

# HISTORY FOR TTCs

STUDENT'S BOOK



YEAR THREE

**OPTION:**

SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION (SSE)

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## FOREWORD

Rwandan education philosophy intends to ensure that young people at every level of education achieve their full potential in terms of relevant knowledge, competences, skills and appropriate attitudes that prepare them to be well integrated in world society and exploit employment opportunities.

It is for that reason that REB has been assigned to develop a Competence Based Curriculum (CBC) aiming at planning for a future knowledge-based society and the growth of regional and global competition in the job market. After a successful shift from knowledge to competence based curricula in general education, TTC program also were revised to align it to the Competence Based Curriculum to prepare teachers who are competent and confident to implement it in pre-primary and primary education. The rationale of the changes is to ensure that TTC learners' teachers are qualified for job opportunities and further studies in higher education.

In view of that philosophy, the Rwanda Education Board is honoured to avail the History student book for Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) in Social Studies Education which serves as official guide to teaching and learning History.

I wish to sincerely express my appreciation to the people who contributed towards the development of this document, particularly, Consultants, REB staff, UR-CE lecturers, TTC Tutors, Teachers from general education and experts from Local and international Organizations for their technical and scientific support. Special appreciation goes to the Development Partners such as UNICEF, IEE, USAID/ *Soma Umenye*, Save the Children and Right To Play for their financial support.

I take this opportunity to call upon all educational stakeholders to bring in their contribution for successful implementation of this syllabus.

**Dr. NDAYAMBAJE Irénée**

**Director General REB.**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

After the successful completion of this important step of availing year 3 TTC History student book, I wish to sincerely express my special appreciation to the people who played a major role in development of this important teaching resource. Certainly, it would not have been successful without the support from different education stakeholders. My thanks first go to the leadership of UR-CE who started the review of the TTC curriculum in 2015.

I express also my gratitude to Rwanda Education Board (REB) leadership who took over and supervised the whole curriculum review process. My appreciation is extended to Consultants, REB staff, Lecturers from UR-CE, TTC Principals, TTC Directors of Studies, TTC Deputy Principals, Tutors and Teachers from General Education who used much efforts and energy during the revision process.

I owe gratitude to different education partners more especially UNICEF, IEE, USAID-*Soma Umenye*, Flemish Association for Development Cooperation and Technical Assistance (VVOB), Right To Play, Help a Child, Save the Children, Aegis Trust, Humanity and Inclusion, Teach Rwanda and Educate for their technical support.

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## **Introduction**

This text book is part of the reform of the school curriculum in Rwanda Education System. That is about changes in what is taught, how it is taught and how constructive assessment is conducted at school level. Indeed, it is hoped this will make what you learn in school useful and more importantly to you when you will leave school despite what you will be doing later.

In the past, the main thing in schooling has been to acquire knowledge – that is scientific facts and ideas about teaching subjects. Now the main idea is that you should be able to use the knowledge you learn by developing competences and skills. These competences include the ability to think for yourself, to be able to communicate with others, explain what you have learnt, and lastly to be creative. This requires developing your own ideas, not just following those given by the tutor and the pedagogical materials.

### **Activity-based learning**

This book has a variety of activities for you to do, as well as information to read. These activities present you with material to do which will help you to learn and find out alone other interconnected issues. Indeed, student teachers are not empty vessels. You already have a lot of knowledge and ideas based on the experiences and your life within your own community. Therefore, some of the planned activities ask you to relate knowledge and skills acquired and ideas you already have.

In using this book, therefore, it is essential that you do all activities. In fact, you will not learn properly, unless you do them. The reason why these activities are the most important part of the book.

In some ways, this holistic approach makes learning challenging. In fact, it is more difficult to think for your own than to copy what the tutor tells you. But if you take up this challenge, you will become a better and successful person in your life.

### **Group work**

You can also learn a lot from other people in your class. If you have a problem, it can often be solved by discussing it with your classmates. Many of the activities in this book therefore involve discussion. Your tutor will help you to organize these group works and may arrange the classroom accordingly.

## Research

One of the objectives of the new curriculum is to help you to be innovative and creative in finding out new things by your initiative. Some activities, therefore ask you to conduct research using books in the library, internet, newspapers or magazine and journals. This means you will develop the skills of learning by reading for yourself when you leave school.

## Skills lab

History subject is practical than being theoretical. That is why it requires time of skills lab which is a regular time on normal time table during which student-teacher are required to complete learning activities working in manageable groups.

Throughout skills lab activity, student-teachers are given an opportunity to talk more and get involved in the lesson than tutors. Student-teachers receive constructive feedback on work done (Tutor gives quality feedback on student teachers presentations).

The Skills Lab prepares student-teacher to complete portfolio assignments on their own after classes. Thus, the classroom activity should connect directly to the portfolio assignment and the tutor. However, during the skills lab, makes sure that he/she links the unit with the students.

## Icons

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



### Thinking icon/Introductory activity

This indicates thinking for you or groups discussion. You are expected to use your own knowledge or experience, or think about what you read in the book, and answer questions individually or as group activity.



### Thinking icon/Learning activity

This icon reminds you link your previous knowledge with the topic you are going to learn. As a student feel free to express what you already know about the topic. What is most important is not giving the right answer but the contribution you are making towards what you are going to learn.





### **Application activity**

Some activities require you to complete them in your exercise books or any other book. It is time for you show if you have understood the lesson by answering the questions provided.



### **Skills lab**

This icon indicates a practical activity, such as a role play to resolve a conflict, participating in a debate and following instructions provided by the teacher. These activities will help you to obtain practical skills which you can use even after school.



### **End unit Assessment icon**

This icon invites you to write down the results from activities including experiments, case studies and other activities which assess the attainment of the competences. Tutors are expected to observe the changes in you as student teacher.

# UNIT

# 1

## ROLE OF GACACA AND ABUNZI IN CONFLICT SOLVING

### Key Unit competence

The student-teacher should be able to examine the role of Abunzi and Gacaca jurisdictions in solving conflicts in Rwandan society.



### Introductory activity

After the genocide against the Tutsi, one of the great challenges faced by the Government of National Unity was a broken justice system. As solution to this problem, restoration of Gacaca courts and establishment of Abunzi Committee were adopted in order to address the situation.

Examine the role of such judicial institutions in conflict solving within the Rwandan society.

### 1.1. The structure of Abunzi and Gacaca courts

#### Learning activity 1.1



Through the use of internet or by visiting the school library, make research about Abunzi Committee and Gacaca court and then describe the structure of these judicial institutions in Rwanda.

#### ***1.1.1 Structure, duties and competence of Gacaca Courts***

Gacaca Courts originate from the traditional system of conflict resolution called Gacaca. The term Gacaca literally means 'grass'. This term implies that a dispute could be resolved by a panel of judges made up of community elders sitting on 'grass' under the trees.

In pre- 1994 Rwandan judicial system, the Gacaca traditional court could be used to resolve the dispute over land, cattle, marriage, loans and property matters. The dispute was resolved by devising compensatory solutions aimed at restoring societal harmony. After the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, Gacaca traditional court was renovated and designed to be 'participatory and reconciliatory justice' which could be used to deal with the backlog of genocide cases.

Gacaca Courts was also seen as a wise, original and traditional solution to deal with trial of a large number of people who have committed this crime of genocide. Thus, it was necessary to revise this ancient judicial system which dealt with dispute over land, cattle, marriage and among others and deal with Genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity committed between the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 and the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1994. The illustrations below shows a sample case dealt in traditional Gacaca.



### *Mediators hearing from each of the parties in conflict*

*Source: Illustrator Safari Frederic*

The Gacaca Courts were established by Organic Law n° 40/2000 of 26 /01/2001, governing the creation of Gacaca Courts and organizing the prosecution of Genocide crimes and other crimes against humanity committed between the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1990 and the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1994, published in the Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, 15<sup>th</sup> March 2001. However, the organization and function of Gacaca Courts were revised by Organic Law no 16/2004 governing the organization, jurisdiction and functioning of Gacaca Courts. The Gacaca Courts' activities were launched by His Excellency President of the Republic of Rwanda on the 18<sup>th</sup> June 2002. Gacaca Courts' activities were officially closed on 18<sup>th</sup> June 2012, also, by His Excellency President of the Republic.

Gacaca Courts had the following main objectives:

- Revealing the truth about Genocide;

- to speed up the cases of Genocide and other crimes against humanity
- to eradicate the culture of impunity;
- to strengthen unity and reconciliation among Rwandans;
- to prove the Rwandans' capacity to solve their own problems.

The Gacaca Courts had the following organs:

- a) General Assembly whose main common duties are as follows:
  - To present means of prosecution and defense evidence during the hearing;
  - To elect members of the "Gacaca Court" Bench and their substitutes;
  - Constituting necessary additional Benches within the "Gacaca Court" of the Cell;
  - To elect the members of superior "Gacaca Courts";
  - To examine and adopt the report of activities done by the Coordination Committee.
- b) Seat made up by the members of the bench of Gacaca Courts known as Inyangamugayo judges who were Rwandans of integrity elected by Assembly of the Cell.
- c) Coordination Committee

Coordination Committee is composed of a President, first Vice-President, and second Vice-President and two secretaries, all of whom must know how to read and write Kinyarwanda.

Members of a "Gacaca Court" seat elect the Coordination Committee among themselves, with a simple majority.

The Coordination Committee of every "Gacaca Court" shall carry out the following functions:

- to convene, preside over meetings and coordinate activities of the Bench for the Gacaca Court as well its General Assembly,
- to register complaints, testimonies and evidences given by the population;
- to receive and record files for suspects answerable to "Gacaca Court";
- to register appeals filed against judgements passed by "Gacaca Courts";
- to forward files of judgements appealed against to Gacaca Courts of Appeal;
- to register decisions made by organs of the "Gacaca Court";
- to prepare reports of activities of "Gacaca Courts";

- to implement decisions of the General Assembly and those of the “Gacaca Court” Bench;
- to immediately transfer the report of activities approved by the General Assembly of the “Gacaca Court” to superior Gacaca Courts.

### **Duties of Gacaca Court**

The law provides for specific duties for each Gacaca Court:

#### *The Cell Gacaca Court*

The Cell Gacaca Court exercises the following duties:

- to make up a list of individuals:
  - Who resided in the cell before and after Genocide;
  - Suspected people having participated in Genocide;
  - Victims and their damaged properties;
- to bring together the files forwarded by the Public Prosecution;
- to categorise suspects according to the provisions of this Organic Law;
- to try cases related to properties;
- to give a ruling on the disqualification of members of the Bench of Gacaca Court of the Cell;
- to receive confessions from individuals who participated in Genocide;
- to forward the files which are not in their jurisdiction to the competent Courts;
- to elect members of the Coordination Committee.

#### *The Gacaca Court of the Sector, District or Town and that of the Province or Kigali City*

The Gacaca Court Bench of the Sector, District or Town and that of the Province or Kigali City has the following duties among others:

- Making investigations, if necessary, on testimonies given;
- to receive confessions from individuals who participated in genocide;
- to give a ruling on the disqualification of members of the Bench;
- to try cases falling under its jurisdiction, after making sure that suspects forwarded to it, have been categorized in conformity with the alleged offences,
- examining appeals against judgments passed by Gacaca Courts of the inferior level within its jurisdiction;
- electing members of the Coordination Committee
- examining reports of activities from the lower Gacaca Courts of its jurisdiction.

## The Competence of Gacaca Courts

### ***Jurisdiction***

#### *Gacaca Court of the Cell*

The Cell Gacaca Court deals, at first level, with crimes of category 4. It deals also with Objections filed against the sentence it has pronounced in the absence of the accused. The Cell Gacaca Court then categorizes alleged perpetrators of Genocide.

#### *Gacaca Court of the Sector*

The Sector Gacaca Court deals, at first level, with defendants whose offences fall into the third category and opposition made against sentences pronounced in the absence of the accused.

#### *Gacaca Court of the District or Town*

The District or Town Gacaca Court deals with crimes of category 2, appeals filed against judgments rendered at first level or on opposition by Sector Gacaca Courts under its jurisdiction filed against the judgments that were rendered in absence of the accused.

#### *Gacaca Court of the Province or Kigali City*

The Gacaca Court of the Province or Kigali City deals with appeals of **judgments** rendered at the first level or on objection by Gacaca Courts of the District or Towns under its jurisdiction filed against the judgments that were rendered in absence of the accused.

### ***1.2.2 Organisation, competence and functioning of Abunzi Committees***

Literally translated, the word abunzi means ‘those who reconcile’. The Abunzi are local mediators in Rwanda, who are mandated by the state as the conciliatory approach to resolve disputes, ensuring mutually acceptable solutions to the conflict. The abunzi mediators are chosen based on their integrity, and they handle local cases of civil and criminal nature.

Initially, in 2004, the Government of Rwanda established the traditional process of Abunzi as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism. Abunzi committees were by established by organic law n° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the Abunzi Committee published in Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010. But this law was viewed in 2016 with

the Law N° 37/2016 of 08/09/2016 determining organization, jurisdiction, and competence and functioning of an Abunzi Committee.



*The people in Ruhango District gather under a grove of eucalyptus trees to hear a Gacaca appeals case*

Source: [https://media.pri.org/s3fs-public/styles/story\\_main/public/story/images/facing%20the%20court.jpg?itok=lt0BEd9e](https://media.pri.org/s3fs-public/styles/story_main/public/story/images/facing%20the%20court.jpg?itok=lt0BEd9e)

According to law N° 37/2016 of 08/09/2016, the Abunzi Committee is an organ responsible for providing mediation services as a prerequisite for parties to bring an action before competent courts in matters provided for in provided for in competence of Abunzi Committee. Mediators shall serve on a volunteer and non-remunerated basis.

### **Organisation of Abunzi Committee**

At the Cell and Sector levels, the Abunzi Committee is comprised of seven (7) persons of integrity who must all be residents of the Cell and the Sector respectively and well-known for their conciliation skills. Members of Abunzi Committee are elected for a renewable term of five (5) years. At least thirty percent (30%) of members of Abunzi Committee must be females.

Members of Abunzi Committee are elected by the Cell Council or the Sector Council respectively, from among people other than high authorities, Cabinet members, Parliamentarians, staff of judicial organs, security services, local administrative entities and others whose duties are incompatible in accordance with specific laws. Elections are prepared, organized and supervised by the National Electoral Commission. A Presidential Order specifies modalities for electing Abunzi Committee members.

Before entering in their functions, elected members take oath before the population and the Chairperson of the Council of the concerned entity or its Vice Chairperson in case of absence of the Chairperson. The oath of office is received by the Primary Court of the area of operation of the Abunzi Committee.

The Abunzi Committee at the Cell and Sector level is headed by a Bureau composed of a Chairperson and a Vice Chairperson elected by their peers.

The Bureau of the Abunzi Committee, in general has the following duties:

- To ensure coordination of activities of the Abunzi Committee;
- to supervises the performance and conduct of members of the Abunzi Committee;
- to gives to the Abunzi Committee all instructions and necessary advice for the smooth performance of duties;
- to prepare all the documents relating to the functioning of the Abunzi Committee.

### **Competence of the Abunzi Committee**

In civil matters, the Abunzi Committee at the Cell level has jurisdiction to decide any civil matter relating to:

- movable and immovable assets and succession thereto where their value does not exceed; three million Rwanda francs (Frw 3,000,000);
- a breach of contract between individuals, if its value does not exceed three million Rwandan francs (Frw 3,000,000);
- family issues other than those requiring rendering a decision on civil status;
- dispute involving land property located in different territorial jurisdictions.

### **Functioning of Abunzi Committee**

At the Cell level, the Executive Secretary of the Cell receives disputes to be submitted to the Abunzi Committee at the Cell level. Disputes are submitted verbally or in writing and are registered on the list of disputes of the Abunzi Committee.

On the day of receipt of a dispute, the Executive Secretary fills out forms which contain a brief description of the dispute and submits them to the Abunzi Committee to allow it to summon the respondent and decide on the venue, the day and the time of consideration of the dispute.

The Executive Secretary of the Sector receives disputes to be submitted to the Abunzi Committee at the Sector level.

After receiving the dispute, the summons is delivered, with acknowledgment of



receipt, to the office of the Cell or Sector of the respondent's place of residence or to the secretariat of the institution where the respondent works.

The summons briefly describes the dispute, the venue, date and time set for the respondent's appearance before the Abunzi Committee, with notification to the applicant. The summoned person is given a period of at least seven (7) days to appear before the Abunzi Committee from the date the summons is served on him/her.

On the day of appearance, the parties agree on three (3) Abunzi to whom they refer their dispute. Where parties fail to agree on the Abunzi, each party chooses one and the two (2) choose the third one. Where parties agree on the same umwunzi, the latter chooses the two (2) others from Abunzi Committee to assist him/her. Parties have no right to refuse umwunzi or abunzi chosen following this procedure. The Abunzi Panel chooses from among its members a Chairperson and a rapporteur who must be literate.

Umwunzi shall not sit on a panel examining a dispute involving him/her or in which he/she has an interest. Umwunzi may recuse him/herself from the panel on his/her own motion or in response to a motion by the applicant.

When the dispute considered involves all or most members of Abunzi Committee at the Cell or Sector level, thereby making it impossible to form a panel, the chairperson of Abunzi Committee notifies the coordinator of activities of Abunzi Committee at the District level of the issue in writing within fifteen (15) days of the day when the problem is noticed.

The Coordinator of activities of the Abunzi Committee in collaboration with the Executive Secretary of the Cell or Sector in which the problem is noticed seeks support from Abunzi of the nearest Cell or Sector to determine the dispute.



*Local residents stand before the Abunzi committee in Karongi District.*

*Source: [https://minijust.gov.rw/fileadmin/\\_processed\\_/8/3/csm\\_abunzi\\_pic\\_3a3a5a8127.jpg](https://minijust.gov.rw/fileadmin/_processed_/8/3/csm_abunzi_pic_3a3a5a8127.jpg)*

During reconciliation procedure, the conciliation session is public, save for a session behind closed doors which is decided by Abunzi on their own initiative or upon request, following the nature of the dispute. Members of the Abunzi Committee that are not chosen to examine the dispute may participate in any conciliation session but without the right to vote.

During the conciliation, Abunzi hear from each party and from witnesses when they are presented by the parties. They may also seek advice from any other person as long as he/she can provide clarification on the dispute.

While considering the dispute, Abunzi help both parties to reach a compromise. Where parties fail to do so, Abunzi render a decision in accordance with the law, culture of the place where the dispute is being settled or their own conscience provided the decision is not contrary to written law.

Before the Panel of Abunzi, a lawyer may assist a party having sought his/her assistance, but the lawyer cannot represent or plead for him/her.

The applicant, the respondent or the witness may use an interpreter who is given the floor before Abunzi Panel. Interpreter fees are borne by the person having sought his/her services.

Abunzi must settle the dispute within one month from the day the dispute is registered on the list of disputes of Abunzi Committee.

If a summoned person fails to appear on the date indicated in the summons, he/ she is summoned again and informed that Abunzi render their decision on the scheduled date irrespective of whether he/she appears or not.

If the party summoned fails to appear again on the date indicated, the applicant chooses Umwunzi and Abunzi Committee chooses another and the two select a third one to decide on the dispute in the summoned party's absence.



*Mediators hearing from each of the parties in conflict in Kirehe District in September 2012.*

*Source: RCN Justice & Démocratie [http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Mediation%20Session%20in%20Nyamugari%20Sector%20in%20the%20Kirehe%20District\\_2012.jpg](http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Mediation%20Session%20in%20Nyamugari%20Sector%20in%20the%20Kirehe%20District_2012.jpg)*

After the dispute consideration, Abunzi withdraw themselves from the public in order to make a decision. The Abunzi's decision is taken by consensus or, where there is no such consensus, by an absolute majority of votes. The decision is recorded in minutes signed on each page by all members of Abunzi Panel and the concerned parties right after the procedure of conciliation.

The verdict must be written and signed by Abunzi on every page and available within a period not exceeding ten (10) days from the day on which the decision was made.

The verdict of Abunzi Committee indicates the following:

1. the parties' identification;
2. the summary of the dispute;
3. the arguments put forward by the involved parties;
4. the decision with which all parties agree;

5. the decision to which one of the parties does not agree, if any;
6. the date and place of the dispute settlement;
7. signatures or fingerprints of parties in conflict;
8. Abunzi names as well as their signatures or their fingerprints;
9. The rapporteur's names as well as his/her signature or fingerprint.

The verdict of Abunzi Committee is sealed with the seal of the Abunzi Committee and is kept by the Executive Secretary who submits it to the concerned parties.



*Two persons shaking the hands after being reconciliated by Abunzi committee*

*Source: Illustrator Iradukunda Bruno*

Where one of Abunzi holds a dissenting opinion, the issue and the reason thereof are stated in the verdict. The Chairperson of Abunzi Panel that examined the dispute notifies the parties of the written verdict of the Abunzi Committee, within five (5) days from the day on which the verdict was available.



### Application activity 1.1

1. Describe the competence of the Gacaca Courts.
2. Identify the functions of coordination committee of Gacaca courts at every level.
3. Briefly, discuss the function of Abunzi Committee.

## 1.2. The roles of Abunzi and Gacaca in conflict solving and reconciliation

### Learning activity 1.2



Through the use of internet or other sources, examine the role played by Abunzi and Gacaca courts in conflicts resolution and national reconciliation in Rwanda after genocide against the Tutsi.

### 1.2.1. Gacaca

The Gacaca as Rwanda participative jurisdiction after the 1994 Genocide against Tutsi has achieved many activities in conflict resolution and national reconciliation as following:

The Gacaca process separated the truth from the lies and revealed the specific circumstances of deaths of the victims as well as the locations where their remains had been disposed of so that they could be buried with dignity.

The Gacaca process reduced the frustration of the survivors regarding the unknown fate of their loved ones; because they now knew the circumstances of the deaths of their family members and the atrocities they endured.

Access to the truth generally reduced the degree of suspicion and consequently led to the restoration of normal social relations between the families of survivors and their innocent neighbors who had previously been suspected of betraying the victims.

Therefore, the Gacaca process prevented the generalization of guilt by distinguishing the innocent from the guilty.

Regarding the relations between families of the survivors and those known to be guilty of participating in the genocide, the reconciliation process depended on several factors, mainly; revelation of the truth about their role in the massacres, genuine repentance, preparing for face-to-face meetings by sending respected

and credible messengers to request the survivors to be present during the confessions of guilt.

It is interesting to note that the guilty pleas and requests for forgiveness presented to victims (even through emissaries) before the detained suspects were informed of the advantages of this process in sentence reduction were better received by the survivors, this in itself was already an indication of genuine reconciliation.

At the practical point of view, the Gacaca process set the investigations in motion as soon as the confessions of the detainees were recorded.

In addition, the process also ensured reduced sentences for those who voluntarily confessed within the window period provided for by the law.

Finally, the respondents also stated that the reimbursement for damaged property was another step towards reconciliation.

Another factor in favour of improving relations is that Rwandans have understood that even in a context of mass criminal activity that was sanctioned by the Government, not only are crimes against human beings punishable but also destruction of property is a punishable crime.

Refer to the official law governing the creation of Gacaca courts; the definitive contribution expected from these courts was to reveal the capacity of the Rwandan people to find solutions to national problems.

In view of the results achieved by the Gacaca process as regards access to the truth, the fight against impunity and the acceleration of trials as well as in terms of its contribution to national reconciliation, it is evident that it was the most adequate political solution given some problems brought by genocide against the Tutsi.

During the Gacaca activities, the Rwandan people were involved in finding solutions, while taking into account the fact that genocide is an immutable crime. One of the most significant contributions of Gacaca process was that it demonstrated that this most serious of crimes is now fully punishable, regardless of the number of people who participated in its perpetration or the scope of the killings and destruction that occurred.

The Gacaca process was a vivid illustration of the ability of the Rwandan people to overcome their pain and participate in seeking solutions to the critical problems facing their society.

The Gacaca process also gave the families of victims and those of convicted prisoners the opportunity to have face to face exchange in which discussed the evil that was poisoning the post-genocide Rwandan society through an open and direct dialogue.

According to the statistics given by National Service of Gacaca Courts, the Gacaca Courts were able to try 1, 958,634 cases of Genocide within a short time (trials began on 10/03/2005 in pilot Sectors). This is an irrefutable evidence of the collective will and ability of Rwandans to overcome huge challenges of their country and work for its faster development.

### **1.2.2. Abunzi**

According to the law establishing the organ of Abunzi Committee play a big role in conflicts resolution where due to their competences they make trials of the problems that affect the Rwandans;

The abunzi committee in Rwanda is an illustrative example of the interactions between the state and the local processes of conflict resolution because the local mediators are mandated by the state as the conciliatory approach to resolve disputes, ensuring mutual acceptable solutions to the conflicts.

Abunzi reduced the number of the cases introduced in ordinary courts because many problems are resolved in local communities. According to the statistics given by Ministry of Justice; in 2013/2014, Abunzi committees received 45,285 cases Country wide. 36,441 cases were mediated and handled which represent 80.5%. Among them 36,940 were civil and 8,345 criminal cases.

In 2014/2015, Abunzi committees received 40111 cases all over the Country; among them 30,719 were civil and 9,392 criminal cases. Out of 40,111 received cases, 36,830 were mediated and closed by Abunzi, which represent 80.5% of the total cases received.

In 2015/2016, Abunzi Committees received 47, 966 cases where 35,953 were civil cases and 12,013 criminal cases. In total, 44,679 were successfully handled by Abunzi and only 786 cases were oriented to courts.

As the problems are locally resolved, Abunzi pave a strong way to national reconciliation because the solutions are coming from the neighbors. The aim of Abunzi is to restore the broken relationships, reason why it involves the members of community and to build a sense of community.

The activities of Abunzi cement the national unity as well as all social categories are equally treated by these kinds of courts. This is due to that during abunzi sessions and meetings; there is often a great deal of evocation of the notion of oneness's or the concept of *Abanyarwanda* (Rwandan-ness). Therefore, Abunzi Committee's activities facilitate the reconciliation process among the Rwandans.

Economically, the Abunzi improve the economic conditions of the Rwandans because their economic activities are maintained live as the time spent in ordinary courts is reduced. Even the money needed in transport is no longer needed.



### Application activity 1.2

1. Evaluate the impact of Gacaca courts in conflicts resolution.
2. How Abunzi's activities cement unity and reconciliation in Rwanda?

## 1.3. Problems faced during the operations of abunzi and gacaca courts and proposed solutions

### Learning activity 1.3



Make research about the function of Gacaca Courts and Abunzi Committee; then analyse the problems encountered during the activities of Gacaca Courts and Abunzi Committee.

#### 1.3.1. Problems faced

During the accomplishment of Gacaca Courts and Abunzi's activities; the following problems were faced:

- Persistence of Genocide ideology because those who have deeply participated in preparation and execution of genocide were still denying their role;
- Killing and intimidation of survivors of Genocide, witnesses and "Inyangamugayo" Judges: In some areas of the country, they were killed especially the genocide survivors while the witnesses were intimidated before giving their testimonial.
- Destruction or damaging of equipment used in data collection (filing cabinets, books, forms...);
- Some "Inyangamugayo" judges were accused of participation in crime of Genocide and in such case they were mistrusted by the survivors which constitute a big barrier to their work;
- Leaders accused of Genocide: in some areas, the local leaders who would work hand – in – hand with the Gacaca courts and supervise the daily activities were also accused of genocide participation. This made Gacaca activities so difficult to achieve the objectives;
- Refusal to testify: due to the intimidation, killing, the closed relationship or the shared responsibility in crime committed, some people refused to give test during the activities of Gacaca trials. This led to a limited level of truth from which the judges proceeded;
- People moving to Provinces where they were unknown because they



were involved in genocide and this migration could not make possible the justice to the victims of the genocide against the Tutsi.

- Refugees who fled Gacaca Courts: apart from the internal displaced people, some even fled to the foreign countries from being sentenced by Gacaca courts;
- Partial confession of crimes causing re-categorization or maximum penalties;
- Serious trauma cases: This has hampered the activities of Gacaca because some who would give impartial testimony were suffering from trauma, could not mostly in public places;
- Neglect of the capacities of “Inyangamugayo” and Abunzi: As well as they were coming from ordinary families and very nearest of their neighbors, some do not trust in their capacities of carrying out a serious trial like the cases of genocide.
- In some cases, because members of Abunzi Committees are not compensated for their service rendered to the nation; some of them are less motivated.
- To small extent, some members of Abunzi Committees are criticized for acting like judges and not as mediators.

### ***1.3.2. Suggested solutions to the problems faced during Abunzi Committee and Gacaca Courts’ activities***

In order to overcome the problems encountered during Gacaca Courts and Abunzi Committees’ activities, the following solutions have been proposed and even others were implemented:

- Mobilizing the population for active participation of everyone in Gacaca process because some Rwandans considered the Gacaca activities as not their matter;
- Involving all classes and categories of the Rwandan society because during Gacaca Courts’ sessions some people missed to participate as they consider they were not concerned; much as they were neither genocide survivors nor accused.
- Continue sensitizing Genocide suspects about the procedure of confessions, guilty plea, repentance and apologies;
- Fight against the killings and intimidation against Genocide survivors, witnesses and “Inyangamugayo” judges;
- Setting up security measures for Gacaca Courts equipment or materials and recording for a long period as the data would save in future studies and as national history;

- During Gacaca Courts' activities, the local government institutions should take care of traumatized individuals;
- Building capacities of “Inyangamugayo” judges and Abunzi through continuous training;
- In order to avoid miscommunication between the Abunzi Committees and local governmental institutions, it is important to enhance communication between Abunzi and the public and other legal aid providers to improve efficiency and effectiveness.
- It also important to reinforce Abunzi Committees supervision and coordination at the District level so that their work becomes more effective.
- In order to motivate the members of Abunzi Committees as well as the judges of Gacaca Courts, there was provision with incentives such as transport facilitation, opportunities for income generation and paying for them health insurance.



*Some of the mediators pose with their bicycles in Rwamagana District*

*Source:<https://adrdaily.com/15000-rwandan-mediators-receive-bicycles/>*

The provision of materials and resources to Abunzi was done in order to improve their operational capacity and record keeping.



### Application activity 1.3

1. Examine the challenges encountered during the Gacaca Courts and Abunzi Committee's activities in Rwanda.
2. Suggest the relevant solutions to address the problems faced by Abunzi Committee and Gacaca court in their daily activities.

### Skills Lab



In the cell of Butangampundu, two persons, namely, Bugingo and Mutabazi, are in conflict based on land. Mutabazi has sold his land to Bugingo after receiving two million Rwandan Francs. However, none of local government agents was informed. But the neighbors and some members from both families were present. So, later on, Mutabazi is exploiting the land. Bugingo, who, says that he is in land possession reports his case to the Executive Secretary of the Cell. This case is submitted to Abunzi Committee of the cell.

Suppose that you are a member of Butangampundu Cell Abunzi Committee and selected to participate in conciliation session between Bugingo and Mutabazi.

Suggest the conciliation procedures you are going to follow and remember that you will fulfill the verdict of Abunzi Committee.



### End unit assessment

1. *"...if we all together support Gacaca Courts, we'll have shown the love we have for our country and Rwandans. Justice that reconciles Rwandans will be a fertile ground for unity and a foundation for development..."* From this statement, evaluate the role played by Gacaca Courts in national reconciliation in Rwanda.
2. Describe the structure of Gacaca Courts in Rwanda.
3. Describe the role of Abunzi Committee in maintaining of the unity in Rwandan society.
4. Discuss the main problems encountered during Gacaca Courts'activities.

# UNIT 2

## THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND INTER-WARS

### Key Unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to appreciate the World War I political context and be capable also to analyze the political, economic and social changes in the world between the two world wars.



### Introductory activity

The end of the 19th Century was characterized by a period of intense tensions and the latter led to the outbreak of the First World War. Using various books written on this remarkable historical event and internet, evaluate the causes and consequences of the First World War and discuss the major political, economic and social changes that took place during the inter-war period.

### 2.1. The First World War

At the end of the nineteenth Century, the most powerful nations in Europe were France, Germany, England, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Russia. Each nation tried to protect its world trade and its colonies. Each built up its armed forces and tried to make alliances with other nations.

During this period, two alliances developed, one led by Germany and the other by France. The alliance led by Germany included Austria-Hungary and Italy and was called the *Triple Alliance*. The alliance led by France included Russia and Britain and was known as the *Triple Entente*. The United States of America did not get involved in the alliance system. This country tried to keep out of Europe's troubles.

Each member of an alliance promised to help other members if they were attacked. Thus, trouble between any two nations of different alliances could bring in other countries. A small war could easily grow into a large one. This was one of the main dangers of the alliance system.

The First World War, sometimes called the *Great War*, was the first most explosive and bloodiest war to be fought on the international scale. It started in 1914 and ended in 1918. It started off in the Balkans, an area which both Russia and Austria-Hungary wanted to control. A small nation in the Balkans called Serbia hoped to unite the Slavs in the area and expand its territory. Since many Slavs lived in Austria-Hungary, Serbia knew it would have to defeat that country and hoped to get help from Russia.

The First World War which broke out in August 1914 was fought between two camps, that is, triple entente, which included Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, Romania, Serbia, USA and later Italy (1915) against triple alliance that consisted of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria. The First World War did not only involve the countries above-mentioned, but the whole world, where even African countries were involved fighting on behalf of their colonial masters.

The First World War has been regarded as a world war because almost all the countries of the world participated, some directly and others indirectly. This war also affected all the sectors of life. Thus, the human and material damages were enormous. Besides, this war was fought on land with tanks, on water (sea) with dreadnoughts and in the air. Almost all the countries and continents were affected since the battle grounds were many and everywhere.

### 2.1.1. The causes of the First World War (1914-1918)

#### Learning activity 2.1.1



By using internet or textbooks, analyse the long term and immediate causes of the First World War (1914-1918).

The First World War broke out in Europe due to different causes including long-term or distant, short-term and immediate causes.

#### Long-term causes of the First World War

The First World War was a result of tensions which had mounted over a long period of time and was not due to one-day factor of the Sarajevo incident of June 28, 1914. Among the long term causes of the First World War include the following:

**Lack of international peace keeping body** led to the outbreak of First World War because the Congress System which would have solved a local affair between Austria and Serbia had died by 1914 due to the occurrence of Crimean war that prevented European countries from having a chance of round table meetings.

**Lack of peaceful statesmen in the world** like Otto von Bismarck, the chancellor of Germany, who resigned in 1890 because of his opposing opinions with Emperor Kaiser William II. In fact, the latter was an aggressive leader of Germany and he opposed Bismarck's careful foreign policy, preferring vigorous and rapid expansion to enlarge Germany's place in the world. In his foreign policy, Kaiser William II tried to intervene in each and every activity of the world politics to make Germany a big power. He declared; "Nothing must go on anywhere in the world in which Germany does not play apart". He is therefore blamed for starting arms race and militarism as well as signing a blank cheque to Austria which increased Austria's recklessness towards Serbia. He also openly promised Austria that "(...) be rest assured that his majesty will faithfully stand by Austria- Hungary as required by the obligations of his alliance and by his ancient friendship".

**The growth of nationalism also caused tensions** Nationalism is a term that means the desire by a group of people who share the same race, culture, language, etc. to form an independent country. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century was characterised by emergence of nationalistic movements in Europe. As early as 1871, Italy and Germany emerged as strong states, which changed European balance of power.

In addition, Germans were proud of their new empire's military power and industrial leadership. During this period, the French were bitter about their 1871 defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and yearned to recover the most lucrative border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and to scramble for colonies in Africa, which led to economic conflicts that led to First World War.

In Eastern Europe, Russia sponsored a powerful form of nationalism called Pan-Slavism. It emphasized that all Slavic peoples shared a common lead which should defend all Slavs. By 1914, it stood ready to support Serbia, a proud young nation that dreamed of creating South Slave state in the Balkan region which would also include Bosnia-Herzegovina. But, since this former territory of Ottoman Empire had been captured by Austria-Hungary, a country speaking a Germanic language, Germany had committed to defend it against Russia and Serbia. In doing so, Germany was supporting another form of nationalism called Pan-Germanism, a movement whose goal was the political unification of all people speaking the Germanic language.

### **The Alliance system led to First World War**

This was where European powers gathered themselves in two fighting camps, that is, triple alliance and triple entente for defensive purposes. These camps were hostile to each other and with the formation of these alliances, conflicts came up and the alliances would be forced to support their respective alliance members. The same alliance system also worked in magnifying the war that would break between Serbia and Austria-Hungary.

This alliance system led to the outbreak of the First World War in the following ways:

- The system divided Europe into two hostile groups which were enemies to each other and bound to fight at any time.
- It added confidence to weak states to refuse orders from strong states. For example, Serbia after the Sarajevo double murder rejected the Austrian orders.
- The alliance system also made local issues to appear international due to the fact that members of each group supported each other even on matters where they completely had no interest at all.
- The alliance system also intensified the arms race and military weapons ready for war.

### ***Arms race led to First World War***

The arms race was a competition in the manufacture of deadly military weapons which came as a result of competition between Germany and Britain. This was most especially in the manufacture of powerful warships known as dreadnoughts. As a result, by 1913 Germany had 9 while Britain had 18 and by 1914 Germany had 13 while Britain had 20 of them. Such competition in the manufacture of guns contributed to the outbreak of the First World War in the following ways:

- It created suspicion, mistrust, fear and hatred among the two rival camps which made them anxious for any golden chance to test the effectiveness of their newly manufactured weapons;
- Due to the availability of many weapons, many people in Europe started asking for war in order to test their arms thus the outbreak of First World War in 1914. Therefore, by 1914, each camp after having equipped itself, it felt strong enough to participate in the war.
- Arms race made countries arrogant and reckless in dealing with international affairs and gain powers which had manufactured weapons waited for an opportunity to test their weapons, which was after Sarajevo incident.
- Arms race had been characterized by the growth of militarism between France and Germany. The latter had elaborated military plans to avoid being encircled during the War Schlieffen Plan aimed at defeating France first and thereafter counter-attacks at the East. Von Moltke had envisaged fighting first at the eastern front. In addition, manufacturing of the most dangerous weapons was also in preparation for war.

With the arms race and the alliance system, most of the Europeans wanted a war in order to know which camp had manufactured strong arms. Even the European

powers wanted a war in order to test their newly manufactured weapons.

### ***The mass media played a role in the outbreak of the First World War***

That is, televisions, radios, newspapers did not only publicize the preparation for war in terms of reporting the ever increasing arms race, but also once the war began, it couldn't be stopped because of over dramatization of the war situation in the press.

For instance, with the Sarajevo event, the London Times poisoned the British public opinion against the Germans and radio presenters caused more fear and panic after the Sarajevo double murder which created public outcry for war. This forced European powers to strengthen alliances and mobilize for war as Russia did.

***Economic imperialism among European countries*** led also to the outbreak of the Second World War. For example, the Moroccan crisis of 1906 was a clash between France and Germany, where Kaiser William II visited Tangier, a town in Morocco in 1905. To solve this crisis, a conference was organized in 1906 and European countries voted Germany out of Morocco. As result, the conflict between Germany and France was increased and this situation created hostility, suspicion and mistrust that led to the outbreak of First World War.

In 1911, there was the second Moroccan crisis called Agadir incident where Germany prepared herself to fight France at the Moroccan part of Agadir, but later it withdrew. But all in all, Germany lost Morocco to France, and this increased Germany's enmity to France, thereby waiting for an opportunity to revenge.

In 1912, naval competition between Germany and Great Britain was very important. The British and the French saw Germany turn up as colonial rivals in Africa, Middle East and Far East. In addition, Germany had an ambitious project of constructing a railway joining the Berlin and Bagdad that Great Britain could not support because it was a threat to its important colony of India.

### ***Character of Kaiser William II led to First World War***

Kaiser William II forced Bismarck, the peaceful statesman of Europe, to resign. He also started arms race which forced Britain to also join the race. In addition, he sent a message to Boers thanking them for having defeated the British and this led Britain to join the war. Furthermore, he forced Austria to send a harsh ultimatum to Serbia led to First World War.

Kaiser William II escalated the war by threatening Russia not to support Serbia, and Russia joined the war because of that. Besides, he waged war on neutral Belgium, which attracted France and Britain. Lastly, he destroyed the USA ship carrying passengers, hoping that it was carrying weapons, which attracted USA



in First World War.

### **Immediate cause: The Sarajevo assassination and the start of the war**

The First World War started after the Sarajevo double-murder of Austrian Arch Duke, Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie on June 28, 1914 by Princip Gravelo or Gabriel, a Serbian nationalist student of the Black Hand Movement in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This incident was followed by an ultimatum document from Austria-Hungary to Serbia. The response to the ultimatum was to be issued in a period of 48 hours (July 23, 1914).

The document had three harsh conditions that were supposed to be met or satisfied by Serbia. Serbia was to destroy all anti Austrian activities and declare that, she was ready to be a good neighbor; to dismiss all anti Austrian officials from the Serbian administrative posts; and to allow the Austrians enter Serbia to investigate the Serbian guilt in the double -murder at Sarajevo.

However, Serbia accepted the first two and referred the third condition to the International Criminal Court at The Hague Tribunal. Austria was forced to declare war on Serbia on July 28, 1914. This opened the gates for the outbreak of the First World War.



*The Balkans 1914*

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/7b/99/0f/7b990fe7caf474d7fc486f7155a10be8.jpg>

When Austrian-Hungary declared war on Serbia on July 28, 1914 all world powers rushed to support their respective allies. Russia ordered general mobilisation of troops and declared war on Austria on July 29, 1914; Germany declared war on

Russia on August 1, 1914; France on August 3 and Belgium on August 4; Great Britain entered the war on August 4, against Germany; Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia on August 6, 1914; Japan entered the war on August 23, 1914, on the side of the Triple Entente.

The Japan used the war as an opportunity to take control of the German colonies in China. When the Japanese entered the war, they soon overran the German concessions in China and the German islands in the Pacific; the Marshall's and Carolinas; in the Triple Entente while Bulgaria and Turkey sided on Central powers. The USA entered the war against the Central Powers as later detailed.



### Application activity 2.1.1

1. To what extent the growth of nationalism led to the outbreak of the First World War.
2. Arms race between European powers led to the outbreak of First World War. Justify this assertion.

## 2.1.2. The course of the World War

### Learning activity 2.1.2



By using internet or textbooks, describe the different steps of the First World War.

The First World War was characterised by two main fronts; namely the war on western front (1914-1917) and the war on the eastern front.

### War on the Western front



*Schlieffen Plan and troop movements*

Source: Frank Robert, *History the fronts of 1914 to 1917*, 1982, page 21.

By using Schlieffen plan, Germany planned to outflank the main French defenses by moving across Belgium then through Northern France to encircle France within six weeks. However, supply lines proved to be inadequate, and communication between the two main armies was not better. In addition, the plan ignored British intervention, relying on the likelihood of French immobilization as the offensive progressed.

At the beginning of the First World War, the front was not stable because the German troops were moving quickly without being stopped. This first phase of the war was called the war of movement. But finally, the French succeeded to stop the advance of the German troops on the battle of Marne (September 5 to 12, 1914) and this ended Germany's hopes of a quick victory.

From this time, the war of movement turned into a war of position. In fact, after the stalemate of the first Battle of the Marne and the Race to the Sea, the Western Front stabilized and the belligerents dug in and this paved the way for the Trench Warfare that lasted until spring 1918.

During the long position war, the two armies attempted offensives to try to break through the front enemy lines but all of them finished in bloody failures. This was the case with the offensive by the Germans at Verdun, or that of the Entente on the Somme and later the way to Daures. From 1915, the two armies found themselves facing each other again and this time in the Balkans, Italy and the Middle East.

### **War on Eastern front**

There were far more movements on the Eastern front than in the West, partly because of the much greater distances involved. The Russian army was invariably defeated by the forces of Germany and by the end of 1915; Russian had lost most of Poland, with more than two million soldiers out of the First World War.

### **The Italian front**

Italy entered the war in 1915 in an opportunistic manner engineered by its leaders with the Allies to secure territory at the expense of Austria-Hungary Front. Much of the fighting occurred in a series of battles close to the river. The great battle of Caporetto in 1917 almost led to Italian defeat. Italy was more successful in subsequent fighting but was disappointed by lack of expected territorial gains.

### **War in the Balkans**

Serbia survived three invasion attempts in 1914 but succumbed in 1915 to an Austro-German offensive supported by Bulgaria, which checked an Anglo-French force attempting to support the Serbian army from Salonica. In 1916, Bulgaria

having successfully contained Allied forces at Salonica, she invaded Romania; Bulgarian armies were joined by Austro-German forces that captured Bucarest in December 1916. The Bulgarians were now able to defeat several Allied offensives in Front of Salonica until September 1918.

### **The withdrawal of Russia from the war (1917)**

The first victim of the First World War was the Russian Empire. Indeed, continuous defeats by the Germans, lack of arms and supplies, problems of transport and communication, and utterly incompetent leadership, caused two revolutions in 1917, and the Bolsheviks who took over power in November 1917 were willing to make peace.

The Bolsheviks stood for peace with Germany, partly to win popular favour in Russia and partly because they regarded the war as a struggle among capitalist, imperialist powers which should be left to exhaust and destroy each other for the benefit of socialism. They thus signed with Germany the Treaty of Brest Litovsk on March 1918.

By this Treaty, the Bolsheviks gave to Germany Poland, the Ukraine, and the Baltic Provinces (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). As for the Germans, the Treaty of Brest Litovsk represented their maximum territorial expansion during the First World War. Not only had they neutralized Russia, they also now dominated Eastern Europe.

### **The entry in the war of the USA (April 1917)**



*The Lusitania*

*Source: Ellis, EG. & Esler, A. (2008, p.830)*

The USA entered the war on April 2, 1917 against the Central Powers. Germany had waged submarine warfare against the United Kingdom due to her naval blockade of Germany. As retaliation, German submarines were sinking British ships. In this perspective, the Lusitania, a British ship, was torpedoed by Germans and 1,198 people including Americans died but 761 people survived. International

public opinion became hostile to Germany and this incident pushed Americans to enter the war. In addition, the USA had discovered that Germany was trying to persuade Mexico to declare war on the USA, promising her Texas, New Mexico and Arizona in return.

On April 2, 1917 American Congress declared war on Germany. Immediately the American government set about mobilizing its military resources, its industry, labour and agriculture. The USA thus made an important contribution to the Allied victory, by supplying food, merchant ships, credit and military help, and by mid-1918 over half a million American men were involved in the war.

### **The end of the First World War**

This sequence of the First World War was characterised by the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the defeat of Germany.

Regarding the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, in October 1918, some people of different nationalities declared their independence from Austro-Hungarian Empire. The last Habsburg Emperor, Charles I, abdicated on November 12, 1918 and the next day Austria was proclaimed a Republic, as was Hungary in the following week. Before any peace conference could convene, the new states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, an enlarged Romania, a Republican Hungary and a miniature Republican Austria were in existence in their own action.

Concerning the defeat of Germany, when the Russia withdrew, Germany needed to defeat Great Britain and France before US forces could be gathered in sufficient strength on the Western front. In 1918 the German General Ludendorff launched the spring offensive, throwing in the entire extra-troops released from the East. The Germans broke through on the Somme (March), and by the end of May were only on 64 kilometres from Paris; the Allied seemed to be falling apart.

However, the Allied Powers took advantage of their superiority in terms of number of soldiers and resources to counter-attack successfully. With Germany's allies to seek the armistice on November 11, 1918, the First World War ended.



#### **Application activity 2.1.2**

1. Describe how the Schlieffen plan had to be implemented.
2. Explain the reasons why the USA decided to enter the First World War.
3. Examine the factors that led to the withdrawal of the Russians from the First World War and its results.

### 2.1.3. Consequences of the First World War (1914 - 1918)

#### Learning activity 2.1.3



Carry out a research in the library or on internet and assess the consequences of the First World War.

The First World War provoked a range of consequences including:

The massive loss of lives: People who perished were estimated at about 13 million on the front and about 10 million were left disabled. It was outrageous, regrettable and condemnable as far as human beings' lives were concerned. The First World War also had a lasting impact on the European population structure. Many men died on war fronts which made women to become more numerous than men in the population pyramid.

It led to the rise of a new class of people in Europe, that is, the refugees who ran away from their homes and became a problem to European countries.

Besides, destruction of properties and infrastructures was experienced in Europe as a result of World War I. These among others included hospitals, shops, industries, roads, bridges, residential areas, hotels, administrative offices and railways. The First World War left the European economies in shambles. For instance, during the war period, a lot of resources were channeled in war industries and many important infrastructures were destroyed. This partly contributed to the outbreak of the 1929-1935 World Economic Depression.

In many countries, including Britain, Germany and the USA women's support for the war efforts helped them finally win the rights to vote after decades of struggle.

There was improvement in education because it was realized that Europe needed educated labour force for progress. In Britain, the 1918 education act tried to provide a full and adequate education for the country's children. Science and technology were also improved.

The First World War also led to the women emancipation first in Europe and finally it spread worldwide. This was as a result of death of a big number of men during the war period. Woman and children were allowed to work in the factories, public offices, schools, shops and hospitals.

The First World War led to the rise of dictators such as Benito Mussolini in Italy and Adolf Hitler in Germany. This is because they used the negative consequences of the war to the campaign against the governments of the time.

The War led to the rise of Japan and USA as world big powers. This is because

other states like Britain, Russia, France and Germany were affected by the war which gave Japan and USA a chance to become Super powers since they were not greatly affected by the war.

The First World War led to the formation of the League of Nations as an international peace keeping body which would mediate different countries in case of any conflict in trying to maintain world peace.

The First World War changed the political map of Europe. This is because after the war, France regained her provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and Italy regained Trieste and Trentino as well as giving independence to some states which were under foreign rule. It led to the rise of new independent states in Europe for example Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and others. This was because they had realized that the spirit of nationalism contributed to incidents like Sarajevo incident which had caused the First World War.

The War led to Russian revolution of 1917 where Tsar Nicholas I was opposed by the Russians due to the negative consequences of the war. This resulted into the rise of communism in Russia.

The war led to the signing of Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 which concluded the First World War. The Triple Entente called the conference in which Germany and her allies were forced to end the war by signing the treaty which created peace in Europe.



### Application activity 2.1.3

1. The First World War changed the political map of the World. Discuss this assertion.
2. Examine the destructions caused by the First World War in terms of people and materials.

## 2.2. Inter-war period

The First World War ended with the signing of an armistice between the victorious powers of the triple Entente and the new Germany Republic which assumed power after the abdication of Kaiser William II. This armistice came into effect at 11:00 am, on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1918. At this time, the destructive war had finally come to an end and people sighed with relief as there were no longer sparks of gunfire in the skies and the fire of hell had been put off.

After the end of the First World War, very important events took place just before

the outbreak of the Second World War. These including the negotiation and the conclusion of the Versailles Peace Treaty, the creation of the League of Nations, the world Economic Depression of 1929-1935 and the rise of the Totalitarian regimes in Europe.

### **2.2.1. The Versailles Peace Treaty**

#### **Learning activity 2.2.1**



By using textbooks and internet, carry out a research on the Versailles peace Treaty so as to examine the ins and outs of this Peace settlement.

The Treaty of Versailles was the most important of the peace treaties that brought the First World War to an end. The Treaty ended the state of war between Germany and the Allied Powers. It was signed on 28 June 1919 in Versailles, exactly five years after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which had directly led to the war. The other Central Powers on the German side signed separate treaties. These include the treaty of Saint Germaine with Austria in September 1919, the Neuilly Treaty with Bulgaria in November 1919, the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary in June 1920 and the treaty of Sèvres with Turkey in August 1920. All these treaties were at drafted the Paris Peace Conference by the peace makers who called upon the defeated powers to accept and sign them.

Although the armistice, signed on 11 November 1918, ended the actual fighting, it took six months of Allied negotiations to conclude the peace treaty. The leading statesmen who attended the Paris conference were George Lloyd of Britain, Woodrow of USA and George Clemenceau of France. Japan and Italy were also represented as weak powers. The defeated powers were also invited but simply as observers. The Versailles Peace Treaty was registered by the Secretariat of the League of Nations on 21 October 1919.

During the time of the elaboration of the Versailles Peace Treaty, there was the problem of divergent views on how to treat Germany. France wanted a harsh peace to ruin Germany economically and militarily so that she could never again threaten French frontiers; Great Britain was in favour of less severe settlement, enabling Germany to recover quickly so that she could resume her role as a major customer for British goods; and the USA wanted a fair peace treaty. Wilson was in favour of self-determination: nations should be freed from foreign rule and given democratic governments of their own choice.

Despite of these conflicting opinions, by June 1919 the conference had come up with the Treaty of Versailles.





### *The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty signing*

**Source:** Herbert Peacock, *A history of modern Europe 1789-1981*, Heinemann Educational, Seventh Edition, 1982, page 295.

### **Aims and objectives of the Versailles Peace Makers**

The following were the aims and objectives of the Versailles peace settlement of 1919:

- To re-organize Europe for the purpose of maintaining world peace, security and stability;
- to redraw the map of Europe and restore balance of power. This was because Germany aggression had destroyed the balance of power to her advantage;
- to map out strategies that would preserve the territorial integrity and independence of countries in Europe. This had to be done was because the violation of territorial integrity and independence of states partly led to the outbreak of the First World War;
- to reconcile the warring powers of the world most especially Germany although her aggression was checked for some time;
- to free the different races dominated by the central powers (Germany and her allies);
- to disarm both victorious and defeated powers since arms race had partly caused the 1914 to 1918 disastrous war;
- to recognize the principle of nationality and self-determination by giving independence to the oppressed nations. This was partly responsible for

- the outbreak of First World War;
- victorious powers especially France wanted to permanently weaken Germany plus her allies in order to safeguard themselves from Germany aggression that caused the Franco-Prussian War and the First World War;
  - to establish a peace keeping body in Europe.

The final conditions were determined by the leaders of the “Big Three” nations: British Prime Minister David Lloyd Georges, French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau, and American President Woodrow Wilson. Even with this smaller group, it was difficult to decide on a common position because their aims contradicted. The result has been called the “unhappy compromise”.



*The Big Three: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George (left), French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (centre), and American President Woodrow Wilson (right) on their way to the Versailles Peace Conference.*

Source: <http://history1900s.about.com/od/worldwari/p/Versailles-Treaty.htm>

### **Terms or provisions of the Versailles Peace settlement**

- Germany was entirely blamed for having caused the World War I. Therefore, she had to make compensation for all the damages done to the civilian population of the Allied powers and associated powers.
- Germany had to reduce her soldiers from 4,000,000 to 100,000.
- Germany was allowed only to possess six battle ships, six light cruisers,

twelve destroyers, no submarines.

- Germany was forced to pay war reparation of 6.5 billion pounds.
- Germany had to give to France as compensation the coal mines of the Saar valley in full and absolute possession with exclusive rights of exploitation. The Saar valley was put under the League of Nations for fifteen years to ensure this.
- The fortifications and the harbours on the islands of Helgoland and Dane were to be destroyed. Germany was forced to give up her rights and her overseas territories. German African colonies became "mandates" under the League of Nations supervision as follows:
  - Rwanda and Burundi were given to Belgium;
  - Tanganyika went to the United Kingdom;
  - Namibia was given to United Kingdom then to South Africa;
  - Togo had been divided into two parts; one had been given to France and another to United Kingdom;
  - Cameroon was also given both to France and United Kingdom.

Germany lost Alsace and Lorraine to France. Eupen, Morsenet and Malmédy were to be given to Belgium, Memel to Lithuania and a large part of Posen and Western Prussia to Poland.

The League of Nations was formed in 1920 as a new International Peace Keeping Body.

Germany was not allowed to have tanks and was restricted to only six second hand battle ships.

North Schleswig was given to Denmark; Danzig was taken away from Germany and set up as a free city under the League of Nations. The Rhineland was demilitarized on both banks, and to be occupied by the Allied forces for fifteen years.

The signing took place in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. The Germans had little choice but to sign the treaty, though they objected strongly. In fact, the Germans considered the treaty of Versailles to be a diktat, that it had been imposed on them and that it was, therefore, greatly unfair. In the post-war years, they attributed all the ills that the country went through to this treaty. Many states were not happy with their new borders and this led to numerous conflicts related to these borders. It was only in 1923 that the borders stabilized. And if the main nationalities in Europe found their independence, there are still minorities which are still claiming their independence (Germans and Hungarians in Czechoslovakia for instance).

### ***Achievements of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919***

The treaty concluded the First World War and created some peace in Europe. At

Versailles, Germany and her allies were forced to denounce the war and accept defeat. Collective decisions were made on international issues as opposed to the pre-1914 idea of every nation for itself and God for us all.

The neutrality of important water bodies was granted. For instance, Dardanelles, the mouth of the Baltic Sea which was the centre of economic conflicts was open to all ships of all nations.

The treaty restored balance of power that had favoured Germany and Turkey before. The size of Germany and Turkey were reduced by giving independence to some states that were under them. The Versailles settlement made some territorial re-adjustment. France regained Alsace and Lorraine that had been annexed by Germany.

Independence was given to some states that were mainly under the Turkish and Austrian empire. These included Poland, Kuwait, Iraq, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. The treaty was fair to some land locked countries of Serbia and Poland. Serbia was given free access to the sea which made her to profitably engage in trade. Poland was also given the Polish Corridor through Germany to port Danzig.

The Versailles peace makers adopted Professor Wilson's 14<sup>th</sup> point of establishing an international body to maintain world peace. This gave rise to the League of Nations in 1920.

The settlement decided for exchange of prisoners of war and resettlement of displaced persons. Consequently, Germany released the allied war prisoners and likewise the super powers.

The Versailles settlement came up with the disarmament policy which although applied only to the defeated powers. This helped in maintain world peace.

The settlement removed trade barriers which boosted international trade. Although some countries followed protectionist policy which undermined free international trade, the settlement was credited for leading to a peaceful trade which renewed economic cooperation in Europe.

### **Weaknesses or failures of the Versailles Peace settlement**

The Versailles Peace Treaty that had started as realistic in trying to promote peace in Europe ended up being unrealistic most especially on Germany and her allies. In fact, the Versailles treaty was imposed on Germany and her allies since there was no room for open and frank discussion. Germany was for instance weakened militarily by the settlement. She was disarmed and allowed to maintain an army of 100,000 soldiers just to maintain law and order. The treaty led to territorial re-adjustment on the map of Germany since she was forced to give back Alsace

and Lorraine to France. This greatly affected Germany's economic recovery since these territories were the richest in minerals. The settlement scattered Germans in the newly created states. For example, 2.5 million Germans were given to Poland, 3 million to Czechoslovakia and 2 million to Yugoslavia.

The settlement entirely blamed and condemned Germany for having caused the First World War. This was unrealistic because much as Germany was the most notorious trouble causer that contributed to the outbreak of the World War I, all the nations that took part in it, shared the same degree of responsibility. Thus, there was a need to be blamed equally.

Germany was forced to pay a huge sum of war reparations in form of physical goods like ships, chemicals, cattle, agricultural products, etc. Worse still, the settlement denied Germany of the means and resources to pay the reparations. This is because her industries and colonies were taken by the Versailles peace makers. The confiscation of German territories in Africa was a way of making victorious powers rich, which made Germany aggressive leading to World War II.

Apart from Germany, the Versailles treaty also left Italy and Japan dissatisfied. Japan and Italy were poorly compensated for their role in the First World War that's why they joined Germany to form the Axis powers that led to the Second World War.

The settlement also neglected the defeated and neutral powers. Russia was excluded simply because she had adopted communism during the 1917 Russian revolution.

The timing of the treaty with Germany in 1919 coincided with the 5<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Sarajevo double murder. It was on June 28, 1919 exactly five years from the murder of Prince Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophia. This made Germany bitter because it gave impression that she was being held responsible for the Sarajevo double assassination.

Although the Versailles gave rise to the League of Nations but nevertheless gave a weak foundation for the League of Nations that's why it collapsed because this organization had no joint army.

The venue of the settlement meant that justice could not be extended to the defeated states most especially Germany. She was forced to sign the treaty in the hall of mirrors where the German empire was proclaimed in 1871 after the defeat of France.

By suggesting that the German colonies would be controlled by the victorious powers, the Versailles treaty was too severe and unrealistic. Germany lost Togo, and Cameroon to France, Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium and Namibia and

Tanganyika to Britain. This created a spirit of revenge among the defeated powers in order to overturn the unrealistic terms of the Versailles treaty hence causing the Second World War.

### **Reasons why the Germans rejected the Versailles Treaty**

The treaty was dictated on Germany and she was forced to sign. There was no discussion which could have given the Germans a chance to air out their views.

Germany totally opposed the war guilty clause which put the whole blame of the First World War on Germany (article 231). This was an injustice of the highest order since most of the European powers participated in the war.

The reparation of 6.6 billion pounds was impossible for a single nation like Germany to pay for the destruction caused by the First World War.

Disarmament was restricted to only Germany, yet disarmament was to be general. Worst of all other powers like Britain and France were busy arming themselves.

The loss of Alsace and Lorraine in Europe and loss of African colonies like Rwanda, Burundi and Tanganyika angered Germany yet they were given to her enemies like France. Germany therefore lost market, sources of raw materials and areas of investment.

The settlement scattered Germans in the newly created states. For example, 2.5 million Germans were given to Poland, 3 million to Czechoslovakia and 2 million to Yugoslavia.

The venue of the settlement meant that justice could not be extended to the defeated states most especially Germany. Indeed, Germany was forced to sign the treaty in the hall of mirrors where the German empire was proclaimed in 1871. Therefore, Germany was humiliated. The treaty was monopolized by only three leading statesmen. That is President Woodrow Wilson of USA, George Clemenceau of France and Lloyd George of Britain.

It was chaired by Clemenceau who was totally biased and bitter enemy of Germany.

The Germans complained that they were tricked to surrender based on President Wilson's 14<sup>th</sup> points. They claimed that the 14<sup>th</sup> point was a swindle since many of its terms were violated.



### Application activity 2.2.1

1. Find out the main terms or provisions of the Versailles Peace Settlement.
2. Discuss the Weaknesses of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919.

## 2.2.2. The League of Nations

### Learning activity 2.2.2



Carry out a research on internet or in the school library and briefly explain the genesis of the creation of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations was an international peace keeping body formed after the First World War. It formally came into existence on January 10, 1920. It began with 42 member states, but the number increased to 55 by 1926 when Germany was admitted. In Africa, its members were South Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia. The official languages of the LON were English, French and Spanish.

Headquarters were located in Geneva, Switzerland a neutral State. The League of Nations is the first international organization that was deliberately created to maintain peace and security in the world.

### The origins of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles. It is often spoken of as being the brainchild of the US President W. Wilson. However, although Wilson was certainly a great supporter of the idea of an international organization for peace, the League was the result of a coming together of similar suggestions made during the First World War by several world statesmen.

Lord Robert Cecil of Britain, Jan Smuts of South Africa and Leon Bourgeois of France put forward detailed schemes as to how such an organization might be set up. Wilson's contribution was to insist that the League covenant (the list of rules by which the League was to operate) should be included in each of the separate peace treaties. This ensured that the League came into existence instead of merely remaining a topic of discussion.

## Objectives of the League of Nations

The aims and objectives of the League of Nations were as follows:

- To solve international disputes diplomatically through conferences and negotiations before the disputes could explode into war;
- To restore and preserve world peace by preventing war: This was to be through collective security. If one country attacked another member state, the members would act together to restrain the aggressor;
- To promote international cooperation: This was partly because one of the major causes of the Great War was due to rivalry among European countries which had led to the two antagonistic military alliances;
- To find solutions to the problems caused by the war: Many people had been wounded without shelter, food, clothing and medicine. Social and economic infrastructures in many countries were destroyed. The League of Nations therefore intended to mobilize funds to help the victims of war;
- To preserve the territorial integrity and independence of member states: Member countries were not to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and no power was to interfere in the internal affairs of another country;
- To control the arms race, limit production of the disastrous military weapons and enforce general disarmament of all countries to the lowest levels possible. The arms manufacture was to be restricted to the lowest point consistent with national safety;
- To look after the mandate states: These were the former colonies and territories of the defeated members of the triple alliance which were placed under the mandate of the League of Nations;
- To abolish slave trade and slavery in the world: Slavery caused human suffering and misery and dehumanized the victims;
- To improve the conditions of workers in the world: The working conditions in many industrialized countries were so poor that international intervention was necessary;
- To promote and enforce international justice and to control trafficking and consumption of dangerous or harmful drugs: These included marijuana, opium and cocaine;
- To suppress Sea pirates who were a threat to international trade on big waters like the Mediterranean Sea, black sea and the Pacific Ocean;
- To work out a plan for repatriating and resettling refugees or people displaced by the First World War.



## **The organization of the League of Nations**

The main organs of the League of Nations were the General Assembly, the Council of the League, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Secretariat and the Commissions and Committees.

### **The General Assembly**

The General Assembly consisted of representatives of all member states of the League of Nations. Each state was allowed up to three representatives. It had enormous powers and every member had one vote when it came to vote over an issue. The Assembly met in Geneva and, after its initial session in 1920, sessions were held once a year in September. However, a special session of the Assembly could be summoned at the request of a Member, (during an emergency) provided the majority of the Member states agreed.

The Assembly was responsible for:

- Admission of new Members,
- Amending and reviewing the laws of the League,
- The periodical appointment of the non-permanent Members of the Council,
- With the help of the Council, the Assembly elected the judges of the Permanent Court at the Hague and was responsible for controlling the budget and handling the finances of the League of Nations.

### **The Council of the League**

This was quite a small organ which met at least three times a year and it held a total of 107 sessions between 1920 and 1939. The Council began with four permanent members: Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan and four no-permanent members which were elected by the Assembly for a three-year period. The first four non-permanent members of the League were Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain. The United States was meant to be the fifth permanent member, but the United States Senate voted on 19 March 1920 against the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, thus preventing American participation in the League.

The composition of the Council changed in number with time. For instance, the number of non-permanent members was first increased to six on September 22th 1922, and then to nine on September 1926. In the same year, Germany joined the League and became the fifth permanent member of the Council, giving the Council a total of fifteen members. Later, after both Germany and Japan left the League, the number of non-permanent seats was increased from nine to eleven. The non-permanent members were elected by the general assembly after every three years.

- The Council was responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- Its responsibility was also to settle political disputes among the member states and
- Also took measures against any threat to peace, breach or aggression. The decisions of the council were unanimous.

### **The permanent International Court of Justice**

The Permanent International Court of Justice was provided for by the League of Nations Covenant and was the world court based at the peace palace at The Hague in the Netherlands. It had eleven judges and four deputy judges of different nationalities elected by the Council and Assembly for a nine-year term.

### **The Secretariat**

The Secretariat was headed by the Secretary General elected by the General Assembly. It was responsible for day to day administrative work of the League, preparing agenda for meetings, writing resolutions and reports for carrying out the decisions and activities of the League.

### **The committees and commissions**

There were various committees and commissions to deal with specific problems of the member states and the heads of these commissions were appointed by the Secretary General. Some of these commissions included: the mandate state commission, commission for minority groups and disarmament commission. There were also commissions about international labour, health, and children's welfare.

### **Achievements of the League of Nations**

After some initial troubles, the League of Nations seemed to be functioning successfully during the 1920s. It solved a few minor international disputes. It managed to solve border conflicts between Greece and Bulgaria by demanding that the Greeks withdraw and pay compensation.

The League of Nations also achieved valuable economic and social work. It set up a slavery commission that declared slave trade and slavery illegal and anti-social internationally. It also effectively solved the problem of drug trafficking by setting up anti-slavery commissions and encouraging member states to cooperate in stopping slave trade.

Moreover, the health organization of the League of Nations organized medical assistance and the distribution of vaccines to combat epidemics like syphilis, leprosy, cholera, dysentery and malaria which had swept Europe.

The League of Nations achieved success in dealing with matters of human welfare, for example, the International Labour Organization (ILO) was formed to improve general conditions of workers.

The League of Nations recorded success in looking after refugees. World War I had a problem of caring and settling millions of prisoners of war and by 1934; the League of Nations had provided assistance to people of such category.

The League of Nations recorded success in maintaining peace by solving political conflicts that involved smaller powers for example, in 1920, the League of Nations solved the conflict between Sweden and Finland, where the countries claimed the Aaland Island, and the League of Nations ruled that the island belonged to Finland.

In 1921, the League intervened in the conflict between Germany and Poland over the important industrial area of Upper Silesia. The League divided the territory between the two countries.

When Turkey claimed the province of Mosul- part of the British mandate territory to Iraq, the League intervened and ruled in favour of Iraq.

The League of Nations monitored and controlled mandated states by sending questionnaires to mandated states asking them how they are controlled by the new colonial masters.

The League of Nations made an achievement in disarming Germany, which helped in reducing Germany's supremacy.

The financial commission of the League of Nations succeeded in negotiating for loans for the reconstruction of the economy of Austria after First World War.

#### Failures and weaknesses of the League of Nations

The failures and weaknesses of the League of Nations are the following:

The League of Nations failed in its mission to ensure world disarmament, i.e. it failed to disarm victorious powers like France, Britain and Russia. It was only successful in disarming Germany.

The Italian invasion of Abyssinia/Ethiopia was a violation of the League of Nations rules and regulations. The League tried half-hearted sanctions and, in the end, recognized a decision that placed the whole of Abyssinia under Italy.

The League of Nations failed to ensure against aggression as an instrument of policy. It failed to restrain Japanese aggression against China and her eventual occupation of the rich Chinese province of Manchuria.

In its early days, membership of the League was restricted. Germany and Italy were denied membership for fear aggression. Russia was sidelined on grounds that it would spread socialism. Therefore, since its early days of formation, the League was merely an Anglo-French affair.

The difference in ideologies of members states of the League was also a source of problem, while some members were capitalist (Britain, France, Germany, etc.), others (like Russia) were socialists and communists, others like Britain and France were democratic nations.

It also had a weak administrative set up. The secretary general had limited powers and therefore he/she could not do much to enforce the League's aims and resolutions.

The League was not worldwide in its membership, i.e. it was dominated by European countries like Britain and France. Such a League required having members in Asia and Africa if it was to be successful.

The League lacked the military power that would enforce her decisions. It failed to create a joint international force to maintain world peace and for checking the actions of the aggression.

It failed to control against the withdrawal of her members, i.e. member states were free to join and withdraw without any penalties, e.g. Germany withdrew in 1933 and immediately embarked on the serious programme of re-arming herself. Other country members such as Italy, Japan and Brazil also left the League of Nations.

In addition, although the American President Woodrow Wilson was the principal initiator of the creation of the League of Nations, his country was not a member of this organization. He met an opposition on the Congress formed its majority by Republicans while he was a democrat. This was a great loss for the League of Nations and this situation weakened heavily the Organization.

During the German invasion of Poland which led to the Second World War, the League was not even consulted, and it was unable to exert the slightest influence to prevent the outbreak of the war. After December 1939, it did not meet again, and it was dissolved in 1946.

### **Factors that led to the downfall of the League of Nations**

Exclusion of small countries from the League of Nations contributed to its downfall. The basis on which the League of Nations was built was weak and dangerously contradictory because only the big powers were represented while the small powers were left out. Without the support and sympathy of the majority countries of the world, the League was bound to fail.

Over reliance of the League of Nations on Britain and France also contributed to its failure. The League was over dependent on Britain and France for funding, leadership, decisions and direction and yet these countries had their own individualistic ends to pursue. Above all these powers were preoccupied with the reconstruction of their shattered economies. They minded less about the League of Nations.

Withdraw of USA from the League of Nations also contributed to its failure. This left the League without a planner since Woodrow Wilson the founder was from USA. As a matter of opinion, the withdrawal of USA was a major blow because the country to which millions of people looked to for guidance, protection and economic support left the people and the world without guidance and at the greatest hour of need. It was unfortunate.

The League also lacked collective military strength and administrative power to enforce its resolutions and decisions agreed upon. The countries which disobeyed the resolutions of the world body could not be punished because the League lacked the necessary military force to do so.

There was no mutual unity among the members of the League of Nations in handling the problems of the organization. This always brought disagreements among the member states and the League continued in failing to get solutions to the problems. For example, the Italian rape of Ethiopia tested the readiness of the League members to go to war just for the sake of principle.

The armament policy by the member states also contributed to the failure of the League of Nations. The deliberate refusal by some countries to reduce national armament to the lowest point consistent with national safety made other countries to regain arms production which frustrated the helpless League and led to the Second World War.

The initial exclusion of Germany and Russia which were major world powers rendered the League of Nations weak and contributed to its downfall. Although these countries were later admitted in 1926 and 1934 respectively, the damage had already been done. If the League of Nations was to effectively work and succeed, it needed the genuine support of these two world powers right from its inception.

The world economic depression of 1929 also contributed to the collapse of the League of Nations. The depression caused unemployment and very poor standards of living which in turn led to the rise of extremist characters like Hitler and Mussolini. These repeatedly violated the resolutions of the League which revealed its weaknesses.

Inadequate resources to run the activities of the League also made it hard for the League to carry out its activities hence failure.

The League of Nations was too closely linked to the Versailles treaty and this made it lack respect in the eyes of many peoples of the world.

The rigidity of the council which required unanimous decisions by all the permanent members before any decision is taken, was also a big blow to the League. This made it difficult to get unanimous decisions and take action against any aggressor nation. Such acts weakened the League of Nations and led it to its collapse.



### Application activity 2.2.2

1. Briefly describe the organization of the League of Nations.
2. Analyse two factors that led to the downfall of the League of Nations.
3. Discuss three weaknesses of the League of Nations.
4. Evaluate two social achievements of the League of Nations

### 2.2.3 The World Economic Depression of 1929-1935

#### Learning activity 2.2.3



By using internet or textbooks, carry out a research on the World Economic Depression of 1929-1935 so as to find out its causes, measures used to overcome it and its effects.

The World Economic Depression was an economic stagnation which was experienced worldwide from 1929 to around 1935. It was characterized by a total breakdown in the production process, unemployment, low incomes, general lack of effective demand, low prices, low investment and low economic activities in general.

The World Economic Depression began from the Canadian agricultural sector but the most disastrous one occurred in the USA after the Wall Street crash or stock market crash, on Thursday 24<sup>th</sup>, 1929- popularly known as the “Black Thursday”. On that fateful day, prices of shares sharply fell on the US stock exchange market (Wall Street crash) as speculators rushed to sell off their shares whereas the buyers were sceptical and not willing to buy them.

Between January 1924 and September 1929, the price of shares at the US stock exchange market had been rising- trading between U\$ 110 and U\$ 455 per share,

but on the Black Thursday, the share prices plunged to as low as US\$ 80. This led to a financial loss of about US\$ 40 billion by the American investors.

Later, the depression spread to other sectors of the economy. Unemployment soared, wages, industrial production and commodity prices fell sharply. The business slump had begun. In USA, the depression touched every corner of the American economy. By 1932, factory production had reduced by a half, 86,000 businesses had closed, 9,000 banks closed, 9 million people lost their savings and unemployment rose to 25%.

### **The causes of the Great World Economic Depression (1929-1935)**

The causes of the Great World Economic Depression are the following:

Negative consequences of the First World War like destruction of industries, communication lines, airports, cities and loss of lives. Affected industrial and economic production impacting to the ability to purchase goods; hence leading to the depression;

Over production mainly in agricultural sector in which heavy investment had been made by many countries during the inter-war period like in North America, in Britain and in Australia. The supply of agricultural products exceeded the demand. When the banks made losses, it affected the financial institutions which had advanced loans to these commercial farmers. This also created losses in the agricultural sector leading to the depression.

Over production in industry contributed to the world economic depression. Many companies especially in USA and Europe had secured loans and invested heavily in industries. This resulted in over production which plunged the prices down. Very many industrialists made losses and closed. They defaulted on loans which affected the banks and laid off the workers which worsened the depression.

System of high taxation in order to escape from “after war situation” adopted by many countries to recover their economy from after effects of the First World War. However, these harsh taxation policies were too harsh and distracted investment which also led to the increase of unemployment, low circulation of money and inflation and then leading to economic depression;

Poor trading policy adopted after the First World War where defeated powers were not allowed to export to victorious powers and still the victorious powers started selective trade as punishment to defeated the ones that led to the economic depression;

Unfair income distribution especially in the USA whereby between 1923 and 1926

big companies were owned by few capitalists and these companies provided employment to few people who were also gaining low salary. This unfair income distribution led to low purchasing power and lack of effective demand which contributed to the World Economic Depression;

The war reparation and war debts incurred especially by European countries also caused the world economic depression. Money flowed from debtor to creditor nations without any investment to generate employment. The war indemnity imposed on Germany did not only lead to the collapse of the Germany economy but caused the world economic depression since Germany was a major trading partner of the world on which many small economies of the world depended for financial help;

Crash of the World Stock Exchange in the Wall Street in Manhattan Island in the USA on Thursday October 24, 1929 which led to the closure of 4 200 banks and people who had kept their money in these banks suffered from great losses, the industries could no longer secure loans, yet their products were not being brought and they also closed down. This led to the total unemployment, surplus products, low purchasing power and consequently to World economic depression from 1929 up to 1935.

The reduction in efficiency of labour is also among world depression causes. Indeed, after World War I, women and children replaced men in industries which led to low production hence causing the great depression. This is because men used to hard-work which had increased production.

The other cause is related to the general decline in agricultural activities throughout the world. In fact, after World War I, there was a great rural-urban migration especially in Britain and USA. This resulted into decline in agriculture since it was left to be practiced by old people which also caused the great depression.

The gold standard system which was operating in world economies by 1929 also caused the depression. This is because each country was supposed to have a total amount of money in circulation equivalent to total value of gold in her reserves. This limited money supply for some countries which had little gold which reduced demand leading to a depression.

The weaknesses of the League of Nations also led to economic depression. This is because the League failed to promote economic cooperation in Europe where many countries used protectionism policy which discouraged international trade. It also failed to set a clear policy of debt repayment and that is why USA debts were paid in form of gold.





*The beginning of the Great Depression. The stock market crash of 1929*

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/563x/06/2f/9ca21d063265aad81cd8do3.jpg>.

### **Measures to overcome the World Economic Depression**

The USA and other European countries set the following strategies to resolve the crisis:

Germany on her part attempted to solve the economic depression by violating the 1919 Versailles Peace treaty terms when she stopped paying the war indemnity of around 6.6 billion of pounds and started serious industrialization thus solving the economic depression in Germany.

The USA fought the economic depression by using the New Deal Program introduced by the new US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1932. By this program, there were new laws regulating the stock market and protecting bank depositors' savings, jobs creation programmes for the unemployed like Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), construction of schools, hospitals etc.

USA also depreciated the value of her dollar in order to make her exports to appear cheaper and therefore attractive to the buyers.

The gold standard system was stopped since it had played a role in the outbreak of the World Economic Depression from 1929 up to 1935.

A World Economic Conference was held at Geneva in 1933 in Switzerland and was attended by 66 countries that worked out different solutions to end the Economic Depression such as to remove obstacles to free trade and implement a uniform tax on imports and exports.

World powers attempted to solve the economic depression by using aggressive policy where they invaded weak states so as to solve the problem of lack of raw materials and markets for their goods. For instance, in 1935 Italy invaded Ethiopia, in 1936 Germany invaded Czechoslovakia and in 1939 invaded Poland.

Unemployment relief schemes were adopted by various countries which among others included United States of America, Britain and France to benefit the unemployed citizens above 18 years. For instance, the USA also set up a social security system by giving money to all adults to increase the purchasing power of the Americans and reduce the demand deficiency.

European powers formed regional economic integration for example, the European Economic Community (EEC) which promoted interstate trade in the region, hence solving the depression.

Socio-economic reforms were also used to solve the depression. This was through modernization of agriculture and industrialization and formation of trade unions which fought for the rights of workers.

### **Effects of the World Economic Depression**

The effects of the World Economic Depression are as follows:

The World Economic Depression led to human suffering due to unemployment and low incomes which led to lack of basic facilities too.

The economic depression led to the rise of dictators in Europe like Adolf Hitler in Germany, Benito Mussolini in Italy and General Franco in Spain.

The Economic depression led to the international aggression from powerful countries to the weak ones as a way to resolve their economic problems; e.g. Japan on China, Italy on Ethiopia and Germany on Austria.



*Herbert Hoover, USA President during the 1929 World Economic Depression.*

*Source: <https://www.u-s-history.com>*

The Economic depression led to the formation of regional economic integration as a way of promoting trade among the different countries like the European Economic Community.



### *Breadline during the Great Depression*

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/aa/df/7e/aadf7ea4bae6646ed78890efc3e4e1d5.jpg>

The Economic depression led to the World War II because of the rise of dictators, weaknesses of the League of Nations that made some countries aggressive.

It led to the decline of international trade as many countries started protectionism policy in trying to promote their infant home industries.

It led to the breakdown of international relationship where European countries hated USA because of the isolationist policy.

The gold standard system was abandoned up to the present. This is because this system limited countries with little gold to have enough money in circulation which had contributed to the economic depression.

It led to the collapse of financial institutions like banks. This is because by 1929, over 4200 banks had closed due to economic depression.

It led to change of leadership in some countries, for example in USA, the depression led to the rise of Franklin Roosevelt who came to power in presidential elections of 1932.



### Application activity 2.2.3

1. State and explain at least three causes of the World Economic Depression of 1929-1935.
2. To overcome the World Economic Depression, The USA adopted different measures known under the name of “New Deal”. Explain the concept of New Deal and find out the programmes that were implemented under this policy.
3. Assess four effects of the World Economic Depression.

### 2.2.3. The rise of totalitarian regimes in Europe

#### Learning activity 2.2.4



By using internet or textbooks, carry out a research on the totalitarian regimes in Europe and analyse their characteristics, the reasons for their rise and maintenance to power and downfall

Most Western countries were governed by elected representatives. From the 1900s the people began to feel that a government made up of such a large body of people spent too much time debating and wonder if it might not be better to have one strong leader who could make decisions for them. A single leader could act quickly to solve a country's economic problems as World Economic Depression. This regime become known as totalitarian regime and has been developed in Italy under Benito Mussolini known as Fascism and in Germany under Adolf Hitler known as Nazism.

Totalitarianism (or totalitarian rule) is a political system where the state recognizes no limits to its authority and strives to regulate every aspect of public and private life wherever feasible. Totalitarian regimes stay in political power through an all-encompassing propaganda/campaign, which is disseminated through the state, a controlled mass media, a single party that is often marked by political repression, personality cultism, control over the economy, regulation and restriction of speech, mass surveillance, and widespread use of terror.

The symbolism of the fasces suggested strength through unity: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break.

## Benito Mussolini and Fascism in Italy



*Benito Mussolini.*

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/7f/4e/c8/7f4ec8b4349a70cf802e75dff1a6995.jpg>

Benito Amilcare Andrea Mussolini (July 29, 1883–28 April 1945) was an Italian politician who was the leader of the National Fascist Party, ruling the country from 1922 to his ousting in 1943, and is credited with being one of the key figures in the creation of fascism.

Mussolini was born in Dovia di Predappio, a small town in the province of Forlì in Emilia-Romagna on 29 July 1883. His father Alessandro Mussolini was a blacksmith and a socialist, while his mother Rosa Mussolini, Maltoni, a devoutly Catholic school teacher. Owing to his father's political leanings, Mussolini was named Benito after Mexican Reformist President Benito Juárez, while his middle names Andrea and Amilcare were from Italian socialists Andrea Costa and Amilcare Cipriani. Benito was the eldest of his parents' three children. His siblings Arnaldo and Edvige followed.

At the age of 9, Mussolini began his education and graduated as a teacher with a diploma in education in 1907. He later abandoned his education career and joined journalism as a newspaper editor. Mussolini had fought for Italy in the First World War and was wounded during the war, but by its end he formed a political movement called the Fasci Italiani di Combattimento (Italian Combat Leagues or Squad), in March 1919 at Milan City in Italy whose members came to be known as the Fascists. It was composed of frustrated jobless youth, industrial capitalists and the middle class.

In 1922, Italy witnessed a successful fascist revolution that led to the rise of Mussolini, supported by the Black shirts, army and the guards. On October 28<sup>th</sup>, 1922 he organized a March to Rome and when King Victor Emmanuel II was convinced by the Parliament to suppress the marchers, he refused and then, the Cabinet under Prime Minister Luigi Facta resigned without firing a shot. The King Victor then handed over power to Mussolini by inviting him to form a new

government on October 28, 1922 and the Fascist Party got power in Italy. Mussolini was supported by the military, the business class, and the liberal right wing.

### **Characteristics of fascism in Italy**

The following aspects are the main characteristics of fascism regime:

- It was a dictatorial system of government with no provision for democracy on opposition.
- Economic self-efficiency: The government was to control all means of production to benefit Italians.
- Single party government: No room for democracy. It was feared since it could deny or limit chances of extreme nationalism.
- The government aimed at establishing an independent and self-sustaining national economy.
- It emphasized violence and its military power: Its supporters believed in the cult of violence and war as the highest court of appeal.
- Fascist supported an imperialist and aggressive foreign policy to increase the influence and prestige of the state in the whole world.
- Fascism also emphasized that law and order should be maintained and people to be allowed to own property.
- Fascists believed in extreme nationalism: Fascism was based on superiority complex that one's nation is superior to other countries and therefore it should rule them.
- The motto of the Fascist Party was: believe, obey and fight. Fascism was not a clear ideology. It was rather an amalgamation of theories in which dominated absolute obedience to the head, the provocation of extravagant nationalism, absence of freedom and the control of all national activities.

### **Factors that led to the rise of fascism to power**

Mussolini rose to power on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1922 after taking over Victor Emmanuel III the legitimate king. He was favoured by the following factors:

The impact of the First World War aided fascism and Benito Mussolini to rise to power. The war had negative consequences like loss of lives over 600,000 Italians both civilians and soldiers. Mussolini associated the democratic government of Victor Emmanuel III with such losses hence rising up.

Weakness of Victor Emmanuel III's democratic government: He ignored the prevailing violence in Italy with false hopes that it would be the best way to weaken Mussolini. This situation gave Mussolini a chance to campaign against him.

The unfair Versailles treaty on Italy cultivated a favourable ground for the rise of

Mussolini to power. Italy was promised territorial rewards which were not fully implemented and Italy was poorly compensated.

Role of the fascist terrorist squad: Mussolini used a group of hooligans to create chaos in Italy so as to get a reason for blaming the government of Victor Emmanuel III. He was therefore supported by most Italians.

His personal talent: Mussolini was a gifted speaker whose speeches were enjoyed by the Italians. During his public speeches, he spread the fascist manifesto to the Italians and convinced them to support him against the government of Victor Emmanuel III.

Influence of press: Newspapers like Papolo d'Italia campaigned for Fascist and made Mussolini popular for Italians. It was also used to spread the Fascist propaganda as well as de-campaigning against the then government.

Political and democratic reforms in Italy: From 1900, Italy allowed different political parties and people to participate in politics. This opened the gates for Mussolini and Fascism to join political struggles.

The May 1921 parliamentary elections: In 1921 elections, the fascist members of parliament increased from 2 to 35. It became possible for them to increase their propaganda against the government of the time.

Disunity among political parties in Italy also provided opportunity for fascism to rise to power with Benito Mussolini. Such political parties had different ideologies that facilitated room for a united fascist party to become popular.

The July 31<sup>st</sup> 1922 strikes: The fascists were instrumental in suppressing the general strikes organized by the socialists. This increased the popularity of the fascism hence rising to power.

### **How did Mussolini consolidate himself on power?**

He abolished other political parties and established a single party government in Italy. This helped them removed opposition parties from the parliament.

He carried out public works. Roads, bridges and health centres were established or innovated. Most Italians therefore supported his rule because of the hardworking spirit.

He made the Catholicism a state religion and declared Vatican an independent state under the Pope. He was therefore supported by most Catholics. Mussolini achieved this through the Lateran treaty which he signed with Pope Pius XI in 1929.

Strict censorship of press: His government monitored all newspapers before their

circulation and opposition journalists were usually forced into exile to Lipari Island in the Mediterranean Sea. He strengthened dictatorship by removing constitutional check on his rule.

He used the fascist propaganda of extreme nationalism to change people's minds and thinking or opinion against his rule.

He used economic reforms such as industrialization, modernization of agriculture, supply of hydro-electric power and modernization of towns to win support of the majority Italians.

He abolished democratic constitutional of Italy. He dismissed all officials who had been elected democratically in Rome like mayors, town clerks and town councils.

He organized and strengthened the Italian army and police which ensured peace and fought all those who opposed his rule.

Mussolini used violence against internal opponents. For example Giacomo Matteotti and Giovanni Amendola who attacked the fascist government were killed under the orders of Mussolini.

### **Factors that led to Mussolini's downfall**

Mussolini established the Fascist state in Italy based on dictatorship and leadership by decree. This inflicted a lot of suffering of the Italian masses. He denied Italians their democratic rights. Leadership through elections came to an end with his coming to power and referendum was introduced in policy making and representative;

He made Fascism the supreme and only political system i.e. political pluralism was suffocated and in 1925, party system was abolished. This was brought by repressive measures on communist supporters many of whom were imprisoned.

Mussolini denied the Italian people all sorts of freedom; these included, the censorship of the press, no freedom of speech, association and worship among others. Injustice was widespread and because of this the majority of the Italians were living like prisoners in their country;

Mussolini failed to control the malpractices within the government; there was corruption and embezzlement of government funds. By 1930, the Italian economy had deteriorated by all standards;

During his period of administration, leadership discrimination was rampant in all sectors of the society. Even the social services were not extended to the poor Italians in the rural areas;

He promoted the feeling of anti-Semitism i.e. the negative attitude, hatred and



segregation against the Jews. The union between Mussolini and Hitler and their ideology were hated throughout Europe and this forced European communities to unite and fight against them and eradicate their ideologies of Nazism and Fascism;

Mussolini followed aggressive policies when he involved Italians in hostilities and military confrontation with other Europeans leading to the outbreak of the Second World War. He was therefore responsible for the disastrous war between 1939 and 1945.

### **Adolf Hitler and Nazism in Germany**

Concerning his biography, Adolf Hitler (April 20, 1889-April 30, 1945) was an Austrian born German politician and the leader of the National Socialist German Workers Party (Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei – (NSDAP), commonly referred to as the Nazi Party). He was the chancellor of Germany from 1933 to 1945 and a dictator of Nazi Germany (as Führer und Reichskanzler) from 1934 to 1945. Hitler was at the centre of the founding of Nazism, the instigator of the Second World War, and the Holocaust.

Adolf Hitler was born on April 20, 1889 at the Gasthof zum Pommer, an inn in Ranshofen, a village annexed in 1938 to the municipality of Braunau am Inn, Austria-Hungary. He was the fourth of the six children to Alois Hitler and Klara Pölzl (1860-1907). Adolf's older siblings -Gustav, Ida, and Otto- died in infancy. It is said that Hitler should have been of Jewish ascendance because his grandfather, Leopold Frankenberger was a Jew. When Hitler was three, the family moved to Passau, Germany. After his father's sudden death on 3 January 1903, Hitler's performance at school deteriorated. He was allowed by his mother to suspend his studies in autumn 1905. He enrolled at the Realschule in Steyr in September 1904; his behaviour and performance showed some slight and gradual improvement. In the autumn of 1905, after passing a repeat and the final exam, Hitler left the school without showing any ambitions for further schooling or clear plans for a career.

From 1905, Hitler lived a bohemian life in Vienna, financed by orphan's benefits and support from his mother. He worked as a casual labourer and eventually as a painter, selling water colours. The Academy of Fine Arts Vienna rejected him twice, in 1907 and 1908, because of his "unfitness for painting". The director recommended that Hitler study architecture, but he lacked the academic credentials.

On December 21, 1907, his mother died aged 47. After the Academy's second rejection, Hitler ran out of money. In 1909 he lived in a homeless shelter, and by 1910, he had settled into a house for poor working men on Meldemannstrasse. At

the time Hitler lived there, Vienna was a hotbed of religious prejudice and 19<sup>th</sup> century racism.

In May 1913, Hitler moved to Munich in Germany and at the outbreak of the First World War, Hitler was a resident of Munich and volunteered to serve in the Bavarian Army as an Austrian citizen. Posted to the Bavarian Reserve Infantry Regiment 16 (1<sup>st</sup> Company of the List Regiment), he served as a dispatch runner on the Western Front in France and Belgium, spending nearly half his time well behind the front lines.

He was present at the First Battle of Ypres, the Battle of the Somme, the Battle of Arras, and the Battle of Passchendaele, and was wounded at the Somme.

After the First World War Hitler returned to Munich. Having no formal education and career plans or prospects, he tried to remain in the army for as long as possible. In July 1919 he was appointed Verbindungsmann (Intelligence agent) of an Aufklärungskommando (Reconnaissance commando) of the Reichswehr, to influence other soldiers and to infiltrate the German Workers' Party Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP). While monitoring the activities of the DAP, Hitler became attracted to the founder Anton Drexler's anti-Semitic, nationalist, anti-capitalist, and anti-Marxist ideas. Drexler favoured a strong active government, a "non-Jewish" version of socialism, and solidarity among all members of society. Impressed with Hitler's oratory skills, Drexler invited him to join the DAP. Hitler accepted on September 12, 1919, becoming the party's 55<sup>th</sup> member.

At the DAP meeting, Hitler met Dietrich Eckart, one of its early founders and a member of the occult Thule Society. Eckart became Hitler's mentor, exchanging ideas with him and introducing him to a wide range of people in Munich society. To increase its appeal, the DAP changed its name to the National Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers Party– NSDAP). Hitler designed the party's banner of a swastika in a white circle on a red background.



As Mussolini, Hitler organised his supporters into fighting squads, the Nazi Storm Troopers Sturmabteilung (SA) who battled in the streets against Communism and others they saw as enemies. On November 8, 1923, Adolf Hitler attempted a Coup d'état against the Bavarian Government, headed by Gustav von Kahr, was so-called "Beer Hall putsch" (revolt) but police dispersed them. Sixteen NSDAP members and four police officers were killed in the failed coup.

*Adolf Hitler with a member of the Hitler Youth, Berlnt*

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/cc/11/87/cc11879587905a2fdbbf597622b07932.jpg>

Hitler fled to the home of Ernst Hanfstaengl, and by some accounts contemplated suicide. He was depressed but calm when arrested on November 11, 1923 for high treason. His trial began in February 1924 before the special People's Court in Munich, and Alfred Rosenberg became a temporary leader of the NSDAP. On April 1, Hitler was sentenced to five years' imprisonment at Landsberg Prison.

While at Landsberg Prison, Hitler dictated most of the first volume of *Mein Kampf*, *My Struggle* (originally entitled *Four and a Half Years of Struggle against Lies, Stupidity, and Cowardice*) to his deputy, Rudolf Hess. The book, dedicated to Thule Society member Dietrich Eckart, was an autobiography and an exposition of his ideology. *Mein Kampf* was influenced by *The Passing of the Great Race* by Madison Grant, which Hitler called "my Bible". The book laid out Hitler's plans for transforming German society into one based, on race.



*Mein Kampf* reflects Hitler's obsessions, extreme nationalism through the concept of *Lebensraum* (living space), racism and anti-Semitism. He said that the Germans belonged to a superior "master race" of Aryans or Light-skinned Europeans, whose greatest enemies were the Jews.

*Source: Pommerolle F, & Ruhlman J, A history of modern Europe (seventh edition), page 324.*

#### *Most common cover of Mein Kampf.*

The Bavarian Supreme Court issued a pardon and he was released from jail on December 20, 1924, against the state prosecutor's objections. Including the time on remand, Hitler had served just over one year in prison. Thereafter, he became the *Führerprinzip* (Principle Leader) of the Nazi Party. By 1933, the strength and the threat of Hitler's Nazi party forced President Paul von Hindenburg to appoint him as a Chancellor, which favoured him to rise to power when President Hindenburg died on August 2, 1934.

Hitler became *Führer und Reichskanzler* (leader and chancellor) and Supreme Commander of the armed forces.

## Factors for the rise of Adolf Hitler and Nazism to power

The following were the factors for the rise of Adolf Hitler and Nazism to power:

*The First World War led to the rise of Nazism.* It left Germany in the state of economic decline and dictatorship was looked at as the only solution to Germany's problems. Hence the rise of Hitler to power.

*Unpopularity of the Weimer republic of Von Paul Hindenburg.* He accepted the unrealistic Versailles settlement which was against the will of the Germans. This made the people of Germany to admire a leader like Hitler who was courageous to strongly oppose the unfair terms of the Versailles treaty.

*His personal character and talent.* He was a courageous and ambitious leader and above all an eloquent speaker. His speeches touched on the hearts of the Germans who felt that Hitler was the answer to all their problems. This made him to work for his rise to power.

*His publication.* For example, my struggle (1923-1924) while in prison. It contained a 25-year program promising to improve the general conditions of Germany masses.

*The death of Von Paul Hindenburg (the president of the Weimer republic) on 15th august 1934* also created a power vacuum for Hitler to rise to power moreover he was the chancellor from 1933.

*The great economic depression.* It created a desperate situation of poverty, unemployment and inflation and Hitler was looked at as the only liberator.

*Role of the Nazi storm troopers.* These were gangs organized by Hitler's great follower captain Ernest Roehm. They caused terror and influenced people to vote for Hitler.

*Role of the Nazi party.* Most Germans believed that the Nazi party would solve the problems of the middle class such as unemployment and poor working conditions. They therefore supported the Nazi party and Hitler.

*The Germany traditional history of loving dictators.* Germany was characterized by dictatorial rule since her unification struggle such as Bismarck, Von Moltek, Von Roon and Kaiser William influenced people to believe that dictators can rule the state.

*The unrealistic Versailles treaty:* Hitler condemned the Versailles as unpopular and influenced the Germans to stop paying the war penalty of 6.6 billion pound. He was therefore judged as a true Germany nationalist.

### **Consolidation of Adolf Hitler on power in Germany from 1933 up to 1945**

Adolf Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933 and assumed full political powers after the death of Hindenburg on August 2, 1934. He committed suicide on April 30, 1945 and ended his political career. To retain or consolidate his position to power, he did the following:

He imposed strict ban on all other political parties like Socialist Democratic Party dissolved on May 22, 1933, Communist Party on May 26 and June 1933, the Catholic Democratic and Nationalist Party went. The last political party to go was the People's Party dissolved on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1933. Hitler declared those political parties unconstitutional and the only candidates to be voted for were those from the Nazi Party;

On March 23, 1933, the Nazi Grand Council passed an "enabling Act" in the Germany Parliament, Reichstag transferring law-making powers from the Reichstag to Hitler's cabinet and therefore suspending the Parliamentary government;

He centralized all powers and changed the administrative structures in Germany and passed the special laws of April, June and July 1934, by which the Jews and Socialists were removed from the civil services. New ministries for propaganda, culture, agricultural front and labour front rewarded the Nazis and took over white collar employment. The Trade Union Movement was dissolved by June 1933;

He used suppressive policies like Gestapo (Geheime StaatsPolizei = Secret State Police) and special spies to eliminate his political enemies like during The Night of the Long Knives (Nacht der langen Messer), he sometimes called Operation Hummingbird or, in Germany, the Röhm-Putsch, by which his regime executed at least 85 people for political reasons from June 30 to July 2, 1934;

He suppressed public press, broadcasting, literature, drama, music, painting, public films and only publications reflecting Hitler's tastes were allowed in Germany in order to keep the masses ignorant about his failures. All books which had anti-Nazi ideas were collected and burnt in huge fire in Berlin in 1935.

### **Factors for the downfall of Hitler**

Hitler and Nazism fell down because of the following factors:

Death of his best friend Benito Mussolini on April 28, 1945 and the downfall of

Fascist Party damaged Hitler's morale and forced him to commit suicide on April 30, 1945.

The great decline in the economy of Germany due to bombardment of her factories and industries by allied forces of Britain, France and USA among others harmed Hitler's popularity.

Dictatorship which was coupled with excessive oppression like banning other political parties, harassing and killing of his German opponents who among others included Hans Ramshorn, member of the Reichstag, SA-general in Oberschlesien and chief of police of Gleiwitz, Ernst Röhm, SA-chief of staff Paul Röhrbein, SA captain, leader of the first SA of Berlin and Kurt von Schleicher, former Chancellor of Germany.;

The size and heterogeneous nature of the German Empire by 1939, whereby it included the Germans, the Austrians, the Poles, the Dutch and the Czechoslovakians and by the time Adolf Hitler failed to manage to control this wide size; It was necessary for Hitler to commit suicide before the various German senior officers did since they attempted to do so several times.

Withdraw of Germany from the League of Nations which put Germany under isolation from world affairs. This made Germany to be considered as an enemy of other European countries which later formed an alliance against Germany.

Betray of strong supporters of Nazism. For example, Hammira the commander of the Schultz Staffel crossed and surrendered to the allies on 28<sup>th</sup> April 1945. This weakened Hitler since all his war plans were exposed to the allies, hence his downfall.

The formation of the allied powers of Britain, France and Russian against the Axis powers of Rome Tokyo-Berlin Axis meant decline of the Nazi party as it was the case with World War I, the alliance system played a significant role in the defeat and downfall of Adolf Hitler by 1945.



### Application activity 2.2.4

1. Find out common characteristics of Fascism and Nazism.
2. Examine the factors that led to the rise of fascism to power in Italy.
3. How did Adolf Hitler manage to consolidate himself on power in Germany?
4. Account for the factors that led to the downfall of Nazism in Germany.

### Skills Lab



Nowadays the whole World has become like a village in all aspects of life. Suppose that your country is about to experience an economic depression similar to that one the whole world was faced to during the inter-war period from 1929 up to 1935. If you are the minister of Finance in Rwanda, imagine different strategies you can propose and defend in the plenary of the Parliament extraordinary session in order to avoid such an Economic crisis.



### End unit assessment

1. What were the two blocs or alliances formed at the beginning of the First World War?
2. Explain main causes which triggered the First World War.
3. Do you think that the First World War would not have happened without the assassination of Prince Ferdinand and his wife? Explain your answer.
4. Was the League of Nations successful or not? Justify your answer.
5. Why was the Versailles Peace Treaty rejected by Germany?
6. Explain in which way the effects of the World War I contributed to the rise of totalitarian regimes both in Italy and Germany.
7. Examine the economic consequences of the First World War in Europe.

# UNIT 3

## THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND EFFECTS (1939-1945)

### Key Unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to examine the causes and effects of the Second World War.



### Introductory activity

Do research on internet about the causes and the consequences of the Second World War, then examine if the unsolved problems led by the First World War are at the origins of the Second World War.

### Introduction

The Second Great War, also known as Second World War, took place from 1939 up to 1945 and many countries of the World participated. The two sides that fought were the Allied Powers including Britain, France, USA and later Russia, against the Axis Powers including Germany, Italy, and Russia.

This Second World War period witnessed intensification of military conflicts all over the World. It also witnessed the use of dangerous weapons and ended with weapons of mass destruction such as atomic bombs. Modern technology was applied during the war and it was also during this war that the World experienced the untold catastrophe of genocide which claimed the lives of about 6 million Jews under the so-called "Final Solution" of the Nazis under Adolf Hitler of Germany.

The war started with Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1st, 1939 and ended with the surrender of Japan on September 2nd, 1945, after the defeat of Germany.



### 3.1. Causes of the Second World War

#### Learning activity 3.1



Do the following activities:

1. Search on internet how the First World War consequences resulted into the outbreak of the Second World War. Present the results to the class.
2. Explain how the First World War is different from the Second World War.

The outbreak of the Second World War was due to a number of factors which were, social and economic in nature:

The harsh terms of the 1919 Versailles Peace Settlement were one of the causes of the war. The treaty was unfair to Germany which was solely held responsible for the outbreak of the First World War and was bitterly punished. This contributed to the rise of Adolf Hitler to power in 1933, who had strongly promised to revive German's greatness. Thus, in a bid to achieve this, he drifted the whole world into yet another war in 1939.

The revival of the arms race and failure of the disarmament policy also contributed to the outbreak of the war. The victorious powers disarmed Germany almost to the end and they never did at all. This forced Adolf Hitler to rearm Germany to the teeth. As a result, arms race resumed among European states especially Britain, Germany, France and Italy. This bred tension, mistrust, and fear which eventually resulted into the outbreak of the Second World War.

The rise of different dictators in different countries; Benito Mussolini in Italy 1922, General Franco in Spain, Tojo Hirohito in Japan and Adolf Hitler in Germany in 1933. These dictators resorted to the policy of aggression against the weaker states leading to the outbreak of the Second World War.

The inherent weakness of the League of Nations inspired major powers to invade weaker states. For instance, Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, Johel in 1933. Japan even evacuated the League of Nations, but no sanction was taken against it. Italy under Benito Mussolini was also encouraged to invade Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935. Germany under Adolf Hitler was inspired to attack Poland on September 1, 1939, all this resulted into a World War between 1939 and 1945.

The negative effects of the World Economic Depression (1929 –1935) forced many powers like USA, Britain and France to resort to the policy of protectionism in a bid to protect their domestic markets. This increased suspicion, mistrust, fear

and tension between the world powers, some powers like Germany, Japan and Italy resorted to the use of force against weaker

The presence of the ideological differences (Communist phobia). After the success of the 1917 Bolshevik revolution under Lenin and Joseph Stalin, Russia spread communism in Western Europe. This fear of communism contributed to the rise of dictators like Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, who promised to eradicate communism in their respective countries and were war mongers that eventually made World War inevitable.

Between, 1931-1939, Spanish Civil wars were also antecedents to the Second World War. In 1939, with the support of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, General Franco overthrew the republican regime which was supported by Britain, Russia and France. General Franco decided to establish a fascist regime of Italian type. As a result, Germany and Italy gained full confidence that winning any war was obvious and no wonder they were instrumental in causing the Second World War

The formation of the Rome-Tokyo- Berlin Axis (Military alliance) by 1939: The aggressive alliance started with Italy and Germany in 1938 inspired Japan under Tojo Hirohito to join and the alliance became Rome - Tokyo - Berlin Axis. This conditioned the formation of the counter alliances. These alliances made the weaker states. For instance, Rome-Tokyo-Berlin axis inspired by Hitler to invade Poland on September 1, 1939 sparking off the Second World War.

The Appeasement Policy initiated by the British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain. From 1937 to 1939, Chamberlain made a miscalculation by allowing Hitler to take over some territories. He thought that this would serve as a reconciliatory approach between Germany and the signatories of the Versailles Settlement. However, Hitler considered it as an element of cowardice of the western democrats. In 1936 Hitler invaded the region of the Rhine lands, Austria in 1938, Sudetenland which was put under Czechoslovakia in 1919 which eventually resulted into a World War in 1939. Britain and France took no step against Germany. They instead signed the Munich agreement with Germany in recognition of its occupation of the Sudetenland. These inspired Hitler who decided to occupy the whole of Czechoslovakia. On September 1, 1939 Germany decided to invade Poland culminating into war.

The anti-Semitism also caused the war. This was where the world powers wanted to revenge on Hitler for having killed the Jews in Germany. The opportunity came when he invaded Poland which caused the war.

The rise and growth of nationalism also caused the Second World War. Germany wanted to regain her lost pride denied by the victor powers under the Versailles treaty using unfair terms. This was done through arms race, foreign invasion and alliance system. All these caused the war.

The role of the press also contributed to the outbreak of World War II. The press exaggerated the military capacities of different powers especially Germany against the allied powers. This created a war atmosphere leading to World War II.

Lastly, the Germany invasion of Poland on 1<sup>st</sup>.september 1939 also caused the war. This was the immediate cause of World War II where Hitler attacked Poland hoping that France and Britain would not intervene because of their appeasement policy. Unfortunately, Germany was given an ultimatum of 48 hours to withdraw its troops from Poland an order which Hitler ignored, hence causing the Second World War.



### Application activity 3.1

To what extent did the unrealistic terms of the 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty contributed to the outbreak of the second world war of 1939-1945?

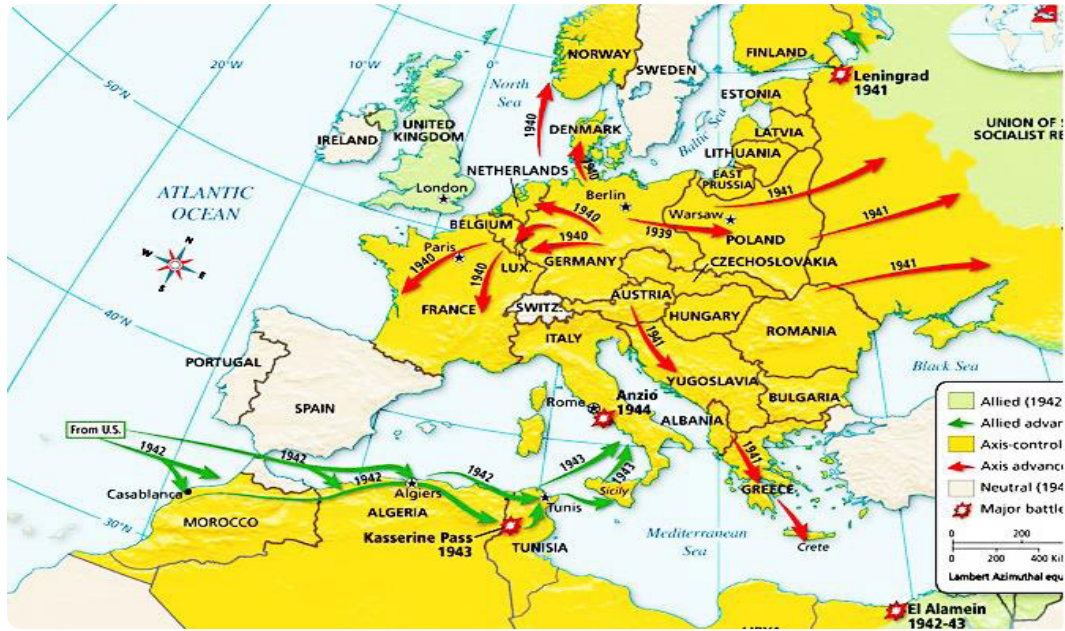
## 3.2. Course of the Second World War

### Learning activity 3.2



Watch a documentary film about the Second World War. In turn, describe the major phases of the Second World War.

The main phases of the Second World War were characterized by the years of Axis triumph including for instance the fall of France, the conquest of Poland, the battle of Britain, the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Axis accumulated defeats in Africa, Pacific and Europe.



## Second World War in Europe and North Africa

Source: [http://mrshealy-usii.wikispaces.com/file/view/Operation\\_Torch.PNG/336519806/Operation\\_Torch.PNG](http://mrshealy-usii.wikispaces.com/file/view/Operation_Torch.PNG/336519806/Operation_Torch.PNG)

The Second World War opened with an assault on Poland. German forces totaling over one million men rapidly overran Western Poland and subdued the ill equipped Polish armies. The outcome of the campaign was clear within the first few days, organized resistance ended within a month. The Germans set about to integrate their Polish conquest into the Reich.

Simultaneously, the Soviet Union, acting under the secret clauses of the NAZI – Soviet Pact, moved into the Eastern half of Poland two weeks after the German invasion. The Soviets proceeded also to establish the fortified bases in the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania).

In November 1939, the Soviets attacked Finland and by March 1940 the fighting was over. Finland had to yield some territory to USSR but retained its independence.

### The fall of France (June 1940)

On April 9, 1940, the Germans suddenly attacked and overran Norway. Denmark too was overrun and an allied expeditionary force had to withdraw. Then on May 10, Germans delivered their main blow, striking at the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg and France itself.

In June 1940, despite attempts of fragmented resistance by the French forces, Paris itself was occupied on June 13, and Verdun was occupied two days later. By

June 22, France sued for peace and an armistice was signed. Under the terms of the Armistice, France itself was occupied in its northern two-thirds by the Germans. The Third Republic had now its capital at Vichy.

### **The battle of Britain (1940 –1941)**

After the fall of France, the Germans stood poised for an invasion of Great Britain. There was always the hope, in Hitler's mind, that the German air attack on Britain began that summer and reached its climax in the autumn 1940 until had any bombing been so severe. But the Germans were unable to win control over the air the battle of Britain, gradually, the British Royal Air Force fought off the bombers with more success; new radar devices helped detect the approach of the enemy plans. In the winter of 1940 –1941 the Germans began to shift their weight to the East.

### **The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union (1941- 1942)**

The Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 was never a warm or harmonious understanding. Both parts probably entered it mainly to gain time. After the defeat of the battle of Britain, the German army threw three million men into Russia. By the autumn of 1941, the Germans had overrun Bielorussia and most of the Ukraine, where the brutal military occupation led immediately to Nazi mass murders of Jews, Bolshevik government officials and other civilians. In the North, Leningrad was in a state of siege; toward the centre of the vast front the Germans stood within 25 miles of Moscow.

However, the Germans failed to capture Leningrad and Moscow. They were severely hampered by the heavy rains of October which turned the Russian roads into mud by the severe frosts of November and December while in some places the temperature fell to minus 38 degrees centigrade. Moreover, the Germans had inadequate winter clothing because Hitler expected the campaigns to be over before winter.

### **The Japanese and the Pacific fronts**

In 1941, the Japanese had conducted a war against China for ten years. With the war raging in Europe, Japanese expansionists saw a propitious moment to assert them throughout East Asia.

In 1940, they cemented their alliance with Germans and Italy in a new three power pact. From the Vichy French Government, the Japanese obtained a number of military bases and other concessions in Indochina. On December 7, 1941, without warning, the Japanese launched a heavy air on the American naval base at Pearl

Harbour in Hawaii and began to invade the Philippine Islands. Simultaneously, they launched attacks on Guam, Midway, Hong Kong, and Malaya. The Americans were thus caught off guard at Pearl Harbour.



### *Attacks on Pearl Harbour*

*Source: Pommerolle F, & Ruhlman J, History from 1914 to date (April 29th, 1982), page 125*

In 1942, the Axis Powers had taken the control of Europe and Asia. However, their success ended the same year. The USA and the Great Britain declared war on Japan on December 8, 1941. Three days later Germans and Italy declared war on the USA, as did the Axis puppet status, the war became now a global struggle.

### **German defeat in Asia and North Africa (1942-1945)**

By January 1942, twenty six nations, including the three Great Powers (USA, Great Britain and USSR) were aligned against the Axis powers. Each pledged to use all its resources to defeat the Axis powers and never to make a separate peace.

At the end of 1942, the tide of the Second World War had begun to turn. In November, an Anglo- American force under the command of General Dwight Eisenhower gained control of the French-held territories in Algeria and Morocco after an amphibious operation of unprecedented proportions. At the same time, British forces under the command of Montgomery pushed the Germans Westwards from Egypt until a large German force was crushed between the two allied armies in Tunisia. Meanwhile it became clear in the winter of 1942- 1943, that the Germans had suffered a catastrophic reversal in the Soviet Union in the titanic battle of Stalingrad. The Soviet Union followed up the victory with a new counter offensive.

### **The fall of Italy (April 1945)**

The fall of Italy was the first stage in the Axis power's collapse. The American and British troops landed in Sicily from the Mediterranean Sea and air (July 10, 1943) and quickly captured the whole island. This caused the downfall of Mussolini. Allied troops crossed to Salerno, Reggio and Taranto on the mainland and captured Naples (October 1943). Marshall Badoglio, Mussolini's successor, signed to the Allied side an armistice.

However, the Germans determined to hold on to Italy, rushed troops through the Brenner, passed to occupy Rome and the North. The allies landed a force at Anzio but bitter fighting followed before Mont Casino (May) and Rome (June) were captured. Milan in the North was not taken until April 1945.

The elimination of Italy did contribute towards the final allied victory: Italy provided for bombing the Germans in the central Europe and the Balkans, and German troops were kept occupied when they were needed to resist the Russians.

### **The operation Overlord, June 6, 1944**

Operation Overlord, the invasion of France (also known as Second Front) began on June 6, 1944. It was felt that time was ripe now that Italy had been eliminated. The landings took place from sea and air on a 60 mile (i.e. 96kms) stretch on Normandy beaches between Cherbourg and Le Havre.

There was strong German resistance, but at the end of the first week 326,000 men with tanks and heavy Lorries had landed safely. Within a few weeks most of the Northern France was liberated; Paris was liberated on August 25. In Belgium, Antwerp was liberated in September 1944.

### **The assault on Germany**

The assault on Germany itself followed the liberation of France and Belgium, but the end was delayed by desperate German resistance. However, early in 1945. Germany was being invaded on both fronts, from East to West. In Berlin Hitler committed suicide and Germany surrendered.

### **The defeat of Japan**

On August 6, 1945, the Americans dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, killing perhaps as many 84,000 people and leaving thousands more slowly dying of radiation poisoning. Three days later they dropped another atomic bomb on Nagasaki which killed perhaps 40,000; after this Japanese government surrendered.



*Atomic bomb explosion at Hiroshima on August 6, 1945*

Source: <http://study.com/cimages/multimages/16/hiroshima.jpg>



### Application activity 3.2

After reading the summary of the course of the Second World War, make a timeline of key events of the Second World War.

## 3.3. Consequences of the Second World War

### Learning activity 3.3



Compare the consequences of the First World War with those of the Second World War. Thereafter, decide the best way to prevent war

The Second World War was a turning point in the history of Europe and the world at large in social, economic and political spheres.

The Second World War led to enormous destruction:

Massive loss of lives: almost 40 million people were killed, and another 21 million people were displaced from their homes. But the most notorious was the Holocaust, the deliberate murder in extermination camps of over 5 million Jews and hundreds of thousands of non-Jews mainly in Poland and Russia.

Destruction of property, homes, industries and communication lines in Europe and in Asia were out of function.



Besides, the Second World War contributed to the rise of new superpowers during the Second World War. Moscow (USSR) and Washington (USA) became the centres of world politics.

The Second World War contributed to the decolonisation of Asian and African states. For instance, it weakened the colonial powers like Britain and France. Their economic roles were shattered and rushed to USA for economic aid. However, USA gave them a condition to first grant independence to their colonies in order to get aid for economic recovery. Important still, the economic decline of Britain and France forced them to relax their policies in their colonies.

The Second World War contributed to rapid scientific innovations and technological development. This resulted into production of sophisticated weapons of mass destruction.

It led to the partition of Germany into two zones till 1989; East Germany, known as Democratic Republic of Germany was controlled by Russia; and West Germany, known as Federal Republic of Germany, controlled by USA, Britain and France

The Second World War contributed to the outbreak of the Cold War between the Western capitalist countries led by USA and Eastern Communist bloc led by the Soviet Union. These new superpowers at the end of the Second World War started spreading their divergent ideologies of Capitalism and Communism.

The United Nations Organization (UNO) was formed to replace the defunct League of Nations in 1945 at the end of the Second World War. The League of Nations had become weak and failed to maintain world peace.

The Second World War led to economic decline in Europe. This was due to the destruction of infrastructures, trade, agriculture, communication and industries. The British and French economies were shattered and left in shambles. This compelled most of them to rush to USA for economic aid.

The Second World War led to the defeat and eventual demise of great and worst military dictators of Europe; Benito Mussolini of Italy and Adolf Hitler of Germany who committed suicide on April 28 and 30, 1945 respectively. General Franco in Spain and Tojo Hirohito of Japan were also overthrown.

The rise of Zionism (Jewish nationalism) was also influenced by the Second World War. Millions of Jews got their own country (Israel) in 1948 with the division of Palestine.



### Application activity 3.3

1. Analyze the economic consequences of the Second World War in Europe.
2. Identify and explain other consequences that are not explained in the above summary.

## 3.4. United Nations Organization (UNO)

### Learning activity 3.4



Use internet or your school library and answer the following questions:

1. The UNO was presented as an improved League of Nations".
  - a. What do you think about the above assertion? Support your argument.
  - b. Assess the major challenge that the UN faced in trying to achieve its mission perfectly
  - c. What do you think is the most serious of its failures?
2. Suggest ways to improve the activities of United Nations on the world.

### Introduction

The United Nations organization (UNO) is an international body (organization) which was officially established on October 24, 1945 at the end of World War II. UNO was formed to replace the defunct and discredited League of Nations (LON). In October 1944 USA, USSR, Britain and China held a conference at Dumbarton Oaks near Washington, USA and designed proposals for the new international peace keeping body in the post war period after a good deal of discussion.

The first draft of UNO was signed by fifty one nations at the end of April-June 1945 San Francisco conference in California, USA. On October 24, 1945 UNO was proclaimed (or declared) officially with its headquarters in New York.

The UN membership is open to all peace loving countries under the sun with willingness to abide by its rules and regulations. UN membership increased to 192 nations by 2007. However, it should be noted that though the membership is open to all nations, UN Security council plays a great role in admitting the new member states.



*Representatives of 26 Allied nations fighting against the Axis Powers met in Washington D.C. to pledge their support for the Atlantic Charter by signing the 'Declaration by United Nations'*

*Source: <http://www.un.org/sites/www.un.org/files/2015/10/13/representatives-26-allied-nationspledge-their-support.jpg>*

### **Aims and objectives of United Nations Organisation**

UNO was formed in 1945 due to a number of aims and objectives. These were political, social and economical in nature and character as coherently presented below:

UNO was formed to defend, preserve and promote world peace. Its founders held the outbreak of World War II against the League of Nations because of its inherent weakness. This therefore, created the need to form a strong global organization in the nature of UNO to champion world peace.

The need to bring to justice those who committed crimes against peace and humanity (war criminals) also conditioned the establishment of the UNO. These mainly were the Nazi and Fascists murders.

The UNO was formed to enforce disarmament policy through the Security Council and stop production of dangerous military arsenals (or weapons). These had promoted the arms race which played a key a significant role in the outbreak of the Second World War.

The desire to carry out decolonization and end racial discrimination, partly conditioned the formation of the UNO in 1945. This was to be spearheaded by UN trusteeship council. The United Nations Organization was destined to the preservation of the principle of the sovereign equality of all its legal members. UN condemns the interference of any kind in the affairs of another country without the prior permission of that country.

The need to promote economic cooperation and stability in the world also contributed to the formation of UNO. There was need to mobilize and extend financial assistance to the poor nations to develop economically. This partly conditioned the establishment of World bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to promote economic cooperation.

The desire to eliminate the problem of drug trafficking and consumption of noxious or harmful drugs, also conditioned the formation of UNO in 1945. The drug trafficking and consumption of harmful drugs like: marijuana and opium were increasingly making people crazy, idle and disorderly. This caused a lot of unrest in the world and thus contributed to the formation of UNO.

Another aim was to resettle and rehabilitate over 20,000,000 people who had been displaced by the 1939-1945 World War II. There was a humanitarian need to extend relief services to those who had become hapless in terms of food, shelter, water, medical and counseling services.

The desire to promote the rights of children, contributed to the formation of UNO. It should be noted that, the rights of children were very much being violated in terms of defilement, children labor, and severe corporal punishments, denial to education services and poor nutrition. Thus, in 1956, the rights of children were declared officially, and this was followed by the establishment of UNICEF in 1946.

Also, the need to protect the global environment against pollution and desertification, partly conditioned the formation of UNO. Therefore, in 1972, the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) was established with headquarters in Nairobi Kenya to make efforts against the likelihood of desertification.

The UNO was also formed to defend, promote, and preserve social, political and cultural cooperation. This conditioned the establishment of the United Nations Educational scientific and cultural organization (UNESCO).

The need to safeguard continental Europe and world at large against military aggression, also contributed to the formation of UNO in 1945. It should be noted that, World war I and World war II broke out largely due to military aggression of Kaiser William II and Adolf Hitler respectively. Thus, it was thought wise that, UNO would avert the occurrence of another global destructive war.

There was also a desire to create a sense of equality between men and women. Women were abused and discriminated against by men in developmental matters. Thus, in 1972 Mexico conference, the rights of women were officially declared.

The need to better workers' conditions partly conditioned the formation of UNO in 1945. The employees were exploited and mistreated by the greedy capitalist employers. For instance, workers were working for longer hours under unpleasant conditions and above all their services were poorly rewarded.

## **Achievements of the United Nations Organization**

It is probably fair to say that the UN has been more successful than the League of Nations in its peacekeeping efforts, especially in crises which did not involve the interests of the Great Powers. On the other hand, it has been just as the League of Nations in situations where the interests of the Great Powers seemed to be threatened and where the Great Powers decided to ignore or defy the UN.

The UN provides a world assembly where representatives of over 180 nations can come together and talk to each other. Even the smallest nation has a chance to make its voice heard in world forum.

Although it has not prevented wars, it has been successful in bringing some wars to an end more quickly. For example, the war between Iran and Iraq (1980-1988), and the Gulf War in 1991.

The UNO has done valuable work in investigating and publicizing human rights violations under repressive regimes like military government in Chile. In this way, it has slowly been able to influence governments by bringing international pressure to bear on them.

In addition, UN stimulates international cooperation on economic, social, and technical matters. The UN agencies continue to involve in current problems in different countries.

Economically, the UN has promoted economic co-operation and development especially in the less developing countries. Trade and industry were developed and boosted through the UN programs like the I.M.F (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank by giving short loans.

Discrimination and abuse of women was also addressed by the UNO. The charter of 1948 emphasized equality between women and men which provided a basis for women emancipation.

Similarly, children's right and welfare were promoted and protected by the UNO. This was through funding children's education especially the girl-child education and welfare in many countries of the world.

The welfare and standards of living of workers was improved by the International Labor Organization (I.L.O) through its headquarters at Geneva, Switzerland. This protected workers from exploitation.

The UNO scored great success in settling social and economic problems of refugees and victims of natural disasters. By 1945, disasters like earth quakes, famine and floods had led to untold suffering and death of thousands of people around the world.

Decolonization and democratization was achieved by the UNO through its trusteeship council. This facilitated the independence of Libya, Somalia, Namibia, Israel, Palestine, etc.

Disarmament was one of the remarkable achievements of UNO towards world peace. In 1946, the Security Council set up the atomic energy commission to control production of atomic energy.

The establishment of the Jewish State of Israel in 1948 was an achievement for the UNO. The congress system had granted the Jews citizenship that had fled due to persecution. But still the Jews were persecuted and massacred by the Nazi, Fascist and Arabs.

Increased membership since its formation in 1945 is a clear testimony of its success. It was formed in 1945, with 51 member states but by 1970 the number had increased to 100.

### **Weaknesses and failures of the United Nations Organisation**

The loans granted by I.M.F (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank had some negative consequences on the development of the third world countries. It had strings attached that promoted political ideologies of Western capitalists powers.

Although drug trafficking was reduced but it was never eliminated completely. This was because the UNO did not have an effective and competent force to control drug trafficking.

The UNO failed to stop cold war politics and its associated tension in Europe. Cold War was led by USA and USSR yet the countries were permanent members.

The UNO failed to wipe out culture intolerance and racism. Though the UNO embarked on global sensitization campaign against racism and cultural intolerance but it was not fully successful by 1970.

The UNO's policies on disarmament, weapons of mass destruction and space exploration were great failures. By 1945, it was only America with the atomic bomb but nearly all nations by 1970 had such weapons.

It failed to unite the once united states for example after the cold war politics, Germany was left divided between West and East German as well as North Korea and South Korea.

In the field of politics, the UNO failed more than it succeeded. This was seen when veto powers began fighting against the resolution of the UNO.

The universal declaration of Human rights (UDHR) of 1948, failed totally to achieve

its objectives by 1970. It was not fully accepted in many states especially Arab states.

The rise of neo-colonialism and its associated evils in the third world countries exposed the failures of the UNO. After decolonization, European powers resorted to neo-colonialism as an indirect means to control, exploit and oppress the third world.

The UNO failed to eradicate terrorism in the world. By 1970, the world experienced rampant assassinations, hijack of planes, planting of time bomb and suicide bombing especially in Asia and Middle East.



### Application activity 3.4

1. Compare and contrast the main missions of United Nations and the League of Nations.
2. Examine the achievements of UNO that are visible in Rwanda.

### Skill Lab



The Democratic Republic of Congo is experiencing the problem of terrorist groups even if the United Nations peace keeping body (United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo) is already there. Suppose you are, General Secretary of United Nations Organization, propose and defend the strategies to be adopted to stop such problem so that it cannot be spread in whole region in UN general assembly.



### End unit assessment

1. "World War II was the continuation of World War I". Discuss the statement.
2. Examine the factors that have undermined the role of the UNO in maintaining global peace around the world.

# UNIT 4

## AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND THE ACQUISITION OF INDEPENDENCE

### Key Unit competence:

The student-teacher should be able to analyze the causes of the African nationalism, the means used to acquire independence in Africa and its impact on African societies.



### Introductory activity

After 1945, in a number of African countries, the nationalism was characterized by armed struggles as compared to other forms of liberation. Justify the reason why Africans resorted much to this method for acquisition of their independence. And what are the internal and external factors that contributed to the African nationalism?

On the eve of the outbreak of the First World War i.e. 1914, almost all the African countries had been conquered by European countries and put under a colonial rule system. Except two African nations, Liberia and Ethiopia escaped from this domination. From this time, Africans differently reacted to the European imperialism by developing a nationalistic spirit. Nationalism can be defined as the desire for Africans to end all forms of foreign control and influence so as to be able to take charge of their political, social and economic affairs. Before 1960, a big number of African countries were still under colonial control. However, by 1970 most of them had managed to recover their independence.

Several factors contributed to the rise of African nationalism. These include the loss of independence to foreigners and the introduction of foreign systems of government, unfair colonial policies, settlement of large numbers of European settlers in different parts of Africa, emergence of the new super powers (USA and USSR), improved transport network and urbanization, colonial education, newspapers, influence of decolonization in Asia, example of Liberia and Ethiopia, the Pan African Movement, Organization of African Unity, formation of political



parties, contribution of African nationalists, Labour Party in Britain, and the World Wars among others.

On the other hand, after the colonial conquest of Africa, Africans became aware of the evils of colonization and began the struggle for independence. Africans used different tools in the struggle for the liberation of their countries. These encompass negotiation, revolution, and armed struggle, combination of peaceful means and armed struggle and independence movements.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, nationalist movements in Africa quickly gained momentum. This was largely due to the war itself, and its effects. Many thousands of Africans had fought in the Allied armies, expanding their outlook and their knowledge of international affairs; and the war had been to some extent an antiracist war - against the racist governments of the Axis powers. In addition, during this period many more Africans had by now received a kind of modern education and begun to take an interest in political matters.

Between 1951 (Libya) and 1980 (Zimbabwe), a lot of African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Sékou Touré of (French) Guinea, Houphouët-Boigny of Ivory Coast played a crucial role in the political movements that helped their countries to recover independence.

## 4.1. The causes of African nationalism

### Learning activity 4.1



By using internet or textbooks, examine the internal and external causes of African nationalism.

Nationalism can be defined as the desire for colonised people to end all forms of foreign control and influence so as to be able to take charge of their political, social and economic affairs. Before 1960 most parts of Africa were still under colonial control. However, by 1970 most of the African states were independent from European colonialism. Several factors contributed to the rise of this African nationalism. The factors that gave birth to African nationalism are of two kinds: internal factors and external factors.

### Internal factors of African nationalism

The African nationalism rose to the following internal factors:

The loss of African independence to foreigners and the introduction of foreign

systems of government frustrated some Africans and caused feelings of resistance among rulers and peoples of Africa.

In the colonies, the colonisers wanted to rebuild their ruined economies, which were heavily damaged by the Second World War. New measures to increase production and reduce the colonial masters' expenditure on the colonies were put in place. These measures include land capturing to establish more plantations for the white settlers, forced labour to work on the colonial plantations as to increase the production. New taxes like gun tax, hut tax were introduced. Such exploitation awakened Africans to start fighting for their self-determination, thus, the rise of nationalism.

The increased numbers of European settlers in different parts of Africa was another factor which caused the growth of African nationalism. Large numbers of Africans were displaced from fertile lands in Kenya, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, South Africa and other African countries. This land capturing forced peoples' displacement and caused not only the destruction of African cultures, poverty, hunger and other forms of suffering but also exposed Africans to segregation. This settlement was another factor that caused the need to fight for political freedom and self-determination.

The formation of peasant cooperative unions in rural areas to defend the interests and welfare of the farmers was another motivating factor for African awakening. In earlier times, some associations were formed by the colonialists to speed up the production and the marketing of cash crops as well as sensitizing peasants about cultivation through their associations. But later, nationalistic feelings developed through peasants' associations and they turned against the colonialists' structures in rural areas. Some of these associations included The Kilimanjaro Cooperative Union, Victoria Cooperative and Buhaya Cooperative Union.

During the colonial period, transport network and urbanization were improved. This transport improvement led to concentration of population in mining centres, cash crops growing and processing areas, ports and cities which in turn caused urbanization. Meanwhile, many people from different ethnic groups migrated to the towns and since they were from different backgrounds, they shared their experiences. They realized that they suffered the same problems of racial discrimination, unemployment and poor living conditions. Consequently, they decided to unite and fight for their independence.

Formation of independent churches contributed also to African nationalism. These churches were led by the Africans and had broken away from the main stream white churches. They challenged their misdeeds over the Africans by addressing not only religious but also social political and economic grievances of the Africans. Such churches included Joseph Ejayi church in West Africa, the

Kikuyu Native church, the Watch tower church movement in Malawi in 1906, the African national church in Tanganyika, the People God and religion of Jesus in Kenya and United native church in Cameroon. Such churches openly criticized the colonialists and encouraged their followers to fight against them, thus, the rise of African nationalism.

Rise of elites who had attained colonial education such as Nyerere in Tanganyika, Nkrumah in Ghana, Kamuzu Banda in Malawi and Abafemi Awolowo of Nigeria was another factor which contributed to the rise of African nationalism. This modern education helped educated Africans to get used to the whites' language. As a result, African elites were exposed to various struggles and liberation movements outside Africa. Some elites benefited from their studies out of the continent. Their different experiences contributed to the rise of nationalism through the provision of leadership for nationalistic struggles.

The role of mass media for example the newspapers like the Accra evening newspaper and Radio stations like Radio Cairo also played a major role. After World War II, there emerged a big number of African elites who founded a range of Radio stations and newspapers. The elites used these newspapers and radio stations to expose colonial exploitation and to mobilise the people for the nationalistic struggle.

The presence of the independent states of Liberia and Ethiopia showed that it was possible for Africans to rule their own countries. Therefore, the example of Liberia and Ethiopia also influenced the rise of nationalistic movements in Africa.

The formation of political parties also inspired African nationalism. Political parties sensitised the colonised people about their human rights and especially the need for political independence. These political parties included Convention People's Party (CPP) in Ghana, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Tanganyika, currently Tanzania.

Linked to this was the work of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The O.A.U supported the liberation struggles by providing diplomatic and military support. The O.A.U liberation committee with headquarters in Dar-es-salaam under the leadership of Julius Nyerere inspired and supported nationalistic movements in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia, South Africa, and Zimbabwe among others.

### **External factors of African nationalism**

There were some factors that motivated the rise of African nationalism, but which were generated from outside Africa. These factors included the following:

The emergence of the new superpowers: the USA and the Soviet Union, which replaced Britain, France and Germany. The latter had failed to protect world

peace. The new powers wanted to be free to pursue their trading interests in Africa. In addition, the USA wanted to spread the ideology of capitalism while the Soviet Union wanted to extend communism. They therefore put pressure on colonial powers to free colonised people. Moreover, they supported liberation movements by providing for example scholarships for education. They also used their influence in the United Nations to call for independence of African colonies and this support encouraged the growth of nationalistic movements.

The influence of decolonisation in Asia also played a big role in the growth of African nationalism. As matter of fact, the independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 encouraged Africans to struggle for their political independence. Particular importance was Mahatma Gandhi's strategy of non-violence. This strategy was borrowed by Nkrumah who called it positive action. It involved political campaigns, education, newspapers, boycotts and strikes. African nationalists decided to use this strategy for promoting nationalism.

**The Pan-African Movement also influenced African nationalism. The Pan-African Congresses which were held in the first half of the 20th Century emphasised the need to promote the dignity of black people and liberate them from racial discrimination. They emphasised the idea of Africa for Africans. More particularly, the first Pan African Congress was held in Manchester in 1945. It was attended by key African figures like Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta. The congress resolved that Africans must organize liberation movements to free Africa from foreign control and this encouraged the rise of nationalistic movements.**

The returning of ex-soldiers who participated in the Second World War on the side of their colonial masters assisting them as porters and security guards of army camps. This participation brought awareness since these soldiers were exposed to western democracy, freedom, and liberation message. There are for instance some veterans like Dedan Kimathi who later became a leader of Mau-Mau in Kenya; Jonathan Okwiriri who became the president of the younger Kavirondo and formed movements that directly opposed the colonialists.



From their founding in 1857 to their dissolution in 1960, the Tirailleurs Sénégalais (Senegalese Riflemen) fought for the French Empire during many of the country's military struggles. These black African soldiers did not come just from Senegal, but from all over Western Africa. They played significant roles in the French Colonial Army, particularly during the First and Second World War

### *The Tirailleurs Sénégalais*

*Source: <https://ebonydoughboys.org/index-12.html>*

There are so many small pictures accompanied by text in this book. I think if you keep the design as it is will be bad because the illustrative images are very invisible, yet it is good.

The formation of the United Nations: This organisation replaced the League of Nations where independent African states were allowed to participate as members. This institution became an organisation of all nations. The African and Asian nations through the UN opposed the colonialists and demanded for self-determination.

The Bandung conference of April 17, 1955 where Asian and African nations like South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt and Libya met in Indonesia to discuss their problems which included colonialism and economic development and they emphasised solidarity. It was during this conference that Non Aligned Movement was formed.

The Marshal plan was initiated by George Marshall the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whereby he began giving loans to the war ruined European nations on condition that they should decolonise Africa and Asian nations, by granting them independence.

The role of the Labour Party in Britain after 1945 was also important. The Second World War led to death, destruction of buildings and other property. As a result, the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill was replaced by the Labour Party led by Clement Atlee.

The British Labour Party which assumed power in 1945 held policies and ideology

against colonialism. They viewed colonialism as oppression of humanity and wastage of British tax payers' money, thus, such anti colonial sentiments in Britain made many nationalistic movements to agitate for their immediate independence.

The effects of the Second World War led to the decolonisation of Africa. As matter of fact, Africans who had participated in World War II had managed to witness the weakness of the white men. And as they saw them as cowards, retreating and dying, they also learnt that the whites were not good as they thought them to be, that is why they could also die of bullets as Africans. And when they returned to Africa, they organised fellow Africans to fight against colonisation.

In addition, in the aftermath of the Second World War the colonialists who had incurred a lot of losses could not continue spending on the colonies so they were forced to grant independence to some African states.



### Application activity 4.1

Account for the role that the following factors played in the rise of African nationalism:

- The Second World War;
- The formation of the United Nations;
- The Pan-African Movement;
- Formation of independent churches

## 4.2. Means used by Africans to regain their independence

### Learning activity 4.2



By using internet or textbooks, describe the different means used by Africans to regain their independence.

When the colonial rule had been firmly established, Africans continued to exhibit many forms of disaffection and resistance. Since Africa had been sliced into different colonies, the resistance emerged and Africans formed organisations to protest various elements of colonial rule. The protests were often based on the territory under one colonial power such as France, Britain or Germany.

There were four types of methods that Africans applied in their struggles to liberate themselves from the colonial domination:

### ***4.2.1 Peaceful liberation***

Peaceful liberation involved intensive negotiation between the colonialists and African nationalists. For instance, the political leaders of Tanganyika, Ghana, Uganda and Zambia applied negotiation or peaceful means to get their independence.

### ***4.2.2 Liberation by revolution***

The liberation by revolution involved complete overthrow of the existing political system. This existed in colonies where independence was given to the minority at the expenses of the majority. The case in point is in Zanzibar where the minority Arabs were granted independence by the British at the expense of the majority of blacks. This prompted the latter to make a revolution in 1964 supported by the masses. The liberation by revolution took place even in Egypt and Libya. Liberation by revolution is always sudden and involves bloodshed.

### ***4.2.3 Liberation by armed struggle***

The struggle was conducted in the situation where peaceful means failed and the imperialists were reluctant to negotiate or to give independence to the Africans. In such a situation, the Africans picked up arms to fight against the imperialists by force as a method to achieve their independence. For example, in Zimbabwe, Kenya, Angola, South Africa, Namibia and Mozambique, the fight involved bloodshed and the use of guerrilla warfare.

### ***4.2.4 Combination of peaceful means and armed struggle***

In some countries, the liberation movements combined both peaceful means and armed struggle. Firstly, the Africans resorted to armed struggles as a way to achieve their independence and then applied dialogue/peaceful means to solve the problems of their independence. This situation happened in Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Since, it was virtually impossible for Africans to organise on a country-wide basis, regional or ethnic organisations became the most practical options. As the colonizer was European and the colonised was African, such organisations were seen, particularly by outsiders, almost entirely in racial terms. This situation served the colonial powers' interests. Colonisers exploited it by playing ethnic groups against one another. In addition, they considered the more militant or outspoken organisations as anti-white.

### 4.2.5 Independence movements

African nationalism was not quite like that of Europe because there were no states like those in Europe when colonisation occurred. There were, however, many African groups with strong historical and social identities comparable to the ethnic and national groups of Europe. When colonial authorities drew boundaries, they did not pay any regard to the actual distributions of the various national peoples and ethnic communities; thus, the geographical entities that had been drawn to the convenience of the Europeans contained diversities of peoples. Ethnically, homogeneous colonies were rare. However, diverse African groups governed by one colonial authority were able through their leaders to forge a sense of belonging to that geographical entity.



#### Application activity 4.2

Account for the different means used by African countries to recover their independence.

### 4.3. Stages followed by African countries to regain independence

#### Learning activity 4.3



By using internet or textbooks, describe the different stages followed by African countries to regain their independence.

The process of decolonization was fundamental in Africa because it allowed African states to regain their independence. African nationalism can be traced back to the period of African resistance and colonial expansion. It also dates back to the imposition of colonial rule. But later, the intensification of exploitation stimulated the nationalistic struggles which evolved in different ways in various regions of Africa.

#### 4.3.1 North Africa and French colonies

The first moves occurred in the northern part of Africa. After their withdrawal from South-East Asia, the French were faced with nationalistic unrests in Morocco and Tunisia which they were unable to subdue, and both were granted independence in 1956 whereas the British had left Sudan which became an independent nation in 1955. The greatest blow to France to be discussed later, though, was a Moslem



revolt in Algeria, regarded as part of France, and where there were over a million European settlers.

Meanwhile France had launched in 1958, a Community of African nations to include all the remaining French territories in Africa. De Gaulle had probably hoped that Algeria would fit into this. In that Community, each state had to be self-governing, but closely linked to France in foreign, strategic, financial and economic affairs. The following countries became members: Senegal, Gabon, Chad, Congo, Central African Republic, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Benin (Dahomey), and Madagascar. Guinea Conakry did not join and became independent.

Two years later, all members of the Community became fully independent where upon six of them withdrew from the Community (Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast and Benin). The organs of the government in the Community later dropped into suspense, but the French influence remained dominant.

The ex-mandates Togo and Cameroon also became independent in 1960 and remained territories associated with the Community. French Somaliland became a “territory associated with France” and fully independent as the Republic of Djibouti in 1977. In all these ex-French African states, French is still an official language except in ex-French North Africa where the official language is Arabic language. Nevertheless, the French language is also much spoken in this region.

### **4.3.2. British African colonies**

The first African state to gain independence was the British colony, the Gold Coast, which became independent as Ghana in 1957 under the leadership of Nkrumah (and the British part of Togo mandate was added to Ghana). The other British possessions in West Africa (Nigeria, Sierra Leone and The Gambia) followed between 1960 and 1965. Progress towards self-government and eventual full independence was probably smoother in those West African states where there were few white settlers than it was in some of the climatically more salubrious territories in East Africa.

In fact, in East Africa there were significant numbers of Europeans and Asians who were apprehensive of their future under African rule. For instance, in Kenya there were some 40,000-50,000 whites, about the same number of Arabs, and nearly 200,000 Indians or Pakistanis who had originally been imported for work on railway building.

Nevertheless, between 1960 and 1964 independence was granted to all the British possessions in East Africa: British Somaliland (which was united with ex-Italian Somaliland to form the new state of Somalia), Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, and Zambia. In Kenya, Britain had been confronted during most of the 1950s by the

Mau Mau, a Kikuyu secret society expressing resentment against the European settlers and against the restrictions on allotment of land to Africans.

In South Africa, the British protectorate of Bechuanaland became independent Botswana in 1966; and two other tribal territories (Basutoland and Swaziland) which were surrounded by the Union of South Africa and had become British protectorates in 1868 and 1902 respectively, also gained independence, Basutoland (as Lesotho) in 1966, Swaziland in 1968. In 1960, the Union of South Africa became a republic, and in 1961 it withdrew from the British Commonwealth. The former British colonies and protectorates of Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland all remained in the Commonwealth.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia was more difficult. Britain's plans for her independence with majority rule (in effect African rule) were bitterly opposed by most of the ¼ million or so white settlers. Failing to reach any agreement on the question, the white Rhodesians in 1965 declared Rhodesia to be an independent Dominion, within the Commonwealth. Negotiations and discussions - and internal troubles - continued for 15 years, until in 1980 Rhodesia became the independent African nation Zimbabwe and staying in the British Commonwealth. The remaining territory in southern Africa, South West Africa or Namibia, was still administered by South Africa, which would like to incorporate it into the republic against the ruling of the United Nations until the end of apartheid in 1990.

#### ***4.3.3. Belgian African Colonies***

Belgian control of their African possessions, the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, ended in chaos, violence and civil war. The Belgians thought that the best way to preserve their control was by denying the Africans any advanced education –this would prevent them from coming into contact with nationalist ideas and deprive them of an educated professional class that could lead them to independence. And they used tribal rivalries to their advantage by playing off different tribes against each other. This strategy worked well in the huge Congo which contained about in 150 tribes and in Ruanda-Urundi between Hutu and Tutsi. In spite of all these efforts, nationalist ideas still began to filter in from neighbouring French and British colonies. The Congo Free State became independent as Zaïre in 1960. Rwanda and Burundi were detached from it, and became separate states in 1962.

#### ***4.3.4. Portuguese colonies***

In Africa, the main Portuguese possessions were the two large areas of Angola and Mozambique, and a small colony of Portuguese of Guinea. The Portuguese government ignored nationalist developments in the rest of Africa, and for many

years after 1945 the Portuguese were reluctant to give up their African empire. By 1960 the nationalists were greatly encouraged by the large number of other African states winning independence and fighting broke out first in Angola in 1961 where Agostinho Neto's MPLA (People's Movement for Angolan Liberation), was the main nationalist movement.

Violence soon spread to Guinea where Amilcar Cabral led the resistance, and to Mozambique, where the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), or the Mozambique Liberation Front guerrillas were organised by Eduardo Mondlane. The Portuguese army found it impossible to suppress the nationalistic guerrillas; the troops became demoralized and the cost scaled until by 1973 the government was spending 40% of its budget fighting three colonial wars at once. Still the Portuguese government refused to abandon its policy; but public opinion and many army officers were tired of the wars, and in 1974 the Salazar dictatorship was overthrown by a military coup.

In 1974-75, Portugal abandoned the struggle, and all the three colonies became independent. Guinea took the name of Guinea-Bissau (September 1974) and Angola and Mozambique became independent the following year (1975).

#### **4.3.5. Spanish colonies**

Spain owned some areas in Africa; the largest was Spanish Sahara, and there were also the small colonies of Spanish Morocco, Ifni and Spanish Guinea. General Franco who ruled Spain from 1939 until 1975 showed little interest in the colonies.

When nationalistic movements developed, he did not resist for a long time in the case of Spanish Morocco when French gave independence to French Morocco in 1956. Franco followed suit and Spanish Morocco became part of Morocco. The other two small colonies had to wait much longer. Ifni was allowed to join Morocco, but not until 1969, and Guinea became independent as Equatorial Guinea in 1968.

In Spanish Sahara, General Franco resisted even longer because it was a valuable source of phosphates. Only after Franco's death in 1975 did the new Spanish government agree to release Sahara. But instead of making it into an independent state ruled by its nationalist party, the Polisario Front, it was decided to divide it between its two neighbouring states, Morocco and Mauritania.



*African national independence. Featuring the dates of independence of each nation*

Source: <https://wakeup-world.com/2016/05/08/the-hidden-truths-of-africa-neocolonialism-and-the-modern-age-of-slavery/>



### Application activity 4.3

Describe different stages followed by African countries to regain independence in the below mentioned European colonies:

- British colonies
- North Africa and French colonies
- Portuguese colonies

## 4.4. Consequences of African nationalism

### Learning activity 4.4



By using internet or textbooks, examine the consequences of African nationalism. In your point of view, do you think that African nationalism has an impact on your today's society? Explain your argument.

African nationalism had effects as it won present political freedom for Africa and reversed the African tragedy and humiliation that was arranged at the Berlin Conference.

It brought about the Organization of African Unity and the African Union. Its spirit led to assisting African Liberation Movements of Southern Africa against colonialism.

African nationalism affirmed the worth of black people and therefore rejected the inferiority ascribed by racist thought in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. It helped to launch the struggle for rights and equality for black people in the Diaspora; although there were advocates of a return migration to Africa, eventually and especially after 1945, black people in the Diaspora focused on their rights and justice where they lived.

In Africa, African nationalism asserted the right of independence for Africans "Africa for the Africans." In addition, the slogan contributed to the rise of African nationalism in at least 3 ways:

- Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, for the newly emerging African elite, it was a source of ideas and contacts, especially for students studying abroad;
- It helped to provide an ideology of unity in the process of mass mobilisation of Africans for the independence struggles;
- It also helped to build a constituency in Europe and North America which was sympathetic to and supportive of independence for Africa and this came to form important "public opinion" in the 1950s and 60s.

African nationalism held out a lofty ideal for the future of independent Africa. Through Pan-Africanism, it was thought that Africa could avoid the terrible mistakes of Europe. By emphasizing the unity of all African peoples and shared goals and ideals, it was hoped that nationalism would be a positive influence while avoiding the negative features (xenophobia, narrow parochialism, aggressive expansionism, etc.) which had caused so much bloodshed and horror elsewhere.

African nationalism played a role in history after independence by unifying nations with diverse groups and gave all its citizens a sense of belonging. It bound people living in one nation together even if they did not have a common background. Due to this unity when opportunities were given to all people, the latter felt proud of their country and stood together in times of hardship such as economic recession or natural disaster.



### Application activity 4.4

Discuss profoundly three main consequences of African nationalism. Why do you think that the three consequences you have chosen are more important than others?

Justify why you think so.

### Skill Lab



Even though African countries have already recovered their independence, but they are still subjected in different ways by various present-day superpowers from different continents. Suppose that you are a leader of one of the African countries. Imagine the strategies you can adopt to totally end the remaining forms of foreign domination. Write them in a speech that you will pronounce during the annual ordinary assembly of African Union



### End unit assessment

1. Write down a one page text explaining the rise and expansion of nationalism in Africa.
2. Discuss the relationship between African nationalism and Pan-Africanism.
3. Explain why European colonisation came to the end in Africa.
4. Account for two means used by Africans to recover the independence of their countries.
5. Briefly examine the impact of African nationalism.

# UNIT 5

## THE CAUSES AND THE IMPACT OF NEO COLONIALISM

### Key Unit competence:

The student - teacher should be able to examine the causes and the effects of neo colonialism in Africa



### Introductory activity

“In order to halt foreign interference in the affairs of developing countries it is necessary to study, understand, expose and actively combat neo-colonialism in whatever guise it may appear. For the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle and varied. They operate not only in the economic field, but also in the political, religious, ideological and cultural spheres.”

Basing on this extract from *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*; as an African student – teacher, suggest the way to fight against the neo-colonialism in Africa.

### 5.1. Origin of neocolonialism in Africa

#### Learning activity 5.1



Through the use of internet and/or visiting your school library, make a research about the Neo-Colonialism in Africa and discuss about the origin of the Neo-Colonialism in Africa.

#### 5.1.1. Concept of Neo-colonialism

The term ‘neocolonialism’ was first coined by Kwame Nkrumah. For Kwame Nkrumah, “neocolonialism represents the final stage of imperialism. According to Sandra Halperin, “Neocolonialism is the control of less-developed countries by developed countries through indirect means.” Sandra Halperin has explained the

'indirect means' as the developed countries are dominating underdeveloped or developing countries indirectly by using colonial exploitation rules.

Neocolonialism is a process by which colonial mother country exposed exploiting rules and regulations to her newly independent underdeveloped countries or less developing countries for indirect dominating; the dominating can be economic and political or cultural.

Neo-colonialism can be also described as a disguised form and efficient propagation of socio-economic and political activity by former colonial rulers aimed at reinforcing their presence in their former colonies. In a neo-colonial state, the former colonial masters ensure that the newly independent colonies remain dependent on them. The dependency and exploitation are usually carried out through indirect control of the resources of the newly independent states instead of direct control as it was the case in the colonial era.

### **5.1.2. Historical background of Neo-colonialism in Africa**

When the Europeans left, the Africans got political freedom, but the foul practice of imperialism did not end. It appeared in a new form namely neocolonialism which the scholars had branded as the worst form of imperialism. This camouflaged imperialist practice is turning Africa into a museum of serious poverty, hunger, corruption and famine.

The term "neo-colonialism" rose up and was popularized by Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), the first President of Ghana, in his book *Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965). According to him, the essence of neo-colonialism is that while the state appears to be independent and has total control over its dealings, it is in fact controlled by outsiders economically and politically. The loss of control of the machinery of the state to the neo-colonialists is the basis of Nkrumah's discourse.

Nkrumah was not alone to use the term neo-colonialism. At a meeting of All African People's Conferences (AAPC) in 1961, the term neo-colonialism was described as the deliberate and continued survival of the colonial system in independent African states, by turning these states into victims of political, economic, cultural and technical forms of domination carried out through indirect and subtle means that did not include direct violence.

Jean Paul Sartre (1905-1980), a French activist against his country's colonialism, in his book entitled *Colonialism and Neo-colonialism* (1964) proposed an immediate disengagement of France from its ex-colonies and a total emancipation from the continued influence of French policies on those colonies, particularly in Algeria.

In the 1960s, many African colonies achieved independence, but they soon realized



that the liberation that they had fought for was meaningless because former colonial masters only wanted to grant political independence to their former colonies, but did not want them to be liberated from all forms of colonialism. Since then, neo-colonialism is an important concept in the history of ideas and has entered the vocabulary of African political philosophy.

The domination of the Western economic model that was prevalent during the period of colonialism is still going on. The situation which informs the ideological implementation of neo-colonialism in Africa began immediately after the political independence of most African states.

Since the end of World War II, the West maintains an indirect form of domination over all developing African countries through international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). This form of neo-colonialism is done through foreign aids or foreign direct investments where strict or severe financial conditions are imposed. Post-colonial studies have shown clearly that despite achieving independence, the influences of colonialism and its agents are still very much present in the lives of most former colonies. Practically, every aspect of the ex-colonized society has still colonial influences.

After granting independence to colonies, the theory of modernization suggested that independent countries would begin to develop very rapidly, politically and economically, and would resemble to the “modern” Western countries. In other words, the independent countries will follow the same way as developed countries. However, it soon became clear that this was not happening. Some postcolonial theorists now explain the continued underdevelopment of African countries by the dependency theory.

By dependency theory, underdevelopment is mainly caused by the peripheral position of affected countries in the world economy. Typically, underdeveloped countries offer cheap labour and raw materials on the world market. These resources are sold to advanced economies, which have the means to transform them into finished goods. Underdeveloped countries end up purchasing the finished products at high prices, depleting the capital they might otherwise devote to upgrading their own productive capacity.

Basing on dependence theory, underdevelopment persisted because developed countries dominated underdeveloped economies by paying low prices for their raw products and flooding their markets with cheap manufactured goods. This resulted in a perpetually negative balance of payments that prevented underdeveloped countries from ever becoming competitive on the global marketplace.

Opponents to the dependence theory argue that the concept is an attempt to continue to blame colonialism for Africa’s problems rather than confronting the

major issues hampering independent African governments, such as corruption, inefficiency, and bad governance. They argue that these problems, more than any systematic process of external exploitation, have been responsible for the poor performance of African economies since independence.



### Application activity 5.1

After learning this section, explain the theory of modernization and dependence theory as well as the theories of underdevelopment which lead to neo-colonialism in Africa.

## 5.2. Causes for the rise and development of Neo-colonialism in Africa

### Learning activity 5.2



Through the use of internet and/or visiting your school library, make a research about the Neo-Colonialism in Africa and explain the causes for the rise of the Neo-Colonialism in Africa.

**Different factors have guided the Westerns to maintain their domination over African continent and influence in Africa affairs including the following:**

#### Unequal exchange

European countries had colonized most of the continent in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, instituting a system of economic exploitation in which African raw materials, particularly cash crops and minerals, were expropriated and exported to the sole benefit of the colonizing power.

Neo-colonial analysts say that economies based on the production of cash crops such as cocoa could not develop, because the world system imposes a limit on the revenue that can be got from their production. Likewise, the extraction and export of minerals could not serve to develop African industries, because minerals taken from African soil by Western corporations were shipped to Europe or America, where they were turned into manufactured goods, which were then resold to African consumers at value-added prices.

#### Influence of the foreign aid

The colonial powers have prepared their stay in Africa by giving donations, grants and loans to their former colonies. Neo-colonialist theorists think that the inability

of African economies to develop after independence led many African countries to look for foreign aid. Accepting loans from Europe or America proved the link between independent African governments and former colonizers. They noted as evidence that most foreign aid has been given in the form of loans, with high interest rates. Repayment of these loans contributed to the underdevelopment of African economies because the collection of interest impoverished African peoples.

During the Cold War the increasing level of American and Russian aid and intervention in the affairs of independent African states were designed to keep African countries within the capitalist or socialist/communist camp.

### **Balkanization of Africa**

According to Nkrumah, the most important factor allowing the perpetuation of neo-colonialism in Africa was the “balkanization” of the continent. Colonizers divided Africa into many administrative units in order to govern it more effectively, and the colonial boundaries had become the lines within which African countries had been given independence. Since then, the interests of Africa have been damaged by the need of each new country to fight for itself. Nkrumah believed that through African unity and cooperation, the continent could best combat neo-colonialism. This required also a policy of nonalignment in reference to the competition of the two blocks (West and East) during the Cold War context.

### **The mediation of the ruling class**

At the time of African independent, some Africans who took power at the time had been favoured by European powers because they were willing to operate a smooth transition from colonialism to neo-colonialism. Since they were generally educated and westernized, they had benefited in many ways from the colonial system, they had to gain from a continuation of colonial economic policies. Some of them are accused of collaborating with the colonial power to ensure that the interests of both would be met after the declaration of formal political independence. This class of Africans betrayed the masses who had supported various nationalistic movements.

### **Intellectual inability**

According to some researcher like Achille Mbembe, after colonialism had ended in Africa, the West did not consider that Africans could organise themselves socially, economically and politically. The reason is simply because Africans were believed to be intellectually poor and reduced to the level of irrationality. Since Africans are different in race, language, and culture from the West, they do not possess the power, the rigour, the quality, and the intellectual analytical abilities

that characterise Western philosophical and political traditions. This perception on the African primitiveness, used by colonizers to justify the conquest and the colonization of Africa, is still predominant in the discourses of some Westerners.

### **Weakened Position of European Powers**

The two World Wars within a short duration inflicted very heavy losses upon the imperial powers of Europe. Their weakened position made it difficult for them to maintain their big colonial empires. The rise of strong national liberation movements in the colonies further made it difficult for them to maintain their traditional empires.

In this situation, the old colonial powers, realizing fully the necessity of exploiting the resources of the new states for their own needs, were quick to devise new instruments of control over the new states. This led to the transformation of colonialism into neo-colonialism.

### **Rise of Consciousness against Imperialism**

The imperial powers found it difficult to justify the continuance of their rule over colonies because of the spread of political consciousness, and the acceptance of the right of self-determination by the Charter of the United Nations.

Further, the intensification of national liberation movements in several key countries also compelled the imperial powers to grant independence to their colonies. After having suffered the loss of their empires, the rich and powerful states were quick to adopt new means for maintaining a system of economic exploitation of their former colonies.

### **Needs of the Developed States**

The continued need for raw materials and markets for selling their goods compelled the former imperial powers to somehow maintain their economic domination of new sovereign states. This encouraged them to maintain their interests by new, subtle and indirect economic devices. Having been forced to abandon the old colonial system, the old imperial states decided to go in for neo-colonialism, a systematized but indirect and subtle economic and political domination of their former colonies.

### **The Continued Dependence of the New States on Developed States**

The dependence of the new states upon the former colonial states for selling raw materials as well as for purchasing industrial goods from them also brought into existence Neo-colonialism. Their traditional economic dependence upon the colonial powers continued even after the attainment of independence.

## Impact of Cold War

The cold war that emerged in the post Second world war period and the subsequent emergence of two rival blocs in international relations, made things worst for the new African independent states. Several new states felt compelled to join either of the two blocs for securing vitally needed economic assistance and military equipment. Such a membership of a bloc acted as a source of outside control over their policies.

## The Policies of the USA and the (Former) Soviet Union

In the era of Cold War (1945-90) both the USA and (Erstwhile) USSR wanted to expand their respective areas of influence. For this, they decided to exploit the economic needs of the new states. Through such devices as foreign aid, loans, supply of arms, control over international economy and economic institutions, multinational corporations etc., and the super powers were successful in creating their economic dependencies and satellites.

American and other western powers created their economic dependencies and the (former) Soviet Union created its satellites as a means for operationalizing neo-colonialism in international relations. All these factors were responsible for the transformation of Colonialism into Neocolonialism.



### Application activity 5.2

After learning this section, examine the main causes which lead to the rise of Neo-Colonialism in Africa by the end of the Second World War.

## 5.3. Manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa

### Learning activity 5.3



From the research results you have got from activity 5.1, describe the manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa today.

Suppose you become a leader of former colonised country in Africa, what would be your strategies to fight against neocolonialism?

Within a neo-colonial situation, the imperialists usually maintain their influence in many sectors of the former colony as possible, making it less independent state and more of a neo-colony. To this end, the state looks up to its imperialist allies (in many sectors such as politics, economics, religion and education), rather than improving its own indigenous culture and practices. Through neo-colonialism, the

more technologically advanced nations ensure their involvement with low income nations; this relationship annihilates the potential for the development of the smaller states and contributes to the capital gain of the technologically advanced nations.

Though neo-colonialism is a subtle propagation of social-economic and political activities of former colonial countries in their former colonies, evidence has shown that a country that was never colonized can also become a neo-colonialist state. Countries such as Liberia and Ethiopia that never experienced colonialism in its classical understanding have become neo-colonial countries because of their dependency on international finance capital and their fragile economic structure. Based on this, neo-colonialism can be said to be a new form of colonial exploitation and control of the new independent states of Africa, and other states with fragile economies.

The most important manifestations of the neo-colonialism are described in the following sections.

### **Dependence on foreign aid and external industrial investments**

Developed countries did not completely leave Africa. They remained in this continent by giving donations, grants and loans to their former colonies, with high interest rates charged. Foreign firms have also continued to dominate the business sectors of the economy. Local industries in Africa became extensions of metropolitan firms and the needed raw materials for the industries depend on very high import from the capitalist economies. Thus, the continued dependence of industrial investments in Africa on the capitalist intensive technology is mostly aimed at strengthening the metropolitan economies.

### **Collaboration with local elites**

Western neo-colonialists have collaborated with local elites to perpetuate the exploitation of the people in Africa. Most of the local collaborators are not committed to national interest and development, and their aim is to ensure the continued reproduction of foreign domination of the African economic space. The objective of foreign capital, therefore, is to continue to co-opt the weak and nascent local bourgeoisie into its operations.

### **Unfair trade terms**

African countries are producers of cash crops, like coffee, tea, sisal and cotton which serve as raw materials in developed countries. European and America control the world market by fixing prices for African cash crops by keeping those

prices low so that Africa remain dependent to their aid. To make Africa a dumping place for cheap labour and market for European manufactured goods with the aim of exploiting it. Imperialist nations have mandate to fix prices for Africa cash crops and other raw materials in addition with conditions. So, Africans are compelled to import the highly priced finished products from advanced countries.

### **Influence of the foreign currencies**

Foreign currencies like dollar, Pound, Euro, and Japanese Yen are used to determine the strength and value of African currencies. A fall in value of these foreign currencies means automatic fall in the value of African currencies, leading to the devaluation of African currencies. For instance, France has maintained a special financial regime known as “Financial Community of Africa” (Communauté Financière d’Afrique = CFA) with some western francophone countries.



### *Franc CFA bank notes used in African Franc Zone countries*

Source: <http://banknoteworld.com/find?start=0&Country=West%20African%20States#banknotes>.

CFA francs are used in fourteen countries: twelve formerly French-ruled nations in West and Central Africa, a former Portuguese colony (Guinea-Bissau) and a former Spanish colony (Equatorial Guinea). The CFA's value is linked to the Euro whose monetary policy is set by the European Central Bank. As a result, the CFA has been criticized for making proper economic planning for the developing countries of French West and Central Africa.

### **Technological dependence**

African countries rely on developed countries' technology. They import tractors to improve on agriculture. When those tractors break down, African countries import the spare parts from developed countries. This dependence applies to the importation of other machines as well as cars, television sets, laboratory

equipment, chemicals and even medicine.

For example, in the case of Coca Cola, they will bring machinery and powder but cannot allow the developing country to access the technology know how of manufacturing soft drinks. Money for the purchase of the machinery the powder and expertise find its way back to the developed country.

### **Interference of internal policies of the newly independent states**

In the former colonies the imperialist powers have their elitist groups which were involved in active struggle for power in the state in these states by supporting particular group against another group. Through the support of puppet regimes and by instigating military or civil coups in such state, the imperial powers managed to exercise control over their policies. However, when the leaders of the newly independent countries did not go against the wishes of their colonizers, they seemed to have had a peaceful tenure in government. As a matter of fact, only Felix Houphouet-Boigny in the Ivory Coast did not attempt at any point to break away from CFA. He was president from 1960 to 1993 in peace.

### **Military presence and intervention**

Most African countries have maintained close relations and cooperation with former colonial powers in military issues. This is achieved through different forms of cooperation, such as training of local armies, purchasing military equipment, direct intervention. Some powers have military bases in some countries (i.e. Mali, Djibouti, Kenya, Ghana, etc.). The military presence and intervention are aimed at primarily serving and protecting the interests of big powers but not African states.

Due to the presence of such western military troops in Africa, imperialists conduct coup d'état in developing countries especially those whose leaders are against their interests. For those who are strong to protest against the economic exploitation of their nations, they had been over thrown through coup d'état, for instance 1960, Lumumba of Zaire (present day DRC), 1966 Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana among others were overthrown due to the Western conspiracy.

### **Application of foreign political ideologies and practices**

Because of their political weakness, African leaders have tried to apply in their countries political ideologies and practices of developed countries, such as western models of democracy, institutions, political parties and procedures. The implementation failed because these references could not be transferred and applied automatically in different contexts.

This contributed to political instability and crisis because of the internal conflicts created by these policies. Alternatives proposed by Africans and other Third World



leaders, for example African socialism or non-alignment, have been opposed by big powers and disappeared. Therefore, African countries became aligned, during the Cold War, either towards the capitalist or communist ideology. Now they are obliged to adopt the neoliberal ideology and do their best to have access to aid and investment.

### **Cultural degradation in Africa**

Neo-colonialism and globalization have promoted Western values in Africa: western music, language, films, literature, games, new religions, etc. Hence new practices and behavior especially among young generation, such as violence, pornography and prostitution have destroyed African values.

### **Evangelism in Africa**

Various evangelists have helped to export the political ideologies of their mother countries and to create market and loyalty to those countries through preaching. Africans have therefore become religiously dependent on the western powers and have greatly undermined their ancestral beliefs.

### **Foreign literature and Leisure dependence**

This was done through foreign films, novels, magazines and games which place high values on violence, sexual immorality where sex is depicted as pass time activity in such films. Foreign leisure like western music, musical instruments and matches or games have all attracted the youths away from African values. Hence there are a number of white Africans in black skins!

### **Influence of the Western mass media**

Through the world wide mass media such as British Broadcasting (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN), Voice Of America (VOA), and Deutsche Welle (DW) among others make Africans to listen these in which they inspire different issue for their interest of exploiting the developing country.

### **Membership of African countries to the former colonial powers**

In order to maintain their domination over African countries, British government formed the commonwealth organization for all their former colonies; while French formed the Franco-phone organization for their former colonies. The African countries, for fear of losing economic aid, joined such organizations and therefore still tied to their former colonial masters.

## Giving loans and grants to African countries

Imperialist nations used the financial institutions like World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), and International Finance Corporation (IFC) among others, to give the developing countries loans and grants paid at very high interest rates and unrealistic conditions. This proves hard for African nations to pay back. As a result, there is a debt burden hence underdevelopment. Through those international financial organs, developed countries make policies that enable them to continue exploiting the third world countries.



### Application activity 5.3

By using some examples showing how Rwanda fight against cultural imperialism.

## 5.4. Consequences of neo-colonialism

### Learning activity 5.4



By searching on internet and /or reading different documents about neo-colonialism in Africa, analyse the social, economic and political impact of neo-colonialism over African continent.

The new form of colonialism, as it was introduced and developed in Africa by the Western powers, has the following consequences:

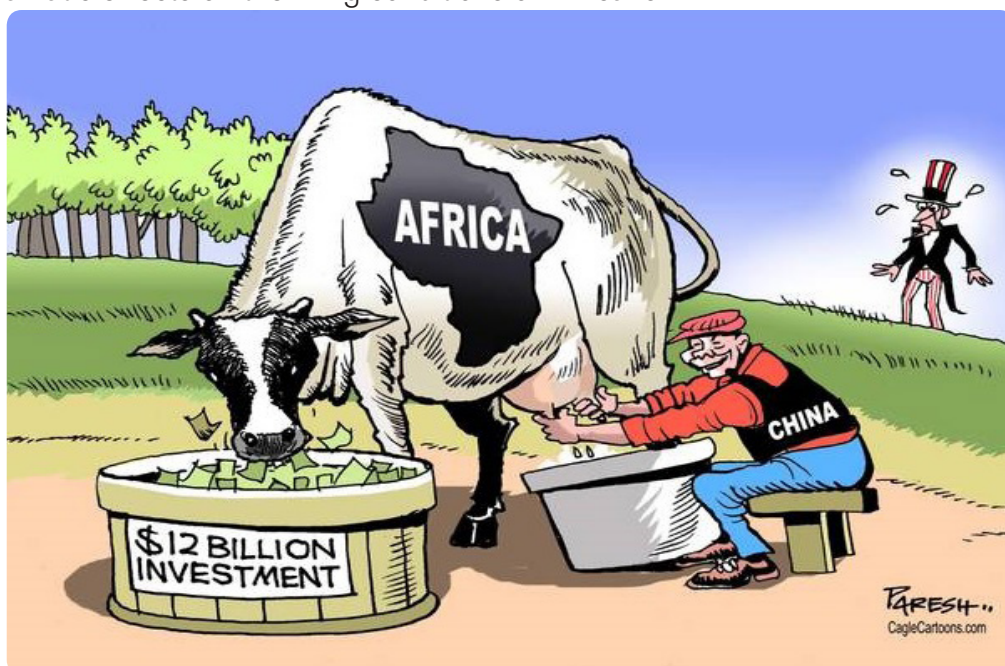
### Loss of independence

The hard won independence has been lost since African countries cannot make independent decisions. Some African countries have remained dependents on their former colonial masters in decision making for example during elections and the forms of government. In some circumstances, these countries cannot make their own decisions without the acknowledgment of their former colonial masters; they have always been present during elections as international observers as well supporting multi-party systems in the disguise of democracy. New independent countries have not only inherited European laws but also the institutions of colonial bureaucracies. So, to some extent, African countries only obtained flag independence.

### Exploitation of Africa

The neo-colonialism has ensured the continued exploitation of Africa by big powers through profit repatriation by multilateral corporations and expatriates and

through charging high interest rates. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other multilateral organizations have taken this opportunity to control African economies. They lend loans to African states with hard conditions and high interest rates. The World Bank is lending loans to more than 140 countries in the world, 41 are African states and the most debt recipient countries in the world. The World Bank also estimates that 70% of the net wealth in sub-Saharan Africa is owned by non-indigenous Africans or foreigners. Debt recipient countries must pay back with high interests, but most of the countries have not been able to pay back the loans received. This has created the debt crisis in the 1990s with dramatic effects on the living conditions of Africans.



*Africa: The West's Green Eyes on China – Africa Win – Win Cooperation*

Source: [http://www.fahamu.org/ep\\_articles/africa-the-west's-green-eyes-on-china-africa-win-win-cooperation/](http://www.fahamu.org/ep_articles/africa-the-west's-green-eyes-on-china-africa-win-win-cooperation/)

### **Continued political instabilities**

Through neo-colonialism, many African countries are under the threat of coups d'état, rigging of votes, civil wars and assassinations. Former imperialist powers have been involved in the politics of African countries since they gained their "independence" and are still meddling in their political affairs. Unsurprisingly, many Francophone presidents in Sub-Saharan Africa were overthrown, especially because they tried to seek economic independence from France. These are due to the desire by former colonial masters to maintain their influence in Africa.

For example, the former Togolese president, Silvanus Olympio after independence

attempted to replace the CFA (central African franc) with Togo's own currency. Three days after Togo started printing its new currency, Olympio was killed in a coup led by Gnassingbe Eyadema, who promptly installed Nicolas Grunitzky as President. Grunitzky's first action was to take Togo right back into the CFA zone, consequently handing Togo over to France all over again.

### **Failure of the Non-aligned movement**

Neo-colonialism made it impossible for Africans to remain neutral. Due to the desire for economic aid, the Africans became aligned to the big powers, either to the capitalists or to the communist.

### **Neo - colonialism has hindered economic co-operation in Africa**

The organization that aimed at promoting regional economic integration in Africa like East African Community (EAC), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have been negatively influenced and weakened by big powers through neo-colonialism mechanism. This is because the big powers wanted to continue dominating African markets.

### **Economic underdevelopment**

By neo-colonialism, the big powers have disrupted any effort towards industrialization and instead have sponsored agricultural production. The prices for agricultural products have remained low due to the invention of synthetic materials. The industrialization models followed by African countries which are applied by the Europeans/American have failed; projects are not well elaborated, some are created for prestige, they are expensive and inefficient, depending on loans, external experts and imported technologies. This has resulted into an enormous and heavy debt, extreme poverty of the population, recurrent famines, uncontrolled urbanization and weak investment in social sector. This made Africans to remain underdeveloped and dancing to the tones of big powers.

### **Brain drain**

Due to the sporadic and extreme poverty, Africa's best brainworkers move to rich countries voluntarily in search for greener pastures. Those who persist to make inventions in Africa are either sabotaged or are bought to work for them.

### **Cultural degradation in Africa**

Neo-colonialism has promoted Western values in Africa. It has led to the elimination of various cultures, worldviews, and beliefs. African languages have been replaced by European ones. This has been achieved through violence or

by soft means such as modern schools and Christian religions. The main idea presented as a slogan was to “civilize Africans”, meaning to oblige them to abandon their traditions and make them as “white people” in all aspects of their life. Hence violence, pornography, Western music, prostitution, foreign religions etc. have all set in to ruin the old good African culture. Then, the post independent Africa is confronted within the following dilemma: how to have a new cultural identity that is African in nature?

### **Scientific and technological set back**

Before colonial period, Africans had developed some innovations like iron smelting, backcloth manufacture, fish smoking, drug processing etc. However, both colonialism and neo-colonialism have turned into African initiatives in terms of new discoveries. Those who make discoveries are persecuted. Those induce African countries in technological dependence for perpetuity.



#### **Application activity 5.4**

Examine the consequences of Neo-colonialism in Africa.

#### **Skills Lab**



From the recovery of African independence up today, African countries are subjected to the threat of Neo-colonialism from their former colonial masters and new extra-European powers; such as United States of America, Russia and China. However, some African nationalist rose and fought against this new form of colonization. One of the ways used by those eminent African nationalists is “public speeches” during international conferences, where they talked about the self-reliance and called upon Africans to be more united.

Assume that you are one of those famous African nationalists and you are invited to deliver a speech during the general assembly of the United Nations Organisation. Elaborate a written document as supporting document during your presentation about “the strategies for eradication of negative impact of neo-colonialism in Africa”.



## End unit assessment

1. After achieving their independence, the African countries are under the threat of new form of colonialism. Analyse the causes of the neo-colonialism in Africa. Propose some tentative solutions to end such a situation. Is it easy to achieve them? Explain with supportive examples.
2. By using the cartoon below and describe the different ways Neo-colonialism is manifested in Africa.



Source: [http://blogs.ubc.ca/ouailingthoughtsoninternationalissues/files/2014/10/singer\\_cartoon\\_-on-how-neocolonialism-works.gif](http://blogs.ubc.ca/ouailingthoughtsoninternationalissues/files/2014/10/singer_cartoon_-on-how-neocolonialism-works.gif)

3. As an African student-teacher and by focusing on education domain, examine the consequences of neo-colonialism in Africa.

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