized the civil service by replacing European expatriates with Africans.

He emphasized 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.



Application Activity 9.3

Write an essay on other two examples of African leaders than the ones discussed above by highlighting their self-reliance policies. e.g Milton Obote of Uganda and Patrice Lumumba of Congo.

9.4 Lessons learnt from successful self-reliance policies of African leaders



Learning Activity 9.4

Analyze 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.

9.4.1 Common lessons learnt

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.

9.4.2 Lessons learnt from each example of African Leader

Lessons learnt from Mutara III Rudahigwa

As a leader, you should:

- Be a good mediator between conflicting parties;
- Advocate for equality;
- Advocate for justice, and welfare of citizens;
- Advocate for democracy and justice;
- Advocate for self-determination and dignity;
- Advocate for education for all citizens;
- Advocate for unity and reconciliation.
- Lessons learnt from Prince Louis Rwagasore

As a leader, you should:

- Encourage economic independence and self-reliance the country;
- Prepare your followers for a peaceful transition on time;
- Promote the reduction of ethnic rivalry among citizens;
- Promote nationalism and patriotism among citizens. Lessons learnt from Jomo Kenyatta:

As a leader, you should:

- Avoid vengeance when you become a leader;
- Be resilient i.e Don't give up when you want to achieve a goal;
- Avoid fear in your struggle;

- Work to establish harmonious race relations, safeguarding people's property rights and appealing to people to forget past injustices;
- Work together for the development of a country.

Lessons learnt from Julius Nyerere

As a leader, you should:

- Struggle for equality and human dignity;
- Seek development solutions from man's capacity;
- Fight against poverty and injustice;
- Balance religious beliefs influence and political views and actions;
- Find own route to development instead of borrowing ideas from the West;
- Live a modest life while serving your nation.

Lessons learnt from Kenneth Kaunda

As a leader, you should:

- Be humanist;
- Bear courage;
- Be a patriot;
- Promote human dignity;
- Instill self-reliance;
- Bear empathy (the ability to identify with and understand somebody else's feelings or difficulties).
- Lessons learnt from Nelson Mandela As a leader, you should:
- Fight for freedom of his people;
- Build stronger institutions.



Application Activity 9.4

Debate on Lessons learnt from successful self-Reliance Policies of African Leaders in reference to day's self-reliance policies in Rwanda.



End of Unit Assessment

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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