

History

S6

Student's Book

© 2024 Rwanda Basic Education Board.

All rights reserved.

This book is a property of the Government of Rwanda.

Credit should be given to REB when it is quoted.

FOREWORD

Dear Student,

Rwanda Basic Education Board is honoured to present to you this Senior 6 History Book which serves as a guide to competence-based teaching and learning to ensure consistency and coherence in the learning of History subject. The Rwandan educational philosophy is to ensure that you achieve full potential at every level of education which will prepare you to be well integrated in society and exploit employment opportunities.

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

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

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

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



DR. MBARUSHIMANA Nelson

Director General/REB

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

Special thanks go to those who gave their time to read and refine this textbook to meet the needs of competence-based curriculum. I owe gratitude to the Ministry of National Unity and Civic Engagement (MINUBUMWE), Never Again, AEGIS Trust who provided their expertise in research and recommendations which contributed to the edition of this guide.

I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to secondary schools and the University of Rwanda that allowed their teachers, lecturers who diligently worked with REB in-house textbooks production project to the successful completion of this book. I also thank illustrators, designers, and all other individuals whose efforts in one way or the other contributed to the success of this edition.

Finally, my word of gratitude goes to the Rwanda Basic Education Board staff particularly those from Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Resource Department (CTLRD) who were involved in the whole process of in-house textbook editorial work.



Joan MURUNGI

Head of Department/CTLR

Table of contents

FOREWORD	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
UNIT 1: FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA	1
1.1. The Trans-Saharan Trade.....	2
1.2. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade	12
1.3. The Long Distance Trade.....	26
UNIT 2: THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT	35
2.1. Introduction to the Age of Enlightenment: concepts, origins and causes	35
2.2. Nature and characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment	41
2.3. Ideas of different philosophers.....	44
2.4. Impact of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.....	54
UNIT 3: CAUSES, COURSE AND EFFECTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS	60
3.1. The Causes of the First World War (1914 –1918)	61
3.2. The Course of the First World War	65
3.3. The Inter-wars period	78
3.4. The Second World War (1939 –1945).....	98
3.5. The United Nations Organisation.....	108
3.6 The Cold War (1947-1991)	116
UNIT 4: AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND ACQUISITION OF INDE- PENDENCE	130
4.1. The causes of African nationalism	131
4.2. Means used by Africans to regain their independence.....	137
4.3. Process followed by African countries to regain independence.....	141
4.4. Consequences of African nationalism	168
UNIT 5: CAUSES AND IMPACT OF NEO-COLONIALISM	171
5.1. Rise of neo-colonialism in Africa.....	172
5.2. Causes of neo-colonialism	176
5.3. Manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa.....	180
5.4. Consequences of neo-colonialism.....	185

UNIT 6: THE 1990 – 1994 LIBERATION WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES	191
6.1. The causes of the Liberation War (1990-1994).....	192
6.2. The course of the Liberation War (1990-1994).....	196
6.3. The effects of the Liberation War (1990-1994).....	212
6.4. The challenges faced by Rwanda after the Genocide against the Tutsi	215
6.5. The achievements of the Government of National Unity	223
UNIT 7: GENOCIDE PREVENTION IN RWANDA AND ABROAD 238	
7.1. Concepts, factors and practices of genocide prevention	240
7.2. Early Warning Signs of Genocide.....	247
7.3. Types of genocide prevention.....	250
7.4. Challenges faced in the prevention of genocide	253
7.5. Solutions to challenges faced in prevention of genocide	255
UNIT 8: DIFFERENT TYPES OF NATIONAL SERVICE IN VARIOUS SOCIETIES	267
8.1. Definition of the concept of national service in Rwanda and other countries	268
8.2. Differences and similarities of different national service	269
8.3. National service in Rwanda and in other countries.....	270
8.4. The contribution of the youth in the national service	281
8.5. General roles of the national service in the nation building	283
UNIT 9: THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY, UNITY AND RECONCILIATION IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RWANDAN SOCIETY	287
9.1. Concepts of democracy, reconciliation and justice and their features	289
9.2. Different forms of democracy and justice.....	295
9.3. Preservation of democracy, unity, reconciliation and justice in Rwanda	302
9.4. Democracy and justice in neighbouring countries: case studies of Tanzania and Kenya	333
UNIT 10: DIGNITY AND SELF-RELIANCE	349
10.1. Concepts of home-grown solutions and self-reliance	350
10.2. Contribution of home-grown solutions towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity	391
10.3. Challenges encountered during the implementation of home - grown solutions.....	407

UNIT 11: PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS..... 416

- 11.1. Organs and actors responsible for preventing and resolving conflicts and violence at national and international levels 417
- 11.2. Strategies used to prevent and resolve conflicts and violence 426
- 11.3. Challenges encountered during the prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence 437

REFERENCES.....443

UNIT 1

FORMS OF SLAVE TRADE IN AFRICA

Key unit competence: To be able analyze the emergence, organization and impact of slave trade in Africa.



Introductory Activity 1.1

In the world history, slave trade has been a dehumanizing practice so that nations decided to fight against it till today. From the recent information about this evil deed, analyze the factors and consequences of different slave trades that took place in the world before the end of the 19th Century.

Introduction

In Africa, slavery was a common practice long before the arrival of the Arabs, the Berbers and the Europeans. There were different types of slaves. For instance those who were slaves through conquest, those who were slaves due to unpaid debts, those whose parents gave them as slaves to tribal chiefs, etc.

After the discovery of America, the need of manpower for the exploitation of this new continent increased. From this time, Europeans started to come to Africa to search for slaves. These slaves were used as workers in mines and sugarcane plantations. The Blacks were exchanged with European and Asian products like clothes, old guns and wines among others. This trade has been named Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade.

Apart from this slave trade, there were two other forms of slave trade, namely the Trans -Saharan Trade operated across the Saharan desert where slaves from West Africa were exchanged with European and Asian commodities and The Long Distance Trade in which slaves from East Africa were traded to be used mainly in plantations that were in Zanzibar by Arabs and in Seychelles and Reunion Islands by French colonists.

The slaves from Africa were deported in very bad conditions, disease attacked many and the death was so common that ships were called floating tombs. As this trade was made between Africa, America and Europe, Africa suffered serious losses from the slave trade because the depopulation resulted into famine. While Europeans who were running the slave trade profited from it: Money from the slave trade contributed to the Industrial Revolution industries gained the raw materials from Africa. Americas also got profits from that trade because much of the wealth generated by the Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade supported the creation of industries and institutions in modern North America.

1.1. The Trans-Saharan Trade



Learning Activity 1.1

Using the internet or any other document in your school library including textbooks, discuss the reasons for the emergence of the Trans- Saharan trade.

1.1.1. Understanding The Trans-Saharan Trade

The Trans-Saharan Trade was the trade that took place between West Africans who were living in the savannah forest, Sahel and North African Berbers and Arabs across the Sahara desert. This trade began to take place on a regular basis during the fourth Century with the introduction of camels from Asia as an improved means of transport. The volume of this trade increased again between 641 and 708 of Common Era when Arabs from East conquered North Africa.

The Trans-Saharan Trade contributed to the rise of the Empire of Ghana between the eighth and twelfth centuries. This trading system reached its peak between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, during the heydays of the Mali and Songhai Empires it declined in the 19th Century.

One of the main commodities of The Trans-Saharan Trade was salt from the deposits of rock salt in the Sahara. The Saharan salt mines had been controlled by the Berbers of North Africa who were willing to exchange salt for West Africa's gold which was highly demanded in the Maghreb.

This early trade in salt and gold was to serve as the foundation for a more elaborate and flourishing trade between the two regions and had far reaching effects on the political and social histories of the peoples who inhabited there.

1.1.2. Factors for the emergence of the Trans-Saharan Trade

Most of the factors which facilitated the growth of The Trans-Saharan Trade were directly or indirectly related to Islam. Thus, Islam and The Trans-Saharan Trade were closely linked. The most important of these factors were for instance the introduction of camel to North Africa, the increase in demand for gold in Muslim and European countries, the spread of Islam in West Africa among others as below.

The introduction of camels on a large-scale into North Africa from Asia was the most determinant factor for the growth and development of The Trans-Saharan Trade. The camels were an appropriate means of transport that could help to overcome different problems inherent in the geographical nature of the Sahara desert which consisted of endless hailstorms, sand dunes and rocks, very hot in the day and extremely cold at night. Travelling with trade goods across such hostile environment was only made possible with camels which could carry heavy loads, travel for about ten days without water and their flat hoofs enabled them to walk on the sand.

The increase in demand for gold in Muslim and Europe countries also led to the development of the Trans -Saharan Trade. Gold had become a commercial item that was more and more needed for the manufacturing of jewelries.

The spread of Islam in West Africa also played a very important role in the development of The Trans-Saharan Trade. It is worth noting that the majority of the traders were Muslims and people who resisted to be converted to Islam were captured and sold as slaves. Moreover, the spread of Islam in West Africa was a securing factor for both Moslem traders and their buyers which facilitated trade transactions between slave traders and Muslims.

The emergence of centralised state systems in the Kingdoms of Ghana, and later Mali and Songhai in the West Africa also contributed to the

growth of the Trans-Saharan trade. The existence of such political organisations helped to ensure security to the traders and hence leading to the development of the Trans-Saharan trade.

The Islamisation of rulers of West African kingdoms, their performance of annual pilgrimages and the subsequent diplomatic activities also played an important role in the development of the Trans-Saharan Trade. The Arabs and other Muslims were interested in carrying out business in the countries led by Muslims. This increased the numbers of traders that were involved in Trans-Saharan Trade.

Conquest of North Africa by Arabs increased the inflow of the Arabs which led to the introduction of Arabic language in West Africa. This facilitated communication between the Arabs and the indigenous Africans during business exchanges which solved the language barrier problem hence the growth and development of the Trans-Saharan Trade.

Availability of trade goods needed by both parties also contributed to the development of the Trans-Saharan trade. West Africans provided goods such as gold, slaves and kola nuts that were highly demanded by the North Africans (Berbers) while the North Africans had goods like camels, clothes and weapons which were needed by the West Sudan People.

Presence of safe and well-established trade routes also contributed to the development of The Trans-Saharan Trade. This made it easy for the merchants to carry out their business without any fear. Most times, the Tuaregs provided security to the traders and acted as guides across the Sahara Desert. The presence of oases that provided water to the merchants and camels in the Sahara desert was also a very crucial factor that enabled The Trans-Saharan Trade to take place. Given the harsh desert conditions like drought and higher temperatures, Oases acted as refreshment areas for both the merchants and their camels.

Availability of capital was also a crucial factor for the development of the Trans-Saharan Trade. The rich merchants in the region, the Berbers provided capital for investment in the trade. This also led to development of The Trans-Saharan Trade simply because capital is always a basic requirement for any commercial activity to develop.

1.1.3. Methods of The Trans-Saharan Trade

The people involved in this trade from North Africa were the Berbers and Arabs who initiated and financed the trade. Traders moved in caravans across the Sahara to and from West Africa and were provided with security by the Tuaregs. In West Africa, there were Black Africans who were essentially consumers of goods from North Africa and suppliers of commodities from West African regions. In addition to the people who played different roles in the Trans Saharan trade, there were different commodities. The goods from North Africa included salt, iron tools, weapons, silk, beads, horses, quinine, and sugar. The most important commodity from this region was salt. While those from West Africa were gold, slaves, ivory, kola nuts, leather, pepper, hides and ostrich feathers.

The most important commodity from West Africa was gold.

There were three major routes that were used in the Trans Saharan trade, namely West-East, North-South and Southern routes.

West-East routes

There were two routes from Timbuktu or Gao to Egypt. One went through Takedda, Agades, Bilma and Tibesti to Cairo. The other ran through Takedda, Ghat, Fezzan, and Aujila to Cairo. The second route was the preferred route and was also used by West African Muslims on pilgrimages to Mecca. It was called the Gao or Mecca Road.

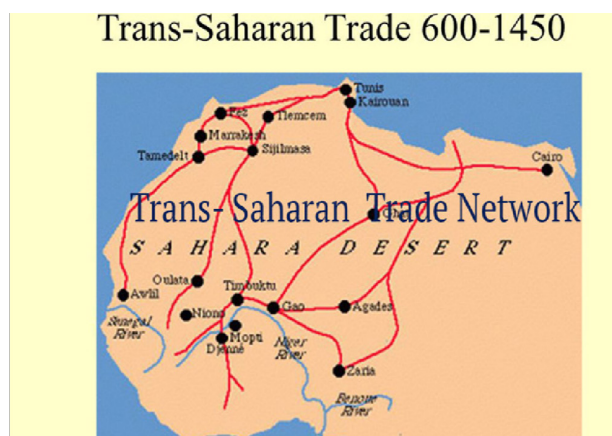


Figure 1.1: Trans Saharan trade routes

Source: <https://www.thinglink.com/scene/634381331005964290>.

North-South routes

To obtain gold from the Bambuk goldfields, traders from Fez and Marrakesh in Morocco travelled the Audaghost trail through Sijilmasa and Wadan to Azukki or Audaghost and from there to Kumbi Saleh in Ghana or to Takrur.

For gold from the Bure fields, especially when the Empire of Mali was at its height, merchants travelled from Fez through Sijilmasa, Taghaza (or Tuat) and Tichitt-Walata, to Timbuktu and Djenné.

From Tripoli, caravans travelled through Ghadames, Ghat, and Takedda or Agades to the Hausa cities of Katsina or Kano.

Another route began in Tripoli and passed through Fezzan, Bilma, and Kanem to the Bornu city of Bauchi. Finally, from Cyrenaica or Aujila in eastern Libya a route led through Wadai to Bornu.

Southern routes

From the end points of the camel caravan routes, trade goods were carried farther south to the forest regions by donkeys, human porters, or canoes. One route from Kumbi Saleh went through Diara, down the Senegal and Faleme rivers to the Bambuk goldfields.

Another led from Kumbi Saleh to Kangaba, down the Niger to the Bure goldfields. From Djenné one could travel through Bobo-Dyulasso, Kong, and Begho to Kumasi (in the modern nation of Ghana). From Kano a road led through Zaria and Old Oyo to Benin. Another road went from Katsina through Kano and Bauci to Wukari.

Two main modes of exchange of goods were utilised in the Trans Saharan trade. At the first time, traders used barter system which consisted of exchanging goods for other goods and services for other services. But later, cowries' shells and precious stones were adopted as a medium of exchange.

Camels and human portage were the main means of transport used in the Trans Saharan Trade. At the beginning of this trade, human portage was used and the volume of commodities exchanged was very small but, later on with the introduction and use of camels, this volume greatly increased.

Traders travelled in large caravans of camels in order to enhance their security. The rich traders from North Africa initiated the trade and provided trade goods, camels and horses to the middlemen who coordinated the trade with the West Africans on their behalf.

The middlemen would contact desert guides known as Takshifs who also acted as desert guards. They also protected the traders and guarded the oases in the Sahara.

The Tuaregs provided the traders with security and acted as interpreters. The caravans usually departed from the north after the rainy season when sandstorms would subside smooth travel. The traders made stopovers at the oases to refresh themselves and let their camels drink water.

The traders carried gifts for leaders of the communities along the route to appease them as a reward for the security provided while travelling through their kingdoms. Rulers of western Sudan offered security service to the traders while they were in the territories. Some of the caravan traders used agents who sold goods on their behalf in the interim period between their departures back to the north until the time they came back to western Sudan.

1.1.4. Effects of The Trans-Saharan Trade

The Trans-Saharan Trade played a very significant role in the commercial relationship of African nations and beyond. For instance, the Saharan Berbers sold the goods they bought from the Western Sudan to the Arab traders of North Africa and the traders of North Africa sold them again to the European and Asian countries. This trade provided an important link between the Western Sudan and North Africa facilitating the exchange of political, religious, economic, social and cultural ideas.

The Trans-Saharan Trade helped to build the comfort and splendour of large North African cities such as Carthage, Leptis, and Sabratha, back in times of Phoenician and Roman rule before about 400 CE. West Africa towns such as Gao, Kano, Jenne, Walata and Timbuktu developed and new cities were also born at the desert edge, like Awdaghust, Kumbi Saleh and Tadamakka and their destiny was tied closely with the continuity of the trade. However, when the caravan routes later changed and the volume of trade declined, these towns, too, were soon abandoned.

The merchants and rulers who participated in the trade accumulated a lot of wealth from the profits and taxes respectively. This wealth enabled the rulers to pay for large armies and complex systems of administration and to build large Empires such as Ghana, Mali and Songhai.

The trade also facilitated the spread of Islam with its Islamic civilization and literacy in Arabic language. Simultaneously, with the spread of Islam there was erosion of pre-existing African cultures.

The Trans-Saharan Trade introduced new political system based on sharia law like foundation of theocratic states in West Africa such as Macina.

The Trans-Saharan Trade also enhanced the spread of the knowledge of Western Sudan to other parts of the world through pilgrimages of West African Muslims to Mecca in Saudi Arabia. The Trans Saharan trade also created a need among the indigenous to control the centres of strategic productivity. For example, the Empire of Ghana extended its territory as far north as Audaghost in an attempt to secure direct access to salt production, while it simultaneously maintained direct linkages to the Bambuk goldfields across the Senegal River.

The Trans-Saharan Trade also provided strong motivation for the formation of large Sudanic states and empires to protect traders and trade routes, which in turn brought in the necessary wealth to conduct wars so as to make territorial expansion, to acquire horses and superior iron weaponry, to send thousands of soldiers into battle, and to outfit and maintain garrisons of soldiers in conquered provinces.

The rise of trade strongly promoted the specialization of clans and the establishment of clan “monopolies” in particular crafts, crucially important in iron smelting and forging.

The trade led to the intermarriage between the people from the North and those from West Africa without racial discrimination. In fact, many of the traders married local concubines, as no women of their own society were available since they could spend several years in the south, and there lived also permanent agents of North African trading companies.

The trade also led to the emergence of three social classes, that is the class of foreign merchants who settled in the towns and class of local professional traders such as the Dyula and Wangara and the poor labors, initially there were only two classes, the king, his chiefs and peasants, the trade now ushered in a cast society that was based on one's wealth.

The trade led to the improvement in the standards of living due to the introduction of clothes, employment to West Africans as guides and guards and introduction of new food crops in the region plus very many other pleasant luxurious items that added value to life and set the West African region a class apart from the rest of Africa.

The trade promoted the exploitation of African natural resources that had laid untapped for centuries, this stimulated the growth and development of local industries such as gold and salt mining, agriculture and textile industry plus iron smelting which changed the whole picture of the West African region.

The trade linked West Africa to North Africa and to the Muslim world and this saw the coming of other foreigners in the region, thus, the eventual colonization of West Africa by the western world.

Had it not been this trade, West Africa would have probably remained a closed entity, completely not known to the outside world for many years.

1.1.5. Decline of The Trans-Saharan Trade

Towards the start of the 19th century, The Trans-Saharan Trade had almost disappeared and this was due to many factors including the following:

Political instabilities that existed in West Africa contributed to the decline of Trans- Saharan trade. The conquest of Songhai Empire by the Moroccan forces in 1590 for instance created chaos in Western Sudan which reduced the volume of trade and even disrupted it.

Discovery of the sea route also contributed to the decline of The Trans-Saharan Trade. The sea route from the Mediterranean Sea to the West African coast provided an alternative means of transport for the traders that was cheap, safe and quick.

Increased European commercial activities on the West African coast contributed to the decline of the Trans Saharan Trade. The frequently appearance of the Europeans on the West Africa coast changed the direction of the trade from the north to the south. A case to note is that by the 17th century gold exports to the southern West African coast increased while the exports northwards decreased.

Availability of cheap European manufactured goods on the West African markets also led to the decline of The Trans-Saharan Trade. The West African markets were flooded with cheap items such as salt from Europe which outcompeted the poor quality salt from Taghaza. This destroyed the salt trade across the desert.

Discovery of new sources of gold elsewhere in the World should not be underestimated for the decline of the Trans- Saharan trade. For example the discovery of gold in USA and the Far East diverted the attention of the traders from West Africa to those new areas.

High taxes and rigid restrictions imposed on the traders by was also a significant factor for the decline of The Trans-Saharan Trade. The West African leaders imposed tough regulations and heavy taxes on the traders which made the trade less profitable.

Tropical diseases also led to the decline of The Trans-Saharan Trade. As the caravans approached the savannah and tropical areas, they were affected by diseases like malaria and sleeping sickness which claimed most of their lives. With this, trade became more risky and insecure which shunned away the traders.

Abolition of slave trade was also an important factor for the decline of the Trans Saharan trade. With this abolition, The Trans-Saharan Trade was deprived of one of its main commodities (slaves).

The invasion of Moroccan ports along the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea by the two Iberian countries namely Portugal and Spain between 1471 and 1505 CE further disrupted the trade hence causing its decline.

Colonisation of the African continent by the European powers from the 19th Century was another cause for the decline of the Trans African trade.

In fact, resources from North and West Africa came under the control of different powers. European penetration of the interior regions impacted negatively on the importance of middlemen in the trade as European traders began dealing directly with the producers.

Fall of powerful West African Empires such as Ghana, Mali and Songhai which pushed Tuaregs to change their roles as guides and guards and started robbing the traders.

The golden age of The Trans-Saharan Trade ended with the collapse of Songhai Empire after the Moroccan attack in 1590. The disintegration of West African political structures, the contemporary economic decline of Northern Africa and the European competition on the Guinea coast made the caravan trade less profitable.

Nevertheless, the trade continued until the railroads gave it the final death blow in the beginning of the 20th century. The shift in favour of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade began with the arrival of the first Portuguese ships on the Mauritanian coast in 1443. It was only during the age of imperialism that the encounter of West Africans with other civilizations turned definitely from controlled relationship to collision.



Application Activity 1.1

1. “The emergence of Islam played a great role to influence the Trans- Saharan trade”. Discuss.
2. With the help of the West African sketch map, explain the mechanisms of The Trans-Saharan Trade.
3. “The Trans -Saharan Trade had many negative effects on all the people involved in the business”. Discuss.
4. Account for the collapse of The Trans-Saharan Trade.
5. Can we claim that The Trans-Saharan Trade was profitable for all the people involved in it? Substantiate your answer.

1.2. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade



Learning Activity 1.2

Using internet or textbooks from your school library analyse the main factors for the rise and the organization of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

1.2.1. The beginning of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Atlantic Slave trade was a commercial relationship that developed between Black people of West African coast, America and Europe across Atlantic Ocean in a triangular form. By this form it took the name of Triangular Trade.

This trade began by the 15th century when a Portuguese explorer Antonio Gonzalazes took with him 10 Black Africans from West Africa on the order of Prince Henry the Navigator who had planned to train Africans as gospel preachers in Portugal in order to come back to spread Christianity in West Africa.



Figure 1.2: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade 1500-1800

Source: Bentley and Ziegler (2006, p.709).

The European colonists in America soon found the need for imported labour to work on the sugar plantations, in the mines and later on the

tobacco and cotton plantations. The Spaniards started using Black slave labour in their West Indian colonies early 16th century. Portuguese in the middle of the century started sending slaves from Africa to Brazil. Other European nations like Britain, France and Holland among others soon joined this lucrative trade, and the slave trade became a big business.

1.2.3. Factors that favoured the Trans–Atlantic Slave Trade

In the mid-fifteenth century, Portuguese ships sailed down the West African coast in a trick designed to bypass the North African Muslims, who had a virtual monopoly on the trade of sub-Saharan gold, spices, and other commodities that Europe needed. These voyages resulted into maritime discoveries and advances in shipbuilding that later facilitated European vessels to navigate the Atlantic Ocean. Over time, the Portuguese vessels added another commodity to their cargo namely African men, women, and children.

For the first hundred years, captives in small numbers were transported to Europe. By the close of the 15th century, 10 percent of the population of Lisbon, Portugal, Then one of the largest cities in Europe, was of African origin.

Other captives were taken to islands of the African shore, including Madeira, Cape Verde, and especially São Tomé, where the Portuguese established sugar plantations using enslaved labour on a scale that foreshadowed the development of plantation slavery in the Americas. Enslaved Africans could also be found in North Africa, the Middle East, Persia, India, the Indian Ocean islands, and in Europe including Russia.

The main cause of the trade was the colonies that European countries had acquired in America and West Indies. In America, for instance, which was a colony of England; there was demand for many manual workers for the sugar, tobacco and cotton plantations. Paid labourers were too expensive, and the indigenous people had largely been wiped out by disease and conflicts, so the colonialists turned to Africa to get cheap labour in form of slaves. With the discovery of America and West Indies in 1492, there were much uncontrolled economic potentialities. There were minerals such as copper, iron ore and gold and agricultural opportunities related to coffee, sugar cane, tobacco and cotton.

Expanding European empires in the New World lacked one major resource namely a workforce. In most cases, the indigenous peoples had proved unreliable because most of them were dying of diseases brought over from Europe, and the Europeans were unsuited to the climate and suffered from tropical diseases. Africans, on the other hand, were excellent workers: they often had experience of agriculture and cattle keeping, they were used to a tropical climate, resistant to tropical diseases, and they could be exploited on plantations or in mines.

The interior regions of Bure and Bambuk were rich in gold. The latter reached the Mediterranean regions and Europe from Songhay. The slave trade was closely linked to the Europeans' insatiable hunger for gold, and the arrival of the Portuguese on the Gold Coast, the current Ghana, in the 1470s.

Later, Europeans developed commercial and political relations with the kingdoms of Benin, in present-day Nigeria and Kongo. The Kongo Kingdom became Christianized and the process was undermined by the spread of the slave trade. Benin, however, restricted Portuguese influence and somewhat limited the trade in human beings.

The African slaves' dealers only captured slaves and sold them without any investment. Thereafter Europeans exchanged their manufactured goods with many slaves. This exchange increased the traders' profits. In addition the West African societies allowed the European traders to settle in the coast areas. The Africans played the role of middlemen in the trade; their chiefs cooperated with the European merchants by selling to them slaves as persons who were considered as social misfits and criminals.

The White racists considered the Africans as human beings of the second grade. They saw no crime in enslaving Blacks, torturing them and subjecting them to all sorts of inhuman treatment.

After their capture, they were tied like animals and packed in ships like other commodities. West African coast had also good natural ports as Bojador, Lagos and Port Elmina for safe sailing of large trade ships and that contributed to the rise and development of the Trans- Atlantic Slave trade.

1.2.3. Mechanisms of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was well organized and that's why the trade survived for a long time. The trade went on until the 19th century, with Europeans of many countries taking part in it – notably the British, French, Dutch and Danes as well as the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The British were at first engaged in the trade as agents providing slaves for the Spanish colonies in 1562 for over 50 years before slavery itself was introduced into British North America. The traders operated from “factories” and forts established along the African coast, mainly in West Africa. In West Africa, they exchanged European goods for gold, ivory and slaves. By the end of the 18th century there were 40 of these “factories” which sometimes changed hands as the nations competed with each other in the trade. It was organized in such way that it was linking the three continents. It began from Europe and linked to Africa where it had a route leading to America and from America to Europe again.

The demand for labour in America and West Indian colonies stimulated a profitable commerce. During the triangular trade, European ships often undertook voyages of three legs.

On the first leg, they carried horses and manufactured goods such as guns, gunpowder, clothes, some utensils and glassware from Europe. Africans would in return give to Europeans slaves, ivory, honey, gold, palm oil and tortoise shells. The second leg took enslaved Africans to Caribbean and American destinations. Upon arrival, merchants sold their human cargoes to plantation owners for two to three times of what they had bought them on the African coast. Then they filled their vessels' hulls with land growing cash crops like coffee, cotton, sugar cane and tobacco and minerals like iron ore, copper, gold and others. All of these raw materials were shipped to Europe to supply their industries.

The procurement of the slaves was sometimes by raids into the interior, or even actual wars, but more usually by trading agreements with the local native rulers or by providing them with military help against their African enemies. As the trade expanded, some African chiefs continued it with reluctance, but found it difficult to withdraw. Some of the main European commodities supplied in exchange were guns and gunpowder – and if an

African chief stopped getting the guns, he would be at the mercy of more unscrupulous neighbours.

The trade was organized in defined caravan trade routes to and from the interior communities of West Africa to the coastal ports where the goods were loaded to the ships for transportation across the Atlantic Ocean to America or to Europe.

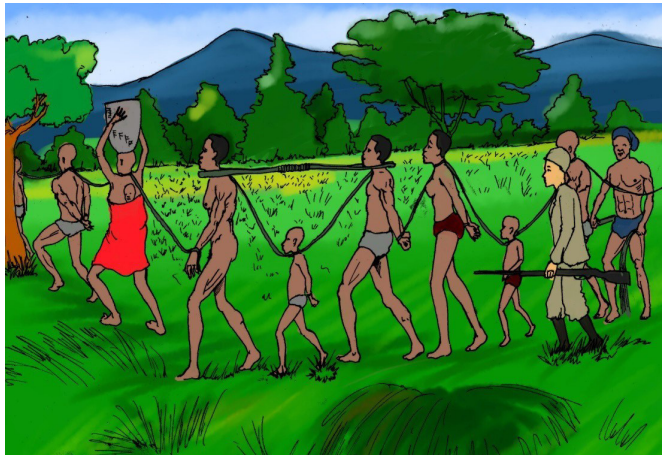


Figure 1.3: *The captured slaves being transported to the West African Coast*
Adapted from Slavery in Central Africa about 1800

The mode of purchase in Africa was barter system. Europeans would exchange their goods such as clothes and guns with the African goods including slaves, ivory and honey. However, there was no clear measurement in this barter system that would level on the balancing of the quantity exchanged. Later, money was introduced such as Cowries shells. In America, they exchanged slaves for cash, but in sugar-producing regions they often bartered slaves for sugar or molasses.

The Western European countries established distinct national trades. The European ports and cities most involved in this growth industry were Bristol, Liverpool and London in England; Amsterdam in Holland; Lisbon, the Portuguese capital; and Nantes, located on the western French coast.

On the African side, most captives were traded from only a few ports: Luanda (Angola), Whydah (Bight of Benin), Bonny (Bight of Biafra); and the adjacent castles at Koromantin and Winneba on the Gold Coast accounted for at least a third of the Africans transported to the Americas.

Other major ports included Old Calabar (Bight of Biafra), Benguela (Southern Angola), Cabinda (north of the Congo River), and Lagos in the Bight of Benin. These nine ports accounted for at least a half of all the Africans transported to the Americas.



Figure 1.4: Major Slave Ports for Africa

Source: <https://www.enotes.com/homework-help/what-were-ramifications-slavetrade-effects-slave-541027>.

The European countries attempted, though not successfully, to regulate the trade by chartering various national companies established under royal decree or parliamentary order. But these efforts to create monopolies, such as England's Royal African Company (RAC), were soon undermined by private merchant companies and pirates who opened up new markets in the Bight of Biafra and the northern Angola coast, and challenged the RAC on the Gold Coast and in the Gambia.

Each of the nations and their slave ports experienced innovative marketing and trading techniques. Sometimes this competition required the maintenance of trading depots and forts – the slave castles or factories – as was the case in the Gold Coast and the Bight of Benin, as well as in lesser ports along the Upper Guinea Coast, Senegambia, and Angola.

1.2.4. Effects of the Atlantic-Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade affected Africa, Europe, and the Americas in very different and significant ways. The current status of Africa, Europe, and the Americas global political positions and their economies are deeply linked to this terrible part of history.

- **Effects of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa**

The impact of slave trade varied over time and from one African society to another. The kingdoms of Rwanda and Buganda in the African great lakes region and the herding societies of the Masai and Turkana of East Africa largely escaped the slave trade, partly because they resisted it and their lands were distant from the major slave ports on the West African coast. Other societies flourished during early modern times and benefited economically from the slave trade. Those Africans, who raided, took captives, and sold slaves to Europeans profited handsomely from the trade, as did the ports, cities and the states that coordinated the trade with European merchants. On the whole, however, Africa suffered serious losses from the slave trade.

- **Demographic problems**

The Slave Trade led to the depopulation of Africa because slaves were sold to America and Europe. Other Africans died during the period of raids and on transit or after reaching their different destinations. While diverting labour from Africa to other lands, the slave trade also distorted African sex ratios, since approximately two-thirds of all exported slaves were males. Slavers preferred young men between fourteen and thirty-five years of age since they had the best potential to repay their buyers' investments by providing heavy labour over an extended period of time. This preference for male slaves had social implications for lands that provided slaves. By the late 18th century, for example, women made up more than two-thirds of adult population of Angola.

This sexual imbalance encouraged Angolans to practice polygamy and forced women to take on duties that in earlier times had been the responsibility of men. African communities also experienced wars and raiding, which caused death. African coastal communities were especially depopulated as people migrated to the interior to escape slave traders and warring.

- **Loss of lives**

It has been estimated that the total number of African slaves who reached America and the West Indies in the course of the trade was about 9 to 10 million. It may well have been more; and this does not include those who died on the voyage or those who were killed in Africa during slave raids or wars.

- **Famine**

The constant wars and slave trade resulted into famines. Wars increased during slave raids and energetic people were taken into slavery outside Africa. The elders and older people who were left behind died of hunger and famine due to lack of manpower in agricultural activities and a few who remained were always on run for safety of their lives.

- **Insecurity**

The slave trade also brought turmoil to African societies. During early modern times, African peoples fought many wars for reasons that had little or nothing to do with the slave trade, but it encouraged them to participate in conflicts that might never have occurred in the absence of the trade. Violence escalated when African peoples exchanged slaves for European firearms. The sale of firearms to notorious chiefs who wanted to conquer their neighbours looking for slaves increased insecurity e.g. when the Kingdom of Dahomey obtained effective firearms, its armies were able to capture slaves from unarmed neighbouring societies and exchanged them for more weapons. Dahomey expanded rapidly and absorbed neighbouring societies.

- **Collapse of some African Kingdoms and Empires**

Apart from the actual loss of manpower, the slave trade inhibited social and economic progress in the African regions. The trade degraded political life, and encouraged the continuation of slavery in Africa. All these factors caused the collapse of African strong kingdoms and empires such as Fante, Egba Calabar Bonny, Dahomey in West Africa and Luba, Lunda, Usanga and Chewa in Central Africa, while other kingdoms like Hehe, Yao, Nyamwezi and Akamba in East Africa and Asante, Mandika, Itsekir, Opobo Igbo and Yomba in West Africa were expanded.

- **Collapse of local industry**

While the European nations were organizing and inventing new means of production, the Africans were depending economically upon a trade which was totally unproductive and with the loss of the fittest members of the community, curtailed production. There was serious decline of the African local industries because the manpower was sold and European goods outcompeted African manufactured goods such as the Yoruba art.

- **Horrible suffering**

The captives were tortured, tied in chains, loaded like bags and forced to work for longer hours moreover doing hard work. They would also be separated from their families and their houses. One of the worst features of the trade was the voyage to America.

The slave ship owners, in search of more profits, packed more and more slaves into their vessels often on shelves across the holds which allowed no room to stand, or even to kneel. The voyage lasted for about three weeks to two months or more, depending on the weather and hunger often affected them in addition to the appalling living conditions and many of them died before arrival.



Figure 1.5: *The shipping of slaves.*

Adapted from *The slave ship*

- **Economic hardships**

As the trade stopped between certain groups, some African communities became more dependent on the European traders. The loss of strong, young men meant the loss of workers. These men were sometimes exchanged for guns, alcohol, and luxury goods which did not help the continent's economic development.

The Europeans came with goods which were previously not found in Africa, or at least not readily available, but they also came with some items that were available. Some African communities chose to trade and do business with the Europeans, further hurting local businesses and the future of those communities' economy. African communities were undergoing rapid and extreme changes due to the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade; many businesses did not plan for the future, since it was uncertain. However, the people who participated in this trade become rich thus their standards of living improved.

- **Racism**

Africans were thought of as an inferior race, objects – commodities – not human beings. Slave traders used a Eurocentric justification that they were bringing Africans to a better place. This racism stemming from the slave trade can still be felt today.

- **Collapse of African traditional culture and customs**

The slave trade caused cultural damage to communities which were a bond of unity. As African peoples were sold to different countries, they took up a foreign culture and behaviour and forgot their own beliefs and cultures.

Introduction and spread of diseases

Slave trade led to the spread of some diseases that never existed in Africa for example syphilis was introduced by traders from Spain who came as slave trade agents.

- **Effects of the Atlantic Slave trade on Europe**

Since the Europeans were running the slave trade; they owned plantations in the Americas, and mines in Africa. They made huge profits of the slave trade; money from the slave trade contributed to the Industrial Revolution

(factories, urbanization, etc.); the European industries gained the raw materials from Africa and America through the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade and it encouraged the building of many industries in Europe which gave the job to many workers in Europe.

European empires were able to grow due to strong economies and they have remained the major world powers up-to-date.

The weakened status of African communities and the strength and money of the Europeans, allowed them to colonize Africa easily.

- **Effects of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on America**

Plantations were very successful and made a lot of money which went into the larger economy. Plantations were so successful in some parts because free labourers could work in high temperatures and they had agricultural and mining skills.

The enslaved Blacks became talented, free carpenters, masons, miners, and inventors and white Americans made money selling raw materials to Europeans in exchange for slaves.

As Europe gained African culture, so did the Americas: ideas, language, religion, views on government, music, food, art, technology...Many famous Black Americans musicians, artists, writers, thinkers, politicians and athletes – are descended from Africans brought over as slaves.

Much of the wealth generated from The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade supported the creation of industries and institutions in modern North America and Europe. To an equal degree, profits from slave trading and slave-generated products funded the creation of fine art, decorative arts, and architecture that continues to inform aesthetics today.

The slave trade led to the creation of a society with both free whites and enslaved blacks. This led to serious conflicts. The greatest of these was, of course, the Civil War. Moreover, slave trade led to the formation of the Black Republics in Central America such as Haiti in 1806, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago.

In general, The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade laid the foundation for modern capitalism, generating immense wealth for business enterprises in Americas and Europe. The trade contributed to the industrialization of north-western Europe and created a single Atlantic world that included Western Europe, Western Africa, the Caribbean islands, and the mainlands of North and South America.

1.2.5. Abolition of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade reached unprecedented levels in the late 18th century, but by the mid-nineteenth century every national carrier in Europe and the Americas had formally abolished the traffic. Denmark was the first nation to abolish its trade in 1803. Britain and the United States followed in 1807, with the U.S. ban going into effect in 1808. By 1836, the Dutch, French, Spanish, Brazilian, and Portuguese governments had also abolished their trades. During just three decades, every national Trans-Atlantic carrier outlawed a massive system of forced migration that had lasted for three centuries.

Factors of abolition

According to historians, the relatively rapid abolition of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is explained by ideological, religious, and economic changes in Europe and the Americas.

- Enlightenment: this influential 18th century intellectual movement suggested that all men and women had certain rights. Among these rights was liberty, which the slave trade clearly violated. The French philosophers preached the gospel of liberty, freedom and fraternity and they realised that although man is born free, he is always in chains and in order to break these chains, all men were meant to be seen as equals.
- Role of some religious groups, such as the Quakers, who by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw abolitionism as an expression of Christian love for their fellow man. Pope Benedict XIV, in 18th century also protested against slave trade and slavery and appealed to Catholic countries to denounce it.

- Humanitarianism and philanthropists: by the end of the 19th century, some people realized that slavery and slave trade were illegal both before God and before the law. In 1767 they formed Anti-Slavery campaigns headed by Thomas Clarkson, William Wilberforce, Adam Smith and Granville who struggled to campaign against slave trade in the British Parliament; The British Evangelist led by John Wisely campaigned for the liberty of man and they decided to defend the innocent slaves as they brought light to their government, which abolished slave trade;
- Economic motives: One early theory was that Britain abolished its slave trade because British Caribbean plantations were becoming less profitable and needed fewer new slaves.
- Industrial Revolution in Europe from 1750 to 1850 led to abolition of Slave Trade because many machines were invented and could do much of the work quickly, easily and effectively than the slave labour. So, many countries stopped importing slaves;
- American war of independence: With the defeat of the British, American war contributed to the abolition of slave trade because the British no longer had any interest to recruit most African slaves to America. But British planned the liberation of slaves and thereafter, the new American leaders supported the repatriation of the freed slaves to West Africa.

The question is to know how The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade ended. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was an international industry, which meant that international cooperation was required to enforce abolition once national bans were in place. In the early nineteenth century, many governments representing former slaving powers signed multinational anti-slave trade treaties. These accords affirmed signatories' commitments to abolition, established common standards for banning slave-trading equipment from commercial vessels, and outlined joint commitments to maintain anti-slave trade patrols in African and Caribbean waters. **Britain** provided the largest and most effective **anti-slave trade fleet**, but France, Portugal, and the United States also manned lightly-armed flotillas. In addition, most powers recognized a newly established network of international courts designed to adjudicate illegal slave trading cases, known as the

Courts of Mixed Commission. By the mid-nineteenth century, these courts were established in Brazil, the Caribbean, West Africa, and South Africa.

Despite these efforts, the abolition legislation and international cooperation did not end the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. Although abolition was largely implemented in the British and French empires, and only a few slave ships are known to have arrived on U.S. shores after 1808, slave importations to Brazil, Cuba, and Puerto Rico actually increased after the trade was outlawed. Underdeveloped plantation economies in these jurisdictions created huge demand for slave labour and record profits for illegal slave traders. Most Brazilian and Cuban policymakers linked economic growth with continued slave imports, and many tacitly supported the illegal traffic.

Similarly, in Africa, states with long slave-trading histories such as **Dahomey** and **Ngoyo** were unwilling or unable to halt the supply of captives to the coast, or to expel foreign slave dealers who resided there, despite commitments to do both. Meanwhile, the illegal slave trade became increasingly difficult to suppress. British and American merchants engaged in directly in the traffic by supplying Latin American slave traders with ships and goods exchange able for captives on the West African coast. The U.S. government also denied other nations the right to search U.S. ships suspected of slave trading, and soon a large portion of the entire illegal Trans-Atlantic slave traffic took place under the shield of the U.S. flag. Under these conditions, slave imports to Brazil and Cuba rose to higher levels than those before the abolition.

Suppression of the illegal The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade only became effective when external pressures on slave-importing regions were reinforced by changing public opinions within those societies. In 1850, domestic reformers in Brazil forced a restriction on the illegal slave trade with the assistance of a British naval blockade of Rio de Janeiro. At that point, Cuba became the last large-scale slave importation zone. It was not until 1867, after widespread abolitionist pressure within the Spanish empire and in light of emancipation in Cuba's much larger neighbour, the United States, after a violent civil war that the Spanish government moved decisively against the illegal Trans-Atlantic slave trade, ending the traffic for good.



Application Activity 1.2

1. Analyse at least two factors of abolition of Trans Saharan Trade.
2. Explain the effects of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on Europe and America
3. Compare and contrast the consequences of The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Africa, Europe and America.
4. Describe the procurements and the mode of purchase of slaves in Africa and America

1.3. The Long Distance Trade



Learning Activity 1.3

By using internet, textbooks and journals, carryout a research on the trade that has been developed between East African coast and central Africa. Then analyse the factors for its rise, decline as well as its impact on African societies. Write down the results of your research in essay form.

1.3.1. Emergence of The Long Distance Trade

The Long Distance Trade was a commercial relationship that linked the East African coast to the interior of Central Africa and some parts of Asia. It existed for a long period, but it increased considerably from the 18th century. It involved walking a very long distance across many African societies like Yao, Akamba, Nyamwezi, Buganda, Bunyoro and Eastern Congo among others, from the interior to the East African coast and linked to Asian countries like Oman, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, etc. It also involved some European countries like France and Portugal.

- **Factors for emergence of The Long Distance Trade**

The Long Distance Trade emerged due to different factors:

The expansion of Russian empire started cutting the supplies of slave from the western regions to the Muslim lands. Therefore, East Africa was seen as a source whose potential had not been fully tapped.

The high demand for slaves for the sugar and coffee plantations on the French islands in the Indian Ocean was due to the expansion of these plantations from the 1770s in the French Indian Ocean colonies of Mauritius, Réunion and the Seychelles.

Initially, the French brought the slave workers from Portuguese Indian traders in Zambia valley and Mozambique. With such expansion and high death rate on the islands, they looked further field for their supply of slave labour. They turned to Arab and Swahili traders at Kilwa and Zanzibar. Hence they encouraged the rise of slave trade at the East African coast.

The growth in the Arab demand for slaves to work in their plantations on Zanzibar and surrounding islands contributed to the rise of The Long Distance Trade. In the 1820s, Sultan Seyyid Said encouraged Arabs to set up clove plantations on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Therefore, this led to the increase in slave trade from the mainland to Zanzibar for working in these plantations.

The increase in demand for sugar and cotton in Europe also led to the emergence of The Long Distance Trade. Due to Industrial Revolution achieved in Europe, more European countries needed more sugar cane and cotton for their industries. They started cotton and sugar cane plantations in America and Indian Ocean islands. Black Africans were therefore considered as a cheap labour force, leading to the rise of Slave trade in East Africa.

Some African traditional leaders were attracted by the European products like cotton cloth, wines, guns and gunpowder. This attracted them into this trade by selling their fellow Africans as slaves exchange for such European products. The chiefs like Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe were guided by this interest.

African traditional leaders become passionate traders and actively participated in the East African slave trade by financing the trade caravans, selling and buying goods in high quantity. They also collaborated with the Arab traders like Seyyid Said, Mlozi and Tyui Tyui. Those African chiefs were Nyungu ya Mawe and Mirambo of Nyamwezi, Mutesa of Buganda, Mukwawa of Hehe and Kabalega of Bunyoro among others.

This collaboration between African traditional chiefs boosted the volume of East African Slave Trade.

The “return of the Southern bantu” known as Ngoni migration created a war atmosphere in East and Central Africa. This situation made the availability of the slaves easy because they could be captured and sold as war prisoners. Besides, the Ngoni introduced new military tactic known as Long horn method which was used in raiding and capturing slaves for sale.

In 1840, Seyyid Said moved his capital to Zanzibar and settled there. He embarked on strong plans to open up slave trade routes to the interior of East Africa. This boosted slave trade, whereby the number of slaves being sold at the slave market in Zanzibar increased annually by that time.

There were animal diseases which attacked camels and donkeys as they were used as means of transport. Consequently, it necessitated people themselves to be involved in the transportation of the trade goods and ivory. Such people included porters who were regarded as slaves, or free Africans who could sell their services in return for cloth and other trade goods.

The Arabs from Oman acted as middlemen between the African Swahili people, the Portuguese and French traders. This made communication easier between the trade participants, hence encouraging the development of this trade along the East African coast and the interior of Central Africa.

The Long Distance Trade was also developed due to the presence of enough trade commodities from both sides.

Some from Asia and Europe like guns, wines and clothes on one side, and others from the interior of Africa such as copper from Katanga, iron ore and salt from Bunyoro without forgetting slaves from many parts of Central and East Africa.

In many African societies, the domestic and child slavery already existed therefore Africans were willing to exchange slaves for European goods.

1.3.2. Mechanisms of The Long Distance Trade

The Long Distance Trade was well structured and organized by the trade tycoons and local African leaders. It involved many participants from the interior of Africa to the East African coast and others coming from Asia and Europe.

Major African societies involved included the Yao, Akamba, Nyamwezi, Baganda, Banyoro, Hehe, Khartoumers, Chagga, Kikuyu, Galla, Nandi, Basoga, Katanga people and the Shona among others. Most of these African societies were the trade item providers and dominators of some trade routes which passed across their areas.

The trade commodities through this trade were in two forms: imports from the coast of East Africa to the interior of Africa e.g. guns, gunpowder, clothes, knives, plates, sugar and weapons made of copper etc. Export from the interior of Africa to the coast of East Africa included slaves, ivory, gold, zebra and leopard skins, salt, tortoise shells etc.



Figure 1.6: *Ivories needed by the Arabs and Europeans Cowries shells used as medium of exchange.*

Adapted from https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6f/Different_cowries.jpg.

Many trade market centres were located at East Africa coast (Malindi, Mombasa, Pangani, Bangamoyo, Dar-es-Salaam, Kilwa) and at Zanzibar. To reach there with trade commodities, it was necessary to use different means of transport. Initially, footing and human portage were used as means of transport but later on donkeys were used which improved

the means of transport and quantities transported. To small extent, there was also water transport on the rivers of Nile, Congo, Zambezi and lakes of Victoria, Tanganyika, Malawi and Albert. Canoes or boats carried merchants and their goods across these water bodies.

To bring the trade commodities to the market centres, different trade routes were followed by the traders. The main routes were conveniently divided into north, central and south routes.

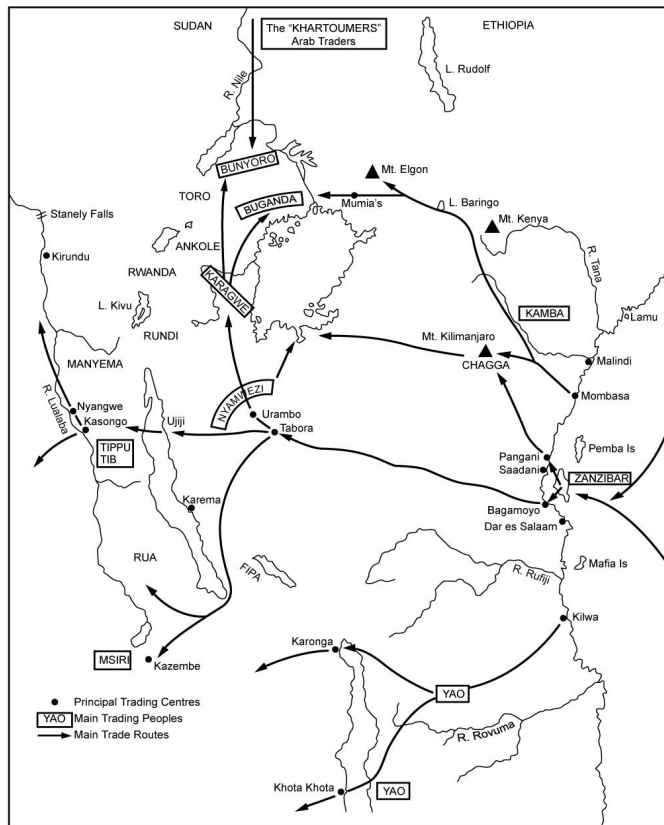


Figure 1.7: East African trade routes

Source: Atieno et alii (1977). A History of East Africa, Longman, p.92.

The Southern route began at the coast in the town of Kilwa and coastal ports of Kilina and Sofala going into the interior to Lake Malawi and across to Khota Khota, Kazembe, Karonga, Ndebele and Shona lands. The principle participants of this route were the Yao with the slaves as the major trade item.

The Central route ran from Bagamoyo and Saadani through Zaramo to Tabora, Ujiji, Karagwe, Buganda, Bunyoro, Rwanda and Congo – Katanga. The Nyamwezi were dominant with ivory as the major item.

The Northern route started from Pangani, Tanga and Mombasa to the Kilimanjaro through Akamba society, to the slopes of Mt Elgon going as far as Busoga and Iteso in Uganda. The Akamba were dominant in this trade with ivory and slaves as the major trade items.

At the market centres, the trade items were exchanged through the barter system at first and later on there was introduction of money like rupees and cowries shells as a medium of exchange.

1.3.3. Consequences of The Long Distance Trade

The breakdown of family and tribal ties produced bands of ruthless bandits who went around terrorizing the countryside making it impossible to engage in profitable occupations.

Many people attracted in this trade settled in some states of East Africa. This increase in population stimulated the need for food production. To satisfy this need, the new food crops were introduced in Nyamwezi for example maize, potatoes, beans and bananas among others.

In order to facilitate the trade transactions, the currency was later on introduced at the East African Coast. Due to commercial exchanges between East African societies and Central African communities, such currency (cowry shells) was also introduced into the interior of Central Africa.

Due to the participation of different societies with their interest to satisfy their needs, some communities became specialized in production of some trade items or carryout of some activities. There were those who became permanent porters, others emerged as craftsmen, shoemakers and the farmers also got specialized in the production of certain crops.

The economic expansion supported by new military techniques and tactics learnt from the Ngoni, some East African communities emerged into new political states like Unyanyembe, Urambo and Ukimbu.

The states with access to guns and control of trade routes were able to dominate and expand their territories at the expense of the small and weak ones. Moreover, the trade tycoons who dominated and controlled main trade routes and activities became the political leaders of some new formed states. For instance, Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe became the leaders in Nyamwezi Kingdom.

During this trade, there were slave raids which often resulted into the war. So, villages and fields were often not reclaimed for many years for fear of being captured. Hence, famine and poverty were dominant in the areas of slave raids. Besides, to high extent, the slaves were energetic and active population. Selling them outside of Africa also led to the famine because Africa in some areas remained with the oldest and youngest who were not able to practice agriculture for their own subsistence.

The trade carried out between Central and East African coast led to the depopulation of elephants and leopards due to the need of satisfying the needs of Asians and Europeans.

Due to the trade caravan and participation in The Long Distance Trade, many Africans from interior of Africa were initiated to the Swahili and Swahili language. This facilitated the spread of Swahili to many parts of East and Central Africa.

Most of the cities which had served as trading centres grew and emerged as new towns, especially at the East Africa Coast and in central Africa. Such centres and towns included Tabora, Ujiji, Katanga, Mumia, Malindi and Bagamoyo among others.

The Long Distance Trade contributed to the depopulation of Africa by reducing its population. This was through the slave raids where some were killed while resisting from being captured or through the sale of Africans as slaves like other trade commodities.

In general, the economic activities were disrupted in Africa because able craftsmen and farmers were transported. The local traditional goods were no longer produced, had been replaced by the Arab and European products.

1.3.4. The decline of The Long Distance Trade

The death of the trade tycoons who were the chief organisers of this trade was a great factor for its decline. For instance Mirambo died in the 1884, Mutesa I in 1884, Sayyid Said in 1886. Other trading tycoons like Tipu Tipu, Mlozi Msiri Mumia and Mukwawa followed.

Some trade commodities got exhausted because they were carried in large quantities and for a long time. As these items became limited on the markets, some people who depended on selling and buying them pulled out resulting into the decline of the trade.

The Long Distance Trade had become less profitable because of the high depletion of commodities put on market. Therefore some people pulled out of this business, which become a factor for its decline.

The wars of raids and control of the trade routes and other viable areas made some people hate The Long Distance Trade or created a less conducive atmosphere for trade. With this state of insecurity trade could not flourish.

Some chiefs started to demand high taxes from traders crossing their land. As a result, the traders were no longer getting enough profits. Such people were then forced out of this trade.

Foreign invaders like explorers, traders in chartered companies and the missionaries accounted for the decline of The Long Distance Trade because they preached against this lucrative trade. Moreover, The Long Distance Trade involved crossing long distances and horrible suffering. Consequently it lost popularity and collapsed easily. The chiefs had set very harsh and had laws that enabled to get slaves.



**Figure 1.8: Portrait of
Tipu Tip**

The European goods were brought to East and Central Africa where they were sold cheaply and the European traders established trading shops in areas where they had settlements, thus, limiting people from walking long distance for the needed goods which resulted into the decline of The Long Distance Trade.

This colonization of Africa ended the existence of The Long Distance Trade. The imperialists controlled the social, political and economic lives of the Africans. This denied African chiefs and others involved in this trade especially the Arabs to continue carrying out this trade.



Application Activity 1.3

1. Analyze the different factors that contributed to the rise of The Long Distance Trade.
2. Describe the mechanism of The Long Distance Trade.
3. Examine the factors that led to the decline of The Long Distance Trade.
4. Assess the effects of The Long Distance Trade on African societies.



End of Unit Assessment 1

1. “Human beings are born free and no one has the right to enslave, humiliate, oppress or exploit them. However, from ancient time, the slavery as dehumanizing practices of man to another happened until now”.

Using the above quote, explain the emergence, organisation and effects of slave trade in Africa.

2. Do you agree that slave trade in Africa was severe and totally negative? Justify your response.

UNIT 2

THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Key Unit Competence: Assess the impact of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.



Introductory Activity 2.1

What do you know about the Age of Enlightenment?

Introduction

Enlightenment (also known as the Age of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason) was an intellectual and philosophical movement that dominated the world of ideas in Europe during the 18th century, “The Century of Philosophy” In general terms, the Enlightenment was an intellectual movement, developed mainly in France, Britain and Germany, which advocated freedom, democracy and reason as the primary values of society.

2.1. Introduction to the Age of Enlightenment: concepts, origins and causes



Learning Activity 2.1

Define the Age of Enlightenment and describe the ideas of different philosophers (John Locke, Baron de Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, François Marie Arouet Voltaire and Denis Diderot) during the Age of Enlightenment.

2.1.1. Concepts of Enlightenment

Enlightenment was a sprawling intellectual, philosophical, cultural, and social movement that spread throughout England, France, Germany, and other parts of Europe during the 1700s. It was an intellectual and philosophical movement that dominated the world of ideas in Europe during the 18th century, and later in North America. It is a term used to describe a time in Western philosophy and cultural life centred upon the eighteenth century, in which reason was advocated for as the primary source and legitimacy for authority.

The Age of Enlightenment, sometimes called the Age of Reason, refers to the time of the guiding intellectual movement, called The Enlightenment. The term enlightenment has a very deep meaning. The common literary definition being: 'wisdom and understanding and ability to think and reason rationally'. There are two broad meanings of the term enlightenment, religious or spiritual enlightenment and intellectual enlightenment. This era refers to the intellectual enlightenment in European history. It covers about a century and a half in Europe, beginning with the publication of Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620) and ending with Emmanuel Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*.

The Age of Enlightenment or the Age of Reason was a period in Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries when many individuals refused to acknowledge the authority of the Scripture and instead exalted their own reason to a place of extreme authority. It was a period in which people rejected traditional ideas and supported a belief in human reason. Thus from 1650 to 1800, the European philosophers began rethinking old ideas about government, religion and economics. This movement was spearheaded by philosophers like Jean Jacques Rousseau, Baron Charles-Louis Montesquieu and Denis Diderot.

A philosopher is a person who seeks wisdom or enlightenment; a scholar or a thinker.

During this period, the use of reason in shaping people's ideas about the society and politics defined a period called the Enlightenment. People began to put great importance to reason, or logical thought. They used

reason to try and solve problems such as poverty and war. It was believed that the use of reason could achieve three great goals: knowledge, freedom and happiness.

The Age of Enlightenment occurred in the western part of Europe, centring in and around France in the later half of the 16th century. This age is a benchmark in the history because of the drastic changes it brought to the society and also in people's minds. These changes were so important that they are relevant even in the present day.

The people during this period began to reason and question everything related to their existence and began to break free from the dictations of the Church which was the supreme power at that time. This brought in changes in the social, political as well as the economical scene of Then period.

Enlightenment had its roots in the scientific and intellectual advances of the 17th century, and it reached its highest point in the 18th century. It was also an age when many European thinkers looked at governments, religions, and the arts in relation to natural law. This intellectual drive to understand and improve society is called the Enlightenment.

Enlightenment can also be traced back to the growing dissatisfaction of the people towards the dictatorship of the Church then. Before the Enlightenment, nobody was allowed to question, judge or comment about any decision taken by the Church. They were compelled to believe whatever the Church wanted them to believe.

No invention or discovery was allowed to be made public without the approval of the Church before the period in review. In fact, the Church discouraged any sort of research and development by the people and wanted all to believe blindly in the versions of the Bible.

No independent endeavours were allowed or encouraged. If somebody was caught doing so, he was declared a sinner and was shunned by the Church from the society. Thus people wanted to break free from this stagnancy and began to rebel, giving rise to the Age of Enlightenment. The Enlightenment is a very important phase in the world history without which the world that we know today would not have been what it is.

On the surface, the most apparent cause of the Enlightenment was the Thirty Years' War. This terrible and destructive war, which lasted from 1618 to 1648, forced German writers to write harsh criticisms regarding the ideas of nationalism and warfare. Authors such as Hugo Grotius and John Comenius were some of the first Enlightenment minds to go against tradition and propose better solutions. John Amos Comenius is considered as the father of the modern education.

The Thirty Years' War was a religious war fought primarily in Central Europe between 1618 and 1648 and it was one of the longest and most destructive conflicts in human history, resulted into eight million fatalities mainly from violence, famine and plagues, but also from military engagements. Its effects included for instance the decline of the Catholic Church in northern Europe and authorisation got by protestant princes to go on with religious practices.

At the same time, European thinkers' interest in the practical world developed into scientific study, while greater **exploration** of the world exposed Europe to other cultures and philosophies.

Centuries of mistreatment at the hands of monarchies and the Church brought average citizens in Europe to a breaking point (the point at which a situation becomes critical), and the most intelligent and vocal finally decided to speak out their minds. The occurrence of the Age of Enlightenment was due to political, scholarly and religious causes.

Politically

- People believed and wanted economic improvement and political reforms and believed both were possible.
- Rulers who believed in enlightened absolutism wanted to centralise their authority to reform their countries.
- They put the well-being of their country above anything else; including religion.
- Need for administrative reform in France after the wars of Louis XIV.
- The wars of Louis XIV left a huge debt and lots of commotion.

- Philosophers started to write topics that related to the government, politics and rights.
- People began thinking differently about these subjects and coming up with their own opinions; which, according to Kant, happens when someone is enlightened.

Scholarly

- Growth of the print culture that made ideas circulate faster through books, journals, newspapers, and pamphlets.
- Isaac Newton and John Locke's ideas were the basis for the Enlightenment.
- Newton's tabula rasa (blank page) and other fundamental ideas were brought to the public.
- Newton's discoveries in science allowed people to question things more.
- People began to think the universe is understandable through science, not religion.
- Inspiration came from the Scientific Revolution.
- The discovery that the earth was not at the centre of the universe and the discovery that God had not created everything led to a new way of thought where the Church's validity was questioned.

Religiously

- Deism believed that rational and religion can be combined.
- Philosophers wanted to transform religion into an encouraging force to improve living.
- People started to think for themselves and disregarded the idea of following God's laws by following their "own" laws and thinking for themselves.

Enlightenment developed through a snowball effect: small advances triggered larger ones, and before Europe and the world knew it, almost two centuries of philosophizing and innovation had ensued. These studies generally began in the fields of earth science and astronomy, as notables

such as Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei took the old, beloved ‘truths’ of Aristotle and disproved them.

The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384 B.C – 322 B.C) was suspicious of democracy, which he thought could lead to mob rule. Instead, Aristotle favoured rule by a single strong and virtuous leader.

Thinkers such as René Descartes and Francis Bacon revised the scientific method, setting the stage for Isaac Newton and his landmark discoveries in physics. Isaac Newton used the scientific method to make a range of discoveries. His achievements using the scientific method helped to inspire Enlightenment thinkers.

Newton’s discoveries anchored the Scientific Revolution and set the stage for everything that followed in mathematics and physics. He shared credit for the creation of calculus, and his *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* introduced the world to gravity and fundamental laws of motion.



Isaac Newton was an English physicist and mathematician. He was the culminating figure of the scientific revolution of the 17th century. He is a forerunner in modern physical optics. In fact, he put down the composition of white light and incorporated the phenomena of colours into science of light. In mechanics, his three laws of motion, the basic principles of modern physics were at the origin of the law of universal gravitation. He was the first to discover in mathematics the infinitesimal calculus.

Figure 2.1: Isaac Newton

Source: <https://www.fromoldbooks.org/Aubrey-History-of-England-Vol13>.

The infinitesimal calculus is the branch of mathematics that deals with the findings and properties of derivatives and integrals of functions, by methods originally based on the summation of infinitesimal differences. The two main types are differential calculus and integral calculus.

From Sir Isaac Newton’s discoveries emerged a system for observing the world and making testable hypotheses based on those observations.

At the same time, however, scientists faced ever-increasing scorn and skepticism from people in the religious community, who felt threatened by science and its attempts to explain matters of faith. Nevertheless, the progressive, rebellious spirit of these scientists would inspire a century's worth of thinkers.

The Scientific Revolution was the emergence of modern science during the early modern period, when developments in mathematics, physics, astronomy, biology (including human anatomy), and chemistry transformed societal views about nature.



Application Activity 2.1

1. Explain the concept of Enlightenment.
2. Explain the causes of the Age of Enlightenment.

2.2. Nature and characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment



Learning Activity 2.2

1. After some reading identify the characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment
2. Explain the nature of the Age of Enlightenment.

Western philosophy has gone through considerable change in recent centuries. The Age of Enlightenment is an important time period in Europe and North America. It is one of the most important eras in the history of mankind. This period is referred to the time surrounding the 18th century, more precisely in between the Thirty Years' War and the French Revolution. This period is not a revolution, thought or acceptance of one single philosophy, but is a process where the society evolved a bit more. The significant change that was observed was the way in which people thought. Reason and rationality of fact became the foundation of any thought. In this process, authority of monarchs was challenged and religious customs that sounded irrational were questioned.

Enlightenment of the 18th century Europe was an intellectual movement among the upper and middle class elites. It involved a new world view which explained the world and looked for answers in terms of reason rather than faith, and in terms of an optimistic, natural, humanistic approach rather than a fatalistic (the belief that all events are predetermined and therefore inevitable), super natural one.

Stunning successes in understanding the physical world through the processes of logic and observation encouraged the belief that similar progress might be made in the area of political, economy and social relations.

People began to question old ideas about the world around them through reason and rational thinking. This led to the Scientific Revolution and the Age of Reason or Enlightenment. People used the human mind to comprehend the universe as never before.

Human sympathy, rather than supernatural grace was viewed as a basis for the moral life. This reliance on human sympathy as a catalyst for moral choice encouraged the belief that each individual had the power to control his or her spiritual destiny.

The rationalists believed that human beings can arrive at the truth by using reason, rather than by relying on the authority of the past, on religious faith, or on intuition. Enlightenment challenged the authority of the Puritans.

Rationalism is any view appealing to intellectual and deductive reason (as opposed to sensory experience or any religious teachings) as the source of knowledge or justification. Rationalists hold it that the best way to arrive at certain knowledge is by using the mind's rational abilities. It was a philosophical movement which gathered momentum during the Age of Reason of the 17th century.

Characteristics

- The Enlightenment or The Age of Reason was marked by the glorification of man's ability to reason.
- Science and development served as the backbone for the popularity of law and reason.

- Stability and peace were regarded as the symbols of this period.
- This period was called The Augustan Age named after the Roman Emperor Augustus who stabilized and expanded the Roman Empire.
- Greater cultural development took place but with the social desire of everyone remaining within the hierarchical order for stability to be established.
- At the same time, it should be borne in mind that due to the agrarian society evolving into an industrial economy, there was a great flux in the value system and the cultural background of England.
- Its participants thought that they were illuminating human intellect and culture after the 'dark' Middle Ages.
- Characteristics of the Enlightenment include the rise of concepts such as reason, liberty and the scientific method. Enlightenment philosophy was skeptical of religion, especially the powerful Catholic Church.
- Independent thought was embraced, skepticism ran freely through work, and new values, including an emphasis on science, became quite common among the educated classes. Not surprisingly, this Enlightenment found its way to the literary world as well.
- This era was dominated by the Declaration of Independence and the thoughts of thinkers such as Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, who laid the founding stones of the modern free world that we enjoy today.



Application Activity 2.2

Describe the nature and characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment.

2.3. Ideas of different philosophers

Tabula rasa refers to the mind before it receives the impressions gained from experience. It is the epistemological (theory of knowledge) idea that individuals are born without built-in mental content and that therefore all knowledge comes from experience or perception. In other words, it is 'the mind in its primary state', from Latin tabula rasa, literally 'scraped tablet or clean slate', 'from which writing has been erased, thus ready to be written on again.



Learning Activity 2.3

By searching on internet or in your school library, write a short text of not more than 150 words explaining the different ideas of different philosophers (John Locke, Montesquieu, Jean Jacques Rousseau and François Marie Arouet Voltaire and Denis Diderot).

Philosophers were composed of academics and intellectuals who spread the ideas of Enlightenment. Notable philosophers included John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, François Marie Arouet Voltaire, the Baron de Montesquieu and Denis Diderot. The philosophers wrote stories and articles pointing out the problems of the French society and government. They looked forward to a time when people would be free to think for themselves and to make their own decisions.

2.3.1. John Locke (1632-1704)

John Locke was born in England in 1632. He was a philosopher and a physician whose writings influenced Voltaire and Rousseau, a lot of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, as well as the American revolutionaries. This influence is reflected in the American Declaration of Independence.



Figure 2.2: John Locke

Source: <https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/john-locke>

He is considered as the first of the British empiricists, but is equally important to social contract theory. His ideas had enormous influence on the development of epistemology (theory of knowledge) and political philosophy, and he is widely regarded as one of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers and contributors to liberal theory.

John Locke attended Oxford University and was influenced by a dean who introduced him to the idea of religious freedom. Throughout his writings, he argued that people had the gift of reason, or the ability to think. He thought also that people were basically reasonable and moral.

Locke's theory of mind is often cited as the origin for modern conceptions of identity and 'the self', figuring prominently in the later works of the philosophers such as David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Immanuel Kant.

Theory of mind is the ability to recognize and attribute mental states – thoughts, perceptions, desires, intentions, feelings – to oneself and to others and to understand how these mental states might affect behaviour. It is also an understanding that others have beliefs, thoughts processes and emotions.

John Locke's contributions to the Enlightenment had a great deal to do with the inspiration of America today. He was a philosopher who developed the philosophy that there were no legitimate governments under the rights of the kings' theory.

The king's theory is that God chooses the rulers and when the ruler is being challenged, you are challenging God. Locke did not think this was right so he wrote his own theory to challenge it. One idea in his theory was the power to be a governor has to be granted by the people, maybe through voting. Another idea was that all people had natural rights. These rights were life, liberty, and property. For Locke people automatically gained these rights when they were born. The government is supposed to protect these rights of the citizens.

John Locke's ideas became the foundation of many political systems and gave millions of people freedom. He advocated for natural rights. He thought that people were basically reasonable and moral. Further, they had certain natural rights, or rights that belonged to all humans from birth. These included the right to life, liberty, and property.

In his famous *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), Locke argued that people formed governments to protect their natural rights. The best kind of government, he said, had limited power and was accepted by all citizens. Thus, unlike Hobbes, Locke rejected absolute monarchy. A government, he said, has an obligation to the people it governs. If a government fails its obligations or violates people's natural rights, the people have the right to overthrow that government.

Locke believes man's mind comes into this world as *tabula rasa*. For him, knowledge is neither innate, revealed nor based on authority but subject to uncertainty tempered by reason, tolerance and moderation. According to Locke, an absolute ruler as proposed by Hobbes is unnecessary, for natural law is based on reason and seeking peace and survival for man.

John Locke was a Philosopher who favoured limited government. Only governments with limited power, which are accepted by all citizens, protected the natural rights of the people. The main ideas of John Locke were:

People have **NATURAL** rights to life, liberty and property. Since these rights were natural, no one could take them away, including the government and the king.

- Government is created to **PROTECT** the natural rights of the people and has only the limited and specific powers the **PEOPLE** consent (approve) to give it.
- Citizens should rebel against unjust governments.
- Governments should have limited power-no absolutism.

2.3.2. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

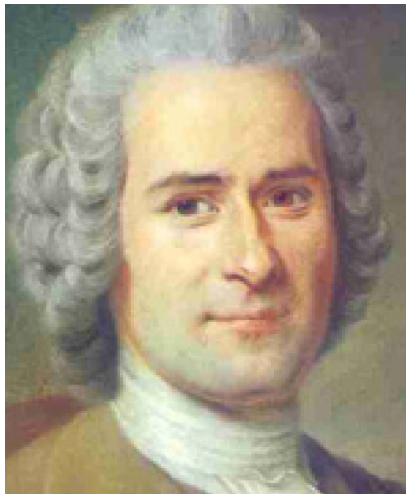


Figure 2.3: *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*

Source:<https://danassays.wordpress.com/encyclopedia-of-the-essay/rousseau-jeanjacques/jean-jacques-rousseau/>

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born in Geneva (Switzerland) on June 28, 1712. Although he spent most of his life in France, he always described himself as a citizen of Geneva. Rousseau was a writer, poet, and political theorist whose treatises and novels inspired the leaders of the French Revolution and the Romantic generation. In 1761 he published a novel, *Julie or the New Heloise*, which was one of the best-selling fictional works of the 18th century (and was important to the development of Romanticism). Rousseau is considered to have invented modern autobiography. He also made important contributions to music, both as a theorist and as a composer. Jean-Jacques Rousseau died of stroke at the age of 66 at Ermenonville, France, on July 2, 1778.

Regarding his socio-political ideas, he was one of the most influential thinkers during the Enlightenment in 18th century Europe who preached the equality of all men. Rousseau also had a profound dislike for authority (or even structure) of any sort and sought to restore a proper respect for the creativity and worth of individual human beings.

Rousseau also explored the political implications of these ideas. His notion of individual liberty and his convictions about political unity helped to fuel the romantic spirit of the French Revolution.

In Rousseau's most important work, *The Social Contract* (1772), he argues that in order to be free, people should do what is best for their community. Rousseau had many supporters who were inspired by his passionate writings. European monarchs, on the other hand, were angry that Rousseau was questioning authority.

What do you understand by social contract? The social contract is a theory or model that originated from the Age of Enlightenment. Usually, the social contract concerns the origin of society and the legality of the authority of the government over the individual. Social contract opinions typically suggest that people have agreed, either explicitly or implicitly, to renounce some of their freedoms and submit to the authority of the ruler or magistrate (or to the decision of a majority), in exchange for protection of their remaining rights. It is the contract or agreement between the rulers and the ruled defining the rights and duties of each. The question of the relation between natural and legal rights, therefore, is often an aspect of social contract theory. The term takes its name from *The Social Contract* a 1762 book by Jean-Jacques Rousseau that discussed this idea.

As a result, Rousseau worried about persecution for much of his life. He wrote *Man is born free, but is everywhere in chains*. This justification he can find only if the ideas and desires of the people are really carried out by the government. Only in this way is liberty retained, and equality realized. Rousseau wanted a democracy, where all men actually decide issues, not a representative democracy, like that of Britain, where other people are elected to decide for them. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's ideas influenced American and French Revolutions.

Rousseau suggested dividing a large state into a number of small direct democracies, and the binding of these into a federation. But it was the spirit of democracy, rather than the details, which affected the revolutionary leaders. He therefore helped to create the emotional spirit which made people ready to rebel.

The main ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were:

- People are basically good but corrupted by the evils of society.
- Society needs an elected government (democracy)
- The community should be placed above individuals.
- Politics and morality are not separate
- Government is a contract between the ruler and citizens.
- State is created to preserve freedom.
- All men are born free but everywhere they are in chains.

2.3.3. François Marie Arouet Voltaire (1694-1778)



Voltaire, pseudonym of Francois-Marie Arouet, was born in Paris in November 1694. He was one of the greatest of all French writers. Famous all over Europe as a historian, a popularizer of science, a tragic dramatist, and a poet, he was also an unsparing critic of existing institutions and especially of the Church. Voltaire's outspoken attacks offended both the French government and the Catholic Church. He was imprisoned and forced into exile. Even as he saw his books outlawed and even burned, he continued to defend the principle of freedom of speech. François-Marie Arouet Voltaire died at the age of 84 in Paris, France on May 30, 1778.

Figure 2.4: *François Marie Arouet Voltaire*

Source: <https://rickrozoff.wordpress.com>.

Concerning his ideas, Voltaire became at once the most admired and the most feared man of Europe, while the very classes he criticised, nobility and royalty, competed for the honour of entertaining him. Only his great enemy, the Church, could never forgive him for his criticism-and his deism (belief in the existence of a supreme being).

Voltaire was a deist, and in one of his attacks on conventional religion he wondered why the God of the Old Testament had created humans with a capacity for pleasure and then damned them for using it.

Voltaire wondered why Jehovah (God) had created humans and then drowned them in His flood. He attacked the idea of original sin, wondering why children should be punished for the sins of their first father, Adam.

Voltaire thought of himself as 'enlightened' and admired the English form of government and the ideas of reason and natural rights propounded by John Locke. He doubted the Christian religion and wrote much against prejudice, superstition and intolerance.

Voltaire contributed greatly to freedom of speech and press. He was opposed to militarism and slavery. He defended freedom of thought and used biting wit as a weapon to expose the abuses of his day. He targeted corrupt officials and idle aristocrats.

Voltaire advocated for the separation of the Church and the State. He was known for denouncing the injustices of the Ancien Régime like the imbalance of power and taxes. He was the most influential Enlightenment figure whose ideas led to the French and American Revolutions, and brought down the Ancien Régime.

Civil Rights is the advancement of equality for all people regardless of race, sex, age, disability, national origin, religion, or certain characteristics. In other words, civil rights are a class of rights that protect individuals' freedom from infringement by governments, social organisations, and private individuals. They ensure one's ability to participate in the civil and political life of the society and state without discrimination or repression.

Ancien Régime (old regime) was the political and social system of the Kingdom of France from the Late Middle Ages until 1789, when hereditary monarchy and the feudal system of French nobility were abolished by the French Revolution.

Voltaire's most important project that he worked on was the defending of empirical science. His numerous plays and essays frequently advocated for freedom from the ploys of religion, while *Candide* (1759), the most notable of his works, conveyed his criticisms of optimism and superstition into a neat package. Voltaire's most important writings include *Candide* (1759); *Elements of Philosophy of Newton* (1738); and *Letters on the English Parliament* (1733).

2.3.4. Baron Charles-Louis Montesquieu (1689-1755)



Figure 2.5: Baron Charles Montesquieu

Source: <https://www.google.rw/search?q=montesquieu+photos>.

Montesquieu, in full Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu was born in 1689 in Bordeaux, France. He inherited the title Baron de Montesquieu from his uncle (Jean Baptiste, baron de Montesquieu). He was French political philosopher. Like many other reformers, he did not let his privileged status keep him from becoming a voice for democracy. His first book titled Persian Letters ridiculed the French government and social classes. Baron Charles- Louis Montesquieu died of fever at the age of 66, in Paris, France on February 10, 1755.

Regarding his political ideas, in his principal work published in 1748, *The Spirit of Laws* (*L'Esprit des lois*), he advanced the idea of the separation of powers – a foundation for modern democracy. This was a major contribution to political theory.

What is political theory? It is the study of topics such as politics, liberty, justice, property, rights, law, and the enforcement of laws by authority; what they are, why (or even if) they are needed, what, if anything, makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect and why, what form it should take and why, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government, if any, and when it may be legitimately overthrown, if ever.

The Spirit of Laws outlined his ideas on how government would best work and expanded John Locke's political study and incorporated the ideas of a division of state and separation of powers.

In 1748, Montesquieu published *The Spirit of the Laws*, in which he discussed governments throughout history. He felt that the best way to protect liberty was to divide the various functions and powers of government among three branches: the legislative, executive, and judiciary. He also felt that each branch of government should be able to serve as a check on the other two, an idea that we call checks and balances. Montesquieu's beliefs would soon profoundly affect the Framers of the United States Constitution.

Montesquieu's work also ventured into sociology: he spent a considerable amount of time researching various cultures and their climates, ultimately deducing that climate is a major factor in determining the type of government a given country should have. He spent a lot of time thinking about how governments should be created and maintained. His ideas guided the Founding Fathers when they wrote the United States Constitution. Even today, his thinking influences the way people think about government around the world.

What were Baron Charles Montesquieu's main ideas?

- He courageously fought for civil rights in France like the freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and free trial.
- He advocated for the separation of the Church and the State.
- Voltaire defended freedom of thought through his writings.

Montesquieu was opposed to republicanism and disliked democracy, which he saw as mob rule. He saw government as benefiting from the knowledge of society's elite, and he saw common people as unfit to discuss public affairs. The masses, he believed, were moved too much by emotion and too little by reason. He wrote: 'I would rather be ruled by one lion than a hundred rats'.

2.3.5. Denis Diderot (1713-1784)

Denis Diderot was born in 1713 and was a French philosopher, **art critic**, and writer. He was a prominent figure during the **Enlightenment** and is best known for serving as co-founder, chief editor, and contributor to the *Encyclopedia* (the first systematic, collective enterprise designed to organize all our knowledge of the sciences, arts and technology in a format accessible to the everyman educated) along with **Jean le Rond d'Alembert**.

Through his works, specially the Encyclopedia, Diderot revealed extensive information and recent scientific discoveries like the size of the universe. His humanitarian and radical ideals helped to transform the society's view of the human being. He strongly opposed slavery. Diderot edited and published the Encyclopedia to 'change the general way of thinking'.

Diderot's Encyclopedia included articles by leading thinkers of the day, including Montesquieu and Voltaire. In these articles, the philosophers denounced slavery, praised freedom of expression, and urged education for all. They attacked the divine-right theory and traditional religions. Critics raised an outcry. The French government argued that the Encyclopedia was an attack on public morals, and the pope threatened to excommunicate the Roman Catholics who bought or read the volumes.

The divine right of kings, or divine-right theory of kingship, is a political and religious doctrine of royal and political legitimacy. It asserts that a monarch is subject to no earthly authority, deriving his right to rule directly from the will of God.

Despite these and other efforts to ban the Encyclopedia, more than 4,000 copies were printed between 1751 and 1789. When translated into other languages, the Encyclopedia helped to spread **Enlightenment** ideas throughout Europe and across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas.

Diderot wrote: 'No man has received from nature the right to give orders to others. Freedom is a gift from heaven, and every individual of the same species has the right to enjoy it as soon as he is in enjoyment of his reason'. Diderot should always be remembered as one of the great philosophers of the Age of Reason.



Figure 2.6: Denis Diderot

Source: <https://www.google.rw/search?q=denis+diderot+photos>

Denis Diderot served as chief editor of the Encyclopedia. The latter was licensed, banned, unbanned, rebanned in France, until the editors gave up and announced that the final volumes would be officially published in Switzerland. In 1766 the printer of the Encyclopedia was sent to the Bastille. Diderot was imprisoned for a few months (at Vincennes, not the Bastille).

By expressing his modern and liberal ideas (free thinking) Diderot incited the people to think and join him in the struggle for social and political change. Diderot collected and presented scattered knowledge of the divine rights, reasoning, and toleration. He always expressed support for social and political reforms. He was not afraid to show his disagreement with the Church. His magnificent work was extremely influential. It inspired the French Revolution and the American Revolution.

Denis Diderot died of emphysema (a condition in which the air sacs of the lungs are damaged and enlarged, causing breathlessness) at the age of 71, in Paris, France on July 31st, 1784.



Application Activity 2.3

1. How did the ideas of different philosophers contribute to the Age of Enlightenment?
2. “The English people are free only during the election of its MPs. As soon as they are elected, it is a slave, it is nothing”. What do you think about this Rousseau’s statement?
3. “Voltaire is remembered as a philosopher who courageously fought for civil rights in France”. Explain clearly this statement by giving clear examples.
4. Read the text in box. What do you think about those different statements? Write your opinion on not more than one page.

2.4. Impact of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment



Learning Activity 2.4

After some reading, explain the impact of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment.

2.4.1. Impact of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment

The effects of the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment were felt in the following social, economic and political domains:

- It led to the belief in educating people.

- It led to the discovery of gravity through Isaac Newton's research.
- People became more literate due to the printing press being able to produce more books at a quicker pace. These went to schools and universities where people read more and more.
- It led to the Industrial Revolution.
- It influenced the American and French revolutions.
- Capitalism became the new economy theory.
- People began to question their religion.
- Usually ended the privileges of the nobility.
- Slavery was seen as barbarism.
- People toppled their governments when they wanted change.

Enlightenment thinkers in Britain, in France and throughout Europe questioned the traditional authority and embraced the notion that humanity could be improved through rational change.

The American and French Revolutions were directly inspired by Enlightenment ideals and respectively marked the peak of its influence and the beginning of its decline. The Enlightenment ultimately gave way to the 19th-century Romanticism.

Romanticism was the attitude or intellectual orientation that characterized many works of literature, painting, music, architecture, criticism, and historiography in Western civilization over a period from the late 18th to the mid 19th century.

The first effect of the Age of Enlightenment was a general rebel against the teachings of the Church. Earlier, the Church used to profess that God was the absolute power and the reason behind every occurrence. People used to believe in miracles. But with the age in discussion, all those were being questioned.

People deduced that there was scientific logic and reasons behind every happening around the World and not simply God's wish. Thus everybody began to stop believing the Church blindly and put their own reasoning behind everything. For this, that period is also called the Age of Reason.

The most apparent effect that followed the Age of Enlightenment was the development of new ideas in every field. Everybody also began to be intolerant to all the dictations made by their earlier faith. Economically, the Industrial Revolution happened, changing the very face of Then society in Europe as it gave rise to a new group of independent, wealthy and educated class of men.

A whole new political scene emerged with the formation of nations and state, led by independent kings and parliaments. Earlier the Church was the supreme power, but after the enlightenment, it began to lose its position. All these paved way to the social and political scene that we know today.

Enlightenment developed through a snowball effect, i.e small advances triggered larger ones, and before Europe and the world knew it, almost two centuries of philosophizing and innovation had ensued.

During this period, people like John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the father of modern education, fostered the belief that education should “follow the natural order of things”. Children’s development follows a timetable of its own and their education should reflect that fact. They should be allowed to learn at their own pace and learn by doing.

John Amos Comenius was an innovator who first introduced pictorial textbooks written in native language instead of Latin. He applied effective teaching based on the natural gradual growth from simple to more comprehensive concepts. He supported lifelong learning and development of logical thinking by moving from dull memorization. Three most important contributions that he made are: books with illustrations, education with the senses, social reform-educate the poor as well as the rich.

During the Age of Enlightenment, there were many discoveries in the fields of earth science and astronomy, as notables such as Johannes Kepler and Galileo Galilei took the old, beloved “truths” of Aristotle and disproved them. Thinkers such as René Descartes and Francis Bacon revised the scientific method, setting the stage for Isaac Newton and his landmark discoveries in physics.

Galileo Galilei (15 February 1564-24 January 1642) was an Italian polymath (a person of wide knowledge or learning). Galileo is a central figure in the transition from natural philosophy to modern science and in the transformation of the scientific Renaissance into a scientific revolution

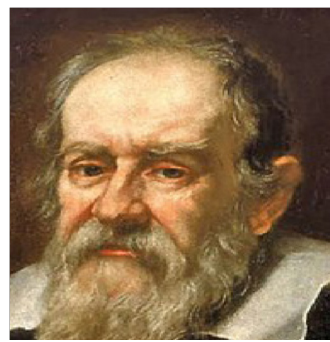
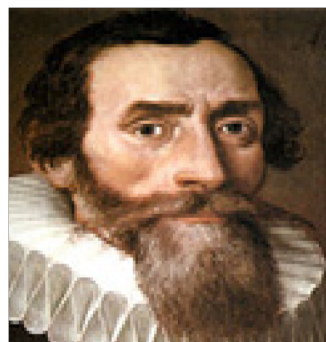


Figure 2.8: Galileo Galilei.

Source: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Galileo_Galilei.



Johannes Kepler (27th December 1571- 15th November 1630), was a German astronomer famous for his laws of planetary motion.

Figure 2.9: Johannes Kepler

Source: <https://www.google.rw/search?q=Johannes+Kepler+photos>

From these discoveries there emerged a system for observing the world and making testable hypotheses based on those observations. At the same time, however, scientists faced ever-increasing contempt and skepticism (doubt as to the truth of something) from people in the religious community, who felt threatened by science and its attempts to explain matters of faith.

Skepticism is generally any questioning attitude or doubt towards one or more items of putative knowledge or belief. It is often directed at domains, such as the supernatural, morality, religion, or knowledge.

2.4.2. The end of the Age of Enlightenment

Ultimately, Enlightenment became a victim to competing ideas from several sources. Romanticism was more appealing to less-educated common folk and pulled them away from the empirical, scientific ideas of earlier Enlightenment philosophers.

Similarly, Theories of skepticism came into direct conflict with the reason-based assertions of the Enlightenment and gained a following of their own. What ultimately and abruptly killed the Enlightenment, however, was the French Revolution. Begun with the best intentions by French citizens inspired by Enlightenment thought, the revolution attempted to implement orderly representative assemblies but quickly degraded into chaos and violence.

Many people cited the Enlightenment-induced breakdown of norms as the root cause of the instability and saw the violence as proof that the masses could not be trusted to govern themselves. Nonetheless, the discoveries and theories of the Enlightenment philosophers continued to influence Western society for centuries. Similarly, Theories of skepticism came into direct conflict with the reason-based assertions of the Enlightenment and gained a following of their own.

What ultimately and abruptly killed the Enlightenment, however, was the French Revolution. It began with the best intentions by the French citizens inspired by the Enlightenment thought, the revolution attempted to implement orderly representative assemblies but quickly degraded into chaos and violence.

The 17th and 18th centuries, philosophy was still rooted in religion, with notions of equality, individuality and liberty that were largely metaphysical. The 19th century, however, marked the beginning of the end for Enlightenment-era metaphysics.

Colonialism and exposure to other cultures, industrialization and its abuses, the rise of science and scientific materialism, the appearance of full-blown capitalism: all of these things began tearing apart in the 18th century ideals of how the World worked, because the 18th century ideals were all constructed around a concept of an individual which was uniformly genteel (polite), property-owning, European descended, and male.

Scientific materialism is the belief that physical reality, as made available to the natural sciences, is all that truly exists.

The World suddenly became a bigger, harsher, more diverse place, and it became impossible to maintain the fiction that 'all men are created equal' in the naïve sense that the 18th century philosophy used the phrase. Pure reason was no longer sufficient.



Application Activity 2.4

1. Explain the three phases of the Age of Enlightenment.
2. Briefly explain the terms "Romanticism" and "Skepticism".
3. Account for the decline of the Age of Enlightenment.



End of Unit Assessment 2

1. Trace the origins of the Age of Enlightenment.
2. Describe the nature and characteristics of the Age of Enlightenment.
3. What effects did the Enlightenment philosophers have on the government and society?
4. Briefly explain the different ideas of different philosophers (John Locke, Montesquieu, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, François-Marie Arouet Voltaire and Denis Diderot).
5. Account for the decline of the Age of Enlightenment.
6. Examine how the Age of Enlightenment shaped the Modern Society.

UNIT 3

CAUSES, COURSE AND EFFECTS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND WORLD WARS

Key unit competence: Examine the causes, course and the effects of the First and the Second World Wars.



Introductory Activity 3.1

1. Using e-resources or research in our library, do the following activities
2. Explain the following concepts: Conflict, war, world war.
3. Examine the causes of the First and Second World Wars.
4. Describe the course of the First World War and the Second World War.
5. What made the First World War much more deadly than previous wars?
6. Discuss the effects of the Second World War.
7. Write down your answers on one page and half.

Introduction

The end of the 19th century was characterized by a period of intense tensions and these led to the outbreak of First and Second World Wars. The First World War was caused by a banal incident at Sarajevo by the double murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand with his wife Sofia in 1914 while the Second World War started in 1939 by the invasion of Poland by German Soldiers. The two World Wars were centered in at the beginning; after a small period all the countries of all continents were involved. It happened in the water, air and on the earth. The First World War ended in 1918 while the Second World War ended in 1945

These World Wars led to heavy effects negative and positive ones such as massive killing of Human life ,destruction of infrastructures :(roads , railways ,etc.), the great economic depression of 1929, the rise of dictators in Europe and the creation of the League of Nations and UNO. Moreover, it led also to Cold War, the ideological war which opposed the two super powers of that epoch: USSR communist against USA capitalist.

3.1. The Causes of the First World War (1914 –1918)



Learning Activity 3.1

After some readings discuss the Sarajevo incident as the real or not cause for the outbreak of the First World War.

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 was fought between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Romania, Turkey, Bulgaria and their allies on one side against Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Italy (May 1915) and the USA on the other.

The First World War, which broke out in Europe, took roots in 19th century. It has long-term (distant), short-term and immediate cause, the Sarajevo incident of June 28, 1914.

Long term causes

Among the long term causes of the First World War include the following:

Lack of international peace keeping body because the Congress System which would have solved a local affair between Austria and Serbia had died in 1914.

Lack of peaceful statesmen in the world like the German chancellor Otto von Bismarck in Germany who had abandoned his militarism after the German reunification. He was replaced by Kaiser William II who was an aggressive leader of Germany. In his foreign policy, he 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 that 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".

Aggressive nationalism also caused tensions. Nationalism was strong in both Germany and France. Germans were proud of their new empire's military power and industrial leadership. 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. 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.

Germany supported a form of nationalism called Pan-Germanism.

Two old multinational empires particularly feared rising nationalism. Germany decided to defend them.

Alliance System initiated by Bismarck such as Triple Alliance and Triple Entente which were formed for defensive purposes but thereafter became hostile to each other leading to the First World War.

Economic imperialism among European countries mostly between Germany, France and Britain like the Moroccan Crises of 1906 and 1911 when Germany lost Morocco to France. 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, India.

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.

The European public opinion; after 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. Therefore, the European public opinion caused World War I.

Immediate cause: The Sarajevo assassination (June 28, 1914) and the start of the war

On June 28, 1914, Gavrilo Princip, a member of a Serbian terrorist Group, killed Austrian Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife Sophia. "The first bullet struck the wife of Archduke, the Archduchess Sofia in the abdomen...she died instantly. The Second bullet struck the Archduke close to heart. He uttered only one word, 'Sofia', - a call to his stricken wife. Then his head fell back and he collapsed. He died almost instantly." - Borijov Jevtic, co-conspirator.



Figure 3.1: Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassination_of_Archduke_Franz_Ferdinand_of_Austria (Assassination illustrated in the Italian newspaper *Domenica del Corriere*, 12 July 1914 by Achille Beltrame)

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 Principe Gabriel, a Serbian student of the Black Hand Movement in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. This incident was followed by an ultimatum document from Austria-Hungary to Belgrade, Serbia. The response to the ultimatum was to be issued in a period of 48 hours (July 23, 1914). The role of press/mass media cannot be underrated as a cause of the 1914 - 1918 disastrous war. Radio presenters and journalists because of the need to amass wealth over exaggerated the suspicion, fear and international tension between the big powers. For instance, 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.

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 neighbour; 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.



Figure 3:2: *The Balkans 1914*

Source: <https://www.pinterest.com/pin/113504853091966440/>

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 3.1

1. Explain why the Sarajevo incident cannot be considered as the real cause for the outbreak of the First World War.
2. What were the two blocs or alliances formed at the beginning of the First World War?
3. Explain four main causes which triggered the First World War. Why do you think they are more important to you?
4. Do you think that the First World War would not have happened without the assassination of Prince Ferdinand and his wife? Explain your answer.

3.2. The Course of the First World War



Learning Activity 3.2

After some of your readings, identify and drawn various fronts of the First World War.

3.2.1. Fronts of the First World War

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

War on the Western Front



Figure.3:3: Schlieffen Plan and troop movements

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

By using Schlieffen plan, Germany planned to outflank the main French defences by moving through Belgium and 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.

French success on the battle of Marne (September 5 to 12, 1914) ended Germany's hopes of a quick victory, and paved the way for the Trench Warfare that lasted until spring 1918.

War on Eastern front

There was far more movement 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 territorial gains she had expected.

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 defeat by the Germans, lack of arms and supplies, problems of transport and communication, and utterly incompetent leadership, caused two revolutions, in 1917, and the Bolsheviki who took over power in November 1917 were willing to make peace.

The Bolsheviki 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 BrestLitovsk on March 1918.

By this Treaty the Bolsheviki gave to Germany Poland, the Ukraine, and the Baltic

Provinces (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). As for the Germans, the Treaty of BrestLitovsk represented their maximum territorial expansion during the First World War. Not only had they neutralized Russia, they also now dominated Eastern Europe.

The entry into the war of the USA (April 1917)

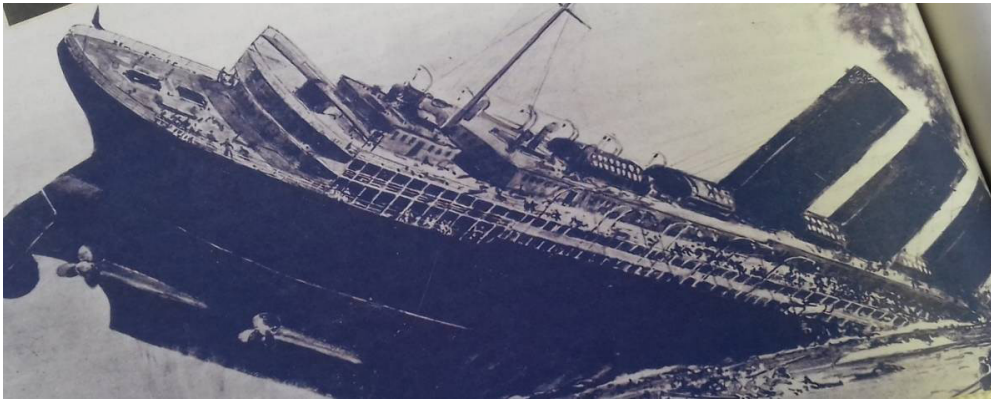


Figure 3:4: *The Lusitania*

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

The USA entered the war on April 2nd, 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 US, promising her Texas, New Mexico and Arizona in return.

On April 2nd, 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.

3.2.2. The end of the First World War

This sequence of the First World War was characterized 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 12th, 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 11th, 1918, the First World War ended.

3.2.3. The role of women in the First World War

Women played a critical role in total war as millions of men left to fight:

- Women took over their jobs and kept national economies going.
- Many women worked in war industries manufacturing weapons and supplies.
- Other joined women's branches of the armed forces.
- When food shortages threatened Britain volunteers in the women's lands army went to the fields to grow their nations' foods.
- Nurses sympathized with men wounded on the battlefield.
- At the aid stations close to the front lines, nurses often worked around the clock, especially after a big "push" brought a flood of casualties.
- War work gave women a new sense of pride and confidence.
- Still they had challenged the ideas that women could not handle the demanding and dangerous jobs.

3.2.4. 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 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 than men in the population pyramid. It led to the rise of 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 property and infrastructure was experienced in Europe as a result of World War I, of 1914-1918. These among others included hospitals, shops, industries, roads, bridges, residential areas, hotels, administrative offices and railways. World War I left the European economies in shambles. For instance, during the war period, a lot of resources were channelled in war industries, 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 War also led to women emancipation first in Europe and finally 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 world 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 Trientino 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 realised 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.

3.2.5. Peace settlements after the First World War

The basic principles

The basic principles on which were based the peace settlements after the First World War were Wilson's 14 points. In his infamous speech of January

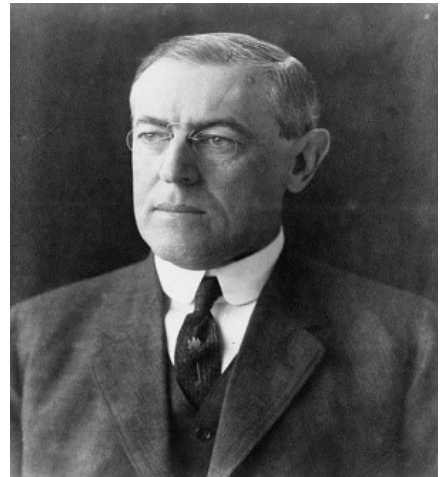


Figure 3:5: Woodrow Wilson
28th President of the United
States

Source:<http://www.psdeluxe.com/articles/inspiration/us-presidents-portraits-from-painting-todigital-photo/>

1st, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson had outlined the principles on which he thought a peace with Germany should be made. The 14 points were the result of his own analysis of the causes of international discontent and war, and he made strenuous efforts to secure their acceptance by the peace conference.

The Wilson's 14 points included

- The use of diplomacy in the public view.
- Removal of economic barriers between states.
- All round reduction of armaments.
- Impartial adjustment of colonial claims in the interests of the populations concerned.
- Evacuation of Russian territory.
- Restoration of Belgium.
- Liberation of France and Montenegro to be evacuated and Serbia given access to sea.
- Self-government for the non-Turkish peoples of the Turkish Empire and permanent opening of the Dardanelles, an independent Poland with secure access to the sea.
- A general association of nations to preserve peace.

It was the fourteenth point that resulted into the formation of the League of Nations on January 10th, 1920 with its headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland.

The problems of making a peace settlement

There were different Allies' views about how to treat defeated powers when the peace conference met in January 1919. 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 divergent views, by June 1919 the conference had come up with the Treaty of Versailles -the most important –followed by other allies' treaties.

The Versailles Treaty (28th June 1919) with Germany



Figure 3.6: *The 1919 Versailles Peace Treaty signing.*

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

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

1. To re-organize Europe for the purpose of maintaining world peace, security and stability.
2. 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.
3. To map out strategies that would preserve the territorial integrity and independence of countries in Europe. This was because violation of territorial integrity and independence of states partly led to the outbreak of the First World War.
4. To reconcile the warring powers of the world most especially Germany although her aggression was checked for some time.
5. To free the different races dominated by the central powers (Germany and her allies).
6. To disarm both victor and defeated powers since arms race had partly caused the 1914 to 1918 disastrous war.

7. 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.
8. 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.
9. 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.

Figure 3.8: *The Big Three*

Source: <http://history1900s.about.com/od/worldwari/p/Versailles-Treaty.htm>
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 14th point of establishing an international body to maintain world peace. This gave rise to the League of Nations in 1920.

The settlement made arrangements 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 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.

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.

Although the Versailles imposed a heavy war indemnity, it failed to ensure its effective payments of the reparations. 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 5th 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 for example the League of Nations 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.

By subjecting that the Germany colonies would be controlled by the victor 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 also 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. She 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 14th points. They claimed that the 14th point was a swindle since many of its terms were violated.



Application Activity 3.2

1. Identify and explain the main fronts of the First World War in Europe.
2. Examine the socio-economic consequences of the First World War in Europe.
3. Find out statistics related to the First World War (productions; fatalities) and draw a related graph. Comment the graph.
4. Draw a cartoon representing living conditions or attitudes of the time (soldiers, at home, etc). Use the internet or school library to understand better those living conditions.

3.3. The Inter-wars period



Learning Activity 3.3

Use the school library and in not more than 20 lines write down what you know about the inter-war period specifically about the League of Nations, the rise of fascism and the 1929 Economic Depression.

3.3.1. 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 10th, 1920. It began with 42 member states but the number increased to 55 by 1926 when Germany was admitted. Headquarters were located in Geneva, Switzerland a neutral State. When the League of Nations was set up, point 14 of the Wilson statement was carried out, and for the first time in human history an international organisation 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 a number of 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 organisation 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 actually came into existence instead of merely remaining a topic of discussion.

Aims of the League of Nations:

- Maintain peace through collective security.
- Encourage international co-operation.

- Solve economic and social problems.
- Defend and promote territorial integrity and sovereignty of member nations against aggression of any kind.
- Limit production of the disastrous military weapons.
- Implement the terms and conditions of the 1919 Versailles Peace settlement.
- Preserve its achievements.
- Promote diplomacy in settling disputes since the First World War was partly caused by lack of international organization and collapse of international diplomacy (the congress system).
- Suppress Sea pirates who were a threat to international trade on big waters like the Mediterranean Sea, Black sea and the Pacific Ocean.
- Control drug trafficking and consumption of dangerous drugs like marijuana, co-caine and opium.
- Improve the conditions of workers and stop exploitation of workers by employers.
- Work out a plan for repatriating and resettling refugees or people displaced by the First World War.

The organisation of the League of Nations

The main organs of the League of Nations were the General Assembly; its main function was to decide general policy; the Council, its main task was to deal with specific political disputes as they arose; the Permanent Court of International Justice's main task was to deal with legal disputes between states; the Secretariat, had to look after all the paperwork, preparing agendas, and writing resolutions and reports related to the decisions of the League; Commissions and Committees were in charge of dealing with specific problems. The main commissions were those which handled the mandates, military affairs and disarmament.

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 number of 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. Moreover, the health organisation of the League of Nations organised medical assistance and the distribution of vaccines to combat epidemics like syphilis, cholera, dysentery and malaria which had swept Europe. In 1930 supporters of the League felt optimistic about its future. However, during the 1930s, the authority of the League was challenged several times, first by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) and later by the Italian attack on Abyssinia (1935).

Both aggressors refused to withdraw, and then the League's weaknesses became more apparent. During 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.

Some countries such as Germany, Italy, Japan and Brazil left the League of Nations. Moreover, 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 the Organisation. 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 Organisation.

3.3.2. The World Economic Depression of 1929-1935

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

The 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, 1929 and spread to Europe and the whole world.

Causes of the Great World Economic Depression

- The Great World economic Depression had different causes developed here below: Negative consequences of the First World War like destruction of industries, communication lines, airports and cities and loss of lives. All these consequences had a negative effect on production and the ability to purchase goods, hence leading to the depression;
- Over production mainly in agricultural sector which was practiced by various capitalists during the inter-war period like in North America, in Britain and in Australia. However the international trade was paralyzed and this led to “no buying and no selling” in economy leading to the economic 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 ability and lack of effective demand which contributed to the World Economic Depression;
- Crush 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. 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 general decline in agricultural activities throughout the world. 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's why USA debts were paid in form of gold.



Figure no 3:9: *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 also 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. The USA also set up a social security system and depreciated the value of her dollar so as to increase the purchasing power of the Americans. The New Deal was largely inspired by some economists such as John Maynard Keynes who introduced an economic theory popularly known as Keynesian theory of unemployment after analysing the causes of the Economic depression.
- The gold standard system was stopped since 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.

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.



President of USA during the 1929 Economic Depression

Figure no 3:10: Herbert Hoover

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.



Figure no 3:11: Breadline during the Great Depression

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

The Economic depression led 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.

3.3.3. Totalitarian Regimes in Europe

Definition of totalitarianism

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-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



Figure no 3:12... Benito Mussolini.

Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/7f/4e/c8/7f4ec8b4349a70cf802e75dffc1a6995.jpg>

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

Mussolini was born in 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 28th, 1922 he organised 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

- It was a dictatorial system of government with no provision for democracy or 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.
- Believed in extreme nationalism. It was based on superiority complex that one's nation is superior to another.

Mussolini rose to power on 28th October 1922 after taking over Victor Emmanuel III the legitimate king. He was favored by the following factors.

The impact of the First World War aided fascism and Benito Mussolini 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 violence in Italy that gave Mussolini a chance to campaign against him.

The unfair Versailles treaty on Italy cultivated a favorable 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 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 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 31st 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 in power?

- He abolished other political parties and established a single party government in Italy. This removed opposition parties from the parliament.
- He carried out public works. Roads, bridges and health centers were established or innovated. Most Italians therefore supported his rule because of the hardworking spirit.
- He made 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 Matteoti and Giovanni Amendola who attacked the fascist government were killed under the orders of Mussolini.

Different 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 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 grand-father, 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 studies 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 19th 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 (1st 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 Verbindungsman (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 55th 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.

Figure 3.13: Adolf Hitler with a member of the Hitler Youth, Berlin

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.

Figure 3: 14 Most common cover of Mein Kampf.

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

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.

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 4th, 1933. Hitler declared those political parties unconstitutional and the only candidates to be voted for were those from the Nazi Party;

On March 23rd, 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.

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 28th 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 3.3

1. Was the League of Nations successful or not? Substantiate your answer.
2. Explain why the United States of America was not a member of the League of Nations.
3. Evaluate the New Deal policy initiated by President Franklin Roosevelt to cope with effects of the Economic Depression.

4. Observe the following cartoon. How do you link it with this sub-section 7.3.3



Figure no.3:15 Second World War in Europe and North Africa

Source: http://mrshealyusii.wikispaces.com/file/view/Operation_Torch.PNG/336519806/Operation_Torch.PNG

3.4. The Second World War (1939 –1945)



Learning Activity 3.4

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.

The Second World War was the war fought between the axis powers, that is, Italy, Germany and Japan (Rome-Berlin- Tokyo axis) against the allied powers, that is Britain, France, Russia and USA. It was the most destructive war that mankind had ever experienced and it started with Germany invasion of Poland on 1st.09.1939 and ended with the surrender of Japan in August 1945.

3.4.1. The Causes of the Second World War (1939-1945)

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 was 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 the outbreak of the war. The victorious powers disarmed Germany almost to the end and themselves 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 World War II.

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 step was taken against her. 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 II inevitable.

The 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 her 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 1st.sept.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.

3.4.2. The main phases of the Second World War (1939-1945)

The main phases of the Second World War were characterised 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.



The conquest of Poland (September 1939)

Source, in *A history of modern Europe (1789-1981)*. Page 348

The Second World War opened with an assault on Poland. German forces totalling 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, organised 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

Belorussia 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.



Figure 3:16 Attack on Pearl Harbour

Source: Pommerolle F, & Ruhlman J, History from 1914 to date (April 29th,1982),pge 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 states, the war became now a global struggle.

The Soviet Union's victory (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.

The turning of the tide (1942-1943): North Africa and Stalingrad

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.

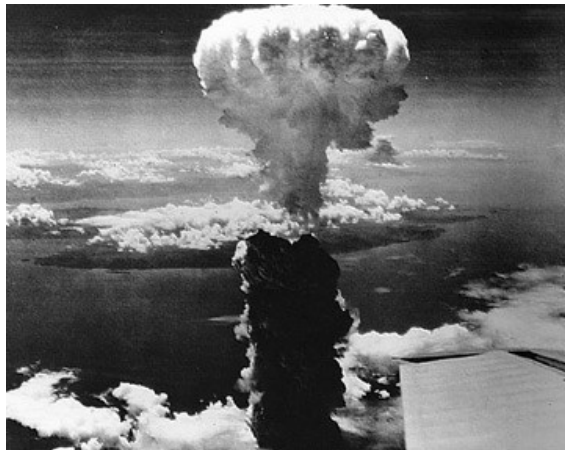


Figure no 3:17: Hiroshima August 6, 1945

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

3.4.3. Effects of the Second World War



Figure no 3:18 Big Three, F.D Roosevelt, Churchill and J. Stalin

Source: <http://www.calconnect.com/historical/yalta/yalta1.jpg>

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 and destruction of property, homes, industries and communication lines in Europe and in Asia were out of function: Almost 40 millions 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.

- 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 shuttered 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.
- 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 super powers at the end of the Second World War started spreading their divergent ideologies of Capitalism and Communism.
- The United Nations Organisation (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.

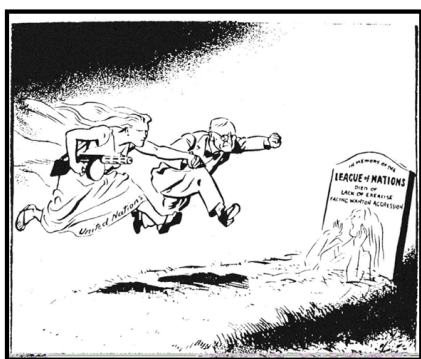
The rise of Zionism (Jewish nationalism) was also influenced by the Second World War. Millions of Jews got their own country (Israel) in 1948 with the division of Palestine.



Application Activity 3.4

1. Explain the causes of the Second World War (not more than one page).
2. Identify and explain four effects of the Second World War.
3. Describe the major phases of the Second World War.
4. Draw a cartoon representing the effects of the Second World War. Write fifteen lines text to explain your depiction.

3.5. The United Nations Organisation



British cartoon of 1945 comparing the United Nations with the League of Nations

Figure 3:19 Comparison of United Nations and the League of Nations

Source: Evening Standard



Learning Activity 3.5

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

1. Describe the cartoon in figure 7:19 above. Why is the person wearing glasses running speedily? Identify him.
2. “The UN was presented as an improved League of Nations”.
 - a. What do you think about the above assertion? Support your argument.
 - b. Assess the major challenges that the UN faced in trying to achieve mission perfectly its mission.
 - c. What do you think is the most serious of its failures?
3. Suggest ways to improve the activities of United Nations.

While the USA and the Soviet Union were engaged in the Cold War (1947-1991), the UNO tried to settle peace all over the world.

3.5.1. The origins, aims and structure of the United Nations Organisation

During the later stages of the Second World War, various ideas were put forward for an international organisation to replace the discredited League of Nations. Churchill proposed three groups which would be represented on a supreme world council with the victorious great powers standing over all. However, there were objections to such an idea. After a good deal of discussion, the general idea of the UN was formulated at the Dumbarton Oaks conference in October 1944. The first draft of the charter of the UN was signed by 51 nations on April 25th, 1945, in San Francisco. The UN officially came into existence in October 1945.



Figure no 3:20: 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>

The main aims of the UNO

- Preserving peace and eliminate war;
- Removing the cases of conflict by encouraging economic, social, educational, scientific and cultural progress throughout the world, especially in underdeveloped countries;
- Safeguarding the rights of all individual human beings, and nations.
- Stopping the aggression was an issue behind the formation of UNO. This was because Kaiser William II and Hitler’s aggression were responsible for the outbreak of the First and Second World War
- Bringing justice to those who committed crimes of war against humanity. For example the Nazi and Fascists who conducted killing of the Jews.
- Enforcing disarmament and stop arms race that was responsible for the two world wars.
- Promoting political, economic and social co-operation in the world.
- Facilitating decolonization and democratization of those nationalities who were dominated and oppressed.

- Embark on/check on threats to environment which was potentially dangerous to mankind. Weapons of mass destruction like atomic bombs were used in the Second World War which destroyed flora and fauna.
- Eliminating the problem of human and drug trafficking. By 1945 the consumption of intoxicated drugs had damaged the youth.
- Rehabilitating and resettle prisoners of war and displaced persons who were made homeless by the Second World War.
- Checking out the violation of children's rights. There was gross abuse of children's rights like child labour, corporal punishments, child neglect and defilement.
- Checking out the exploitation of workers by employers especially capitalists. The capitalists were oppressing workers by poor payments, over working under poor conditions.
- Improving on world health services and standards. World War II had destroyed most health centers and made medical services inadequate during and after the war.

The structure of the United Nations Organisations

There were six main organs of the UN

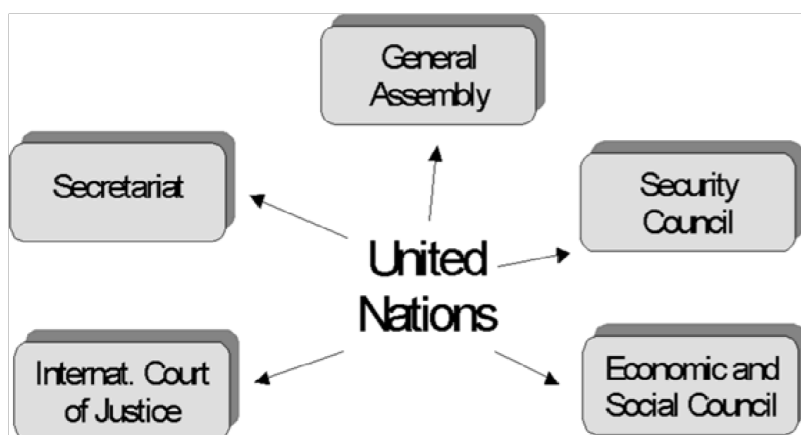


Figure 3:21 The United Nations Organs

Source:<http://www.english-online.at/government/united-nations/united-nationsorgans.gif>

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is composed of the representatives from all the member nations; each member can send up to 5 representatives, though there is only one vote per nation. The General Assembly meets once a year, starting in September and remaining in session for about three months, but special sessions can be called in times of crisis by the members themselves all by the Security Council. The main functions of the General Assembly are to discuss and make decision about international problems; to consider the UN budget and what amount each member should pay; to elect Security Council members; and to supervise the work of the main other UN bodies.

The Security Council

The primary responsibility of the Security Council is to preserve peace. This organ is composed of 5 powers, who are to be permanent members, and 10 rotating members chosen for 2-years term. The permanent seats are assigned to the USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. Each permanent member has a veto power. The Security Council sits in permanent session and its function is to deal with crises as they arise, by whatever action seems appropriate, and if necessary, by calling on members to take economic or military action against an aggressor.

The Secretariat

This is the Office-Staff of the UN. It is headed by the Secretary-General, who is appointed for a 5- year's term by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary- General acts as the main spokesperson for the UNO.

The International Court of Justice

This organ is at The Hague (Holland). It has 15 judges elected for 9- year term by the Assembly and the Security Council Jointly.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)

This has 27 members elected by the General Assembly. It organises projects concerned with health, education and other social and

economic matters. It also co-ordinates the work of an astonishing array of other commissions and specialized agencies such as Human Rights Commission, International Labour Organization (ILO), World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nation Financial and Economic Agencies, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade -GATT).

The Trusteeship Council

This Trusteeship Council replaced the LON Mandates Commission which had originally come into existence in 1919, to keep an eye on the territories taken away from Germany and Turkey at the end of the First World War. The Trusteeship Council did its job well and by 1970, most of the mandates had gained their independence.

3.5.2 Achievements of the United Nations Organisation

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 IMF (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 Labour Organization (ILO) 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 earthquakes, 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 achievement 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 UNO

The loans granted by IMF (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 3.5

1. Compare and contrast the United Nations and the League of Nations.
2. Examine any four achievements of the United Nations Organisation.

3.6 The Cold War (1947-1991)



Learning Activity 3.6

Do the following activities:

1. Explain the term Cold War. Read also the following texts. Describe the atmosphere which prevailed during that period and explain if the term Cold War is appropriate or not.

Source A:

“The question arose as to whether the United States would be willing to use atomic weapons in the developing crisis, for there was still no clear policy within the administration. Truman argued with his Pentagon chiefs that because they were “so terribly destructive”, atomic weapons could not be treated as conventional weaponry. He urged the leaders “to understand that this isn’t a military weapon. It is used to wipe out women and children and unarmed people”. In September the National Security Council produced a secret report designed as NSC-30: “United States Policy on Atomic Warfare.”

This required the military to be “ready to utilize promptly and effectively all appropriate means available, including atomic weapons...”. However, any decision about the use of nuclear weapons would be made by the president...”

In a briefing with his [Truman] chief air force commanders, he “prayed he would never have to make such a decision, but...if it became necessary, no one need have misgiving but he would do so” (Isaacs & Downing (1998, p. 75).

Source B:

“In early 1971 a US Ping-Pong team had been in Japan for the world championships, as was a Chinese team. One day an American player by miracle got on the Chinese team bus. Since talking to a foreigner was a crime, most of the Chinese players ignored the young American in their midst. However, the team captain, Zhuang Zedong, felt that this was alien to the spirit of Chinese hospitality and offered the American player a gift, which broke the ice...In 1971, the American table tennis players attended the tournament and were among the first Westerners to visit China in the wake of Cultural Revolution” (Isaacs & Downing (1998, p.275).

2. Name four conflicts in the World symbolising the Cold War

Shortly after the defeat of their common enemies-Germany and Japan- the two super-powers went into economic, political and ideological rivalries known as the Cold War (1947-1991). It was so called because there has been no open (direct) attack between the USA and the Soviet Union.

3.6.1 Causes of the Cold War

Differences of the principles

The basic cause of conflict lay in the differences of the principle between the Communist states and the Capitalists or Liberal Democratic states. The USA was capitalist while USSR was communist.

The Communist system of organizing the state and the society was based on the ideas of Karl Marx, who believed that the wealth of a country should be collectively owned and shared by everybody. He believed that the wealth of a country should be centrally planned and the interests and well-being of the working classes should be safeguarded by social policies.

The driving forces behind capitalism are private enterprise in the pursuit of making profits, and the preservation of the power of private wealth. In fact, ever since the world's first communist governments, most the capitalist states viewed it with mistrust and were afraid of communism spreading to their countries. However, the need for self-preservation against Germany and Japan caused the Soviet Union, the USA and Great Britain to forget their differences and work together, but as soon as their common enemies were defeated, the two camps were highly suspicious of each other's intentions.

Mutual mistrust between two camps

During the war, American President Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inclined to trust Stalin but his successor, Henry Truman, was more suspicious and toughened his attitude towards the communists. On the other hand the Soviet Union suspected that the USA and Great Britain were still keen to destroy communism. The Soviet Union felt that the Allies' delay in launching the invasion of France, for opening the second front (Which did not take place until June 1944), was deliberately calculated to keep most of the pressure on the Soviet Union and bring them to the point of exhaustion. Above all, the USA had the atomic bomb and the USSR did not. Truman did not inform Stalin about the exact nature of the atomic bomb.

At Yalta and Potsdam conferences, respectively took place on February and July 1945, agreements were achieved but on many points agreements were not reached. For instance, at Yalta conference, Roosevelt and Churchill were not happy that Stalin should be given all Germany territory east of the rivers Oder and Neisse. No agreement was reached at his point.

At Potsdam conference, no long term agreement was reached. The big question was whether or when the four zones would be allowed to form again a united country.

Stalin's foreign policies contributed to the tensions

Stalin had an aim of spreading communism to as many countries as possible. He thus took advantage of the military situation to strengthen soviet influence in Europe.

As the Nazi armies collapsed, Stalin tried to occupy as much German territory as he could and to acquire as much land as he could get away from countries such as Finland, Poland and Romania. In the months following Potsdam conference, the Soviet Union systematically interfered in the countries of Eastern Europe to set up pro-communist governments. This extended influence happened in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania. In some cases their opponents were imprisoned or murdered. By the end of 1947, every state in that area with the exception of Czechoslovakia had a fully communist government.

The West was alarmed at what they took to be soviet aggression; they believed that Stalin was committed to spreading communism ever as much of the globe as possible. In March 1946, W. Churchill, in his own speech at Fulton, Missouri (USA), said that the Soviet Union was pulling down an “Iron Curtain”. Churchill called for a Western alliance which would stand firm against the communist threat. So the USA decided to contain communism.

American containment policy

Containment was a cornerstone of Western policy against the spread of communism. The USA and other western nations began to actively encourage democratic governments in Latin America, West Europe, Africa and Asia.

The USA sent amount of food and military supplies to countries around the world to stop the spread of communism. In March 1947, Truman announced that the USA would support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. This was the Truman Doctrine. In June 1947, an economic extension of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan was announced. As a result of the Marshall Plan, by September 1947, 16 nations of Western Europe had drowned up a joint for using American aid.

By 1951, therefore, American’s economic warfare policy was enshrined in various pieces of legislation. The promise was that any assistance in building up the Soviet economy by the sale of Western goods with direct or indirect military application represented a danger to U.S. national security.

The essence of U.S. policy was the desire to weaken the Soviet economy through denial and to contain Soviet power by retarding the growth of the military industrial infrastructure that would permit Soviet foreign expansion. Moreover, Washington recognized that this policy would be ineffective if it did not secure allied cooperation. The United States therefore used a mixture of positive (Marshall Plan aid) and negative (Battle Act) incentives to achieve this cooperation. Deibel, T.L. & Gaddis, J.L. (1987, p. 62).

In 1949, the USA joined the countries of Western Europe in a military Treaty and formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The members promised to help one another in case of an attack from the Soviet Union. They formed an armed force made up of soldiers from each country. In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined NATO and the Americans later established rocket base on the Turkish-Soviet border. After the victory of communism in China (1949), with Australia, New Zealand, and in 1954, these three states with Great Britain and France set up the South East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO). However, only three Asian states (Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines) joined SEATO.

The Soviet Union response to American containment policy

Stalin responded to American containment policy by tightening his grip on the satellites. The Cominform was set up in September 1947. This was an organization to draw together the various European communist parties. In 1949, the Molotov Plan was introduced, offering soviet aid to the satellites. Another organization, Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was set up to co-ordinate their economic policies. In 1955, a similar group of NATO was set up in the communist Camp, Warsaw Pact. This was made up of all the communist countries of Europe except Albania and Yugoslavia.

3.6.2. The main phases of the Cold War

The Cold War was characterised by periods of hot crisis and those of détente.

The period of small hot crises (1947-1953)

There occurred mainly in Czechoslovakia (February 1948), in Germany (June 1948 - May 1949) in China (1946-1949), in Korea (1950-1953), in Vietnam (1946-1954) and in the Middle East (1948-1949). Although the antagonism and rivalry were intense, there were no open or direct military hostilities between the two superpowers. In some ways, East-West relations did begin to improve during 1953, but there were still areas of disagreement.

The thaw after 1953

The death of Stalin (1953), was probably a starting of the thaw, because it brought to the forefront new Soviet leaders namely Gueorgui Malenkov, Nikolai Bulganin and Nikita Khrushchev who wanted to improve relations with the USA. They seemed more conciliatory and willing to acknowledge the need for arms control and cooperation in the nuclear age. Indeed, by August 1953, the Soviet Union as well as the USA had developed the hydrogen bomb. Thus, the two sides were balanced that international tensions had to be relaxed if nuclear war was to be avoided. In this perspective, N. Khrushchev said that, "peaceful Coexistence with the West was not only possible but essential".

Anti Community feelings in the USA, which had been stirred up by Senator Joseph McCarthy, began to moderate when this Senator was discredited in 1954. He had gone too far, when he began to accuse leading generals of having community sympathies. The Senate condemned McCarthy by a large majority and soon afterward, the American President Eisenhower announced that the American people wanted to be friendly with the Soviet people.

Among other signs of the thaw were the signing of the agreement at Panmunjom ending the Korean war (July 1953); the Geneva Agreement (1954), ending the war in Indo-China; the agreement, in 1955, on Treaty with Austria, ending the joint allied occupation and leaving Austria

independent and neutral; important concessions made by the Soviet Union in 1955(Soviet military bases in Finland were given up; Cominform was abandoned; the quarrel with Yugoslavia cooled down when Khrushchev paid a visit to Josip Broz Tito.

However, the thaw was not a consistent development; on the one hand, under criticism at home and from Mao in China for being too conciliatory toward the West, Nikita Khrushchev was quick to respond to anything which seemed to be a threat to the East. The Warsaw Pact (1955), was signed between USSR and satellite states shortly after West Germany was admitted to NATO, in 1956. The Soviet Union exerted pressure on Poland to curb its reform movement; then sent troops that year to crush the Hungarian revolt. In August 1961, the Berlin Wall was erected blocking the escape route of East Germans to West Berlin.

On the other hand, in the late 1950s, the Soviet Union rallied the Latin American states by the international communist movement. Meanwhile, the race in nuclear arms between two blocks continued in the late 1950s. However, the Cuban crisis produced a marked relaxation of tensions between Superpowers, hence the détente from 1970s up to 1990s.

The Détente (1970s –1990s)

Reasons for the détente

The word détente is used to meaning a permanent relaxation of tensions between the East and the West blocs. As the nuclear arsenals were built up, both sides became increasingly fearful of catastrophic nuclear war in which there could be no real winner. Both sides were sickened by the horrors of Vietnam. In addition there were conflicts within both blocs. In the 1960s, relations between China and USSR became strained, and in the West De Gaulle declined to follow the American lead in the Foreign policy in Europe, or elsewhere.

On the other hand, individual motives for the détente were significant. The USSR was finding the expense of keeping up the American clipping. It was essential to reduce defence expenditure so that they could devote more resources to raising the standard of living up to Western levels. The USA began to realize that there must be a better way to cope up with

communists than the one which was having so little success in Vietnam. Clearly there were limits to what their military power could achieve. The Chinese were anxious about their isolation. As for the Nations of Western Europe, they were worried because they would be in the front line if the nuclear war broke out.

The signs of the détente

The main important signs of the détente were the improvement of relations between USSR and USA, China, USSR and China.

Improvement of relations between China and USA

China and USA had been extremely hostile towards each other since the Korean War seemed likely to remain. So while America backed Chiang Kai - Shek and the nationalists in Taiwan, with time relations improved. In 1971, the Chinese unexpectedly invited an American table-tennis team to visit China. Following the success of that visit, the USA responded by calling off their embargo of Chinese entry into the UNO. Communist China was therefore allowed to become a member of the UNO in October 1971.

President Nixon and Ford both paid successful visits to Peking (1972 and 1975). In 1979, Jimmy Carter gave formal recognition of the People's Republic of China. In 1985, an agreement was signed on nuclear co-operation. It will be recalled that, however, there is still the problem of Taiwan to sour the relations between China and the USA.

Improvement of relations between China and USSR

In the 1950s, China co-operation with USSR was good but in the 1960s, relations between the two countries became strained. They hurled polemics at each other in their rivalry for ideological leadership and for control of the lands of inner Asia into which Russia had expanded in the age of the Tsar. Mao accused Khrushchev of pusillanimous behaviour in the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. In 1972, the two countries clashed over border territory that divided Manchuria and Russia's Maritime Provinces; they continued other areas.

Not until the 1980s, was there a reconciliation between the two countries. Progresses were made under M. Gorbachev who was determined to begin

a new era in Sino –Soviet relations. In July 1985, five –year agreements on the trade and economic co-operation were signed and regular contacts took place between the two governments.

Improvement of relations between USSR and USA

The two countries had already made progress with the hot –line telephone link and the agreement to carry out only underground 9 nuclear tests both in 1963. An agreement signed in 1967 banned the use of nuclear weapons in outer space and in the two superpowers signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I); which decided how many ABMs, ICBMs and SALBM each side could have. The agreement did not reduce the amount of armaments but it did not slow the arms race down. In July 1975, the Helsinki Agreement was signed and by this agreement, the USA, Canada, the USSR and most European states accepted the European frontiers which had been drawn up after the Second World War. The Communists countries promised to allow their peoples human rights including freedom of speech and freedom to leave the country.

However, the détente did not precede some setbacks such as the war in Vietnam (1961-1975), the six –Day War (1967) fought Israel and neighboring states (Egypt, Jordan, Syria), the Yom Kippur war (1979). NATO became nervous at the deployment of 150 new soviet SS-20 missiles. It decided to deploy over 500 perishing and cruise missiles in Europe by 1983, as deterrent to a possible attack on Western Europe. When the Soviet invaded Afghanistan (December 25, 1979) and replaced the President with the one; more favourable to them; all the old Western suspicion of Soviet motives revived. Both sides spent the first of the 1980s building up their nuclear arsenals. It will be recalled that the détente between two superpowers gathered momentum again thanks to the determination of the new Soviet leader, M... Gorbachev (1985-1991). He had summit meetings with E. Reagan and proposed a 15 –year time table for a step proces s for ridding t he earth of nuclear weapons.

On May 1, 1988, M. Gorbachev agreed that USSR would begin withdrawing her troops from Afghanistan, provided the U.S.A stopped sending military aid to the Afghanistan resistance movement. In 1990, Gorbachev George Bush, and Ronald Reagan' jointly agreed to end the cold war, confirmed

by the collapse of communism in Eastern. In 1991, the leaders of both superpowers signed a tragic Arms Treaty pledging each nation to scale down by about a third of its arsenal of long –range nuclear missiles.

The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe and USSR (1989 –1991): the end of the cold war

Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms, Eastern remarkable Europe in the period of events August 1988 to December 1991. Communism was swept away by a rising tide popular opposition and mass demonstrations, far more quickly than could ever imagine.



Figure 7:22 Mikhail Gorbachev <https://i.pinimg.com/564x/7f/c5/ff/7fc5ff24c6112410e2d472fb5f12048b.jpg>

The process began in Poland in August 1988, when the Solidarity trade union organized a huge anti–government strikes. These eventually forced the government to allow free elections, in which the communists were heavily defeated (June 1989). Evolutionally protects rapidly spread to all other soviet satellites states. Hungary was the next to allow free elections in which communists again suffered defeat. In the Eastern Germany, by the end of 1990, the Communist government had resigned. Soon the Berlin Wall was breached and, in the summer of 1990, Germany was reunited. Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania had thrown out their communist governments by the end of 1989, and multi–party elections were held in the former Yugoslavia in 1990, and Albania in the spring of 1991.

By the end of December 1991, the USSR itself had split up into separate Republics and Gorbachev resigned. The Cold War came to an end and the USA became the sole superpower in the world affairs even if Russia remained a large persistent power.

3.6.3 The major crisis of the Cold War

The cold war started with soviet expansionism which in turn led to the American Containment Policy (1947). It spread in different parts of the world.

The communist takeover in CCzechoslovakia (February 1948)

In Czechoslovakia, democratic President Coalition had been viewed by Edward Benes as a possible bridge between the East and the West. Fearing a possible defeat in a forthcoming elections, the Czechoslovakia communist party seized power in February 1948. This came as a great blow to the Western bloc because Czechoslovakia was the only remaining democratic state in Eastern Europe. The communist takeover of Czechoslovakia was complete.

The Berlin blockade and airlift (June 1948-1949)

This crisis arose out of disagreement over the treatment of Germany: Germany and Berlin were each divided into four zones. While the Western powers did their best to organize the economic and political recovery of their zones, Stalin treated his zones as satellite, draining its resources away to the Soviet Union.

In June 1948, the West introduced a new currency and ended price controls in their zone and in Western Berlin, the Soviet Union closed all roads, railways and canal links between West Berlin and West Germany. Their aim was to force the West to withdraw from West Berlin by reducing it to starvation point. The Western powers decided to fly supplies in rightly judging that the Soviet Union would not risk shooting down the transport planes. In May 1949, the Russians admitted failure by lifting the blockade.

As results of this crisis, NATO was formed to co-ordinate Western defences and Germany was divided into two parts; the German Federal Republic or West Germany (August 1949) and the German Democratic Republic, East Germany (NovemberDecember 1989).

The war in Korea (1950-1953)

The war broke out when North Korean troops invaded South Korea in June 1950. The USA and other 14 capitalist supported South Korea while North Korea was supported by the Soviet Union and China. Eventually, peace talks opened in Panmunjom and lasted for two years, ending in July 1953 with an agreement that the frontier should be roughly along the 38th parallel. Till now North Korea and South Korea are still divided.

Angola

Angola was engulfed by civil war immediately after gaining independence from Portugal in 1975. Part of the problem was that there were three different liberation movements namely the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA), which started to fight each other almost as soon as independence was declared.

MPLA, a Marxist lean party, had strong Marxist connections and received economic and military aid from the communist bloc. It is this movement which claimed to be the new government. The USA decided to back the FNLA which was encouraged to attack the MPLA. UNITA also launched an offensive against the MPLA. Cuba sent troops to help the MPLA, while South Africa troops, supporting other two groups, invaded Angola.

The end of the Cold War and communist rule in Eastern Europe meant that all communist support for the MPLA ceased, all Cuban troops had gone home by June in 1991, and South Africa was ready to end involvement. The UNO, OAU, the USA and Russia played a part in setting up peace talks between the MPLA government and UNITA in Lisbon. It was agreed that there should be a ceasefire followed by elections, to be monitored by the UNO.

The Cold War in America: the Cuban missile crisis (1961-1962)

Cuba became involved in the Cold War in 1959, when Fidel Castro seized power from American-backed by dictator Batista. Shortly after, Castro broke with USA and in 1961, he announced that he was a Marxist and that Cuba was a socialist country.

In 1962 Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, set up nuclear missile launchers in Cuba aimed at the USA, whose nearest point was less than a hundred miles from Cuba. There was a great consternation in the USA in October 1962, when photographs taken from spy planes showed a missile base under construction in Cuba. The situation was tense, and the world seemed to be on the verge of nuclear war.

The Secretary General of the UN, U Thant, appealed to both sides for restraint. Khrushchev promised to remove the missiles and dismantle the sites. In return, Kennedy promised that the US would not invade Cuba again and undertook to disarm the Jupiter missiles in Turkey. As a result of the Cuban missile crisis, both sides realized how easily a nuclear war could have started and how terrible the results would have been; there was also a marked relaxation of tension between both Superpowers. A telephone link (the hot line) was introduced between Moscow and Washington to allow swift consultation and, in July 1963, the Soviet Union, the USA and Britain signed a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty agreeing to carry out nuclear test only underground to avoid polluting the atmosphere.



Application Activity 3.6

1. Explain why what happened in Czechoslovakia (February 1948), in Germany (June 1948 - May 1949) in China (1946-1949), in Korea (1950-1953), in Vietnam (1946-1954) and in the Middle East (1948-1949) can be considered as a period of hot crisis in the Cold War. Use the internet and your school library to get more details and write two pages text.
 - Explain these two events of the Cold War.
 - Cuban Missiles crisis.
2. The Berlin Blockade and airlift.
3. Write a short essay (not more than 300 words) on arms race during the Cold War. Use the internet or school library for more information.
4. What do you understand by containment?
5. Assess the *détente*.

6. “Mao Zedong never accepted Khrushchev as head of the communist world; instead he began to see himself as a leader of the international socialist revolution”. Comment this assertion.
7. “I am not ashamed to say that I am a communist and adhere to the communist idea, and with this I will leave for the Other World”. Link this Gorbachev’s statement to his reforms. Use internet and other documents to find evidences.



End of Unit Assessment 3

1. “Was World War II the continuation of World War I” Analyze the statement.
2. How did the Allies win World War I?
3. Explain the reasons which pushed A. Hitler and Joseph Stalin to sign the Nazi-Soviet Pact (non-aggression pact) in August 1939.
4. Comment the strategies used by Allies to end the war with Japan.
5. Describe the role played by women during the First World War.

UNIT 4

AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND ACQUISITION OF INDEPENDENCE

Key unit competence: Analyse the causes of African nationalism, the means used to acquire independence in Africa and its impact on African societies.



Introductory Activity 4.1

Why most of the African states especially Zimbabwe, Kenya, Algeria, Angola, Mozambique and South Africa resorted to armed struggles after 1945 as compared to other forms of liberation?

Introduction

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 for African Unity, formation of political parties, contribution of African nationalists, religion, Harold Macmillan, Labour Party in Britain, and 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. Different factors facilitated the rise of the African nationalism. These encompass the colonial education, the churches, ideas and expressions of support from individuals of African ancestry through the Pan-African movement, the exposure to the world through world wars, and, of course, the forum provided briefly by the League of Nations and later by the United Nations. The Christian church also served as the tools that the Africans used in the struggle for the liberation of their countries.

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.

In many parts of Africa outstanding leaders arose such men 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. Thus, between 1951 (Libya) and 1980 (Zimbabwe) colonial Africa ceased to exist. All these leaders and many others that are not mentioned here 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

Explain 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.

4.1.1. Internal factors of African nationalism

There are forces generated within African societies that brought about nationalism in Africa. These factors included:

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. 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 on, nationalistic feelings developed through peasants' associations and they later 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 urbanisation 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 urbanisation. Meanwhile, many people from different ethnic groups migrated to the towns and since they were from different backgrounds they shared their experiences. They realised 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. Thus the example of Liberia and Ethiopia also influenced the rise of nationalistic movements in Africa.

The formation of political parties also inspired African nationalism. They 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 O.A.U. 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.

4.1.2. External factors of African nationalism

There were some factors that motivated the rise of African nationalism but generated from outside Africa. Such forces included:

The emergence of the new superpowers namely 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. The independence of India and Pakistan in 1947 also 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 organise liberation movements to free Africa from foreign control. This encouraged the rise of nationalistic movements.

The returning 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.



Figure 4.1 : *The Tirailleurs Sénégalais*

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

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 World War I and World War II.

Formation of the U.N which 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, unlike during the League of Nations where African colonies became mandatory colonies of European nations.

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, 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, its policies were 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.

Maurice Harold Macmillan, the British Prime Minister (1957-1963), also played an important role. As a result of powerful nationalistic movements in Africa, on one of his visits to Africa he made the famous speech called 'the wind of change'. He observed that a wind of change was sweeping through Africa and that colonial powers had to leave Africa to avoid fighting. This encouraged the African demand for independence. The aftermath of the Second World War to the colonialists who incurred a lot of losses and could not continue spending on the colonies so they were forced to grant independence to some African states.



Application Activity 4.1

1. Explain the role of World War I in the rise of African nationalism.
2. Show how the Second World War influenced the African nationalism.
3. Search on internet the Harold Macmillan's speech "The wind of change" and explain his views on African nationalism.

4.2. Means used by Africans to regain their independence



Learning Activity 4.2

After your reading, discuss the 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. Because Africa had been sliced into different colonies, the resistance emerged and 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/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 independence 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 blacks which prompted them to make a revolution in 1964 supported by the masses. It 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, 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. Because the coloniser was European and the colonised was African, such organisations were seen, particularly by outsiders, almost entirely in racial terms. It served the colonial powers' interests. Colonisers exploited the situation 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 are, 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.

Channels of African nationalism

In political terms, African nationalism began to assert itself primarily after World War II. Organisations through which nationalism was channelled were varied and heterogeneous. There were groups like:

The professional groups, consisting of lawyers, doctors, Teachers, clerks, and small merchants who tended to be allied with wealthy merchants and contractors; or, in Marxian terms, the petty bourgeoisie who were impatient with the status quo and eager to have the system transformed so that they could better themselves and perhaps help others as well;

The colonial bureaucracy, including Westernized Africans who were the immediate beneficiaries of the "Africanisation" of top government positions when independence came;

The urban workers, small shopkeepers, petty traders, and hawkers interested in improving their wages and working conditions through trade unions (some of which were affiliated with emerging political parties, while others were not) and who made up the “informal sector” of colonial economies;

The cash crop and peasant farmers, some of whom were wealthy, and all of whom constituted to a powerful and important segment of Africans; peasant farmers toiled on their small farms in the countryside and grew most of the food eaten in the country. Peasant concerns had to do with agriculture; they protested policies that controlled the market prices of their produce in urban markets, restricted ownership of cattle, or charged exorbitant fees for cattle dips.

African nationalism was, therefore, composed of a number of different elements, representing sometimes interrelated, but often divergent, economic interests, which temporarily united Africans in an anti-colonial ‘struggle’. The nationalistic struggles were waged, in part, by religious associations, trade unions, and welfare organisations, as well as by political parties.

Trade unions and welfare associations were formed as towns and began to grow, particularly after the World War II, and the Africans in urban areas began to form associations to assist new arrivals from the rural areas with accommodations, jobs, and a supportive network of individuals from “home.”

Although the vast majority of African states achieved independence peacefully through negotiation, it nevertheless makes a lot of sense to refer to the process of transition from colonialism to independence as a struggle. Africans were never simply asked: When do you wish to become independent? They had to demand for their independence; they had to agitate for it. Many “agitators” went to jail; some of them were banished from their own countries for long periods of time. It used to be said that the surest path to becoming the prime minister of an English-speaking African country was through jail. Indeed, African leaders such as Kenyatta (Kenya), Nkrumah (Ghana) and Banda (Malawi) served time in colonial jails before they became leaders of their own countries.

Many factors mediated the struggle for independence: colonial education, the churches, ideas and expressions of support from individuals of African ancestry through the Pan African Movement, the exposure to the world through world wars, and, of course, the forum provided briefly by the League of Nations and later the United Nations. It is interesting that the Christian church and colonial education, the pivotal tools in the Europeans' "civilizing missions" in Africa, also inadvertently became the tools that the Africans used in fighting for freedom. Despite the atomizing impact of the divide-and-rule policies employed by colonial authorities, it is remarkable indeed that African people were able to wage fairly unified movements.



Application Activity 4.2

1. Discuss the factors that determined the way used by African countries to gain their independence.
2. Describe the factors that mediated the African struggle for independence.
3. Discuss the different forms of liberation used by African countries to gain independence.

4.3. Process followed by African countries to regain independence



Learning Activity 4.3

After our reading, discuss the Process followed by African countries to regain their independence

The process of decolonization or national liberation 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. The struggles evolved in different ways in different parts of Africa.

4.3.1. North Africa and French colonies

The first moves occurred in the north. 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 the 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 Malagasy (Madagascar). Guinea 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, except those in North Africa, French is still an official language and it is also much spoken in ex-French North Africa.



Figure 4.3: Colonial Africa

Source:<http://www.stampworldhistory.com/maps/continent-maps/colonialafrica-2/>

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. Gambia took the name “The Gambia” after the independence. 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 withdrew from the British Commonwealth. The former British colonies and protectorates Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, The 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ 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 who could lead them to independence; and using tribal

rivalries to their advantage by playing off different tribes against each other. This strategy worked well in the huge Congo which contained about 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 Zaire in 1960.

Rwanda and Burundi were detached from it, and became separate states in 1962.

4.3.4. Portuguese colonies

The main Portuguese possessions were in Africa the two large areas, Angola and Mozambique, and a small colony of Portuguese, 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 three colonies became independent. Guinea took the name of Guinea-Bissau (September 1974) and Angola and Mozambique became independent the following year.

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.

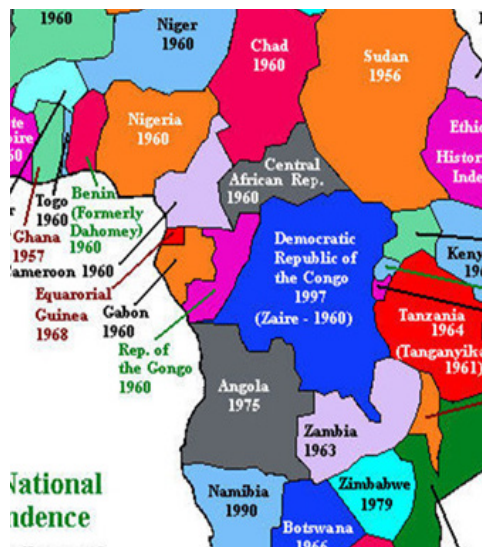


Figure: 4.4: African national independence. Featuring the dates of independence of each nation

Source: <https://wakeup-world.com/2016/05/08/the-hidden-truths-of-africaneocolonialism-and-the-modern-age-of-slavery/> Source: Birmingham, D. (1995).

4.3.6. Case studies of steps to regain independence

- **Decolonisation of Ghana**

The movement towards the independence of India in 1947 heralded the break-up of the British Empire. Self-government for Africans could not be far behind. In British West Africa the movement towards independence was led by the colony of Gold Coast, soon to become the independent state of Ghana. In 1946 the British revised the Gold Coast constitution, establishing an African majority in the Legislative Council. Most of the African representatives, however, were nominated by the country's chiefs. Though committed to the development of African self-government, the British still believed this could be done by the gradual reform of the existing system of 'indirect rule'. This excluded the small but influential body of educated Africans who were determined to win a greater share in government.

In 1947 a number of prosperous businessmen and lawyers from Accra and other coastal towns formed the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). They wanted the revision of the 1946 constitution to increase the number of elected rather than nominated African members of government. Kwame Nkrumah, a former teacher from southern Gold Coast was invited to become secretary of the new party. Nkrumah had recently returned from some years of higher education in the United States, where he had been inspired by the ideas of the radical Pan-Africanist Marcus Garvey. Nkrumah saw this as the chance to fulfil the aims of the Pan African Congress of 1945 which he had attended in Manchester.

In February 1948 an event occurred in Accra which quickened the whole rhythm of events. Police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration by African ex-servicemen protesting at the rapidly rising cost of living. The shooting prompted widespread rioting in Accra, Kumasi and other towns. The government suspected that UGCC was behind the disturbances. Nkrumah and leading members of the party were arrested and held in prison for several months. The extent of disturbances prompted the British government into reviewing the constitution of 1946. This in turn demonstrated to Nkrumah the power of mass action. Following his release from prison, Nkrumah founded his own, more radical, Convention

People's Party (CPP). He pursued a vigorous drive for widespread mass membership with the attractive demand of immediate independence. He called for a campaign of 'Positive Action' in support of these demands and a wave of demonstrations and strikes swept the country. Nkrumah was promptly re-arrested for subversion. His tactics, however, proved successful.

The British revised the 1946 constitution, bringing in a larger, African dominated Legislative Council. In elections held in 1951 the CPP won a clear majority and Nkrumah was released from prison to become leader of government business in parliament.

The 1951 constitution, however, still reserved half the parliamentary seats for chiefly nominees. Nkrumah spent the next three years negotiating with the Governor, Arden Clarke, for a new constitution which brought fully-elected, internal self-government to the territory in 1954. CPP won the new round of elections and Nkrumah became prime minister.



Figure 4.5: Kwame Nkrumah (1909-1972), first Prime Minister and later President of Ghana

Source: <http://www.maliweb.net>.

Gold Coast became independent as the new state of Ghana in March 1957. Ghana set the pattern for transition to independence in the rest of British West Africa.

Once Ghana had achieved her independence, Nkrumah focused on helping other African countries to liberate themselves from colonial rule. He said “Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent”. Ghana’s independence gave hope and encouragement to other nationalist leaders involved in struggles to free their own nations.

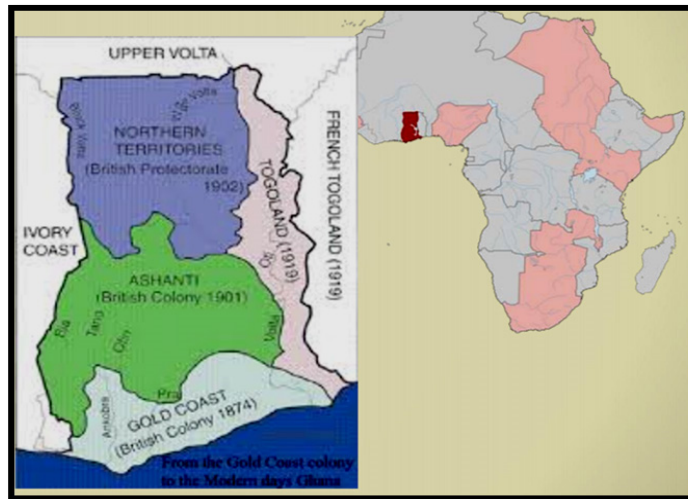


Figure 4.6: Map of Gold Coast/Ghana

Source:<http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v16/v16i1a2>.

- **Decolonization of South Africa**

The Union of South Africa, established on May 31, 1910, as a self-governing state within the British Empire, legislatively restricted political and property rights to whites at the expense of blacks. With the exception of a very small number of voters in the Cape Province and Natal, Africans were kept off electoral roll throughout most of the country.

Nationalist movements

Two nationalist movements emerged in the aftermath of the formation of the Union, one racially and ethnically exclusivist, the other much more disparate in its membership and aims; the Afrikaner nationalist movement, and the Black Nationalist movement, led primarily by the African National Congress (ANC, formed in 1912).

Afrikaner nationalists spoke of themselves as a chosen people, ordained by God to rule South Africa. They established their own cultural organisations and secret societies, and they argued that South Africa should be ruled in the interests of Afrikaners, rather than English businessmen or African workers. Throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, the Afrikaner nationalist movement grew in popularity, fuelled by fears of black competition for jobs, by antipathy toward the Englishspeaking mine magnates, by the memory of past suffering, and by the impact of World War II (especially massive black urbanization).

The Black Nationalist movement had no such success. For most blacks, lack of access to the vote meant that they could not organise an effective political party. Instead they had to rely on appeals, deputations, and petitions to the British government asking for equal treatment before the law. The British responded by pointing out that South Africa was now self-governing and that the petitioners had to make their case to the local white rulers. Although Africans, Asians, and coloureds shared common grievances, they were not united in their organisations or their aims. Physically separated and legally differentiated in practically every aspect of their lives, they formed separate organisations to represent their interests. Moreover, their leaders, with few exceptions, adopted accommodationist rather than confrontational tactics in dealing with the state. Failing to gain any real concessions from increasingly hardline governments, none of the black political movements succeeded in building a solid mass following. Even the ANC had a membership of only a few thousand (out of an African population of about 8 million) in 1948.

The ideology of apartheid and its demise

With the introduction of apartheid, the National Party (NP) extended and systematized many of the features of entrenched racial discrimination into a state policy of white supremacy. Every person resident in South Africa was legally assigned, largely on the basis of appearance, to one racial group—white, African, coloured, or Asian. South Africa was proclaimed to be a white man’s country in which members of other racial groups would never receive full political rights. Africans were told that eventually they would achieve political independence in perhaps nine or ten homelands, carved out of the minuscule rural areas already allocated to them, areas

that even a government commission in the 1950s had deemed totally inadequate to support the black population.



Figure 4.7: *Racial segregation in South Africa*

Source:http://www.rfksafilm.org/html/apartheid_cartoons.php

Coloureds and Asians, too, were to be excluded from South African politics. By law, all races were to have separate living areas and separate amenities. Education was to be provided according to the roles that people were expected to play in society. In that regard, Hendrik F. Verwoerd, the leading ideologue of apartheid and prime minister of South Africa from 1958 until his assassination in 1966, stated that Africans would be “making a big mistake” if they thought that they would live an adult life under a policy of equal rights.” According to Verwoerd, there was no place for Africans “in the European community” (by which he meant South Africa) above the level of certain forms of labour.

During the 1960s, the implementation of apartheid and the repression of internal opposition continued despite growing world criticism of South Africa’s racially discriminatory policies and police violence. Thousands of Africans, coloureds and Asians (ultimately numbering about 3.5 million by the 1980s) were removed from white areas into the land set aside for other racial groups. Some of these areas, called black homelands, were ready for independence, even though they lacked the physical cohesiveness. The ANC and the PAC, banned from operating within South Africa, turned to violence in their struggle against apartheid-the former organisation adopting a policy of bombing strategic targets such as police stations

and power plants, the latter engaging in a program of terror against African chiefs and headmen, who were seen as collaborators with the government.

Verwoerd's government crushed this internal opposition. Leaders of the ANC and PAC within South Africa were tracked down, arrested, and charged with treason. Nelson Mandela was sentenced in 1964 to imprisonment for life. Oliver Tambo had already fled the country and led the ANC in exile.



Oliver Tambo (27 October 1917 - 24 April 1993) was a South African anti-apartheid politician and a central figure in the African National Congress (ANC). Tambo, along with Mandela and Walter Sisulu, was a founding member of the ANC Youth League in 1943, becoming its first National Secretary and later a member of the National Executive in 1948.



Nelson Mandela (18 March 1936- 5 December 2013) South African statesman, president 1994–99. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 as an activist for the African National Congress (ANC), released in 1990. As leader of the ANC, he engaged in talks on the introduction of majority rule with President F. W. de Klerk. He became the country's first democratically elected president in 1994, serving until 1999.

Nobel Peace Prize (1993, shared with F. W. de Klerk).

Figure 4.9: South African nationalists who fought against Apartheid rule in South Africa

Source:<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/South-Africa-history2.htm>.

In 1974 a revolutionary movement overthrew the Portuguese dictatorship in **Lisbon**, and the former colonial territories of **Angola** and **Mozambique** demanded independence from **Portugal**. Their liberation movements-turned-Marxist governments were committed to the eradication of colonialism and racial discrimination throughout southern Africa. Following the 1980 independence of **Zimbabwe**, a nation now led by a socialist government opposed to apartheid, South Africa found itself surrounded by countries hostile to its policies and ready to give refuge to the exiled forces of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). Internal and external opposition to apartheid was fuelled in 1976 when the Soweto uprising began with the protests of high-school students against the enforced use of Afrikaans. This language was viewed by many Africans as the oppressor's medium of communication.

The protests led to weeks of demonstrations, marches, and boycotts throughout South Africa. Violent clashes with police left more than 500 people dead, several thousand arrested, and thousands more seeking refuge outside South Africa, many with the exiled forces of the ANC and the PAC.



Figure 4.10 : The Soweto Youth uprising, June 1976

Source:<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/South-Africa-history2.htm>.

In the early 1980s, NP reformers struggled with the basic structure of apartheid. Concerned about demographic trends, Prime Minister Peter Willem Botha led his government in implementing a new constitutional arrangement. This constitution embraced the concept of multiracial government but, at the same time, perpetuated the concept of racial separation. The new constitution established three racially segregated houses of parliament, for whites, Asians, and coloureds, but excluded blacks from full citizenship. Botha and his allies hoped that such a change would bolster NP support among coloureds and Asians, and thereby give the party enough numerical strength to counter growing dissent.

The constitution implemented in 1984 only inflamed further opposition to apartheid. It was denounced inside and outside South Africa as anachronistic and reactionary. Opponents argued that by further institutionalizing the exclusion of the majority black population, the new constitution only extended apartheid and did not undercut it in any significant way.

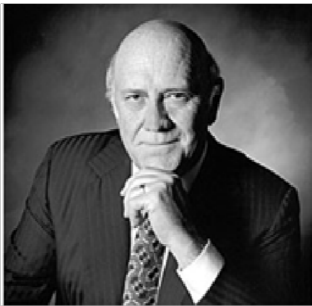
Within South Africa, protests against apartheid far exceeded earlier levels of opposition. In many black townships, police stations and other government buildings were destroyed, along with the homes of black policemen and town councillors, who were denounced as collaborators with the apartheid regime.

Newly legalised black trade unions took a leading role in the opposition, particularly by organising strikes that combined economic and political complaints. The number of work days lost to strikes soared to more than 5.8 million in 1987. Armed members of the ANC and PAC infiltrated South Africa's borders from their bases in Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe and carried out a campaign of urban terror. With South Africa on the verge of civil war, the government imposed a series of states of emergency, used the police and the army against opponents of apartheid, and dispatched military forces on armed raids into neighbouring countries.

Although the government's repressive actions strengthened state control in the short term, they did not go as planned in the long run. Police repression and brutality in South Africa and military adventures elsewhere in southern Africa, only heightened South Africa's pariah status

in world politics. As events in the country grabbed world headlines and politicians across the globe denounced apartheid, the costs for South Africa of such widespread condemnation were difficult to bear. Foreign investors withdrew; international banks called off their loans; the value of South African currency collapsed; the price of gold decreased; economic output declined; and inflation became chronic.

In the face of such developments, it was clear to most South African businessmen, and to a majority of NP party leaders, that apartheid itself had to undergo substantial reform if economic prosperity and political stability were to be regained. In 1989 a stroke precipitated Botha's resignation, and he was succeeded by F. W. de Klerk, formerly a hard-line supporter of apartheid.



F. W. de Klerk (born 18 March 1936), was the seventh and last State President of apartheid-era South Africa, (September 1989 to May 1994). As state president, he freed Nelson Mandela in 1990, lifted the ban on membership in the African National Congress (ANC), and opened the negotiations that led to the first democratic elections in 1994. Nobel Peace Prize (1993, shared with Nelson Mandela).

Figure 4.11 : F.W. de Klerk

Source:<http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/South-Africa-history2.htm>

De Klerk moved faster and farther to reform apartheid than any Afrikaner politician had done before him, although in many instances it seemed that events rather than individuals were forcing the pace and scale of change. De Klerk released Nelson Mandela from twenty-seven years of imprisonment in February 1990, and rescinded the banning orders on the ANC, the PAC, the SACP, and other previously illegal organisations.

With this achievement, from the end of 1991 onwards, government negotiators met regularly with representatives from other political organisations to discuss ways in which some form of democracy could

be introduced and the remaining structures of apartheid dismantled. People involved in the negotiations called their forum the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA).

The members of CODESA sped up the pace of negotiations and plans to implement the interim constitution. South Africa was to have a federal system of regional legislatures, equal voting rights regardless of race, and a bicameral legislature headed by an executive president. The negotiators also agreed that the government elected in 1994 would serve for five years, and that a constitutional convention, sitting from 1994 onwards and seeking input from all South Africans, would be responsible for drawing up a final constitution to be implemented in 1999.

The election in April 1994 was viewed by most participants as a remarkable success. Although several parties, especially the IFP, had threatened to boycott the election, in the end no significant groups refused to participate. The ANC won nearly 62.6% of the vote, but it did not get the two-thirds majority needed to change unilaterally the interim constitution, and it therefore had to work with other parties to shape the permanent constitution. The NP, as expected, no longer led the government, but it did succeed in winning the second largest share of votes, with 20.4%. The IFP did not do well nationally, but with a much stronger base of support in KwaZuluNatal than most commentators expected. It came in third, with 10.5 percent, and won for Buthelezi control of the provincial government. The Freedom Front, a right-of-centre, almost exclusively white party led by former members of the security establishment, got 2.2% of the votes; the PAC, appealing solely for the support of blacks, won 1.2%. On May 9, 1994, Nelson Mandela was unanimously elected president by the National Assembly, with Thabo Mbeki, deputy leader of the ANC and Mandela's likely successor, and F.W. de Klerk named deputy presidents. South Africa had made a peaceful political transition from an apartheid police state to a democratic republic.

The role of women in the struggle against Apartheid

As in most societies, there is no doubt that the top leadership in organisations in southern Africa opposing apartheid and racism has been held by men. However, especially in South Africa, women have frequently been the ones to raise the primary issues and to organise and involve the people around those issues.

In almost all cases, women were first brought into the struggle when they saw the attempt by the Government to destroy their family structure and with it the basic fabric of their respective societies.

Thus, in South Africa, women reacted most vigorously to the introduction of passes in the 1950s and the consequent restrictions on families; to the mass killings of their children two decades later in Soweto; and to the attempt to destroy urban family life as epitomised by Crossroads.

In South Africa, women were very active in trade unions and women's federations. Participation in political parties was not meaningful since African voting rights were virtually non-existent. The Black Consciousness Movement was a major activity centre in the 1970s.

That the women have had a significant impact in southern Africa is beyond question. Women have participated in ever-increasing numbers both within their countries and in exile, always at risk to themselves and to the groups they represent. The level of risk is reflected in the severity of government repression against women. In South Africa, one can hardly think of a prominent organiser who has not been detained, banned or imprisoned. By eliminating the leadership, the authorities destroyed the Federation of South African Women. When this tactic did not work with the Black Women's Federation, it banned the entire group.

In South Africa, the women won the early anti-pass campaign; they achieved a roll-back of bus fares and apparently saved Crossroads. They did not end "Bantu education" and have had to accept passes even though they withstood the final imposition for 11 years. However, in the light of all the odds against them in those major campaigns, it would have to be concluded that, on balance, the women did make an effective contribution to the struggle for liberation.

The women of southern Africa increasingly attracted the attention and solidarity of women and men internationally. The importance of solidarity had been expressed by Winnie Mandela:

Over the past fifteen years, when I was confined and restricted. I got my inspiration from the very knowledge... that the struggle is an international struggle for the dignity of man... just that knowledge alone that we belong

to a family of man in a society where we have been completely rejected by a minority this alone sustains you.

Mrs. Mandela also said:

It is only when all black groups join hands and speak with one voice that we shall be a bargaining force which will decide its own destiny....We know what we want....We are not asking for majority rule; it is our right, we shall have it at any cost. We are aware that the road before us is uphill, but we shall fight to the bitter end for justice.

- **Decolonisation of Kenya**

The road to independence began in the 1950s with the Mau Mau Rebellion. The Mau Mau movement was a militant African nationalist group that opposed British colonial rule and its exploitation of the native population. Mau Mau members, made up primarily of Kikuyu (the largest ethnic group in Kenya), carried out violent attacks against colonial leaders and white settlers.

In 1951, Kenyatta was arrested and imprisoned by the British for being a leading light in the Mau Mau movement. With his detention Mau Mau expanded. In October 1952, the British declared a state of emergency, which continued until 1960. The State of Emergency was in response to an increase in attacks on the property and persons of white settlers, as well as African chiefs who were seen as collaborators. During the state of emergency, a number of Mau Mau operatives, including Kenyatta and Achieng Aneko were arrested and sentenced to seven years in prison.

The Mau Mau uprising also marked a turning point in the struggle for independence. Kikuyu resistance to European colonisation was well established before the Second World War. The Kikuyu Central Association was active in the 1930s under **Jomo Kenyatta** who campaigned energetically for the Kikuyu in Europe. There was also an increase in oath taking. This was a ceremony, affirming loyalty to the Mau Mau cause and war against the Europeans. About 2,000 Kikuyu were killed by Mau Mau fighters for refusing to take the oath.

The number of original Mau Mau fighters was hugely increased by Kikuyu squatters who were expelled from European land after 1952.

The main military leaders were Dedan Kimathi and Warihu Itote, also known as General China. Dedan Kimathi was captured and executed in 1956. General China was eventually released.

Between 1952 and 1956, the British defeated the Mau Mau through a brutal campaign of military action and widespread detention of the Kikuyu. However, the Mau Mau Rebellion also persuaded the British that social, political and agrarian reforms were necessary.

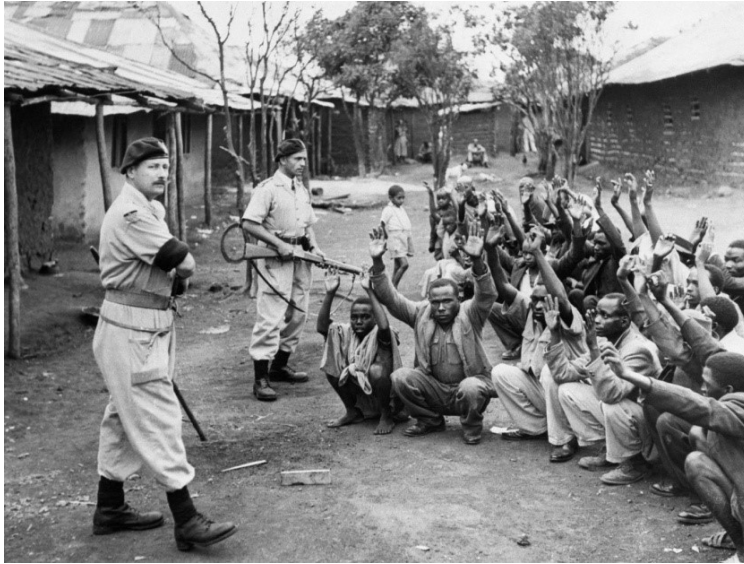


Figure 4.12: British soldiers guarding young Kenyans during Mau Mau uprising in Kenya

Source: www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content.

In 1957, the British allowed for the first direct elections of native leaders to the Legislative Council and by 1960, Africans were a majority in the council. Over the next several years, the British worked with African and white settler leaders to plan the country's transition to independence. These conferences produced a constitution in 1963 that provided for the creation of a bicameral legislature with elections held that May.

The Kenya African National Union won majorities in both houses and selected its leader, Kenyatta, who had been released from prison in 1961, to be the first prime minister of the new nation. Kenyatta was not released until 1961 but the Kenyan African National Union (KANU) had voted him as their President while he was still in prison.



Jomo Kenyatta, original name Kamau Ngengi, (20 October 1894-22 August 1978) is an African statesman and nationalist, the first prime minister (1963-64) and then the first president (1964-78) of independent Kenya.

Figure 4.13 : Jomo Kenyatta

Source:www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content

The other main party to emerge in the run up to independence was the Kenyan African Democratic Union (KADU). In the event, KANU gained a majority in the Legislative Assembly and Jomo Kenyatta led Kenya to independence on December 12, 1963.

- **Decolonisation of Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)**

By 1959, the Congo (now DRC) was producing about 9% of the world's copper, 6.5% of the tin, 49% of the cobalt, 69% of the world's industrial diamonds. 53 million pounds worth of palm oil, cotton and coffee were exported from the country. By this time, the Belgian government had little oversight over the colony's affairs. The colony was governed by a handful of Belgian officials, church leaders and businessmen who were rarely inspected. However, it was the Africans who were making this the wealthiest colony in Africa at the time. Every male was required to provide sixty days of free labour to the state's efforts.



Figure 4.14: Map of the Democratic Republic of Congo

Source: www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content.

Nine days before the Belgians were set to announce reforms, violence broke out in Leopoldville. The rioters looted and burned property and attacked Belgians. After the riot cooled down, about 49 Congolese were dead and 241 had been wounded. The administration announced reforms in 1959 and more natives would be allowed in the advisory councils. By November of that year, about 120 parties had registered to participate in the election, including Patrice Lumumba's Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) which promoted nationalism. However, the December elections were boycotted in many parts of the country.

In May 1960 in a growing nationalist movement, Lumumba's MNC won the most number of seats: 33. The party formed a weak coalition with 12 other parties and at the age of 35, Lumumba became the Congo's first Prime Minister. The parliament elected Joseph Kasavubu, of the Alliance des Bakongo (ABAKO) party as President. Other parties that emerged included the Parti Solidaire Africain (PSA) led by Antoine Gizenga, and the Parti National du Peuple (PNP) led by Albert Delvaux and Laurent Mbariko.



Patrice Lumumba



Joseph Kasavubu



Mobutu Sese Seko

Figure 4.15. African nationalists who struggled for the independence of DRC

Source :www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content.

The Belgian government convened a round table conference in January 1960 and invited 96 Congolese delegates from 13 political groups. On January 27, 1960 Belgium agreed to declare independence for the Congo and on June 30, 1960, the Congo became independent under the name "Republic of Congo" or "Republic of the Congo" (République du Congo).

Even during the Independence Day celebrations, King Baudouin of Belgium gave a speech praising Belgian colonisers especially Leopold II. In response Lumumba gave a nationalistic speech that described the humiliations the Congolese suffered under Belgian rule. The Belgians were deeply insulted by the speech.

Barely a week after Independence, great discontent began simmering in the army and the Africans demanded higher pay from Congolese leadership. On July 6, 1960, Lumumba dismissed the Belgian leadership in the army and Victor Lundula was appointed army commander while Joseph Mobutu was selected as Chief of Staff. Mobutu had also been Lumumba's private secretary.

Shortly after independence, the provinces of Katanga (led by Moise Tshombe) and South Kasai engaged in secessionist struggles against the new leadership. Most of the 100,000 Europeans who had remained behind after independence fled the country, opening the way for Congolese to replace the European military and administrative elite.

On September 5, 1960, Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba from office. Lumumba declared Kasavubu's action "unconstitutional" and a crisis between the two leaders developed. Lumumba had previously appointed Joseph Mobutu chief of staff of the new Congo army. Taking advantage of the leadership crisis between Kasavubu and Lumumba, Mobutu garnered enough support within the army to create mutiny.

With financial support from the United States and Belgium, Mobutu paid his soldiers privately. The aversion of Western powers to communism and leftist ideology influenced their decision to finance Mobutu's quest to maintain "order" in the new state by neutralizing Kasavubu and Lumumba in a coup by proxy.

On January 17, 1961, Katangan forces and Belgian paratroops, supported by the United States and Belgium's intent on copper and diamond mines in Katanga and South Kasai, kidnapped and executed Patrice Lumumba.

The Katanga secession was ended in January 1963 with the assistance of UN forces. Several short-lived governments, of Joseph Ileo, Cyrille Adoua, and Moise Tshombe, took over in quick succession.

- **Decolonisation in Zambia (1944-1964)**

The colonisation of modern day Zambia began in the 1890s, when the Lozi chief Lewanika was obliged to sign a concession that gave the British South Africa Company an excuse to invade their land. Upon obtaining this concession the British South Africa Company began exploiting mining copper. In addition they sold land to British farmers, sometimes for as little as 10 cents a hectare in order to encourage more European settlers. However, in 1924 the British South Africa Company gave up control over Northern Rhodesia. Thereafter, it was administered by the British government.

The copper mines developed in what is now known as the Copper belt created huge profits that were sent overseas. In order to develop an abundant workforce for the mines, the colonial government would charge taxes and prevent the local farmers from the ability to sell cattle and crops on the European market.

In addition, the colonial government created reserves where they placed all farmers who had been removed from fertile land. Most of the reserves were overcrowded and the locals could not produce enough to feed their families. As a result, local farmers were forced to become low paid workers in the Copper belt in Zambia and in the mines in South Africa.

In 1936, workers in the Copper belt went on strike to protest against low wages and brutal work conditions. However, the colonialists retaliated and killed 17 strikers and wounded 70. As a result of this incident, workers in the Copper belt formed a union called the African Mine Workers Union. This union was responsible for organising strikes in 1952 and 1955 which led to an increase in wages.

However, due to growing discontent over the colonial system of government, nationalistic movements began to emerge. The Northern Rhodesian African Congress (NRAC) demanded an end to racial discrimination and more rights for educated Africans. This party was formed by mostly missionary educated middle class who were not concerned by the plight of the farmers or miners. Thereafter, in 1951 white settlers proposed the formation of a federation of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After this idea, the NRAC changed its name

to the African National Congress (ANC) and elected Harry Nkumbula as its leader. All nationalists in the three countries opposed the plan of federation because they viewed it as another way for white settlers to cement their power over natives. Despite this opposition, the federation was formed in 1953.



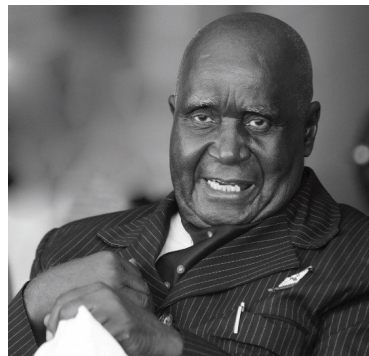
Figure 4.15: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

Source: www.globalblackhistory.com

The federation benefited mostly Southern Rhodesia and mine owners but it inspired the ANC in Northern Rhodesia workers unions to organise strikes and boycotts of white owned stores and government agencies. To appease this growing discontent, the white settlers offered preferential treatment to educated middle class Africans by offering them better access to jobs. This led to disunity among the nationalists. Leaders like Nkumbula were more willing to concede to the compromise which led to the formation of the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC) with Kenneth Kaunda as President and Simon Kapwepwe as Treasurer-General.



Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula



Kenneth Kaunda

Figure 4.16: African nationalists who struggled for the independence of Zambia

Source: www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10.

Zambian nationalism suffered from lack of educated leadership in the early years because the colonial government neglected African education (Munali School, which provided secondary education, was only founded in 1939). Because of this, Europeans dominated politics in Northern Rhodesia until the late 1940s.

After the riots in Nyasaland, ZANC was banned and its leaders arrested which led to the arrest of more than 100 Africans. From the ZANC emerged another party called the United National Independence Party (UNIP). Kenneth Kaunda assumed leadership of UNIP upon his release from prison. UNIP demanded majority African rule, one person one vote, equal work for equal pay and peaceful means to achieving these demands. Their demands attracted the support of workers and African farmers. The desire for peaceful protests was often thwarted in the rural areas where bridges and buses were attacked.

The Monckton Commission was appointed to review the federation. African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland boycotted it. The growing discontent among Africans led to the dissolution of the federation. Conferences and negotiations from 1960 through 1963 would lead the formal dissolution of the federation on December 31, 1963. There after, Kaunda and Nkumbula agreed to work together for the sake of achieving independence in Zambia.

On 24 October, 1964 Northern Rhodesia (now known as Zambia) gained independence from Britain. **Kenneth Kaunda**, the country's first president, proclaimed one-party rule at independence. Their independence came four years after the famous speech 'The winds of change' by British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

The country's independence came ten months after the collapse of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with Northern Rhodesia becoming the Republic of Zambia.

- **Independence of Algeria**

In Algeria the French were determined not to grant independence. Algeria was France's principal colony of white settlement, there being as many as two million French settlers in the country by 1945. The whites exported

most of the crops they produced and also used some of the land to grow vines for wine-making. This made less food available for the growing African population whose standard of living was clearly falling. There was an active, though peaceful, nationalist movement led by Messali Hadj, but after almost ten years of campaigning following the end of Second World War, they had achieved absolutely nothing.

Reforms offered by the French government in 1946-47 were no longer enough. Increasing number of Algerians became committed to the need for an all-out war of liberation. In November 1954 the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) led by Ben Bella launched the war. The FLN found the base of support in the isolated regions of the Aures Mountains. The war gradually escalated as the French sent more troops. By 1960 they had 700,000 troops engaged in a massive anti terrorist operation. It was a long and bitter struggle. Thousands of French troops were killed and they in turn killed literally hundreds of thousands of Algerians, accused of helping the guerrillas.

From left to right, the six

historical leaders of the National Liberation Front (FLN): Rabah Bitat, Mostefa

Ben Boulaïd, Didouche

Mourad, Mohammed Boudiaf, Krim Belkacem and Larbi Ben M'Hidi.



Figure 4.18: National Liberation Front leaders

Source: https://www.thenation.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/FLN_algerian_war_cc_img.jpg.

In 1958 the war caused the downfall of the French government and brought an end to the Fourth Republic which had been in existence since France was liberated in 1944. Suspecting that the government was about to give way as it had in Tunisia and Morocco, some army officers organised demonstrations in Algeria and demanded that General De Gaulle should be called in to head a new government. They were convinced that the

general, a great patriot, would never agree to Algerian independence. Civil war seemed imminent so the government could see no way out of the deadlock and consequently resigned. President Coty called upon De Gaulle, who agreed to become Prime Minister on condition that he could draw up a new constitution. This turned out to be the end of the Fourth Republic in France. De Gaulle soon produced his new constitution giving the President too much power, and was elected President of the Fifth Republic in 1958, a position which he held until his resignation in 1969.

Fighting continued and it was not long before De Gaulle decided that military victory was out of the question. When he showed a willingness to negotiate with FLN, the army and the settlers were incensed because it was not what they had expected from him. Led by Salan, they set up l'Organisation de l'Armée Secrète (OAS), which began a terrorist campaign, blowing up buildings and murdering critics both in Algeria and France. They even attempted to assassinate De Gaulle and seized power in Algeria. This was going too far for most French people and for many of the army too. When De Gaulle denounced the OAS, the rebellion collapsed. The French public was sick of the war and there was widespread approval when Ben Bella, who had been in prison since 1956, was released to attend peace talks at Evian. Algeria should become independent in July 1962, and Ben Bella was elected first President the following year. About 800.000 settlers left the country and the new government took over most of their land and businesses.



Application Activity 4.3

1. With Kenya, South Africa, Ghana, Congo or Zambia, Algeria as case studies analyse how African nationalism was indispensable and contributed to African countries to regain independence.

2. Source A

We, women, will never carry these passes. This is something that touches my heart. I appeal to you young Africans to come forward and fight. These passes make the road even narrower for us. We have seen unemployment, lack of accommodation and families broken because of passes. We have seen it with our men.

Who will look after our children when we go to jail for a small technical offence — not having a pass?”, declared Dora Tamana, a member of the ANC Women’s League and a founding member of the Federation of South African Women.

- a. According to the source, what were some of the challenges facing black South Africans?
 - b. Did women stay passive in that situation with reference to the subsection on South African and the above quote? Explain.
3. Is there any difference between apartheid and segregation? If you are not sure, use internet to respond to the question.

4.4. Consequences of African nationalism



Learning Activity 4.4

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 19th and 20th 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 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 hoped 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

1. Discuss the consequences of African nationalism to Africans
2. Explain the role of Kwame Nkrumah in the expansion of nationalism in Africa.
3. Can we claim that apartheid contributed to the development of South Africa? Support your argument.



End of Unit Assessment 4

1. Write down a one page text explaining the rise and expansion of nationalism in Africa.
2. Discuss the relationship between African nationalism and PanAfricanism
3. Explain why European colonisation came to the end in Africa.
4. Analyze the impact of African nationalism.
5. Compare and contrast the process to independence for Algeria and Ghana. Use the internet or the school library for getting more information.

UNIT 5

CAUSES AND IMPACT OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Key unit competence Examine the causes and impact of neo-colonialism in Africa.



Introductory Activity 5.1

Within a closer look, give your comment on the cartoon below:

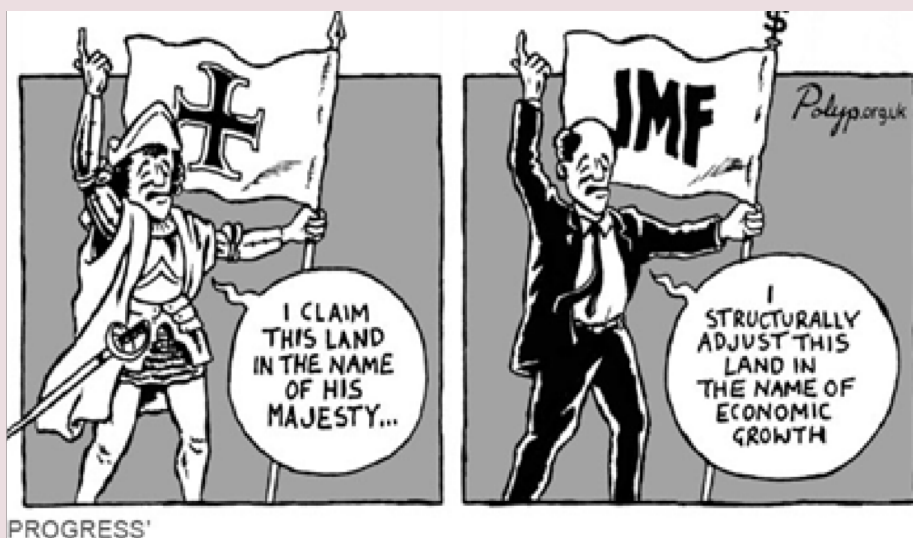


Figure 5.1: Neo-colonialism

Source: <https://leonkwasichronicles.com/2015/01/31/the-imf-and-neo-colonialism-in-the-developing-world-article/>

Introduction

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 most of Africa was still under colonial control. However, by 1970 most of Africa was independent of European colonialism. Several factors contributed to the rise of African nationalism.

After 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. And many more Africans had by now received the beginnings of a modern education and begun to take an interest in political matters.

5.1. Rise of neo-colonialism in Africa



Learning Activity 5.1

By searching on internet or in your school library, write a short text of not more than 150 words explaining the origin of neo-colonialism.

“The neo-colonialism of today represents imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage. In the past it was possible to convert a country upon which a neo-colonial regime had been imposed (...) into a colonial territory. Today this process is no longer feasible. Old-fashioned colonialism is by no means entirely abolished.

(...). Once a territory has become nominally independent it is no longer possible, as it was in the last century, to reverse the process. Existing colonies may linger on, but no new colonies will be created. In place of colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside”.

Source: Kwame Nkrumah, 1965.

5.1.1 Definition of neo-colonialism

Briefly presented, neo-colonialism is a process by which colonial countries continue to exploit their newly independent countries through indirect domination. The domination can be economic, political or social.

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. That is why many observers define neo-colonialism as “the control of less developed countries by developed countries through indirect means”.

5.1.2 Historical background

The term “neo-colonialism” 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 Nkrumah, 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 (1961) of All African People’s Conferences (AAPC), a movement of anti colonialist groups from African countries, voted a “Resolution on Neo-colonialism”. The term neocolonialism 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.

The decolonisation of Africa had begun in the 1960s. During this decade 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.

The ongoing relations between France and Francophone African countries are a good example of the neo-colonial influences. Following the creation of the French Franc zone, which established the Franc CFA (Communauté Financière Africaine) as the general currency for the majority of Western Francophone countries, former colonies of France became tied up in a fixed parity to the French franc, automatically granting the French government control over all financial and budgetary activities.



Figure:5.2: Franc CFA bank notes used in 16 western African countries

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

France also continued its military presence in that region after independence through military and defence assistance agreements. Furthermore, the French institutionalized linguistic and cultural links with all its former colonies, thereby creating the La Francophonie, reinforce the presence and the assimilation of the French culture. On the other side, Great Britain continued to maintain an indirect economic influence through multinational corporations on its former colonies; its direct interventions have diminished significantly over the years.

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.

The concept of neo-colonialism has several theoretical influences. First, the idea of neo-colonialism has been developed from the writings of Karl Marx (1818-1883) related to his critique of capitalism as a stage in the socio-economic development of human society.

He believed that, ultimately and inevitably, the capitalist system in developed countries would be overthrown by a revolution of the working class; this would result in the establishment of socialist society.

Lenin Vladimir (1870-1924) modified this thesis, claiming that the rapid expansion of European imperialism around the world in the last decade of the nineteenth century had marked the highest stage of capitalism. Then, the end of imperialism, which Lenin believed would be the result of World War I, would mark the beginning of the end of capitalism. However, neither imperialism nor capitalism came to an end after the war or in future years. European empires persisted during the 1960s.

After granting independence to colonies, 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.

According to the dependency 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. These theorists, like Walter Rodney and Samir Amin, combined the Marxist-Leninist concept of colonialism as a stage of capitalism with the concept of underdevelopment to create the concept of neo-colonialism, which Kwame Nkrumah called “the last stage of imperialism.”

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.

5.2. Causes of neo-colonialism



Learning Activity 5.2

Explain in not more than ten lines different causes of neo-colonialism.

5.2.1. Unequal exchange

European countries had colonized most of the continent in the late 19th 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.

5.2.2. Foreign aid

Another aspect raised concerns foreign aid. 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.

5.2.3. Balkanization

According to Nkrumah, the most important factor allowing the perpetuation of neocolonialism 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.

5.2.4. The mediation of the ruling class

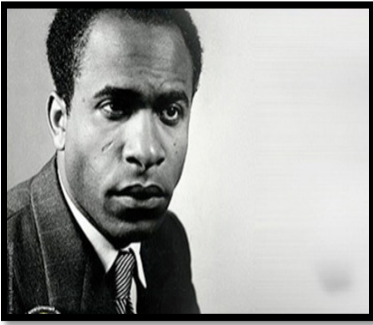


Figure 5.3: Frantz Fanon (1925-1961), a Martinican psychiatric and philosopher who supported the Algerian war of independence from France, discussed in his book, *The Wretched of the Earth* (*Les damnés de la terre*), the role of local leaders in keeping Africa under neo-colonialism.

Figure 5.3: *Frantz Fanon*

Source: <http://thomassankara.net/franz-fanon/>.

Frantz Fanon said that the “African petty bourgeoisie” or the governing class, which had received power from the colonial government, is the primary cause of neocolonialism in Africa. Africans who took power at the time of independence 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. Fanon accused them 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.

5.2.5. Intellectual inability

In his book entitled *On the Postcolony* (2001), Achille Mbembe, a Cameroonian researcher and professor living in South Africa, examines the nature of neocolonialism in Africa today. In his view, after colonialism had ended in Africa, the West did not consider that Africans were capable of organising 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.



Application Activity 5.2

1. Explain the role of Africans in neo-colonialism.
2. Discuss how international aid is a cause of neo-colonialism.
3. The result of colonialism is that foreign capital is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Investment under neocolonialism increases rather than decreases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world” (Nkrumah 1965)

What do you think about Kwame Nkrumah’s points of view on neo-colonialism?

5.2.6. 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.

The emergence of decolonialization and anti imperialism as the strongest movement of post war international relations led to the drive towards liquidation of the colonial empires and consequently to the rise of several new sovereign states in international relations.

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 neocolonialism.

5.2.7. 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.

5.2.8. The 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 impelled 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 most common device which they adopted for this purpose was to break up “the former large united colonial territories into a number of small non-viable states, which were incapable of independent economic development. The new small states had to rely upon their former colonial masters for their economic and security needs.”

5.3. Manifestations of neo-colonialism in Africa



Learning Activity 5.3

In not more than 500 words discuss the indicators of neo-colonialism.

Within a neo-colonial situation, the imperialists usually maintain their influence in as 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.

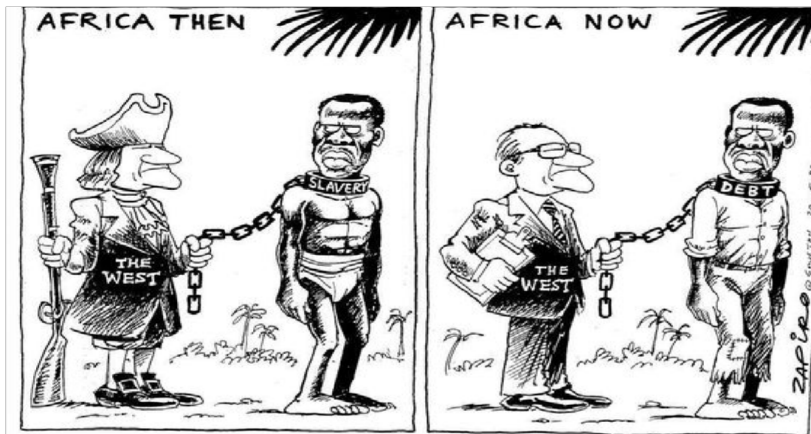


Figure 5.4: The conditions of Africans during colonisation and neo-colonialism

Source: <http://fullpraxisnow.tumblr.com/post/69905905367/neo-colonialism-the looting-of-africa>.

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.

5.3.1. 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.

5.3.2. 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.

5.3.3. Unfair trade terms

African countries are producers of cash crops, like coffee, tea, sisal and cotton which serve as raw materials in developed countries. However, the prices for African crops are determined by developed countries and are often very low or unpredictable. Contrarily, Africans are compelled to import the highly priced finished products from advanced countries.

5.3.4. Influence of 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. France has maintained a special financial regime (CFA) with some western francophone countries. 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.

5.3.5. 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.

5.3.6. 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 (sending soldiers on field like France in Sahara-Sahel or supporting a military coup d'état).

Some powers have military bases in some countries (i.e. Mali, Djibouti, etc.). The military presence and intervention are aimed at primarily serving and protecting the interests of big powers but not African states.



Figure 5.5: Western powers' armed forces in Africa

Source:<https://www.pinterest.fr/search/pins/?q=neocolonialism&rs=typed&term>.

5.3.7. Use 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.

5.3.8. 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.



Application Activity 5.3

1. Explain the economic indicators of neo-colonialism.
2. Discuss the impact of western military presence and intervention in Africa. Use the internet or school library to find more evidence for your argument.

5.4. Consequences of neo-colonialism



Learning Activity 5.4

Write down what you know about the effects of neo-colonialism (not more than ten lines).

Nkrumah said that neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it ensures power without responsibility and unchecked exploitation for those who suffer from it. He explains that neo-colonialist exploitation is implemented in the political, economic, and cultural spheres of society. It is difficult to provide an objective evaluation of the specific effects of the neo-colonialism in Africa because the debate among analysts is still going on.

5.4.1 Economic consequences

Neo-colonialism poses a serious danger to the evolution of the continent whereby African leaders have been totally unable to change the colonial economic legacy in the new independent states. They have made economic choices which undermine the potential for economic growth and at worst destroy significant areas of commercial activities.

The industrialization models followed by low developing countries which is 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.

The World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other multilateral organisations 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 have to 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.



Figure 5.6: Thomas Sankara

Source: <https://scontent-dft4-2.xx.fbcdn.net>.

Another example of the critical reality faced by African countries is related to unfair exchange. According to a recent research on African economy, the diamond mined in Africa costs about \$40 per carat, and a diamond cut and polished in Europe increases to \$400 per carat. That same stone's price is around \$900 per carat when it reaches the consumer. Another example is Zimbabwe, which is known for producing the best quality tobacco in the world. In 2014 it earned \$650 million from the sale of raw tobacco. Industry experts illustrate how Zimbabwe could have earned \$6.5 billion instead of \$650 million if they had processed the crop into cigarettes, rather than exporting tobacco as a raw good.

5.4.2 Political consequences

New independent countries have not only inherited European laws but also the institutions of colonial bureaucracies. Because of the differences in administrative styles, Francophone state bureaucracies are generally more dependent on the former colonial power than the Anglophone state bureaucracies which have been used to a relatively higher degree of autonomy.

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.

5.4.3 Influence on African cultures

Neo-colonialism 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.

Since then the trend of cultural westernization has become very prevalent in Africa. Western civilization has taken precedence over African values and culture and the latter is considered as inferior to the former especially by local elites and young generation. Some manifestations include:

- The Extended Family Giving Way To **Nuclear Family**;
- The Appearance Of The Phenomenon Of Children Of Single Parent;
- The Decline of native languages in Africa especially among elites;
- Christianity replaced traditional religions and new evangelist movements exported in Africa political ideologies from the North.
- Western education and leisure became the characteristics of the modernity.
- In the area of science and technology, modern medicine has largely taken advantage over traditional methods in matters of health.

One of the effects of Western civilization on Africans is that it occasioned a discontinuity within their life and created a cultural dualism that often presents itself as a real dilemma. African experience of modernity is caught within tensions at every level of the communal and individual life.

The post independent Africa is confronted within the following dilemma: how to have a new cultural identity that is African in nature?

It is important to remember that cultures always change. It is made of the heritage of local traditions, the innovations made by members of a given society and the borrowings from other cultures.

After independence, some Africans especially writers became disillusioned by the African rulers whose behaviour was worse than their colonial masters. This led to the present debates by which neo-colonial problems or presented as such are analysed by questioning not only the Neo-colonialism but also by highlighting the responsibility of African elites (example of Ngugi's novel, *Petals of Blood*, 1986).

Africa continues to face the problem of the dominant presence of Western civilization. In the quest for modernization, the focus is mostly on the Western world and there is little or no focus on the urgent need for internal changes in this quest.

Despite colonial legacy, African nations have the responsibility to develop themselves by making changes in their internal structures using indigenous knowledge, while at the same time learning all they can from the influence of the Western world and putting these to use for their own benefit.



Application Activity 5.4

Discuss the neocolonialism and its effect (at least more than ten lines)



End of Unit Assessment 5

1. Explain the economic consequences of neo-colonialism.
2. Discuss the effects of Western civilization on Africans.
3. Observe the cartoon below and write down how you can relate it to neo-colonialism.



Source: <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/4e/4ac3/4e4ac325acdd0b19ceb305f0a1691dac.jpg>

4. Read the following text and respond to the following question: Can we consider neo-colonialism as a threat to African continent? Justify your answer using quotes from Bryant T. Guest's text.



Source:<https://wakeup-world.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/A-ForgottenContinent-Lumumba.jpg>

“Those African leaders that chose not to play ball with the West were abruptly assassinated by covert intelligence operations. From 1961-1973 alone, there were six African opposition leaders taken out in Western-backed coups: Patrice Lumumba (Congo), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Felix Moumie (Cameroon), Sylvanus Olympio (Togo), Mehdi Ben Barka (Morocco), Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea & Camp Verde). It became quite clear to those wanting to take power in Africa, that if you aren’t on board with the West’s agenda, then you are a prime target to be taken out. There is no doubt that this has weighed heavily on the psyche of Africans until the present day, much in the same way that the MLK and JFK assassinations had large effects on the political psyche of Americans.

It was the inevitable dark side of ruling through proxies, as anyone who looks deeper can see that the West never really left Africa. Not only did they stick around, but new players would emerge in an attempt to capitalize on Africa’s resources. This was especially true of the US and Russia, as Africa was a prime target of influence for both countries in the heat of the cold war, resulting in proxy wars and multiple coups against each other. A new form of slavery was now emerging from the ashes of colonialism that is still ever-present today. Even less visible than the chains of overt slavery and colonialism, modern neocolonialism has become the new form of control for not only Africa, but is the control system of the entire world”. (By Bryant, T.Guest writer for Wake Up World at <https://wakeup-world.com/2016/05/08/the-hidden-truths-of-africa-neocolonialism-and-the-modernage-of-slavery/>).

UNIT 6

THE 1990 – 1994 LIBERATION WAR AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Key Unit Competence: Assess the causes, course and consequences of the Liberation War (1990-1994), the achievements and challenges of the Government of Rwanda after the Genocide against the Tutsi.



Introductory Activity 6.1

“A world congress of Rwandese refugees had been held in Washington DC in August 1988 and it had passed very strong resolutions about the ‘Right of Return’; these had been transmitted to the Rwandese government which had remained undaunted, as usual in such cases” (Prunier, 1995).

- What do you think about the above statement?
- Do you think that the refugee problem was at the origin of the Liberation War?

Explain your statement.

In the post-colonial period, the government of Rwanda was led by two republics which successively replaced one another. The first was led by Grégoire Kayibanda whereas Major General Juvénal Habyarimana was the head chief of the second one. The two regimes had the common feature of poor governance, the main root of the 1990 Liberation War. This war fought by Rwanda Patriotic Front against the Habyarimana’s regime had had very negative effects such as loss of lives and destruction of properties, decline of the Rwandan economy, displacement and exile of many people, etc. When this armed conflict was about to be peacefully settled, the peace process was however broken by the former Government of Rwanda which prepared and implemented the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. The genocide was stopped by the RPF troops and this action simultaneously marked the end of the Liberation War.

In the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the country of Rwanda faced a number of challenges including lack of shelter for refugees and other vulnerable people, a broken judicial system, suspicion and mistrust among the Rwandan population, political and administrative vacuum, problems of insecurity, economic challenges, etc. The Government of National Unity set up in July 1994 tirelessly strived to take different strategies so as to find appropriate remedies to these challenges. In so doing, security was safeguarded and unity and reconciliation were strengthened. Besides, the rule of law was established and the democratisation process was emphasised. Many other actions were also initiated such as the implementation of decentralisation, politico-administrative reforms and fight against injustice, reconstruction of the national economy through the planning, human resource development, privatisation of the government enterprises, construction of infrastructures such as roads, water, electricity, promotion of education, health and gender equality, environment protection, assistance to the most vulnerable people and promotion of agriculture and animal husbandry.

6.1. The causes of the Liberation War (1990-1994)



Learning Activity 6.1

Explain in not more than ten lines different causes of the Liberation War (1990-1994).

6.1.1. The long exile

The first group of refugees fled Rwanda since 1959 after the unrest period marked by violence and massacres of the members of the political party Union Nationale Rwandaise (UNAR). The violence against the Tutsi was committed by some leaders of the Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu (PARMEHUTU) supported by Belgian authorities. The resistance organised by refugees' groups called Inyenzi and their efforts to return home were in vain. Consequently refugees were desperate and lost hope to one day recover their dignity as Rwandans. In exile, refugees had different living conditions. Some of them acquired academic skills. But, in general, those living in refugee camps and single young adults

struggled to get a better life. Such bad living conditions coupled with lack of employment and good education in hosting countries pushed them to think of a solution to return home. Those in Uganda were affected by political repression which occurred after the fall of the President Idi Amin Dada (1970-1979). A series of organisations were created by refugees with first the purpose of helping the victims of the mentioned violence and also with the aim of returning to Rwanda.

Among the institutions set up as vehicles to address the challenges of education were the Rwandese Refugees Welfare Foundation (RRWF) in Uganda and College Saint Albert in Kivu transferred to Bujumbura. Later these institutions provided a large number of leaders to political movement like Rwandese Alliance of National Unity (RANU), created in Nairobi in June 1979.

6.1.2. The regime's refusal of Rwandan refugees to return

From 1959, the Tutsi did not run away from democracy as PARMEHUTU propagandists used to say, but they did so because they had to save their lives. Generally, they ran to churches, schools and other places considered as safe to protect them from danger. Others decided to leave the country as soon as possible to look for asylum in neighbouring countries.

Although the Government of Rwanda had since 1964 requested that refugees be settled in their countries of asylum, it did almost nothing to help them. On the contrary, its policy consisted of making life for refugees very difficult in those countries. The Rwandan embassies watched refugees closely in their countries of asylum.

In 1973, the Second Republic put in place a joint ministerial commission between Rwanda and Uganda for the repatriation of Rwandan refugees living in Uganda. The refugees had to express in writing their desire to return home. The request had to be addressed to the country of origin through the High Commission for Refugees and the hosting governments. Any refugee whose request was rejected stayed in the country of exile or looked for another hosting country.

Only few refugees managed to return to Rwanda after facing many challenges created by security agents. It was the Préfet's prerogative

to issue him or her a provisional identity card and where to settle. The returnee could not leave his or her commune without a prior authorisation of the Préfet. A monthly report on the returnees was sent to the minister of local affairs and the Minister of Defence and Police because they were suspected of spying for refugees.

In addition to this suspicion and hindrances to return to Rwanda, Tutsi who had stayed in the country faced a range of challenges. For instance, those who were displaced during the 1959 violence could not recuperate their properties. Most of the time, their properties were illegally taken by bourgmestres and their friends and this is why they were a source of trials. In 1966, President Kayibanda prevented refugees to claim their properties. In 1975, President Habyarimana put in place a decree stating that Tutsi refugees' assets should become public properties. This decision was due to the refusal of political leaders who did not want to return the land to its owners.



Figure 1.1: Refugees aspiring to return home

Until 1990, the political class did not consider refugees as Rwandans. The Government complicated their return and destabilised them where they were living in refugee camps. It was the **protocol** on refugees signed in 1993 during the Arusha negotiations between the then Rwandan regime and the RPF that recognised refugees' rights. Despite the refugees' challenges, some of them continued to have good relationship with their former friends who had stayed in Rwanda.

6.1.3. The regionalism and ethnic based divisionism

Both the First (1962-1973) and the Second (1973-1994) Republics maintained and institutionalised “ethnic” labels (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa) in identity cards and the quota system. As a result, ethnic, regional and gender equilibrium had to be respected in different sectors such as administration, enrolment in secondary and tertiary schools and in the army.

Day after day, the dictatorship led Kayibanda’s regime to trust few people. Thus, since the late 1960s the power was in the hands of few people from some communes of Gitarama. The same situation was observed under the Second Republic where again few people from some parts of the former Ruhengeri and Gisenyi préfectures occupied key positions in the country. As far as the political plan was concerned, both Republics were characterized by identity based ideology.

During the First and Second republics, hatred against the Tutsi was reinforced. Every political crisis was blamed on Tutsi who were treated as scapegoats. This case was raised when refugees’ troops called Inyenzi attacked Rwanda in 1963 and later before the 1973 Habyarimana’s coup d’Etat.

6.1.4. The intimidation and killing of opponents

The Second republic did not accept and tolerate any opposition. Any person who tried to oppose it was jailed. Even if political assassinations were not frequent they existed. For instance, the deaths of the former Chief Editor of Kinyamateka newspaper, Father Sylvio Sindambiwe and Felicula Nyiramutarambirwa, former member of the Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement (MRND) Central Committee are believed to have been planned by the regime.

6.1.5. The increase of dictatorship in Rwanda

During the Second Republic, only a single political party (MRND) was allowed to operate as it was stipulated by the 1978 constitution. In practice, the powers were concentrated in the hands of a small group of people from the President’s family and his family in-law called Akazu. No single important decision could be made without prior approval of the President and his MRND.



Application Activity 6.1

1. Show how the First and Second Republics imposed difficult conditions for individual repatriation of the Rwandan refugees.
2. Discuss how the long exile of the Rwandan refugees contributed to the outbreak of the Liberation War (1990-1994).
3. To what extent did the “ethnic” and “regional” divisions contributed to the outbreak of the Liberation War?
4. Carry out a short interview with a returnee from exile in your village. Ask him or her about their living conditions while in exile. There after write down a simple one page report about your findings.

6.2. The course of the Liberation War (1990-1994)



Learning Activity 6.2

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

6.2.1. The foundation of the RANU and birth of the RPF Inkotanyi

Many Rwandan refugees had lost hope and were reluctant to join any political organisation due to the past failures of the early attempts to return to their home country, spearheaded by Inyenzi. Later on, refugees in Nairobi founded the Rwandese Alliance for National Unity (RANU) on June 1, 1979.

Objectives of RANU

RANU aimed at:

- Fighting against ethnic divisions and the ideology of divisionism by the Habyarimana regime

- Fighting against grabbing Rwanda's wealth by a small group of people
- Instilling into the Rwandans a sense of consciousness as far as their rights were concerned...
- Finding an appropriate solution to the refugee problem
- Fighting the Habyarimana dictatorial regime
- Uniting all Rwandans including those living inside the country and in the Diaspora in order to restore national unity.

The main organs of RANU were the Congress that met after every two years, the General Assembly that held annual meetings and regional committees from local, regional and central levels. During RANU's recruitments, members had to take an oath (kurahira). RANU operated on democratic principles i.e. decisions were taken by the majority. The organs of expression and mobilisation were: Alliance which was replaced by Vanguard in 1987. It was published in Kampala in English. Later on, another newspaper, called Inkotanyi was also created in 1989 in order to mobilise Kinyarwanda speaking readers. In 1990 with the Liberation War (1990-1994), the Vanguard disappeared and Inkotanyi relocated to Burundi and took the name of Huguka.

RANU insisted very much on the involvement of individuals and rejected any attempt to integrate groups. Apart from undertaking to mobilise the Rwandans, RANU was involved in a discrete action towards some embassies first, and then sending petitions to the Organisation for African Unity (OAU). It intended to attract the attention of the international community to the problem of the Rwandan refugees who, except for being mentioned in different circumstances, were practically forgotten. These efforts were relatively mitigated as far as concrete aid was concerned. But on the other hand, they were very important because these contacts allowed better understanding of the reasons for the beginning of the war launched on October 1, 1990.

On December 26, 1987, a congress of RANU representatives met in Kampala (Uganda) and decided to replace RANU with the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF). The RPF Inkotanyi was led by a charismatic leader Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema.

Eight-point programme of RPF

1. Restoration of unity among Rwandans.
2. Defending the sovereignty of the country and ensure the security of people and property.
3. Establishment of democratic leadership.
4. Promoting the economy based on the country's natural resources.
5. Elimination of corruption, favouritism and embezzlement of national resources.
6. Promoting social welfare.
7. Eliminating all causes for fleeing the country and returning Rwandan refugees back into the country.
8. Promoting international relations based on mutual respect, cooperation and mutually beneficial economic exchange.

6.2.2. The military option

At the outset, RANU mainly targeted Rwandan intellectuals living in the Diaspora and inside Rwanda. RANU statute included a principle called Option Zero aiming at liberating Rwanda by force. But RANU could not achieve this objective because it was composed of intellectuals without a military wing. Three young Rwandans namely Fred Gisa Rwigema, Paul Kagame and Sam Byaruhanga joined together with an idea of using a military option to liberate Rwanda. Due to the persecution of Kinyarwanda-speaking people living in Uganda and their expulsion by Milton Obote's regime in the 1980s, other young Rwandans decided to join Fred Gisa Rwigema, Paul Kagame and Sam Byaruhanga to wage an armed struggle to force their return to Rwanda.

6.2.3. The beginning of the Liberation War

The Liberation War was launched by RPF Inkotanyi and its armed wing, the Rwandese Patriotic Army on October 1, 1990 led by late Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema. This army was composed of not only male but also female combatants.



Figure 1.2: *Female soldier*

Source: *RPF Archives*

The RPF first launched an attack in Umutara at the beginning of October, 1990; but this attack was not successful because of the death of Late Major General Fred Rwigema on October 2nd, 1990. After being pushed from Umutara, the RPF resorted to using guerrilla tactics in the northern region of Rwanda.



Figure 1.3: *Late Major General Fred Gisa Rwigema* Source: *RPF Archives*.

The then government alleged that it was surprised by that attack, even when the ordinary people were aware of an imminent attack by refugees.

The discriminative ideology against the Tutsi reappeared in speeches and the national media. The subject of discussion was that RPF was a reincarnation of the Inyenzi of the 1960s and that it was made up of Tutsi feudal monarchists who did not accept the “1959 Hutu revolution”.

The RPF raid also allowed the Habyarimana regime to launch a vast operation to eliminate the political opposition after gunshot fire in Kigali in the night of October 4-5, 1990. The regime made people to believe that it was an attempt by the rebels to attack the capital whereas it was a false attack meant to allow a presidential move to justify a massive cleansing operation against the Tutsi and other opponents of the regime. Between 7,000 and 10,000 people were arrested and imprisoned arbitrarily. Large scale massacres took place throughout the country, especially in Kibiriria, Umutara, Mukingo, Murambi and Bugesera where Tutsi were molested, imprisoned or killed together with those who dared to criticize the regime. They were called traitors or accomplices (*ibytso*).

6.2.4. Attack on Ruhengeri (January 1991)

On the morning of January 23rd, 1991, the RPA attacked the Town of Ruhengeri. The Rwandan forces in the area were taken by surprise and were mostly unable to defend themselves against the invasion. One of the principal RPA targets in Ruhengeri was Ruhengeri prison. The RPA stormed the buildings, and the prisoners were rescued and several of them were recruited into the RPA. Some political prisoners such as Théoneste Lizinde, Stanislas Biseruka and Brother Jean Damascène Ndayambaje were also released from prison.

6.2.5. Extension of guerrilla war (1991-1992)

Following the attack on Ruhengeri, the RPA began to carry out a classic hit-and run a guerrilla war tactic. The RPA attacked the Forces Armées Rwandaises (FAR) repeatedly and frequently and made some territorial gains composed of a small territory alongside the border. The conquered territory was extended following other gains until the setting up of Ruhengeri, Umutara and Byumba fronts. In 1992, RPF/RPA headquarters was set up at Mulindi in the then Byumba préfecture.

6.2.6. Peace process (1991-1993)

A series of meetings were held in order to find a solution to the war between the RPF and the then government. At the beginning, RPF was not accepted at the table of negotiations. The first meeting was held at Mwanza in Tanzania on October 17th, 1990, in this meeting, the Government of Rwanda accepted a dialogue with internal and external opposition. However, this was not immediately respected by the Government. Other meetings were also held at Gbadolite on October 26th, 1990; Zanzibar on February 17th, 1991 and Dar-es-Salaam on February 19th, 1991.

In all these negotiations, RPF was not directly negotiating with the Government of Rwanda. For the first time, RPF directly negotiated with the Government of Rwanda at N'sele on March 25th, 1991. The RPF and the then Government of Rwanda signed the N'sele Cease-fire Agreement and a political settlement which provided for, among other things, cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of foreign troops, exchange of prisoners of war and finally, serious political negotiations to end the conflict. This agreement remained a dead settlement because soon after the Government of Rwanda and RPF accused each other of violating the cease-fire.

Military pressure from RPF, pressure from the international community and internal opposition led to a serious peace process negotiations. In June 1992, the Arusha peace negotiations started. Peace talks pursued at a very high level in the region, drawing in heads of state and foreign ministers.

The core negotiations on a future peace agreement had participants and observers from five African states: Burundi, Zaïre, Senegal, Uganda and Tanzania; four Western countries: France, Belgium, Germany and the USA with the presence of the OAU delegates. The United Nations Organisation (UNO) was brought in at the intervention of the OAU and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) attended as observers. Britain, Canada, the Netherlands and European Union closely monitored the process from their local embassies. Nigeria was represented at the Arusha- linked Joint Political Military Committee.

The Arusha process represented a multi-prolonged strategy of conflict resolution. The preliminary phase was designed to obtain a cease-fire. In July 12th, 1992, a ceasefire was decided between RPF and the then government. OAU force known as Neutral Military Group of Observers (GOMN: Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres) was put in place to observe the cease-fire.



Figure 1.4: The Arusha International Conference Centre :Venue for peace talks to end the war.

Source:<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arusha-international-conference-centre#/media/File:AICC-Arusha.jpg>

During the negotiations process, the then regime did its best to make the country ungovernable. In this regard, Rwanda experienced massacres of Tutsi and moderate Hutu. Moreover, insecurity affected some public places due to some attacks by means of grenades. In the same manner, a divisive propaganda aimed at uniting the Hutu was intensified and the Coalition pour la Défense de la République (CDR) was created and utilised to block the Arusha peace process. Due to this violence and insecurity the RPF Inkotanyi launched an attack on February 8, 1993. In fact, the RPF was nearing the gates of the capital, Kigali, because they had reached Tumba

commune. But soon after, due to the international pressure to resume negotiations, the RPF returned to its positions before February 8th, 1993.

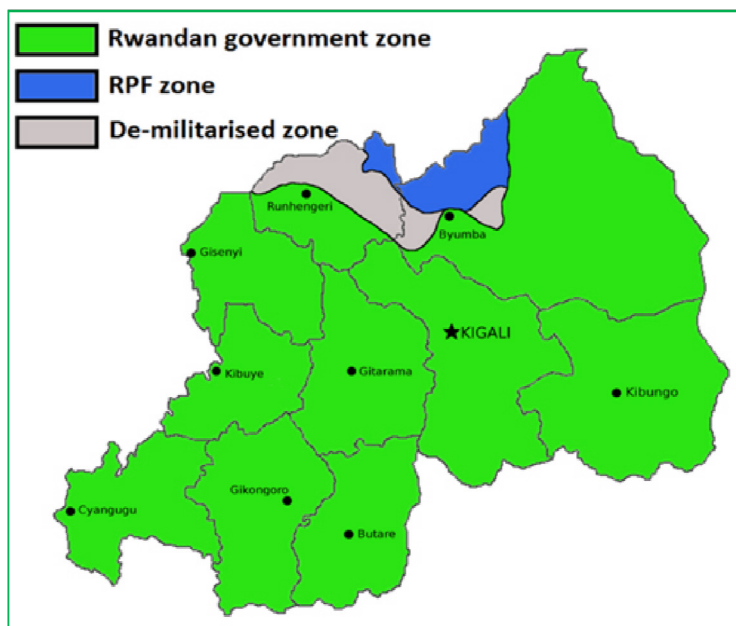


Figure 1.5: RPA offensive, February 1993

Source:[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_civil_War#/media/file:Rwanda Territory after February 1993.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_civil_War#/media/File:Rwanda_Territory_after_February_1993.png)

The Arusha Peace Agreement was preceded by the signing of the agreement on a new cease-fire, as well as parties agreeing on the following principles:

- That there was neither democracy nor the practice of the rule of law in Rwanda;
- That a broad-based government of national unity, including parties of different political persuasions was necessary to oversee the transition to democracy;
- That the FAR was not national in character and that it was necessary to set up a truly national army from among members of the two existing armies;
- The Rwandan refugees had a legitimate inalienable right to return home. The agreement was structured around five pillars:
- The establishment of the rule of law;

- Power-sharing;
- Repatriation and resettlement of refugees and internally displaced people;
- The integration of armed forces;
- Other ***miscellaneous*** provisions.



Figure 1.6: The delegates of the Republic of Rwanda during the signing of Arusha Peace agreements on August 4, 1993

Source: RPF Archives.



Figure 1.7: The delegates of RPF during the signing of Arusha Peace Accord on August 4th, 1993 (Major General Paul Kagame on the left and RPF Chairperson Alexis Kanyarengwe on the right)

Source: RPF Archives

The Arusha Peace Agreement was supposed to have been implemented within 37 days, beginning with the establishment of the institutions of the presidency, the cabinet and the National Assembly. This Agreement was not implemented, however its principal provisions now constitute the Fundamental Law of the Republic of Rwanda.

After the signing of Arusha Agreement in December 1993, the French military detachment that was in Rwanda left and a UN intervention force arrived. The UN peacekeeping force was known as United Nations Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Its mission was to supervise the implementation of the Arusha Peace Agreement of August 4th, 1993.

On December 28th, 1993, 600 soldiers of the third battalion of RPF arrived at the Centre National de Développement (CND) and had a mission to ensure security of the RPF future ministers and members of the Parliament in the new Broad-based Transitional Government.

On January 5th, 1994, President Habyarimana was sworn in as President in accordance with the Arusha Peace Agreement, but he blocked the swearing in of other members of the broad-based Transitional Government. The military began the long-planned Genocide against the Tutsi on April 7th, directly refusing the Arusha Peace Agreement and use of peaceful means. Roadblocks were manned by Hutu militiamen assisted by Gendarmerie (Paramilitary police) or military personnel were set up to identify Tutsi. From that day, April 7th 1994, the country was ignited in several weeks of intense and systematic genocidal massacres, in which over one million Tutsi perished.

6.2.7. The involvement of foreign countries in the Liberation War (1990-1994)

Uganda which was considered as an aggressor or unwavering supporter of RPF rejected these accusations. It especially avoided verbal and military provocations on Kigali. It made so many gestures of good will by responding to initiatives of mediation. Uganda also accepted the UN mission of military observers at its border with Rwanda. It received a mission of the European Parliament whose conclusions exonerated Uganda from all accusations made against it by Rwanda.

Zaire immediately sent soldiers to help the Kigali regime. For unclear reasons, the Zaïrian army did not stay in Kigali for long. The Zaïrian soldiers who were arrested were among those who portrayed a very positive image of RPF after their release. They referred to RPA as an army that was convinced about the cause it was defending, much disciplined and very organised. The commander of the Zaïrian contingent hailed the RPF continuously because even when he was in the enemy camp, he was treated with all honours due to his military rank. It seems that the information made President Mobutu to have a different view of RPF.

Belgium sent to Rwanda a contingent with a mission of repatriating its citizens who wished to leave the country. Their stay in Rwanda aroused vibrant debates which led to their departure at the end of October 1990. But on the other hand, Belgium sent several high level missions which made sensible suggestions which disturbed the Kigali regime. According to Belgium, overcoming the crisis depended on the Rwandans themselves and mediation efforts had to be entrusted with Rwanda's neighbours and the OAU, supported by the international community. In the end, it was that approach that was pursued.

France was at the beginning of the conflict requested by President Habyarimana to help a French-speaking country that had been attacked by a foreign country supported by English-speaking countries. France sent a contingent to Rwanda named Opération Noroit whose numerical strength was difficult to estimate. The contingent stayed officially in Rwanda until December 1993. It was an additional military force intended to back up French soldiers who were already in Rwanda in the name of military cooperation.



Figure 1.8: The French troops deployed in Rwanda during *Opération Turquoise*

Source: © *Hocine Zaourar, AFP (archives). Militaires français déployés au Rwanda, en 1994, dans le cadre de l'opération Turquoise*

The French military agents stayed in Rwanda until the beginning of the Genocide. Moreover, the French government sent again her troops in Rwanda through *Opération Turquoise*. Then from June 23rd up to August 1994, the French government established a humanitarian zone, known as *Zone Turquoise* in western part of Rwanda. It covered ancient prefectures of Cyangugu, Gikongoro and Kibuye. The mission saved few civilians in South West Rwanda. However, French soldiers were also aware of killings against Tutsi in Bisesero. *Opération Turquoise* also allowed Soldiers, officials and militiamen involved in the genocide to flee Rwanda through the areas under their control.

6.2.8. The end of the Liberation War and the campaign to stop the Genocide

On April 7th, Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) aired a broadcast attributing the plane crash to the RPF and a contingent of UN soldiers, as well as incitements to eliminate the 'Tutsi cockroaches'. Later that day the Prime Minister, Agathe Uwilingiyimana and 10 Belgian peacekeepers assigned to protect her were brutally murdered by Rwandan government soldiers at her home and Camp Kigali respectively. Other moderate Hutu leaders were similarly assassinated. After the massacre of its troops, Belgium withdrew the rest of its force. In the meanwhile, on April 8th, 1994, Major General Paul Kagame, the RPF commander launched a campaign to stop the Genocide and restore peace and security in the country.

As the international community reduced its forces and on April 9, the FAR rejected RPF's idea to form a joint operation to save civilians, RPF started moving its troops to defend its battalion blocked in CND. At the same time, it mobilised its troops to stop the massacres. RPF forces attacked by three axes: the East, West and Central axes (towards Kigali). During the fights, Byumba was occupied by the central axis troops. The two other axes joined the battalion that was in CND headquarters, three days after resuming the fights.

Due to RPF forces numeric inferiority (25,000 people) and FAR weaponry, RPF minimised losses by using a range of strategies in order to avoid direct confrontation with the FAR. For instance, RPA-RPF forces infiltrated the FAR lines and disorganised them with mortar fire. In addition, they occupied supply routes and left a place for withdrawing. The FAR were attacked by many sides and their morale weakened. As a result, RPA-RPF forces managed to save some Tutsi.

Meanwhile, a diplomatic action allowed RPF envoys to counterattack the Interim Government (called Abatabazi) campaign saying that the war by RPF was an invasion which was unjustly imposed on Rwanda.

On April 21st, the UNAMIR force was reduced from an initial number of 2,165 soldiers to 270 with no clear mandate to use force to save the lives of targeted people. Thus UNAMIR's contribution to save the Tutsi can be considered as a failure.

Between April and June 1994, an RPF delegation concentrated its efforts at the UN headquarters in New York and Washington. In fierce competition with the representatives of the Interim Government, they pleaded for recognition of the massacres as genocide. The RPF delegation pleaded for the creation of an International Criminal Tribunal in charge of trying crimes against humanity and the Genocide committed in Rwanda. Later on, they also campaigned against ambiguous French military intervention, known as Operation Turquoise.

This French military intervention had been authorised by the Security Council on June 22nd for humanitarian purposes.

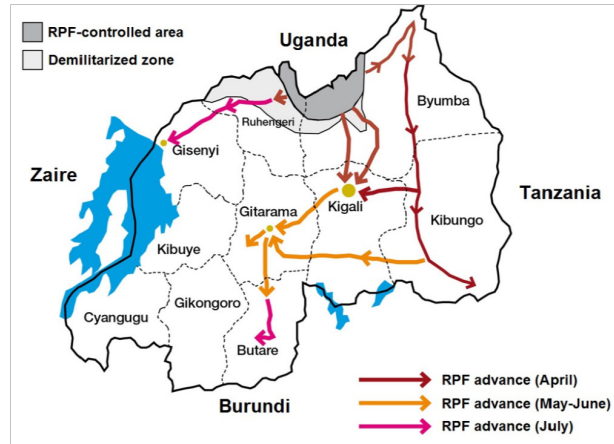


Figure 1.9: Map showing the advance of the RPF in 1994
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_Civil_War.

On July 4th, 1994, Kigali fell into the hands of the RPA. The members of the so-called Interim Government (called Abatabazi), members of the FAR, the armed groups, and many people who were involved in the Genocide and the general population, fled mainly to Zaïre, current Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Tanzania. Millions of civilians fled because they had been told by the Government officials, soldiers and militia that the RPF would kill them. Thousands died of water- borne diseases. The camps were also used by former Rwandan government soldiers to re-arm and stage invasions into Rwanda. Thus, RPF became the only force to have politically and militarily opposed the Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994.



Figure 1.12: RPA troops enter Kigali after the fall of the capital
Source: www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/185523.

On July 19th, 1994, the RPF established the Government of National Unity with four other political parties namely PL (Parti Libéral), Parti Social Démocrate (PSD), Parti Démocrate Chrétien (PDC), and Mouvement Démocratique Républicain (MDR). Pasteur Bizimungu became the President, Major General Paul Kagame Vice President and Minister of Defence and Faustin Twagiramungu, Prime Minister. Weeks later, a 70-member Transitional National Assembly was formed consisting of representatives of the RPF, the four other original parties plus three other smaller parties, namely, the Parti Démocratique Islamique (PDI), the Parti Socialiste Rwandais (PSR), and the Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais (UDPR), as well as six representatives of the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA).



Application Activity 6.2

Search on internet or other documents the Arusha Peace Agreement and read the

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

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

Read carefully the following extracts from Arusha Peace Agreement:

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

Article 56 Nominative distribution of portfolios shall be as follows:

MRND

1. Ministry of Defence;
2. Ministry of Higher Education, Scientific Research and Culture;
3. Ministry of Public Service;

4. Ministry of Planning;
5. Ministry of Family Affairs and Promotion of the Status of Women.

RPF

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

MDR

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

PSD

1. Ministry of Finance;
2. Ministry of Public works and Energy;
3. Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock

PL

1. Ministry of Justice;
2. Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Cottage Industry;
3. Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs;

PDC

Ministry of Environment and Tourism

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

Article 74: Proportions and Distribution of Command Posts

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

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

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

6.3. The effects of the Liberation War (1990-1994)



Learning Activity 6.3

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

6.3.1. The loss of lives and destruction of properties

The war increased insecurity in Rwanda. In fighting areas, drunken soldiers could shoot at people; ransack their houses and rape girls and women. In addition, a number of people were killed and others wounded including soldiers and civilians. The killings led to the problem of orphans and widows.

There was also the massacre of Abagogwe social group from 1991 to 1993 by Habyarimana regime in retaliation against an RPA attack. These killings were also seen by some analysts as a strategy of strengthening the Habyarimana's regime in difficult conditions and uniting all Hutu against the enemy.

Similar killings were carried out in Kibirira, Bugesera, Kibuye, Murambi and in Umutara. By this war, some public infrastructures like offices, roads and bridges, specifically in the northern regions of Rwanda were

destroyed. Besides, the private properties were also destroyed like houses and shops.

6.3.2. Refugees' mobilisation and mixed reactions in Rwanda

For those in exile, they were excited and felt that the time had come to return home. As a result, they joined massively the RPF and the struggle as the war progressed. Besides, mobilization to support the war effort was reinforced in the region and abroad and recruitment into the RPF intensified. A lot of money, medicine, food and clothes were mobilised on a continuous basis in support of the war.

Inside Rwanda, there were mixed reactions. Some people mainly sympathisers of the RPF, who had been treated as second class citizens, felt the time had come for their rescue and joined the struggle through different neighbouring countries while others were worried about the reactions of the Habyarimana regime. The MRND was mobilising the Hutu to fight against the enemy, the Tutsi.

6.3.3. The decline of the Rwandan economy

Because of the war and the pressure on the Habyarimana regime, the Rwandan economy collapsed. The price of main export commodities such as coffee decreased at the international market. Thus the country witnessed a hard economic situation. Besides, foreign aid decreased and the Rwandan franc lost its value. Main sectors of economic activities collapsed. Rwandans' financial conditions worsened. In fact, because of the war, the North corridor was closed and this led to the stoppage of commercial exchange with Uganda. Besides, the war increased the military expenditure of the Government of Rwanda and the military expenses kept impoverishing the country.

6.3.4. The displacement and exile of many people

More than one million of Rwandans fleeing the battle fields were displaced inside the country and were not working. These Rwandans were in great need of shelter, food and other basic materials to use in their daily life. At the end of the war, Government officials, soldiers and militia fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), then known as Zaïre, Tanzania and Burundi taking with them millions of civilians. Thousands died of water-borne diseases.



Figure 1.11: Refugees going in exile to DRC in 1994 on Rusizi bridge.

Source: www.smh.com.au/world/rwanda-genocide-anniversary-sheds-light-on-horrors-of-bigotry-20140411-36idt.html.

6.3.5. Campaign to stop the Genocide

In addition to the end of the Genocide, one of the big achievements of the Liberation War was the end of the dictatorial regime which committed that Tutsi extermination. It was a start of a new era where the Government put into place new institutions aimed at eradicating discrimination in view of unity and reconciliation. Rwandans who were living outside the country benefited from the change to come back to their country.



Application Activity 6.3

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

6.4. The challenges faced by Rwanda after the Genocide against the Tutsi



Learning Activity 6.4



Figure 1.13: A drawing to analyse

Describe the above drawing. How do you link it with the challenges faced by Rwandans after the Genocide against the Tutsi?

6.4.1. Problems of insecurity

Although the RPF had captured the power and a transitional government had been put in place, the security situation was still fluid, with former

government forces and Interahamwe militia still carrying out Genocide in various part of the country.

A French buffer area in western Rwanda, known as Zone Turquoise had become a safe haven for genocidal forces. In addition, infiltrators from refugee camps across the border continued to cross and destabilise the country. The Rwandan combatants and refugees located on the border of the current DRC became a security threat which destabilised the hosting country and the interests of several companies. Consequently, a campaign against Rwanda was organised by the affected companies. It should be noted that the ex-FAR and Interahamwe were allowed to keep their weapons and to join the civilian refugees. Other sympathizers of the former regime continued to support combatants, notably Zaïre (current DRC) under President Mobutu Sese Seko. All these proved to be security challenges for a country that had been affected by one of the worst human tragedies of the 20th century.

The Government of National Unity had to devise means to address insecurity in the whole country so that Rwandans could begin the task of rebuilding the nation.

6.4.2. Political and administrative vacuum

The Government of National Unity inherited a country without political and administrative institutions, due to the chaos provoked by the Interim Government. Most of civil servants were either killed or have left the country and the political institutions were destroyed. In addition, during the period of emergence, the Government faced the problems related to insufficient numbers of civil servants, lack of equipment and motivation for civil servants because they had neither salary nor accommodation, a judicial system that had come to a standstill due to lack of adequate qualified personnel, cases of embezzlement of public funds, districts without leadership (Bourgmestres), and inexperienced police force among others.

6.4.3. Suspicion and mistrust among the Rwandan population

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

relationships between Rwandans. Thus, the new government inherited a deeply scarred nation where trust within and between social groups had been replaced by fear and betrayal.

This lack of trust between people posed a serious challenge to the functioning of institutions because the vision of the Government of National Unity was not shared by all stakeholders. In spite of all this, the Government of National Unity believed that Rwanda was not dead but that it could be reborn and re-built. To reach that goal, the Government of National Unity advocated strongly for unity and reconciliation despite the enormous challenges.

6.4.4. Broken judicial system

The Government of National Unity inherited a broken justice sector. More than 140, 000 genocide suspects had been arrested yet there was insufficient prison infrastructure to host them. Their detention became a huge challenge in terms of feeding, and provision of medical and other services. In the same vein, there was inadequate number of trained lawyers to handle the large number of perpetrators of Genocide and this shortage of judges was also true for other crimes that were being committed in the country. For example, according to records of the Supreme Court, out of 702 judges in 2003, only 74 possessed a bachelor's degree in law.

Laws were also outdated, obscure and inadequate. For example, there was no law on the planning and execution of Genocide. Nonetheless, justice had to be delivered. Despite meagre resources that were available, the government had to operate reforms and introduce new judicial institutions to deal with all these challenges.

6.4.5. Lack of shelter for refugees and other vulnerable people

The Government of National Unity strived to restore Rwanda as a country for all Rwandans and provide a homeland for millions of Rwandan refugees. Tens of thousands of internally displaced people, especially Genocide survivors whose houses had been destroyed, were looking for housing facilities. About three million Rwandan refugees taken as hostage by the defeated genocidal forces in current DRC and some in Tanzania and Burundi were brought back home by the Transitional Government.

This humanitarian exercise was largely successful despite the failure of the international community to address their plight in refugees' camps. A big number of older refugees (from 1959 and subsequent years) came back also in their country. All these categories of the needy people were looking for houses.

6.4.6. A bleak health sector

In the health sector, the picture was equally bleak. This sector was weak in Rwanda. The personnel in health services were few and poorly trained. This was a result of chronically poor human resource development strategies that characterised colonial and post-colonial Rwanda. On one hand, this situation was greatly exacerbated by the Genocide in which a number of health personnel had either participated in or had fled the country. On the other hand, some health workers had been killed. Few refugees that had returned from exile settled in Kigali. The capital city attracted health personnel because it had some infrastructures and was also safer to live in.

To mitigate the health crisis, a number of NGOs and the army came in and tried to make a difference, but the task was overwhelming since the number of the injured and the patients was very high. Statistics indicate that immunisation coverage for children had decreased as a result of war and mismanagement.

Malnutrition levels were also very high. Child as well as maternal mortality rates were equally high due to poor health service delivery.

The prevalence of water-borne diseases and other conditions related to poor sanitation was among the highest in Africa at that time. The high infection rate of transmittable diseases, especially HIV and AIDS was equally high. This pandemic disease had worsened during the Genocide because rape was used as a war weapon.

The situation worsened due to a good number of traumatised people and high fertility rate coupled with ignorance. Malaria was hyper endemic in some parts of the country, especially in the east and southern provinces.

6.4.7. A selective education system

During the genocide against the Tutsi, most education infrastructure was destroyed and the human capital almost decimated.

The education system was poor and did not respond to the socio-economic needs of the country. Few educated Rwandans could not translate their knowledge into productive activities to improve the standard of living of the Rwandan people. For instance in the eastern part of the country, schools were not only few and scattered, but in some areas they did not exist at all. Higher education was not only quantitatively low but was also a privilege of the few favoured by the quota system. For example, in the period between 1963 and 1994, only about 2000 Rwandans had completed tertiary education.

6.4.8. Economic challenges

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

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

These challenges were mainly due to the fact that the economy was characterised by low productivity in all sectors, but most especially in agriculture.

Yet more than 90% of the population depended for their livelihood on agriculture. This situation resulted in a very weak export base coupled with a narrow revenue collection. It implied internally generated resources or external aid to fund social services like education and health.

In addition, there was low private investment. As a result, the country lacked a serious and vibrant private sector to drive economic growth. In the public sector too, there was a high unskilled labour force. For example, in 1994, at least 79% of civil servants in the country had not done tertiary education.

To make matters worse, skilled professionals had been particularly either targeted in the Genocide or had fled the country. In brief, the Government of National Unity inherited an economy completely destroyed by the Genocide and mismanagement over three decades.

6.4.9. Agricultural challenges

Agriculture was the key economic sector for Rwanda because it employed more than 90% of the population. However, despite this fact, its output continued to be poor because the techniques of production were still rudimentary with the use of the hand-hoe as the primary tool, lack of or inadequate use of fertiliser, poor training of farmers in terms of technological use and poor soils emanating from over cultivation and overpopulation.

Rwanda's agriculture suffered from structural and fluctuating problems. For example, Rwanda's soils depended entirely on rains because 1.64 % of this soil was under irrigation and only 1.2% was cultivated. This showed that Rwanda's agriculture depended on unpredictable climatic changes. In addition, soil erosion affected more than 20% of the national territory. A fraction of the Rwandan population still suffered from food insecurity and malnutrition. Price fluctuation of exported products was also another problem whenever the agricultural prices fell. Although agricultural production increased from 1994, food availability per head per year was on the decline.

Farming and animal husbandry activities needed agricultural space. However, the Rwandan soil suffered from demographic pressure and physical degradation. It was overexploited because of high population density. Rwanda's inheritance system of family land transfers also led to land fragmentation. On average, the size of owned cultivable land by a household was 0.72 ha, although there were differences at regional level.

Hence, land fertility reduced gradually. Soil erosion affected a big portion of this land and anti-erosion techniques were not yet widespread on the entire territory. Other behaviours contributed to aggravate the soil situation. For example, overgrazing, bush burning practices, irresponsible deforestation, unreasonable exploitation of marshlands by brick makers and the extraction of sand along valleys.



Application Activity 6.4

1. Observe the following picture



Figure 1.14: Picture to analyse

Source: <https://www.pri.org/stories/2011-06-24/un-convicts-woman-rwandagenocide>.

1. Explain what you think about the above picture. How do you link it with the Genocide consequences?
2. After reading Section 1.4, classify the mentioned challenges as social, political, economic and psychological. Explain your categorisation.
3. Read carefully the following extract:

“Because of many problems, I started to lack the ability to sleep at night. I could only sleep for two hours at night. This went on for a year, and I developed a complex sickness. I developed bad thoughts at night [had nightmares] all the time. Most of the time I dreamed of being killed, and I saw myself with people I know are dead and I was very terrified because I knew those people died a long time ago.

My mental condition had taken on grave proportions. I started to visit doctors, but it worried me that they could not see [figure out] what my real illness was.” (Totten, 2011, pp. 394-395).

Referring to the previous classification done on question 2, in which category does the above quote fall? Explain your answer by using words from the text.

4. “Relationships between different social groups of Rwandans after the Genocide were problematic.” Comment this statement.

Read carefully the following table:

Prefecture	Reported number of victims	Percentage %
Butare	220 996	20.7
Byumba	7 473	0.7
Cyangugu	59 786	5.6
Gikongoro	106 761	10.0
Gisenyi	38 434	3.6
Gitarama	129 181	12.1
Kibungo	86 612	8.3
Kibuye	84 341	7.9
Kigali Ngali	165 480	15.5
PVK	130 249	12.2
Ruhengeri	16 014	1.5
Umutara	26 690	2.5
Rwanda	1 074 017	100

Source: République du Rwanda, Ministère de l'administration locale, du développement communautaire et ces affaires sociales (2004, p.20)

- a. By means of a computer use the provided statistics (0%) and draw a diagram of reported victims of genocide. If you do not have a computer you can draw your diagram on a paper using a pencil.
- b. By using your knowledge of the History and Geography of Rwanda comment the diagram.

6.5. The achievements of the Government of National Unity



Learning Activity 6.5

Based on your reading, discuss the achievements of the Government of Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi?

6.5.1. Political programme of the Government of National Unity

The new government had to fill the power vacuum left by the defeated Interim Government. In this regard, the constitution of June 10, 1991, the Arusha Peace Agreement with all its protocols, the RPF declaration of July 17, 1994 and the Agreement of November 24, 1994 between political parties were used by the new Government in order to put in place its programme. The Arusha Peace Agreement was the main source of inspiration for governmental action. This was due to the fact that the Arusha Peace Agreement included two important principles in the management of the state namely the establishment of the rule of law and the power sharing arrangement. However, the texts were adapted to the new situations. For instance, MRND and its satellite political parties supporting the “Hutu power” and those involved in the Genocide were excluded from new institutions of the Transitional Government. Their posts had to be given to RPF. A new army had to be created by integrating in the APR, the ex FAR and the recruitment of those who had not participated in the Genocide. In addition, independent people and soldiers were introduced in the Transitional Parliament and a post of Vice President of the Republic carrying another portfolio was allocated to RPF.

On July 19, 1994, the government programme was presented by Mr. Faustin Twagiramungu. The latter was the Prime Minister designated by the Arusha Peace Agreement. The programme focused on the following points:

- Restoration of peace and security;
- Organisation of central and local administration, i.e. préfectures, communes, sectors and cells

- Restoration and consolidation of national unity;
- Settlement of refugees and returning their property;
- Improvement of living conditions of the people and solving the social problems that resulted from war and Genocide;
- Revival of the country's economy;
- Consolidation of democracy.

During the establishment of the transitional institutions in July 1994, only RPF, MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, PSR, UDPR and PDI were officially recognized. Later on, MDR was excluded from accepted political parties because of its divisive ideology.

A parliamentary report pointed out that some people wanted to use it for their political agenda.

6.5.2. Safeguarding national security

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

The problem of insecurity especially on the western border of the country was caused by the incursions of Ex FAR and Interahamwe militias. To put an end to this destabilisation, the Government of Rwanda proceeded to the repatriation of refugees from Zaïre, current DRC and military operations aiming at weakening the combatants.



Figure 1.15: Repatriation of refugees from Tanzania in 1996

Source: www.smh.com.au/world/rwanda-genocide-anniversary-sheds-light-on-horrors-of-bigotry-20140411-361dt.html.

6.5.3. Politico-administrative reforms and fight against injustice

From its inception, the Government was supposed to set up administrative structures from the top to the bottom. Due to lack of time to produce the most appropriate administrative framework, it maintained the structure left by the defeated regime namely central government, prefectures (provinces), communes (districts), sectors and cells.

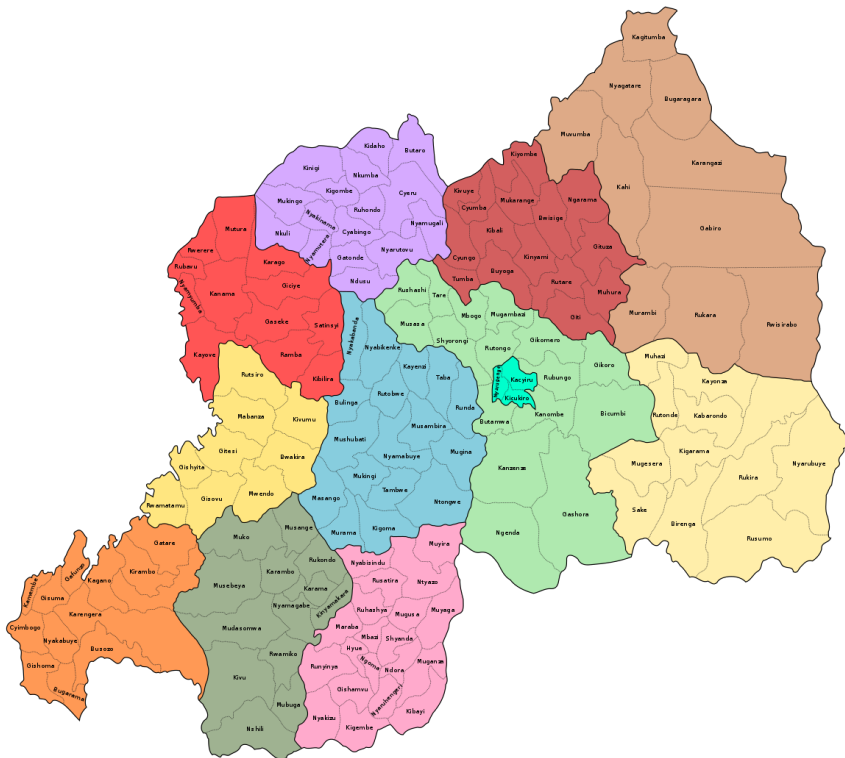


Figure 1.16: Communes of Rwanda prior to 2002, after the formation of Umutara prefecture in 1996

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_Rwanda#/media/File:Communes_of_Rwanda.svg.

Rwanda's decentralisation policy was an important innovation. Its objective was to empower and invite the population to participate actively in debates on issues that concerned it directly. It also aimed at encouraging the electorate in the countryside to provide information and explain issues in order to take decisions knowingly. The decentralisation of activities went hand in hand with the decentralisation of financial, material and human resources.

The first phase (2001-2005) aimed at establishing democratic and community development structures at the district level and was accompanied by a number of legal, institutional and policy reforms, as well as democratic elections for local leaders. However, the decentralisation process faced some challenges because some leaders have to perform volunteer work. In addition, some of them cumulated jobs and this could lead to their inefficiency.

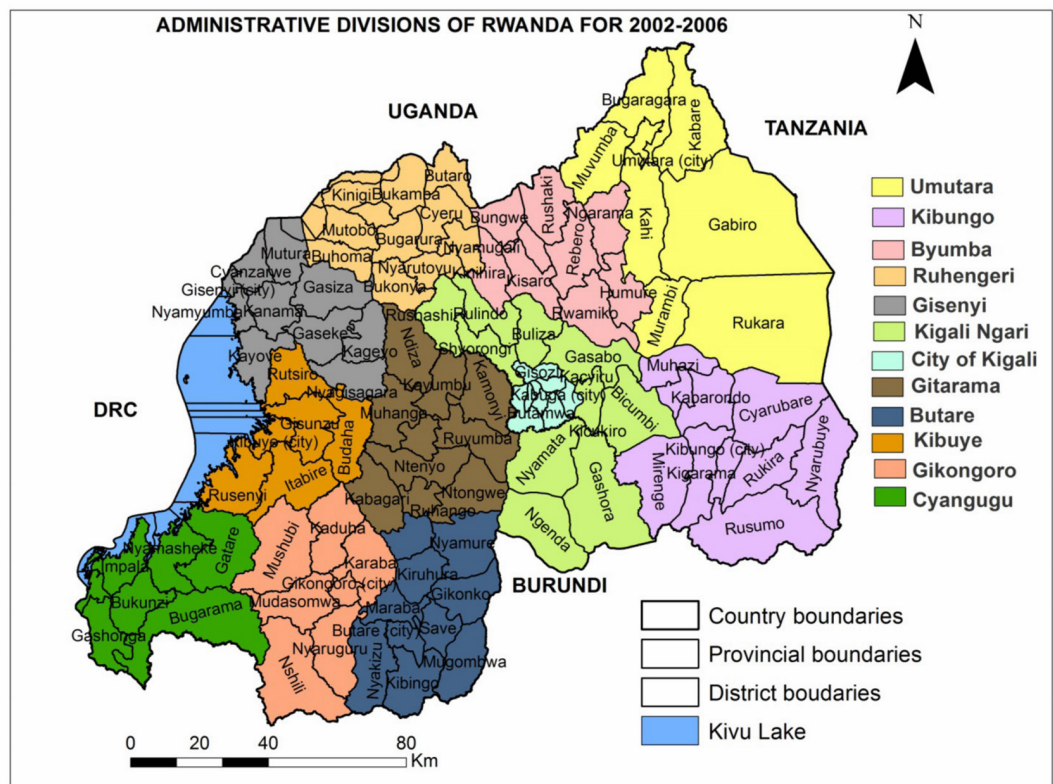


Figure 1.17: Map of Rwanda showing administrative division between 2002 and 2006

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Provinces_of_Rwanda#media/File:Rwanda_geohive.gif

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

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

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

In order to promote consensual democracy, since 2000, free, transparent and peaceful elections have been organised at local levels and Rwanda has put in place a new constitution that clearly defines the main principles as well as performance and limit of political institutions, multiparty system and respect of everybody's right.

The 2003 Constitution accepts that all most important political positions in the country must be shared by political parties and independent politicians. This power sharing was observed not only in the government but also in the Parliament made up of two chambers: the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate.

These two chambers are complementary in nature, but independent of each other. The Executive is overseen by parliament, according to the constitution, while the judiciary is also independent from the Executive and the Legislature.

6.5.4 Promotion of unity and reconciliation

The national unity implies the indivisibility of the Rwandan people. All citizens should have an equal opportunity to national economic resources and can claim the same political rights. Rapidly, the Government of National Unity fought and eliminated all constraints of national unity such as "ethnicity" and regionalism. For instance, "ethnic" labels were removed from identity cards.

In the same perspective, the Commission urges Rwandans to strive to heal one another's physical and psychological wounds while building future interpersonal trust based on truth telling, repentance and forgiveness. Thus, the Commission educates and mobilises Rwandans on matters related to national unity and reconciliation and undertakes research in the matter of peace and unity and reconciliation to make proposals on measures for eradicating divisions and for reinforcing unity. In addition, a series of strategies such as solidarity camps where different categories

of people meet to discuss issues related to unity and reconciliation and programmes on radios are used by the Commission. The Government of National Unity repatriated a big number of refugees which was a fundamental obligation and a bridge to peace, national unity and reconciliation.

In addition to the above efforts, the Government of National Unity introduced several structures and programmes that were meant to correct past errors that led to war and Genocide. These structures include the National Commission of Human Rights, the Gacaca Jurisdictions, Commission Nationale de Lutte Contre le Génocide (CNLG) and Rwanda Demobilisation Commission.

Besides to promote unity among Rwandans new national symbols namely the national anthem, the national flag and the coat of arms were designed to reflect the unity of Rwandans. However, “ethnic” based ideologies propagated by electronic media or in families keep hindering national unity.

6.5.5 Remaking justice

The Genocide was carefully planned and executed to annihilate the Tutsi. The Government made it among its highest priorities to apprehend and bring to justice the perpetrators of the Genocide.

Thousands of people were arrested and judged. Some of them were released for lack of evidence and others convicted and sentenced. It is pertinent to the people of Rwanda to feel that no reconciliation is possible without justice.

The big number of prisoners and cases due for trial placed severe strain on Rwanda’s criminal justice system which had already been crippled by the murder of professionals during the Genocide. The Government of National Unity decided to ease pressure on the criminal justice system by categorising Genocide suspects according to the crimes they were accused of. In this regard, category 1 was composed of the planners and perpetrators of the Genocide. A number of 2,133 people were convicted in the conventional courts. The categories 2-4 where involvement was slightly less serious were convicted in traditional jurisdictions or Gacaca courts.

This new process significantly sped up trials and sentencing, which if they had been restricted to conventional courts would take over 200 years to complete. The Gacaca courts also had the advantage of involving the community in the trial and sentencing process. The Government believed that involving the population in the trials could also contribute significantly to reconciliation. In fact, testimonies from the general population helped survivors to discover the corpses of the family members killed during the Genocide. Moreover, some perpetrators demanded pardon from the survivors. In some places, perpetrators and survivors were gathered in associations. On the debit side, the Gacaca courts were criticised for corrupt judges and lack of lawyers commonly used in modern judicial system.

The Government also made it a priority to strengthen the criminal justice system. Special training was provided to magistrates and judges, while courts around the country were renovated. A national police force was created and charged with civil security matters and criminal investigations.

6.5.6. Assistance to the most vulnerable people

From the social point of view, the Government of National Unity faced with the problem of assisting vulnerable people.

Almost all the Rwandan population that had survived Genocide and war was described as vulnerable. With time, their numbers kept on reducing given the situation which improved politically, socially and economically. The vulnerable people included Rwandan refugees and repatriated displaced people, Genocide survivors, single children and orphans, widows, people with disabilities, the poor, HIV/AIDS victims and prisoners. Moreover, between November 1995 and February 1996, Rwanda hosted almost 37, 000 refugees including former Burundi refugees and Kinyarwanda-speaking ones from Zaïre. In 2003, the number of foreign refugees in Rwanda was estimated at 300, 000 persons. Only 35, 000 refugees remained in Rwanda at the end of 2003.

The survivors of Genocide were part of the most important vulnerable groups in the country. The Government handled them as a priority. In 1998, an Assistance Fund for Genocide Survivors, Fonds d'Aide pour les Rescapés du Génocide (FARG) was set up. It was allocated 5% of the

national budget. This budget enabled FARG to solve a big part of its problems experienced by vulnerable surviving children in the fields of primary, secondary and higher education. The fund was also used to pay for health care. FARG also helped vulnerable survivors to construct residential homes in regrouped villages (imidugudu) and/or elsewhere. It was also used to repair their former residences. FARG financed small projects to help survivors fight against poverty.

From 1994, the orphans and single-children received assistance of varied nature. For some of them, houses were constructed; others were trained and given supplies in reception centres. In this way, they received physical and mental health-care, education and social integration facilities. Some of them were able to reunite with members of their families.

The ministries which were dealing with social affairs performed the following services: designing intervention programmes in favour of widows, providing material assistance, conducting a census of raped and pregnant women, etc. On the other hand, women victims of war and genocide set up associations for mutual help. These actions produced tangible results. However, a big number of them still suffered from the after-effects of war and genocide such as traumatism.

6.5.7. Health promotion

Between 1994 and 2003, a particular focus was put on the improvement of health infrastructure given the role that the latter plays in the improvement of health. Some new hospitals were constructed and old ones were constantly rehabilitated or expanded. Several health centres were also constructed while old ones were repaired gradually. In 1996 the majority of health facilities started to provide both curative and preventive treatment.

National referral hospitals such as King Faisal Hospital, the Centre Hospitalier de Kigali and the University Teaching Hospital of Butare were rehabilitated, re-equipped and made operational. There were 25 district hospitals in the country. Out of 279 health centres and dispensaries, 257 were reopened after rehabilitating them with new equipment.

In 2000, Nyanza Hospital and Kimironko Health Centre were established. In 2001, there were 33 district hospitals and 40 health centres. The above district hospitals were coordinated by 11 regional health officials.

Health staff increased qualitatively and quantitatively. The National University of Rwanda (NUR) Faculty of Medicine produced 1,999 general doctors. Nonetheless, the Government resorted to foreign doctors from neighbouring countries and even beyond to solve the problem of inadequate medical personnel. Kigali Health Institute (KHI) also trained several medical assistants at A1 level. The nursing section at secondary school also level produced nurses of A2 level, whereas those in the social section trained and graduated social workers.

The government policy of encouraging the people to participate in health programmes was successful. The Rwandan Sickness Insurance Scheme, La Rwandaise d'Assurance Maladie (RAMA) was established to ensure that government civil servants get proper medical insurance coverage. It started business in 2001.

6.5.8. Meritocracy and skills enhancement in education

The colonial and post-colonial administrations left Rwanda with one of the lowest skilled populations in the sub-region. In addition to this, an “ethnic” quota system for entry into secondary schools and the university made access to education limited for sections of the population.

On entering office, the Government of National Unity immediately instituted meritocracy in education system and measures were put in place to address the country's manpower incapacity. Since 1994, the number of higher learning institutions kept increasing and were six in 2000. The total number of students receiving higher education rose from 3,000 and was close to 7,000 in 2003. The number of university graduates between 1963 and 1994 was 2,160. Between 1995 and 2000, a period of just five years, the Government of Rwanda produced over 2,000 university graduates.

A former military college in the heart of Kigali was transformed into a modern Institute of Science and Technology. The new Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) was established in 1997 to provide technical, skill based training to 2,500 full and part-time students.

The institute also hosted the African virtual University and conducted business and entrepreneurship courses. Licenses and facilitation were granted to other institutions and colleges to make more training opportunities available to the population.

Similarly, from 1994 to 2000, the number of primary schools increased more than one and a half times. The number of qualified teachers rose by 53% between 1994 and 2000. More resources were made available to build new schools and to rehabilitate old ones. In addition, Government introduced universal primary education, established education support institutions such as the National Curriculum Development Centre, the General Inspectorate of Education and Examinations Board.

The National Examination Council was introduced to ensure fairness, transparency and uniformity in standards.

6.5.9. Enhancing economic growth and development

Due to War and the Genocide, the country's infrastructure was destroyed. Between July 1994 and 2000, the Government of National Unity put in place an emergency programme of reconstruction. In this regard, policies and programmes of economic recovery and social welfare were put in place. For instance, the Government designed first a programme of national reconciliation and another one of rehabilitation and development. The latter was presented during Geneva donors' conference in January 1995. Its aims were the restoration of the macro-economic framework of the country, capacity building, reinforcing the participation of local investors and integration of refugees and displaced people. In addition, the Government had to restore favourable conditions for economic and social activities.

Almost 600 million US dollars was received by Rwanda for the period 1995-1996 thanks to the Geneva donors' conference. The international financial contribution served not only to rehabilitate and repair the basic infrastructures but also to increase agricultural activities. It also improved Rwanda's balance of payments. During the second conference held in June 1996, Rwanda received 500 million US dollars for the second recovery programme called Rehabilitation and recovery programme (1995-1998).

The third programme presented to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) was a structural adjustment. It intended to stabilise the country's macro-economic performance to improve the balance of payments, controlling inflation, etc.

In June 1998, IMF approved Rwanda's application to achieve Reinforced Structural Adjustment Facility. In 1999, this 3 years programme was transformed into a 'Facility for Poverty Reduction and Growth' (FPRG). It was supported with funds worth 413.3 million USD. Thus Rwanda embarked on its economic and social construction.

Even if some programmes and policies were conceived, it was from 2000 that the Government of Rwanda started formulating long term policies. They included Vision 2020 and the Strategic Plan for the Reduction of poverty (EDPRS) which was published in June 2000. These two strategic programmes demonstrated remarkable dynamism because they inspired subsequent policies which were designed in all government sectors.

The Government immediately set out to create fiscal stability and economic growth. Inflation was brought down from 64% in 1994 to fewer than 5% from 1998 up to 2000. In 1994, annual fiscal revenues were zero while in 2002 they stood at nearly 70 billion of Rwandan Francs (frw). The economy grew steadily at an average of 11%, while gross domestic incomes grew at an average of 14.3% per annum since 1995.

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

The Government of National Unity was committed to rebuilding, expanding and improving the infrastructure of the country in order to facilitate economic growth. Since 2003 new roads have been built and others have been reconstructed to improve the road system.

Other efforts related to promote health conditions in residential houses increased the availability of water and electricity. Up to 2001, only 2.4% of the homes were connected to water supplied by ELECTROGAZ as opposed to 38.1% homesteads which got water from natural wells.

The poorest people fetched water from rivers. The average distance between homes and water sources was 703 meters in 2001.

As for electricity, the number of ELECTROGAZ customers increased. It rose from 2% of the population in 1994 to 6% in 2002. In addition, there was a significant difference in living standards between rural and urban dwellers.

6.5.10. Agriculture and animal husbandry

Ever since it took over power in July 1994, the Government of National Unity focused its attention on boosting agricultural production. It sensitised the population to embark on agriculture as soon as peace and security were achieved. It distributed seeds, basic tools, pesticides, etc. to boost agriculture.

To curb the problem of famine and guarantee food security, government priority identified the cultivation of the following crops: maize, rice, sorghum, beans and, Irish potatoes.

Rwanda's economy heavily depended on the export of coffee and tea. The evolution of quantitative production of coffee from 1994 to 2003 was achieved unevenly. The new export crops on which the Government focused its attention included flowers which started fetching foreign exchange to the Rwandan economy. In short, agricultural production increased from 1994. Between 1995 and 2005, it multiplied twofold.

In the field of animal husbandry, government action since 1994 was bent on the following: increasing the reproduction of animals in all regions of the country, reopening of veterinary laboratories and research institutions in animal technology, provision of veterinary medicines and the sensitization of farmers to ensure an increase in animal production. In 1994 and 2003, the number of domestic animals increased by almost five. Quantitatively, animal husbandry also improved because big-sized animals and the number of cross-breed animals increased though generally, a lot of improvement was still needed.

6.5.II. Promotion of gender equality

Women had suffered due to war and the Genocide. One of the Government and civil society priorities were to strengthen capacity building programmes for women in all fields. In this regard, the Rwandan legislation which was disadvantaging women was amended in order to give equal opportunities to both men and women. The Government set up the National Commission for Women's Rights which played an important role in revising the law and culture. Articles which disadvantaged women were removed. Similarly, women organisations became very active. Hence, an association called PROFEMMES trained women and empowered them to take up roles in decision making organs, justice. In addition, laws on inheritance were reformulated. Furthermore, the gender factor was integrated in all national policies on Rwanda's long term development.

In political domain, the Government encouraged women to get involved in decision making organs. This started from the first electoral campaigns of 1999, 2001 and 2003. For example, during the 2001 elections organised by district and sector committees, almost 25% of the women were elected.

All categories of the Rwandan population took part in the process of drafting the Rwandan constitution of 2003. This facilitated the inclusion of the gender factor in the constitution. The 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda stipulates that women shall occupy at least 30% of the decision making organs in the country. The results of the 2003 elections showed that Rwanda was among the first world countries in the world with the most outstanding percentage of women in the National Assembly.



Application Activity 6.5

1. Choose two main achievements of the Government of National Unity. Explain why they are so important to you.
2. Explain different administrative reforms that have been initiated by the Government of Rwanda after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

3. Search on internet or in your school library the 2003 Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda. Compare the duties of the Chamber of deputies and those of the Senate.
4. Discuss how the education has been promoted by the Government of Rwanda after the Genocide against the Tutsi.
5. Basing on information available in local administration or school administration, look for statistics concerning school infrastructure and school enrolment rate and school girls' and boys' ratio. Try to analyze and comment the obtained data.



End of Unit Assessment 6

Respond to questions of Section A or B

Section A

1. Justify the factors supporting the attack of RPF Inkotanyi on October 1, 1990.
2. Choose three main causes of the Liberation War and explain why they are important to you.
3. Choose two main consequences and explain what you would have done to sort out those problems.
4. Write down two pages on challenges and achievements of the Government of National Unity.

Section B

Write two short essays (not more than 750 words) evaluating:

- a. The Liberation War (1990-1994)
- b. The Government of National Unity (1994-2003)

UNIT 7

GENOCIDE PREVENTION IN RWANDA AND ABROAD

Key unit competence: The learner should be able to explain the measures of preventing genocide from happening again in Rwanda and elsewhere.



Introductory Activity 7.1

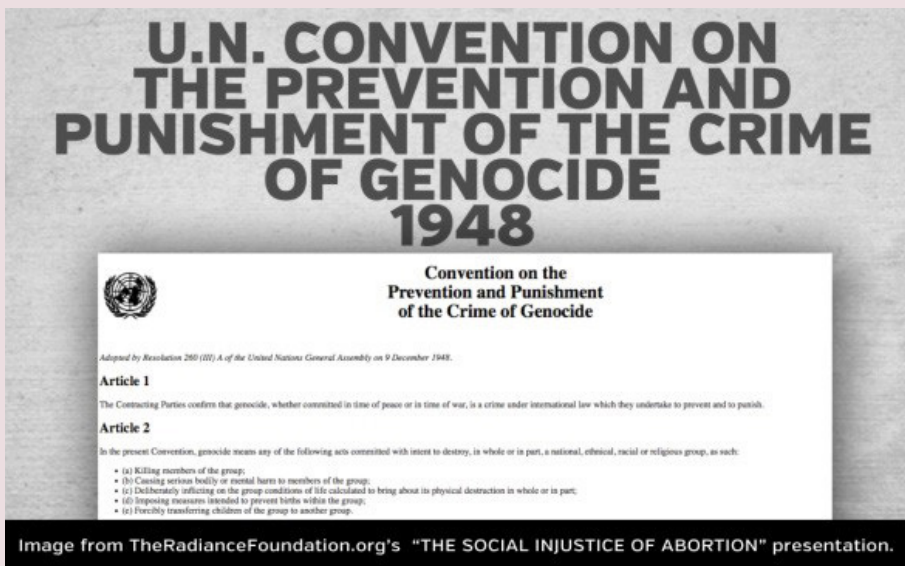


Figure 2.1: Copy of UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide.

Source:<https://www.humanrights.ch/en/standards/un-treaties/furtherconventions/genocide-convention/>

Since 1948 with the UN Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, different measures for its prevention have been adopted. In your opinion, is it possible that genocide can be prevented? Substantiate your answer.

Introduction

This unit two covers the content about the genocide prevention. Mainly, it covers the following points: the concepts, factors and practices of genocide prevention, measures of preventing genocide, challenges faced during genocide prevention and some solutions proposed to those challenges.

Generally, the prevention of genocide is done by taking into consideration all the factors likely to lead to genocide at the three levels namely primary, secondary, and tertiary. These levels refer to the period before the beginning of conflict that may lead to genocide, during the conflict, and during and after genocide.

The genocide prevention is continuous and needs measures at every level because if it is done when the risk of occurrence of genocide is high, the risk of failure to avert its occurrence is also high. Nevertheless, genocide prevention encountered with many challenges, among them, certainty that the presence of factors at different phases may lead to genocide, and sovereignty of the state.

Despite these challenges, many solutions can be taken at different levels. On international level, solutions like prevention of armed conflicts, protection of civilians in armed conflict, end impunity through judicial action in national and international courts have been adopted by the United Nations Organisation as measures of preventing the occurrence of genocide.

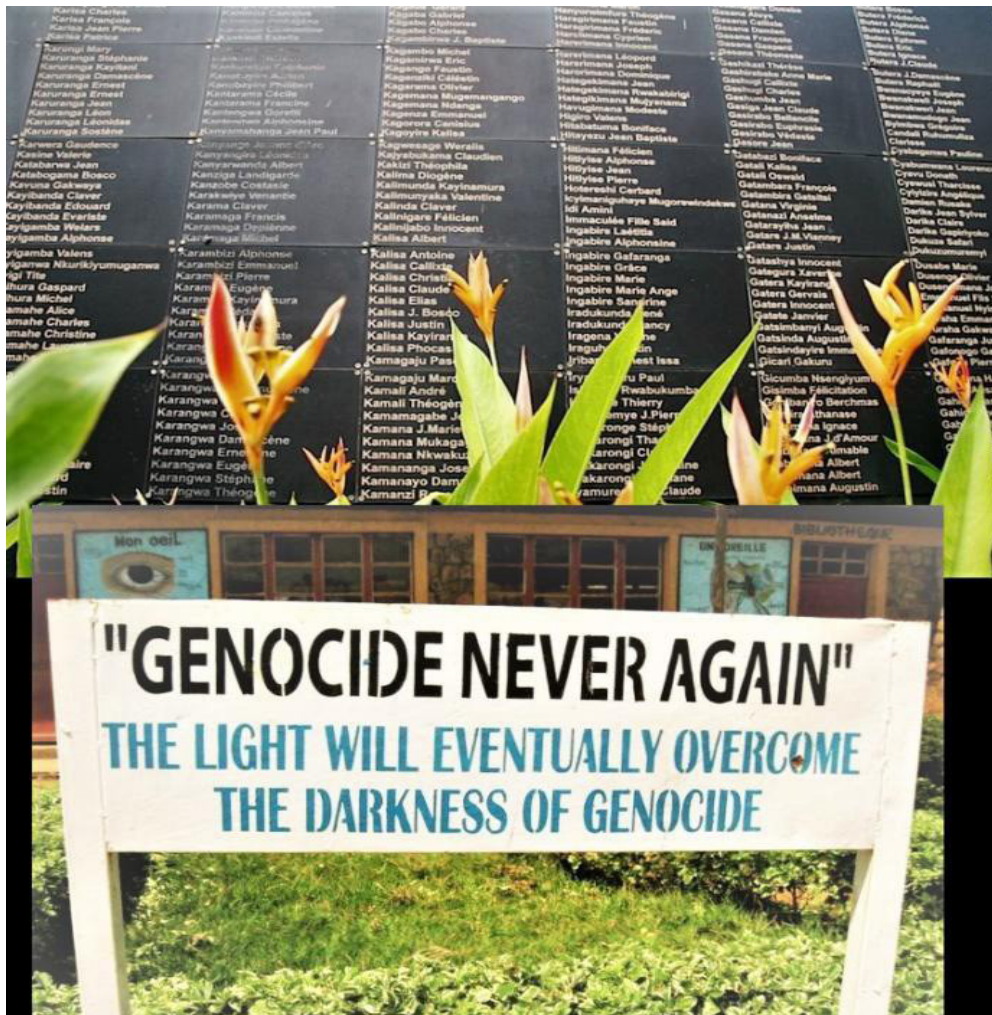


Figure 2.1: Genocide never again

Source: http://www.richardswanda.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/284884_2248833668160_1467762132_32478548_5366937_n.jpg

7.1. Concepts, factors and practices of genocide prevention



Learning Activity 7.1

Using internet or textbooks from your school library define the concept of genocide prevention and discuss the measures you can use to prevent it from happening.

7.1.1. Concept of genocide prevention

Prevention is a continuous process that aims at avoiding the occurrence of something harmful by tackling the causes of the harm prior to it and at each phase of the process to its occurrence and after. Genocide Prevention is any action that works toward averting a future genocide.

Since the adoption of the Genocide Convention in 1948 until now, the response of the governments at the international community level to prevent genocides and mass killings have been very poor. These poor performances are testified by a number of tragic situations of genocide since the Holocaust.

When today we are forced to talk about “escalations” of collective violence, state-sponsored violence, and genocide, doesn't that mean that we have failed in the decisive task left to us by the experience of Nazism and the Shoah: the commitment of “Never Again!”?

The genocide in ex-Yugoslavia and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda have shocked the conscience of mankind, and there is a fear that the list may grow even longer in future, if prevention of genocide is not clarified and taken seriously.

What is absurd is that, while for other tragedies it is generally not easy to foresee them before they happen and therefore difficult or even impossible to prevent them, genocide is preceded by factors and clear signs that it may or is about to happen. That would logically provide enough opportunities to take measures to prevent those factors from leading to genocide.

Several years before the genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda occurred, there existed factors and signs that showed that genocide could potentially break out but it was not prevented.

7.1.2. Factors that may lead to genocide

Genocide is not something that happens overnight because for genocide to happen there are a number of factors that precede and make it possible. They create conditions or opportunities for genocide to occur. Hence, one

needs to first understand the process to genocide in order to know what to do, by whom, at which moment and by which means of preventing it.

The prevention of genocide will not be successful, if the concerned people do not understand the process to genocide. Many factors have been discussed, but there is no consensus on a definitive list of signs or elements that are present in all genocides. The following are some of the factors that may lead to genocide:

- Differences in identity: Genocide is not possible where there is no difference among the population in a given state but this difference itself cannot lead to genocide if not combined with other factors;
- Difficult life due to economic problems (poverty): Being poor itself does not make genocide possible but it certainly creates a favourable environment to other associated problems that may contribute to the process to genocide;
- Deprivation or inequalities in the allocation of resources: When this inequality is based on the differences in racial, ethnicity grounds, meaning, when some groups are given more privileges than others or when a group is totally excluded from accessing the resources, it may create tensions that may lead to other problems that may soon or later lead to genocide;
- Political problems: in many cases the origin of the genocide is the political dominance of one group over other groups. The dominant group may intend to eliminate other groups in order to have the guarantee of continuation of dominance. In reaction, the underprivileged group may feel discriminated and plan to get to power by any means. In both cases, they tend to use a war which might be itself another factor leading to genocide;
- Armed conflicts: the existence of armed actors has served as a motivation and excuse for human rights violations, including killings, arbitrary arrest and discrimination, committed against the civilian population that the armed actors claim to represent. Refugees from the persecuted side may also become warriors determined to overthrow the government in place in order to recover their rights (like having a home land);

- Human rights violations and impunity: genocide is always preceded by successive human rights violations and by impunity. In Rwanda, the culture of impunity of perpetrators of human rights violations based on ethnicity that characterized the colonial and post-colonial periods played a leading role in the genocide against the Tutsi that occurred in 1994. The episodes of unpunished massacres committed against the Tutsi “ethnic” group in 1959, 1963-1964, 1973, 1990-1993, did not only pave the way to genocide against them, but also contributed to its magnitude in that it made the public participation high because of the then assurance that no prosecution would follow. The role of the elites and leaders in denying the enjoyment of human rights to some groups and in the impunity before and during armed conflicts is also an important factor.

7.1.3. Practices leading to genocide

During the process to genocide some special practices reinforce the divisions. Based on different studies, the practices are as follows:

Social categorisation

People are classified into “us and them” by ethnicity, race, religion, or nationality: Germans and Jews, Hutu and Tutsi. In Rwanda, during the colonization, researchers measured for instance the people’s height and the length of their noses. And then everyone was classified as Tutsi, Hutu or Twa.

Identities cards were issued to each individual mentioning the ethnicity. It may not be deduced that this policy was meant to incite Hutu to commit genocide against the Tutsi, but this permanent line put between the groups and the implications related to that, contributed to the antagonism between the two groups that later, combined with other things, led to genocide.

The main preventive measure at this early stage is to develop universalistic institutions that transcend ethnic or racial divisions, that actively promote tolerance and understanding, and that promote classifications that transcend the divisions. The Roman Catholic Church could have played this role in Rwanda, had it not been riven by the same ethnic cleavages as Rwandan society. Promotion of a common language in countries like Tanzania has also promoted transcendent national identity. This search for common ground is vital to early prevention of genocide.

Discrimination

The social categorisation which gives the basis for defining groups may be followed by the exclusion of some groups, intensified by the injustice in the allocation of resources as well as the injustice on how the participation in decision making process is distributed. Since these practices of discrimination against some targeted groups are either done by state leaders or supported by them, they grow and lead to other phases that may lead to genocide. In Rwanda, the first and Second Republic institutionalized the ethnicity and introduced a regional balance or quota system. The system saw the Tutsi children excluded from secondary and tertiary education.

Prevention against discrimination means full political empowerment and citizenship rights for all groups in a society. Discrimination on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, race or religion should be outlawed. Individuals should have the right to sue the state, corporations, and other individuals if their rights are violated.

Dehumanisation

Dehumanization is a denial of the humanity of others and a step that permits killing with impunity. This genocidal ideology “dehumanizes” members of a group and justifies violence against it. Victims are not considered as belonging to the same human race as the oppressors. The targeted group is often likened to a disease, microbes, cockroaches, infections or a cancer in the body. That is what explains why during the genocide, bodies of victims are often mutilated to express this denial of humanity. Dehumanization is an important phase in the process that leads to genocide because ideologically, the perpetrators claim to purify the society as a justification. So, the ideology grows deeper to convincing one group that another deserves nothing but death and this is a legitimization to kill. The availability of the dehumanizing ideology is important in the process to genocide but may not be enough to cause genocide if it is not followed by other actions.

Propaganda for the elimination of targeted group

For the dehumanization to have its effect, it needs propaganda to spread out the hate ideology done either by leaders themselves, the authorized who are supported by them.

This is an important phase in the whole process because it helps the elite members of the eliminating group to disseminate the dehumanizing ideology and to bring other members of that group to believe in that hatred. This is an important motivating factor to take part actively in killings. A prominent example of the hate media in Rwanda during the 1990s is the famous Kangura newspaper as well as the Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM).

Preparation

This phase is when some possible acts liable of making genocide are performed. They include writing lists of victims, creation and training of militia, purchase and distribution of arms to be used.

Massacre of the target group members

In many cases, genocide is always preceded by killings targeting a given group or individuals belonging to that group in different places.

Genocide may also be preceded by killings of moderate people because, of not supporting the extermination of the targeted group.

Extermination (genocide)

This is the phase when the genocide is executed. It is when the intent to destroy the targeted group can be seen from what is happening on the ground. When killings are sponsored by the state, the armed forces often work with militias to kill such as the Interahamwe in Rwanda during the Genocide.

In the case of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the main actors were: the interim government local administration, security forces, militia, the media, civil society organizations (churches included), the population and the international community.



Figure 2.3: Victims abandoned during the Genocide

Denial and impunity of genocide

During the perpetration of every genocide and aftermath, the perpetrators always find a way of denying their crime. They try to justify the killings, and to blame the victims, claiming that their own behaviours brought about the killings. In Rwanda, killers alleged that Tutsi were helping rebels of RPF, and they used this to justify the mass killing of innocent Tutsi. The denial of genocide is not only the destruction of the truth about the genocide by negating or minimising it, it is also a potential cause of its repetition.



Application Activity 7.1

1. Define the concepts of genocide and genocide prevention.
2. Account for any three factors that may lead to genocide.
3. Explain any two practices that can lead to genocide.

7.2. Early Warning Signs of Genocide



Learning Activity 7.2

By making research on internet and using textbooks, discuss the early warning signs of genocide.

The study of the Holocaust raises questions about how the world can recognize and respond to indications that a country is at risk for genocide or mass atrocity. While each genocide is unique, in most places where genocide occurs, there are common risk factors and warning signs. Explore this question to learn how to identify these signs in today's world, as well as how they were present during the Holocaust and other genocides.

7.2.1. Risk factors and warning signs of genocide

Genocides have continued to happen since the Holocaust. For example, Tutsi genocide occurred in Rwanda in 1994, and at Srebrenica in Bosnia in 1995.

Uniqueness and comparability means that while every genocide is unique, most genocides contain some repeatable elements. Just as there were key conditions that made the Holocaust possible, there are identifiable risk factors for genocide today. Some of the most common are:

- **Instability:** One of the strongest signs of the potential for genocide is large-scale instability. Instability can result from armed conflict or developments that threaten a regime's power, such as a coup, revolution, or uprising. Instability may increase the risk of genocide for several reasons. Leaders may feel threatened, citizens may feel insecure, and the law may be suspended or neglected. In such environments, leaders and citizens may be more willing to consider violence to protect themselves and what they value.
- **Ideology:** Genocide often happens when leaders believe that some people in the country are inferior or dangerous because of their race, religion, or national or ethnic origin. In Rwanda, leaders of the Hutu majority believed that the Tutsi minority wanted to dominate the Hutus. In Bosnia, Serb leaders believed that the Muslim Bosniaks were a threat to the freedom and culture of the Orthodox Christian Serbs.
- **Discrimination and violence against groups:** Where genocide occurs, there usually have been earlier acts of discrimination, persecution, and violence against people who belong to a certain group. In Rwanda, Tutsis faced various forms of discrimination. There were several incidents of mass violence against Tutsis in previous decades as well the massacres Tutsi in Kibirira in 1990, the Bagogwe tragedy in North-West Rwanda in 1991 and the mass killing of Tutsi of Bugesera in March 1992. In addition, Bosnian Serb forces committed numerous war crimes and crimes against humanity against Bosniak and Croatian communities before committing genocide at Srebrenica.

The factors that can put a country at risk for genocide may exist for a long time without leading to genocide. Some of the warning signs that the risk for genocide may be increasing include:

- **Dangerous speech:** Before and during genocide, there is often widespread hate speech. Such hate speech promotes the idea

that members of a certain group are evil and dangerous. When this speech comes from influential leaders and is spread through government propaganda or popular media, it can condition listeners to believe that violence against the group is justified. It may also incite some people to commit violence against members of the group. The leaders of genocide in Rwanda (as a case of Doctor Leon Mugesera on 22 November 1992 at Kibilira in *sous-prefecture* of Kabaya) and Bosnia all promoted hate speech against the victims.

- **Armed groups:** Before committing genocide, leaders often create special groups that share their ideology and goals. For example, Hitler established the SS (*Schutzstaffel*; Protection Squadrons) in Germany in 1925. Leaders provide these groups with weapons and military training. They use them to commit violence against members of a particular group. During the genocide of the Tutsi of Rwanda, the *Interahamwe* and *Impuzamugambi* militias led the killing in certain areas.
- **Armed conflict:** Genocide most often happens during armed conflict. The genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia happened during times of civil wars. The Holocaust occurred during international war. Genocide can result if one or both sides of the armed conflict expand its targets from enemy soldiers to civilian groups seen as supporting the enemy. Mass atrocities against civilians who belong to a certain group can escalate violence and increase the risk for genocide by deepening hostility between groups. This can provoke acts of revenge, attract recruits to the warring sides, and provide leaders with an excuse to conduct an all-out attack on members of a group.

The specific factors that led to genocide in Europe, Rwanda, and Bosnia were very different. In each case, however, recognizable risk factors and warning signs were present. All those who organize and carry out genocide rely on the active help of countless officials and ordinary people as well as those who stand by, witness, and sometimes benefit from the persecution and murder of their neighbors.

7.2.2. Early warning signs of genocide prevention

Today, the international community makes efforts to watch for the risk factors and warning signs of genocide. Recognition of these signs can help the world act to prevent before killing begins. Because genocide usually occurs within the context of other mass atrocities, prevention efforts focus not only on genocide but also on the other acts defined as “atrocities crimes.” Genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity are today together commonly referred to as “atrocities crimes” or “mass atrocities.”

As we learn more about the risk factors, warning signs, and triggering events that have led to genocide in the past, we are also learning ways to prevent it in the future. Designed by the Museum and Dartmouth College, the Early Warning Project gives us a first-of-its-kind tool to alert policy makers and the public to places where the risk for mass atrocities is greatest. Together, people around the world can call for action before it's too late.



Application Activity 7.2

1. Discuss the risk factors and warning signs at early 1994 Genocide against Tutsi.
2. Using internet, research on the situation that prevails in Africa. Describe a case that you think may be an early warning sign of genocide. Afterwards, point out strategies that you think can be used to prevent any possible acts of genocide.

7.3. Types of genocide prevention



Learning Activity 7.3

“When the Genocide Convention was passed by the United Nations on December 9, 1948 the world said, ‘Never again’. But the history of the twentieth century instead proved that ‘never again’ became ‘again and again’. The promise the United Nations made was broken, as again and again, genocides and other forms of mass murder killed 170 million people, more than all the international wars of the twentieth century combined”.

Dr. Gregory H. Stanton. By analyzing this quotation, explain the different measures that can be taken in preventing genocide from happening again.

7.3.1. Upstream genocide prevention

Genocide is not something that happens overnight or without warning. Genocide requires organization and constitutes in fact a deliberate strategy and one that has been mostly carried out by governments or groups controlling the state apparatus. Understanding the way genocide occurs and learning to recognize signs that could lead to genocide are important in making sure that such horrors do not happen again.

Since genocide is a process, prevention of genocide would mean to tackle it at a very early stage. The prevention at the primary level consists of measures aiming at creating an environment that reduces the risk of its escalation. At this phase the aim is to put in place measures that may preempt the start of the harm. This means preventive measures that may avoid the occurrence of the harm by tackling its root causes. Prevention will therefore include the adoption of measures that not only prohibit the harm but also put in place mechanisms that ensure the prevention of that harm.

On international level, the focus in upstream prevention is determining which countries are at the risk. This is mainly done using risk assessments which are quite accurate predictors. Numerous models have been developed, each looking at different factors such as differences in identity, difficult conditions due to economic problems, sharing of available resources, democracy and respect of human rights.

Among other things to consider when assessing and addressing the risk of genocide is looking at structural and institutional frameworks in the country including domestic legislation, an independent judiciary and an effective police force to protect people.

By using risk assessments (Early Warning System), policy makers, civil society organizations and the UN must take appropriate measures to stop the situation from evolving into genocide.

When the upstream preventive measures are unsuccessful, then the need to take other measures may arise.

7.3.2. Mid-stream genocide prevention

Mid-stream Genocide Prevention is necessary in two situations. Firstly, in case a state has not adopted measures at the Upstream and secondly, in case the measures adopted before did not prevent the risks of genocide from developing.

The mid-stream prevention takes place when genocide is already taking place. At this stage, many genocidal actions are observed, such as hatred, intolerance, racism, ethnic cleansing, torture, sexual violence, disappearances, dehumanizing and public discourse.

The main focus is to end the genocide before it progresses further and claims more lives. Measures tailored to the situation are taken in order to prevent the risk from materializing or the situation from becoming worse.

At this stage of prevention may involve military intervention of some sort, especially when it is in an armed conflict context. But there is a debate about the effectiveness of this military intervention whereby some claim that military intervention promotes rebel groups or that it is too expensive for the lives it saves. They prefer peaceful prevention because it saves lives and does not require costly intervention.

7.3.3. Downstream genocide prevention

When the measures at the mid-stream stage fail or have never been taken and the mass killings start, measures at the downstream level are needed in order to respond to this final phase of the genocide. Downstream genocide prevention focuses on avoiding Genocide in future by rebuilding, restoring the community and dealing with all the consequences to repair the damage caused.

Individuals and states have the responsibility in the prevention of genocide

Important measures are needed to put an end to the harm. According to the international humanitarian law, the international community has the obligation to intervene once all signs are clear enough to prove that genocide is happening.

Rwanda is an example of the failure of international community to intervene. In 1994, with the presence of UN peace keepers, it was possible to stop the genocide against the Tutsi, but because of various politico-diplomatic reasons, these peace keepers were obliged to go back to their countries and let Tutsi die in the hands of the perpetrators.

Tertiary prevention takes place during and after the genocide has ended. Its focus is on preventing genocide in the future, thus re-building and restoring the community.

In other words, the tertiary prevention level also deals with all consequences in order not only to repair the damage but also to avoid the reoccurrence of the harm.

In concluding, it is important to say that prevention is a continuous process which involves several actions at different levels which involve the individuals, government, and international community.



Application Activity 7.3

1. Explain the measures of preventing genocide at Upstream Genocide Prevention.
2. Analyze the measures of preventing genocide at Mid-stream Genocide Prevention.
3. Using internet, research on the situation that prevails in Africa. Describe a case that you think may lead to genocide. Afterwards, point out strategies that you think can be used to prevent any possible acts of genocide.

7.4. Challenges faced in the prevention of genocide



Learning Activity 7.4

By making research on internet and using textbooks, discuss the challenges encountered in prevention of genocide.

The first challenge is related to lack of certainty that the presence of factors at different phases may lead to genocide and the second is the uncertainty on whether the preventive measures to be taken can prevent it.

Regarding the first challenge, it must be said that the certainty from the existing factors and risks at early phases that they will amount to genocide may be difficult to get, given the fact that the genocide is planned by those in power. Even at advanced phases, the degree of certainty of occurrence may still not be there. The process to genocide cannot be understood as an exact science. That is why it may be argued that the answer to the lack of certainty may be negative. Before taking preventive measures, one cannot wait until there is certainty that genocide will happen.

In fact, by the time this is clear, it might be too late to prevent genocide from happening and too difficult to do it without causing other problems. The analogy with the prevention of environmental damage which does not require full scientific certainty can help to understand the uncertainty of the occurrence of genocide. The fact that there may not be a linear process to genocide that is identical everywhere is a big challenge.

Another important challenge is that there is no institution that assesses the factors and phases in order to determine who takes which measures, when to take them, how and where to implement them.

On the question whether certainty that preventive measures to be taken would totally prevent the occurrence of genocide is needed, the answer is negative as well. Given the nature of prevention and the process to genocide, it is very difficult for the preventer to be sure beforehand that the preventive measures to be taken will definitely prevent the occurrence of genocide. But, as said by the former UN Secretary - General Kofi Annan, "there can be no more important issue and no more binding obligation than the prevention of genocide."



Application Activity 7.4

Explain how identifying factors that may lead to genocide constitutes a challenge to genocide prevention.

7.5. Solutions to challenges faced in prevention of genocide



Learning Activity 7.5

Having discussed challenges faced in prevention of genocide propose your own solutions to those challenges.

7.5.1. The role of international community

- The poor record in preventing genocides forced the United Nations to conceptualize ways of deterring the crime while “recognizing and fully respecting the sovereignty of States.” The then UN Secretary - General Kofi Annan took important measures which inspired many programs in the field of genocide prevention. He identified a Five Point Action Plan to end genocide:
- Prevent armed conflict, which usually provides the context for genocide;
- Protect civilians in armed conflict, including the mandate for UN peacekeepers;
- End impunity through judicial action in both national and international courts;
- Gather military information and set up an early warning system;
- Take quick and decisive action along a continuum of steps, including military action.



Figure 2.4: Rwandan soldiers in UN peace keeping mission in Darfur

Source:<https://www.trtworld.com/mea/south-sudan-agrees-to-more-un-troopsunder-pressure-179810>

- a. Annan created the Office of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide, later changed to the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide and Mass Atrocities (SAPG). The mandate of the SAPG is to:
- b. collect existing information, in particular from within the United Nations system, on massive and serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law of ethnic and racial origin that, if not prevented or halted, might lead to genocide;
- c. act as a mechanism of early warning to the Secretary - General, and through him to the Security Council, by bringing to their attention potential situations that could result in genocide;
- d. make recommendations to the Security Council, through the Secretary General, on actions to prevent or halt genocide;

Liaise with the United Nations system on activities for the prevention of genocide and work to enhance the United Nations capacity to analyse and manage information relating to genocide or related crimes.

With the introduction of Responsibility to protect people in 2001, the international community has taken significant steps towards greater awareness of escalating situations and employing a tempered preventive mechanism which views intervention as a last resort.

According to this international norm signed by all member states of the UN, any nation has the right to intervene if a state fails to protect its citizens from genocide or other crimes. This means that state sovereignty can be violated for the protection of a population if the state is unable or unwilling to do it. This norm has enabled the international community to step in more easily for the prevention of genocide. However, there has been some question of the abuses of this norm as an excuse to intervene or create regime changes. Also there are still difficulties when intervention is discussed but it fails to give an answer to who should intervene and what are the constraints to such intervention.

7.5.2. At the regional level

Various regional mechanisms have developed distinct methods for engaging with concerns that fall within the borders of their member states. The African Union (AU) is significantly more engaged in the region than its predecessor, the OAU.

Through the Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union (PSC), the African Standby Force (ASF) was established as part of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The Peace and Security Council Protocol (PSCP) covers a comprehensive agenda for peace and security. These include conflict prevention, early warning and preventive diplomacy, peacebuilding, intervention and humanitarian action, and disaster management. The other components of APSA set up by the PSC Protocol include the Continental Early Warning System; the Panel of the Wise; and the Peace Fund.

The Eastern Africa Standby Force (EASF) created by the decision of the Summit of the African Union held in July 2004 in Addis Ababa, is a constituent organization of the ASF. Yet, a number of the regional organizations still lack the resources, logistical and communication capacities to effectively enforce the peace.

7.5.3. Rwanda's responsibility to prevent genocide

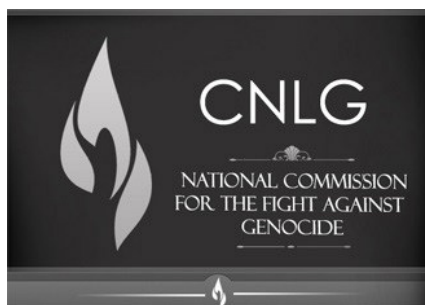


Figure 2.5: CNLG logo

Source: <http://www.cnlg.gov.rw/home/>

All countries have not put in place measures related to genocide prevention. Only those who have experienced that tragedy seem to be aware more than others and Rwanda is in that case. In the aftermath of

genocide, measures have been taken to face the immediate consequences and to prevent genocide from happening again. In the Constitution, the state of Rwanda (Constitution, chapter III, art.10) commits to upholding the following fundamental principles and ensuring their respect:

1. Prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, fighting against denial and revisionism of genocide as well as eradication of genocide ideology and all its manifestations;
2. Eradication of discrimination and divisionism based on ethnicity, region or on any other ground as well as promotion of national unity;
3. Building a State governed by the rule of law, a pluralistic democratic Government, equality of all Rwandans and between men and women. Laws punishing the crime of genocide and the genocide ideology have been elaborated. Special organ to monitor and implement these principles has been created, the National Commission for the Fight against Genocide established by Law N°09/2007 of 16/02/2007. Its mission is “to prevent and fight against Genocide, its ideology and overcoming its consequences”.

In addition, aftermath of Genocide, there is a need to put in place measures in order to prevent reoccurrence of genocide where it has already happened.

One of them is keeping alive the memory of past acts of genocide. Genocide against Tutsi Memorials are extremely important in prevention of Genocide in Rwanda.



Figure 2.6: Bisesero memorial sites and genocide commemoration are one of the ways to prevent genocide

Therefore, it is imperative that the genocide against the Tutsi and all other acts of genocide elsewhere in the world be remembered. The second one is to educate people for sustainable peace and prevention of genocide using memorials.

Then the prevention of genocide should be done in educational setting. The country of Rwanda has included the prevention of genocide and peace education as a cross cutting issue in the programmes that have to be taught at all levels of education from the primary to the tertiary.

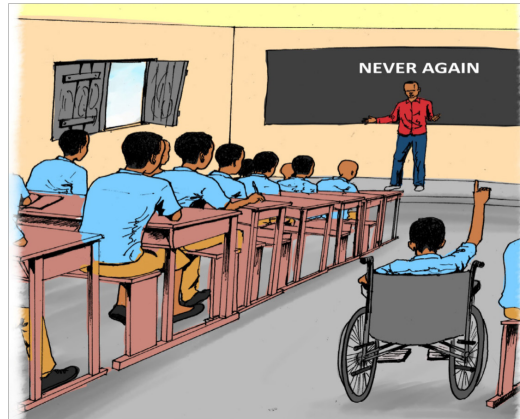


Figure 2.7: *Educating the youth through testimonies about the past is a good way to prevent genocide*

Other measures of prevention of genocide encompass effective arrest, trial and punishment of those who have committed genocide. The implementation of these measures requires the existence of the early and effective functioning of the International Criminal Court, the use of national courts with universal jurisdiction, and the creation of special international tribunals to prosecute perpetrators of genocide. That is why the **International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda** (ICTR) was set up in Arusha, Tanzania, began operating in 1995, after a UN Security Council resolution 955 of November 8, 1994.

At national level, the country of Rwanda had put in place Gacaca court which is a traditional justice system based on telling truth, in the eradication of impunity that led to genocide against Tutsi in 1994.

7.5.4. Rwanda in reconstruction and reconciliation

- The unity and reconciliation of Rwandan was started by the following tasks and duties:
- Engaging Rwandans about the causes of division and discrimination that took place in the past;
- Setting up a National Commission charged with unity and reconciliation;
- Holding accountable perpetrators of genocide and ensuring that justice is delivered and end the culture of impunity.
- Rwanda has put in place mechanisms to raise awareness of Rwanda's Home-Grown

Unity and Reconciliation tools: Home Grown Approaches

- **INGANDO** (solidarity camps): A civic education activity that has facilitated the smooth reintegration of former returnees, X-FAR, provisionally released prisoners back to their communities. Target group include women, youth groups, students joining universities and local leaders. It provides forums to Rwandans to come to terms with their past by facing history, forging a common vision for a united future.
- **ITORERO RY'IGIHUGU**: This is also a homegrown initiative inspired by the Rwandan culture that was formerly a traditional Rwandan school to instill moral values of patriotism, integrity, and capacity to deal with ones problems. It has been revived to promote values of unity, truth, culture of hard work and avoiding attitudes and mindsets that deter unity and reconciliation, as well as development of the Country.
- **GACACA**: A traditional Rwandan restorative justice process which was revived to deal with a backlog of genocide cases. Gacaca judges known as Inyangamugayo were elected on the basis of integrity. The GACACA system was modified to meet international standards to the best of its capacity and was successful in contributing significantly to Justice and reconciliation in Rwanda.

- GACACA's, ability to reveal the truth, to process a huge number of cases, helped survivors and perpetrators to live together peacefully. Penalties provided by GACACA courts were intended to integrate the guilt into the society and to enable them to collaborate with others in the reconstruction of the country.
- NDI UMUNYARWANDA (I am a Rwandan): is described as the totality of the life of Rwandans. It is a panacea for solving the divisions among Rwandans that were promoted during the colonial times and during the independence and post-independence regimes.
- These divisions were based on pseudo-ethnism and regionalism and they led to rejection, exclusion, separation, segregation and denial of basic citizen rights for a section of the population. The ultimate cost of these divisions was the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi. Reconciliation in Rwanda in connection with NDI UMUNYARWANDA is understood as both backward and forward looking; that is, it considers the past, present and future of Rwanda. A general hypothesis in this regard was that 'the more Rwandans are able to understand and confront the sources of their historical social divisions, while getting committed to a common future, the more likely reconciliation is to occur.

The level of Reconciliation, social cohesion and Unity has been progressively increasing from 83,57% in 2010, 92,5% in 2015 to 93,75% in 2020, as per the Rwanda Governance Scorecard and is targeted to increase to 96% by 2024. 27

The aim of genocide prevention is to rewrite our history, to keep us in our past troubles, to stick to genocide ideology, and division and make us fail. It is a collective responsibility to hold accountable those engaged in denial and trivialization, as it undermines the very foundations being built. It is necessary to pass laws at national level which criminalize the denial of the Genocide. Passing laws prohibiting the denial of genocide greatly contributes to setting the record straight and reducing the chances of political leaders and opinion makers holding shameful discourse about genocide.

We chose to confront our darkest truths in order to define who we are where we are coming from, how far we have come and determine our

future. To oppose genocide denial is to support the programs that lead to a prosperous Country, and to build a future unity.

We chose to rely on our home grow approaches as solutions that fit our context. We chose to account to Rwandans for sustainable development of our beautiful Country.

7.5.5. Rwanda in peace operations

“The central purpose of peace operations is the protection of civilians. This cannot be said often enough. It is not the protection of peace agreements or UN mandates, even peacekeepers for that matter, much less the protection of politicians. The mission is to protect the ordinary people most at risk”. H.E President Paul KAGAME, during international peace conference on the protection of civilians held in Kigali 28-29, May 2015.

While the failure of UNAMIR to protect the Tutsi against genocide perpetrators in 1994, Rwanda is among the few if not the only peculiar country in the world that is mandated by the constitution to take part in peacekeeping around the world and in support of affected communities.

This is enshrined in the design and implementation of RDF's strategy as constantly stressed by the Commander-in-Chief (C-In-C) in his addresses to the RDF and also to the public.

Informed by the tragic history of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi and motivated by a strong national belief that real friends and partners are the ones by your side in times of need, Rwanda resolved to contribute to peace-keeping and stability whenever required.

It was against this background that the RDF was the first peace-keeping contingent to deploy in Darfur in 2004 and the Central Africa Republic in 2014.

- Rwanda's participation in Peace Support Operations is mainly motivated by the need to take its international responsibility as an active member of the international community. Rwanda Government has so far participated in different initiatives designed to bring about peaceful settlement of disputes and resolution of conflicts. These Peace support initiatives fall in areas of:

- Preventive diplomacy.
- Peace-making.
- Peace-building.
- Peace-keeping.

As a matter of policy, Rwanda considers her involvement in peace support operations not limited to the deployment of troops. The involvement could also take the form of providing good offices, specialist support or facilities.

- However, for the government of Rwanda to participate in peace support operations especially peacekeeping, there must be requisite conditions favouring deployment of the Defence Force. They include:
 - The operation should be authorised by the UN Security Council or Regional Organisations like the African Union.
 - The operation should have a clear mandate and exit criteria.
 - There should be realistic possibility of success

Participating troops must undertake pre-deployment training since peacekeeping is a secondary function to the Defence Force and requires specific competences and skill sets.

To guarantee effectiveness of its military contribution in a Peacekeeping effort, the government via the MOD ensures that acquisition and maintenance of military equipment takes into account the peculiar requirements of peace support operations. Furthermore, relevant departments in the MoD and the RDF are developing sets of doctrines, operational procedures and training programmes in co-operation with foreign partners.



Application Activity 7.5

Write a short essay (not more than 500 words) explaining two solutions to the challenges faced in prevention of genocide at each of the following levels: international, regional and national.



End of Unit Assessment 7

"We have learned important lessons. We know more keenly than ever that genocide is not a single event but a process that evolves over time, and requires planning and resources to carry out. As chilling as that sound, it also means that with adequate information, mobilisation, courage and political will, genocide can be prevented". Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the New York launch of **Kwibuka 20**, the 20th commemoration of the genocide against the Tutsi

Figure 2.8: UN Secretary - General Ban Ki-moon (2007-2016)

Source: [https://www.chinadialog.net/article/show/single/en/9523_](https://www.chinadialog.net/article/show/single/en/9523_Champion_of_the_Paris_Agreement-ban-ki-moon-steps-down)

1. Champion_of_the_Paris_Agreement-ban-ki-moon-steps-down-
2. Do you agree or disagree with the above quotation of the UN General - Secretary Ban Ki-moon. Comment on your position.
3. Evaluate three initiatives made by the Government of Rwanda to prevent the reoccurrence of genocide both at national and international levels.
4. To what extent does lack of an institution in charge of assessing the factors that can lead to genocide be a challenge to the prevention of genocide?

Read carefully the following extracts:

Text 1:

"The first thing I can tell them [other Rwandan children] I can explain that ethnic or skin color is not very important in this world. We must live together without discriminating against any person because we don't choose what we are. That is why I preferred to forgive rather than revenging"!

A genocide survivor

Text 2:

“We were walking with many other refugees near Ruyenzi, across the river from Kigali. The road was so crowded with people.

I was with my grandmother. As I was walking, I heard a voice of a woman crying, and screaming from a child. I looked to the side and saw a lady with a baby. I asked my grandmother to stop, to go and see what is happening with the lady. But my grandmother didn't want to go, saying, “If we go there, they will kill us.”

And then I went down off the road alone, but other people continued on. The mother was lying on her side with the child lying on top of her. She was around one year, because she couldn't walk. I was thinking, “Of course this mother will die, but at least I can rescue this child. I never had a sister. If I rescue her, she will be my sister.”

My grandmother said, “Make sure that you don't ask me for anything to help you.” I said, “I will take her; if I die, she will die. If she doesn't die she will be my sister.” But my grandmother said, “You should not walk close to us, because we may be killed. Walk behind us, with a little distance between us and you.”

I was very, very committed. We kept going; I was carrying the baby on my back up until we got to Zaire”.

Source: Aegis Trust Archives

Questions

- After reading text 2, if it was you, what would you have done when the grandmother prevented the young girl to go down off the road to see the child? Justify your position.
- By comparing text 1 and 2 explain how the measures taken by the main characters can help to prevent genocide from happening again in Rwanda. You can use direct quotes from the text.

5. Do you agree that visit of genocide memorial has a role in genocide prevention? Justify your answer.
6. Write an essay in no more than 300 words on the importance of genocide commemoration.
7. Imagine a genocide memorial you can create in your home community. Describe what you can put in the memorial and explain how it can help to prevent further genocide.

UNIT 8

DIFFERENT TYPES OF NATIONAL SERVICE IN VARIOUS SOCIETIES

Key unit competence: Explain different types of national service in Rwanda and other countries.



Introductory Activity 8.1

The youth, as adults, should contribute in social transformation of Rwanda towards its Vision 2020 – 2050. How can national service be an easy way to help the Rwandans to achieve this goal? Write 500 words text with pictures to illustrate your response.

Introduction

This unit eight talks about the different types of national services in some countries like United Kingdom, in Israel, Ghana, Nigeria, Singapore, Brazil and strong emphasis is made on Rwandan societies. It focuses also contributions of the youth in the national service and general role of the national service in national development.

National service is defined as an organised activity where people serve in the community through different ways (according to the country and society), and it has been adopted by different countries as solution to their internal problems. It is one way to integrate the youth in national priorities and their contribution into national social and economic development.

Many countries have adopted the national service for different purposes. Some of them are inspired by the need of increasing the number of soldiers during the war time. This is a case of national service in United Kingdom and in Singapore for example. Other countries like Ghana, Nigeria and Brazil, the motives which have guided option for national service including the need to incorporate the youth into social and economic development of their countries.

In Rwanda, the adoption of national service was inspired by the concept of volunteerism practiced in traditional Rwanda. Today, national service exists under the term of Urugerero program. This is provided for in article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 revised in 2015. Through Urugerero activities, they youth are trained and initiated to military trainings for physical fitness. Thereafter, they are sent into their respective local communities to help in implementation on some national policies like sensitization and mobilisation against some diseases like malaria etc

8.1. Definition of the concept of national service in Rwanda and other countries



Learning Activity 8.1

By using internet and/or textbooks from your school library, define the concept of national service in Rwanda.

National service is a system of either compulsory or voluntary government service, usually military service. This term of “national service” comes from the National Service (Armed Forces) Act of 1939 enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom on September 3, 1939. Through this service, many young people spent one or more years performing national duties in the army or in civil service.

It can be also defined as an organized activity in which people serve the community in ways that contribute to social, economic and political transformation at no financial rewards.

In Rwanda, national service is known today as volunteerism and practiced through Urugerero. The term volunteerism is defined by International Labour Organisation as “unpaid, non-compulsory work, that is, the time individuals give without pay to activities performed either through an organization directly for others outside their own household.” In Rwandan context, volunteerism is referred to as Ubwitange or Ubukorerabushake, which literally means a “free will action”, performed out of self motivation and passion.

According to the adopted Itorero strategy, volunteerism is defined as “the practice of people working for a particular cause without payment for their time and services. It is the desire to undertake by choice and free will a task or work for the benefit of the wider community beyond the volunteer’s immediate family and friends”.



Application Activity 8.1

After understanding the concept of “national service”, reformulate your own definition.

8.2. Differences and similarities of different national service



Learning Activity 8.2

Through your research by using internet and other documents from your school library discuss different forms of national service.

In many cases, the national services are in two forms, such as compulsory national service and alternative civilian service.

8.2.1. Compulsory national service

Compulsory national service (or military national service) typically requires all male citizens to enrol for one or two years, usually at the age of 18 (later for university level students). To large extent, compulsory military service is known as conscription.

Conscription is compulsory enlistment of people in a national service, most often a military service. Conscription dates back to Antiquity and continues in some countries to the present day under various names. The modern system of nearuniversal national conscription for young men dates to the French Revolution in the 1780s, where it became the basis of a very large and powerful military. Most European nations later imitated the same system in peacetime so that men at a certain age would serve from one up to eight years on active service and then transfer to the reserve force.

Conscription usually involves individuals who are deemed fit for military service. However, some governments have established universal military service in which all men or all people of a certain age are conscripted.

Most governments use conscription at some time, usually when the voluntary enlistment soldiers fails to meet military needs. Most of them only conscript men; a few countries also conscript both men and women for example, China, North Korea, Israel, Eritrea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Libya and Peru.

8.2.2. Alternative civilian service

It is a form of national service performed in lieu of conscription for various reasons, such as conscientious objection, inadequate health or political reasons. It is service to a government made by a civilian, particularly such service as an option for conscripted persons who are conscientious objectors and to military service.

Civilian service is usually performed in the service of non-profit governmental bodies or other institutions. For example, in Germany (before conscription was abolished), those in civilian service worked extensively in healthcare facilities and retirement homes, while other countries have a wider variety of possible placements.

The common synonyms for the term are “alternative service”, civilian service, and non – military service and substitute service as well.



Application Activity 8.2

Compare and contrast different types of national service.

8.3. National service in Rwanda and in other countries



Learning Activity 8.3

By using internet, textbooks, journals and newspapers, make a research on national service in Rwanda. Then write down your findings in not more than 300 words.

8.3.1. Recent institutionalisation of national service in Rwanda

National Service - “Urugerero Programme” is provided for in Article 48 of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 revised in 2015. Urugerero activities actually started on January 17, 2013 and it was officially launched in Rwanda on January 22, 2013 in Rwamagana, Eastern Province by the then Right Honourable Prime Minister Dr. Pierre Damien Habumuremyi. The National Itorero Commission (NIC) organises various activities under Urugerero, whose outcomes are paramount to national development.

Adoption of national service was inspired by the concept of ubwitange (volunteerism) that was practiced by Rwandans in building the country. This commitment led ancient Rwanda to great achievements such as the expansion of the kingdom.

The Urugerero programme aims at developing programmes that enhance the current efforts put in place to accelerate growth in all sectors of the economy by adding a formalized voluntary service component.

The rationale of the volunteerism policy

Educate Rwandans on the culture of volunteerism through activities of national development;

- Provide a framework where people are able to make effective use of their special skills and access unexploited potential which is an additional contribution to national development;
- Build satisfaction among volunteers for their role in volunteer work for increasing national production skills development associated with the volunteering activities.
- Provide an appropriate institutional framework for effective management, coordination and use of existing and future volunteer activities and resources.
- Provide a mechanism through which volunteer services can be recorded and accorded national recognition.

Volunteerism in Rwandais currently exhibited through provision of services to the community such as *Umuganda*, *Ubudehe*, *Umusanzu* (*Communal self-help activities based on solidarity*), *Abunzi*, local government councils (*Njyanama*), Gacaca judges, electoral commission agents, and community health workers (*abajyanama b'ubuzima*) among others that do not involve any salary payment in return and done out of free will for the purpose of benefiting the whole community.



Figure 8.1: President Paul Kagame providing advice to the participants of Urugerero during closing ceremony of Urugerero on June 15, 2013.

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/styles/galleryformatter_slide/public/HE%20with%20the%20Youth.jpg?itok=0QLfC5ty

The Government of Rwanda has adopted national service based on a combined model (voluntary and compulsory). Initially, National service was compulsory for the group between 18 and 35 years. People in that age category were officially considered as part of the youth. Today, the youth age category is between 15 and 30. Other categories of the population will be allowed to participate on a voluntary basis depending on their time, professional background and identified priorities.

The National Service programmes are based on national priorities that are identified before the commencement of the service. Strategic choices namely vision, **goal**, objectives to respond to the identified challenges are described to guide all the programming processes of the Itorero

programmes. **A motto** for the Urugero has been proposed which states “*Selfless service to the Nation*”.

At the end of the service period, participants join together in their respective sites to *debrief* on their experiences and lessons to inform planning for the following **intake**. A closing ceremony is organized for them and during the ceremony; they receive certificates of participation highlighting their contribution and experience acquired in their placements. Exemplary participants are also recognised at this ceremony.



Figure 8.2: Ceremony of launching Urugerero in University and other higher learning institutions.

Source:<http://ur.ac.rw/sites/default/files/vcatevent.png#overlaycontext=node/63%3Fq%3Dnode/63>

There are voluntary interventions in various sectors which the Government of Rwanda has used volunteerism in such sectors like local governance, justice, health and electoral processes. This Policy is aimed at providing guidance on the management, rights, responsibilities and roles for both the volunteer and the volunteering organizations.

8.3.2. National service in other countries

Most countries have chosen the national service as an alternative way to involve their population in nation building. The Countries which are described in this section were chosen randomly; at least one country from each continent as an example.

National service in the United Kingdom (UK)

At the beginning in 1939, the national service enforced full conscription of all males between 18 and 41 who were residents in the UK. It continued in a modified form in peacetime by the National Service Act 1948. This Act of Parliament extended the British conscription of the Second World War long after the **wartime** needs for it had expired, in form of “National Service”.

The need for national service in the United Kingdom was inspired by the wartime due to the need of more armed forces. The first phase of voluntary recruitment was from 1916 to 1920 during the First World War and the second period from 1939 to 1960.



Figure 8.3: World War II poster from the United Kingdom encouraging the British to join national service.

Source:https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/3b/Are_You_with_Us_in_National_Service%3F_Art.IWMPST13964.jpg.

However, persons who were exempted from national service included the following: medically unfit as well as the blind, disabled persons, and those with mental disorders, British subjects from outside Britain who had lived in the country for less than two years, students, persons

employed by the government of any country of the British Empire except the United Kingdom, clergy of any denomination, married women, women who had one or more children 14 years old or younger living with them, conscientious objectors, people working in reserved occupations like baking, farming, medicine and engineering.

The National Service Act 1948 was applied to all healthy young men who were not registered as conscientious objectors. It did not affect the **exemption** from service of registered as conscientious objectors or the procedure for registration.

The period of serving in national service in the United Kingdom varied due to national interest. By 1946, the period of national service was 6 months and this period was increased to 12 months in 1949. From this time, men who completed the service remained on the reserve list for the number of years in the age-range (four years) which started being counted from the moment they finished serving. However, men on the reserve list could only be called for periods of up to 20 days (previous acts allowed the period to be indefinite), and could not be called more than three times. In 1950, due to the British involvement in the Korean War, the national service period was extended to two years. To compensate this long period, the reserve period was reduced by six months.

In the United Kingdom, the national service was ended gradually from 1960. In November 1960, the last men entered in service and the last national service men left the armed forces in May 1963.

National service in Israel

In Israel, the national service is known under the conscription. This conscription is for all Israeli citizens over the age of 18 years old who are Jewish and the Arab citizens of Israel (Druze or Circassia) are not conscripted. The normal length of compulsory service is two years and eight months for men (with some roles requiring an additional four months of service), and two years for women.

The Israeli Defence Service Law regulates the duties and exceptions. According to the Defence Service Law, the **enlistment** to the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF) is mandatory for all Israeli citizens who have turned 18 years old.

After the foundation of the State of Israel, the Defence Service Law passed in 1949 gave the Israeli Defence Forces the authority to enlist any citizen. Under this law, the period of service for men was 30 months and for women 18 months (although in accordance with a temporary order from January 10, 1968, six additional months were added to the mandatory service, 36 months for men and 24 months for women respectively).

The draft requirement applies to any citizen or permanent resident who has reached the age of 18, and in accordance with the law, the individuals who are exempt from the draft are dismissed for various reasons, such as incapability, medical problems and military personnel needs. Exemption from military service in Israel is given based on the following criteria: being expatriates, having medical or psychological reasons, marriage, pregnancy or parenthood (for women only), religious Israeli Druze citizens, Arab citizens of Israel and some young people are exempted for holding a criminal record. Also, the security minister may exempt certain people from an army service in the IDF, for reasons related to the volume of the military forces or reserve forces, or for reasons related to educational needs, settlement needs, security needs, economy needs, family needs and various other reasons.

Furthermore, for those who cannot or do not wish to serve in the Israel Defence

Forces, there is an alternative voluntary civilian national service called *Sherut Leumi*. It is a volunteer programme in Israel for young women between the ages of 18 and 21 years; though some men also participate, who cite religious reasons for opting out of the requirement to serve in the Israel Defence Forces. It is also a popular way for young Jewish volunteers from abroad to spend time in Israel. Volunteers are matched with charitable organizations, like hospitals or orphanages, and live together in a dorm-like setting. They serve for one to two years and are paid a minimal salary.

National Service in Ghana

In Ghana, the national service is performed especially by the students who graduate from accredited tertiary institutions. They are required to do a one year national service in the country. The National Service Secretariat

is the Government of Ghana agency mandated to formulate policies and structures for national service.

Every year, several tens of thousands of graduates from Ghanaian tertiary institutions are posted to various sectors as service personnel. The service is done irrespective of the type of sponsorship the individual may have received or the country in which the tertiary course was pursued. The personnel upon posting to an establishment is subjected to the rules and regulations that govern it. The service personnel are paid monthly allowances approved by the Ministry of Finance in Ghana.

All personnel are entitled to a month's annual terminal leave for the year that spans their service. The month leave is usually given in August to all personnel. The female service personnel may apply for a three month maternity leave. When this leave is granted, the personnel are to serve for three extra months to make up for the period of service lost. The personnel who are granted maternity leaves are not paid during the time of their leave.

The candidates for national service may on application be exempted from service by the National Service Board on production of valid documentary evidence due to the following conditions: an individual who has undertaken national service at an earlier date and a graduate who is 40 years old or more.

By the end of national service, a service person shall be issued with a Certificate of National Service after the successful completion of the service.

National Service in Nigeria

In Nigeria, the national service is known as the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC). It is an organization set up by the Nigerian government to involve the country's graduates in the development of the country. The programme was started in the aftermath of the Nigerian civil war, the Biafra War, in the 1970s. Particularly, there is no military conscription, however, since 1973; the graduates of universities and later polytechnics have been required to take part in the National Youth Service Corps programme for one year.

The National Youth Service Corps in Nigeria aims at:

- Inculcating discipline in Nigerian youths by instilling in them a tradition of industry at work, and of patriotic and loyal service to Nigeria in any situation they may find themselves;
- Raising the moral tone of the Nigerian youths by giving them the opportunity to learn about higher ideals of national achievement, social and cultural improvement;
- Developing in the Nigerian youths the attitudes of mind, acquired through shared experience and suitable training which will make them more **amenable** to mobilization in the national interest;
- Enabling Nigerian youths acquire the spirit of self-reliance by encouraging them to develop skills for self employment to contribute to the accelerated growth of the national economy;
- Developing common ties among the Nigerian youths and promote national unity and integration
- Removing prejudices, eliminating ignorance and confirm at first hand the many similarities among Nigerians of all ethnic groups;
- Developing a sense of corporate existence and common destiny of the people of Nigeria.

Nigerian graduates are ineligible for employment in governmental establishments (and few private establishments) till they have completed the mandatory one year service. Graduates who are exempted from the service include those above the age of thirty (30) and those with physical disability. Therefore, completing the service entitles one to employment.

The National Youth Service Corps' members are posted to cities far from their city of origin. They are expected to mix with people of other tribes, social and family backgrounds, to learn the culture of the indigenes in the place they are posted to. This action is aimed at bringing about unity in the country and to help youths appreciate other ethnic groups. There is an "orientation" period of approximately three weeks spent in a military controlled boot "camp" away from family and friends. There, they are militarily trained and receive instruction according to their studies in secondary schools. There is also a "passing out ceremony" at the end of the year and primary assignment followed by one month of vacation.

National Service in Singapore

In Singapore, the National Service is a constitutional requirement for all male Singaporean citizens and second generation permanent residents to undergo a period of compulsory service in the uniformed services. Depending on physical and medical fitness, they serve a two year period as National Servicemen Full time, either in the Singapore Armed Forces, Singapore Police Force or the Singapore Civil Defence Force.

On March 14, 1967, the National Service (Amendment) Act was passed making National Service compulsory for all 18 years old male Singapore citizens and permanent residents. The establishment of National Service was a reaction to the necessity to build a substantial military force to defend Singapore because, by the independence, the country had only about 1,000 soldiers.

Singapore adopted a conscription model drawing on elements from the Israel and Swiss national conscription schemes. Some 9,000 male youths became the first batch of young men to be called up for National Service for establishment of the Singapore armed forces. The period of National service is two years.

Complete national service exemptions are rare. It can be granted due to permanent disabilities or severe medical conditions to be graded by Medical Board and other exceptional case-by-case basis.

Those who are liable to serve national service as a national duty to the country but refuse are charged under the Enlistment Act. If convicted, they face up to both three years' imprisonment and a fine of S\$10,000 (equivalent to 8,550,000Rwf).

When a National Serviceman completes his full-time service, he is considered to be "operationally ready", and is thereafter known as an Operationally Ready National Serviceman. In common parlance, the term "Reservist" is used, a vestige of the older nomenclature preceding the current terminology. National Servicemen are the equivalent of other countries' reservists.

National Service in Brazil

National service in Brazil is known as Conscription and it is mandatory for every male who has 18 – 45 years old and it normally lasts for twelve months. Some are allowed six-month service terms but are expected to complete high school at the same time. These are called **“Tiros de Guerra,”** or “shooting schools,” which are for high school boys in medium-sized interior towns, run by army sergeants.

In case of a war, the period of conscription may be altered, according to the demands. Seventeen-year-olds are allowed to undergo military service, as volunteers.

Conscription Brazil is regulated by the Military Service Law, created on August 17, 1964. Then, according to Article 143 of the 1988 constitution, military service is obligatory for men, but conscientious objection is allowed. Women and clergymen are exempted from compulsory military service.

The conscript system in Brazil is predominantly a means of providing basic military training to a sizable group of young men who then return to civilian life and are retained on the reserve rolls until age forty-five. The army recognizes that it provides a public service by teaching large numbers of conscripts basic skills that can be valuable to the overall economy when the young men return to civilian life.



Application Activity 8.3

1. Explain the contribution of volunteerism in Rwanda.
2. Compare the national service in Rwanda with those of Nigeria and Israel.
3. What do you think are the objectives of volunteerism in Rwanda? Are they achievable? Justify your answer.

8.4. The contribution of the youth in the national service



Learning Activity 8.4

Write a short text explaining the role that must be played by the youth in the national service.

In most countries, the youth represents the future of their countries; therefore, they have a vital role to play in the development of each country through participating in national service.

The training and participation of the youth contribute to the increase of national army, where some become soldiers permanently or part time after accomplishing military trainings.



Figure 8.4: Intore at Urugerero helping in community service.

Source:http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/styles/galleryformatter_slide/public/Intore%20helping%20in%20the%20community-s-2.jpg?itok=K6F_5HzF.

The youth is the manpower provider because they participate in national service by offering their physical force in order to accomplish national service goals like construction of houses for the poor families, repairing the roads, construction of vegetable gardens for family consumption. In environmental protection, the youth in national service construct terraces and plant trees in order to fight against soil erosion.

As earlier stated, in Rwanda, the youth at **Urugerero** have contributed in making data collection. Most data collected were about the number of illiterate people in their area of operations, the cases of school dropout and children of school going age who are not yet in school, of local population who have not yet registered for health insurance (mutuelle), number of family living in illegal marriage and vulnerable groups.

Through *Urugerero*, the graduates of senior six secondary schools also perform different national duties in line with the Government's notion of self-reliance and dignity. The most activities the students are engaged in include awareness campaigns on development projects, HIV/AIDS, gender balance, family planning, adult literacy and community work (**Umuganda**) among others. Furthermore, the youth contribute in fighting and preventing people against the genocide and genocide ideology, fighting against the drug abuse and sensitizing and mobilizing local population about credit – saving through micro-finances like *Umurenge SACCO*.

The youth also contribute in national service by contributing in service provision and delivery to local population at sector and cell levels. Services delivered including distribution of official documents namely identity cards and land registration certificates. Data entry in computers and customer care are also done by national service participants. This boosts the service delivery to the local population.



Figure 8.4: The joyful youth welcome of the President of the Republic H.E Paul Kagame at Petit Stade -2013

Source:<http://minaloc.gov.rw/index.php?>



Application Activity 8.4

1. Appreciate the contribution of the Rwandan youth in the national service.
2. Discuss the benefits and challenges for the youth in carrying out national service.

8.5. General roles of the national service in the nation building



Learning Activity 8.5

Use internet and textbooks from your school library and carry out a research about the contribution of Urugerero and volunteerism in the building of Rwanda.

Use internet and textbooks from your school library and carry out a research about the contribution of Urugerero and volunteerism in the building of Rwanda.

In Rwanda, the National Service Urugerero programme aims at developing programmes that enhance the current efforts put in place to accelerate growth in all sectors of the economy by adding a formalized voluntary service component. For instance, the participants have sensitized local population to join *Mutuelle de Santé*, *Umurenge SACCO* and to participate actively in community service.

Through *Urugerero*, young people are supported to fulfil their potential and to work together as a community. Each participant receives practical training (training related to domains of service), training in civic education and basic military training. This enables the participants to play a big role in economic and social transformation of the country.



Figure 8.6: *Intore at Urugerero helping in community service.*

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/styles/galleryformatter_slide/public/Itorerero%20working%20in%20the%20community-2.jpg?itok=LJZjosns.

The national service increases solidarity among the Rwandan citizen as they are initiated to help each other, strengthen national identity and reduces stereotypic thinking by interfacing with the realities of the communities and the country in general.

Through the military trainings provided to each participant, national service promotes patriotism and civic participation especially among the young generation.

By training the youth to fulfil national service activities, the country benefits from the committed and motivated workers at no financial reward. The committed and motivated workers often have a positive impact by influencing regular employee at the work place hence contributing to the nation building.

Through the community service rendered to the local communities, national service encourages social integration and cohesion necessary to national building. In this regard, intore who are performing a range of activities are integrated in those communities and have to work hand in hand with the local people who are beneficiaries of such activities.

Participation in national service empowers those involved in different ways including gaining new skills like *leadership*, problem solving, and interaction with others among others. The participants are initiated to different tasks like planning, design, building and other key roles throughout national service. Such practical skills prepare them to contribute actively to the national building.

Participating in a national service programme offers members a unique opportunity to develop personally and professionally. Research has proven that those who participate in service increase their understanding of how they can address social challenges. Being a national service member also provides opportunities for enhanced problem solving skills, ability to work in teams and planning abilities.

For people with disabilities, engaging in national service provides an additional opportunity; to shift perceptions and show that people with disabilities can be service providers, not just recipients of service.

In Rwanda, the volunteerism has contributed a lot to national development where, in 2011 for instance, the volunteerism has contributed more than 30 % to the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Due to the work performed by community health workers, local government officials and committees, election process managers, mediators (*abunzi*), judges in Gacaca courts and Rwanda Red Cross, the Government of Rwanda has saved about 70 billion Rwf.

In Rwanda, the national service is a continuation of the spirit of promoting positive values among Rwandans, especially the youth. The values of unity, patriotism, selflessness, integrity, responsibility, volunteerism, humility enhanced during the national service contribute to the promotion of nation building.

National service encourages young people to enter careers in fields experiencing shortages: In education for instance where the national service persons help in adults teaching. To explore future job and educational interests can be motivation to join national service for the young people and their career plans become more community oriented.



Application Activity 8.5

1. By considering your local area, evaluate the role of Urugerero accomplished by senior six leavers in social transformation of Rwanda.
2. Appreciate the contribution of volunteers in rebuilding of Rwanda since 1994.



End of Unit Assessment 8

1. Describe the organization of Urugerero as national service in Rwanda.
2. Compare national service in different countries. Choose one country per continent.
3. Explain the contributions of abunzi, mediators, and judges in Gacaca courts, community health workers and election process managers in national building of Rwanda.
4. Evaluate the role of the youth during Urugerero.

UNIT 9

THE ROLE OF DEMOCRACY, UNITY AND RECONCILIATION IN THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE RWANDAN SOCIETY

Key unit competence: Examine the role of democracy, unity and reconciliation in the transformation of the Rwandan society.



Introductory Activity 9.1

Do you think that unity and reconciliation policy has contributed to the transformation of Rwandan society? Write down a 500 words text justifying your position.

Introduction

After the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda managed to make a number of achievements in the promotion of democracy, unity, reconciliation and justice.

In the area of democracy, the democratization process culminated into the establishment of elected institutions both at national and local levels. In 2003, a new constitution was adopted, presidential and parliamentary were organised. This Constitution guarantees media freedom and provides for media self-regulation. It also has as focal point the principle of multi-party system and separation of powers.

In addition, according to the Rwandan Constitution and the principle of power sharing, a political organisation holding the majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies cannot have more than fifty (50%) per cent of Cabinet members.

Moreover, the rule of law, one of the facets of constitutionalism in Rwanda is respected since state institutions act in accordance with the law. The situation of Human rights and security is well maintained. The government of Rwanda has promoted unity and reconciliation by using

different mechanisms including the creation of the Gacaca courts and engaging the Rwandan people in dialogue on various issues of Genocide.

A number of achievements have also been made in judiciary whereby the justice structure has been revised and strengthened. New courts like Gacaca jurisdictions and commercial courts were created. Besides, Maisons d'Accès à la Justice (MAJ), were established to serve as the first point of orientation with legal aid service for Rwandans. MAJ mainly provide legal information/education as well as legal advice/ mediation essentially to the Rwandans who are unable to afford a lawyer.

The process of democracy and judicial systems in the neighbouring countries of Tanzania and Kenya has also been emphasised in this unit. In Kenya, the development of democracy and public participation was reliant on multi-party institutions and a federal system of government. Therefore, several political parties were created, the main ones being the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU).

In 1969, the ruling party, KANU, banned the opposition and in 1982 officially became a single political party when the Parliament changed the constitution to make Kenya a one-party state. The country remained as such until 1991 when pressure, through people's struggles for democratic change, compelled the government to repeal this constitutional provision and provide for a return of multi-party democracy.

At the recovery time of its independence, Tanganyika had a multi-party political system. However, in 1965; there was introduction of the single party constitution. All general elections since 1965 to 1990 were held in a single party system. The multiparty political system was officially reintroduced in 1992 by Tanzanian President on 1st July, 1992. This marked the era of true democracy in Tanzania, where many political parties registered. There were 13 political parties that participated in the general election in 1995. Since that time, the political party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has managed to win all the presidential elections.

The two countries of Tanzania and Kenya have a judicial system inherited from the colonial period where the British judicial system was a source of

inspiration in their elaboration. It contributes to ensure in both countries the rule of law and to a certain extent the respect of the human rights and these of citizens.

9.1. Concepts of democracy, reconciliation and justice and their features



Learning Activity 9.1

Define the concepts of democracy and justice and describe their features. Thereafter, basing on the definitions of these two terms and their characteristics, analyse the extent at which democracy and justice are practiced in Rwanda.

9.1.1. Concept of democracy

Etymologically the term “democracy” means power of people. It derives from two Greek words *demos* or people and *kratos* which means power. Democracy is defined, basically as the government in which the supreme power is vested in the people. In some forms, democracy can be exercised directly by the people; in large societies, it is by the people through their elected representatives. In the memorable phrase of American President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is the government of “the people, by the people, and for the people”. Thus, democracy is simply a system of government where the citizens directly exercise their power, and have the right to elect the government representatives who collectively create a government body for the entire nation (like, a parliament).

In a democratic government, people have certain basic rights that the government cannot take away from them, and these rights are internationally recognized and guaranteed.

Freedom and democracy are often used interchangeably, but the two are not synonymous. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it also consists of practices and procedures that have been moulded through a long, often tortuous history. Democracy is the institutionalization of freedom.

In the end, people living in a democratic society must serve as the ultimate guardians of their own freedom and must forge their own path towards the ideals set forth in the preamble to the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Recognition of the inherent dignity; the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the World.

9.1.2. Basic features of democracy

The main features of democracy are indisputable initial requirements that are imposed on all participants of political activities in the country. The basic features of democracy include the following:

Political freedom

This means, a freedom of choice, social order and form of government. It refers to the right of people to determine and change constitutional order and ensure the protection of human rights.

Equality of citizens

This means equality of all people before the law, equal responsibility of any committed offense and the right to equal protection before court. Equality is guaranteed for all citizens: there can be no privileges or restrictions on the grounds of race, colour, political beliefs, religious or other convictions, ethnic or social origin, property status, residence, linguistic or other grounds. The most important aspect is the equality of rights and freedom of men and women who have the same opportunities for their implementation.

Selectivity of state bodies

This implies formation of authorities and local government through the people's will. It ensures their replaceability, control and equal opportunity to exercise electoral rights for everybody. In a democratic state, the same people should not permanently occupy positions in government bodies for a long time: this causes *distrust* of citizens and leads to a loss of legitimacy of these bodies.

Separation of powers

This means that interdependence and mutual restrictions are imposed on different branches of power: legislative, executive and judicial powers. It serves as a means of checks and balance in order to avoid the accumulation of powers in the hands of some individuals who would transform their power into a means of suppressing freedom and equality.

Decision-making by the will of the majority with the mandatory observance of the rights of the minority

This feature means the combination of the will of the majority with guarantees of the rights of the individual who acts as a part of the minority (ethnic, religious or political). It also means the absence of discrimination, suppression of rights of an individual who is not a part of the majority in decision-making activities.

Pluralism

It refers to the diversity of social phenomena, broadening of the range of political choice, leading not only pluralism of opinions but also political pluralism, the plurality of parties, public associations, etc. With various professions and charters acting within the framework of the constitution, democracy is possible when it is based on the principle of pluralism, but not all pluralism is necessarily democratic. Only when in conjunction with other principles, pluralism assumes universal significance for modern democracy.

9.1.3. Concept of reconciliation

Reconciliation can be defined as a psychological process for the formation of lasting peace. In this process, the past rivals come to mutual recognition and acceptance. They have invested interests and goals in developing peaceful relations, feel mutual trust, positive attitudes as well as sensitivity and consideration of the other party's needs and interests. The transformation of beliefs, attitudes and emotions regarding one's own group, the others and the relationship between them is a long term process. Reconciliation is not needed in all societies but only in those that have been subjected to protracted and intractable conflict.

9.1.4. Concept of justice

Aristotle (384–322 BCE) stated that justice consists of **righteousness**, or complete virtue in relation to one's neighbour. He also espoused the idea of justice as a state of character, a cultivated set of dispositions, attitudes and good habits. Aristotle expands on justice by stating that it consists of treating equals equally and "unequals" unequally, in proportion to their inequality. Justice is an action in accordance with the requirements of some laws. Whether these rules are grounded in human consensus or societal norms, they are supposed to ensure that all members of the society receive fair treatment. Justice ensures that people receive their fair share of the goods available; obtain fair treatment from society's institutions. Justice also implies that people's actions conform to rules of fair play.

9.1.5. Features of justice

There are four main features of justice including meritocracy, fairness, equality and moral righteousness.

Meritocracy This is the idea of "getting what one deserves". On the positive side, a person may be given an award or social recognition for a good deed or unselfish behaviour, for example, a medal for bravery, risking one's life to save a drowning person. Awards and honours may also be a way to recognize extraordinary talent, for instance, a gold medal at the Olympics.

There are examples of getting what one deserves by using negative means. These include corruption, getting employment without the necessary skills or to be demoted without valid reasons.

Fairness

This is the idea of treating equals equally. For example, two people doing the same job competently with the same amount of experience and training should get the same pay. There should not be distinctions in rates of payment based on gender, age, racial or ethnic background or any other factor not related to performance on the job. "Fairness," however, also means, in certain circumstances, treating people unequally in order to

recognize and correct past injustices. For instance, if women or members of racial minorities have been historically excluded from certain relatively well-paid and desirable occupations, there may be a justifiable case for employment equity measures - giving suitable candidates from the disadvantaged group preference in hiring. Hence, there can sometimes be a distinction between what is considered fair at the individual and collective levels.

This concept of justice also denotes “procedural fairness” - ensuring that everyone receives a fair hearing and due process in courts (for example, their case follows all the requirements of knowing the case against them and should have enough time to prepare and an impartial judge). For example, people with a low income should not be denied competent representation in court by a lawyer if they are charged with a serious criminal offence, even though they cannot afford legal fees. Legal aid schemes, in principle, are supposed to ensure such legal representation for all. Procedural fairness also demands a transparent process for decision-making that can be clearly understood by all, ready access to practical help to make one’s case and the right to appeal a decision to a higher body in one feels that one has been unjustly treated.

Equality

This common understanding of justice is embodied in equal citizenship rights for all persons (for example, the right of all to vote in elections and run for political office and equal entitlement to universal public programs such as health insurance and education). Equality also demands that there should be an equitable sharing of civic burdens, such as paying taxes (although “progressive” taxation schemes may require the wealthy to pay proportionately more, they are about fairness).

Equality also has economic and social dimensions. At this level, justice is ensured when the government puts in place a system that helps everyone to enjoy adequate economic security through some combination of labour market earnings and income security programs and all people in society to have ready access to adequate and affordable housing, sufficient, safe and nutritious food and other public goods such as transportation and green space.

These aspects of economic and social rights do not necessarily demand treating everyone exactly the same or giving people equivalent shares of a social good. It can be acceptable to have differences in income levels, house prices and the consumption of goods and services. Such differences may in fact provide incentives that benefit individuals and society.

However, justice demands equality of access for everyone to adequate income, decent and affordable housing, food security and other necessities of a modest but dignified life.

The social aspect of justice (social justice) brings up questions of distributive justice - how resources (for example, money, natural talents, health care or political power) and opportunities (for example, places in the best educational institutions or access to the best jobs and the most lucrative business opportunities) are divided up among everyone in society. Unjust distributions may require corrective measures, in other words, “redistributive justice.” For example, wealthy people may be required to pay more taxes than those with modest or low incomes, so that government can fund a reasonable level of public services for all. Educational institutions may have to take steps to recruit students and faculty members from groups that they have historically excluded, such as women, racial minorities and people with disabilities, so that these minority groups have access to the same educational opportunities as the majority.

The process of redistribution or, more specifically, arriving at a fair redistribution, involves participation. Participation in this context requires a societal decision mechanism or process that allows the meaningful participation of all people in society with recognition, mutual respect and an ethic of making decisions by taking into account the position of the least favoured or neediest in society.

Moral righteousness

This final aspect of justice encompasses the ideal of individual virtue and ethical conduct. Individuals are thought to be “just” when they engage in **altruistic** behaviour to help others or make society a better place and set an example of altruistic conduct in both their personal responsibilities (as a spouse, parent or friend) as well as civic and public roles (as an employee, elected politician or club president).



Application Activity 9.1

1. The term justice has been defined by a number of scholars. Attempt your definition by using your own words and discuss its characteristics by utilising tangible examples that can be found in the daily human experience.
2. Etymologically, the term democracy means power of people, basing on your own experience and the Rwandan context, attempt another definition but do not exceed five lines.
3. Describe any two features of democracy and illustrate them with examples that prevail in Rwanda.
4. Equality is one of the features of justice. Discuss at least its two dimensions.

9.2. Different forms of democracy and justice



Learning Activity 9.2

What forms of democracy and justice do you know? Write them in your exercise book and find out an example and its application for each.

9.2.1. Forms of democracy

The main forms of democracy include direct democracy, representative democracy, presidential democracy, parliamentary democracy, authoritarian democracy, participatory democracy, Islamic democracy and social democracy.

Every country interprets the meaning of democracy in its own particular way. With a wide range of different geopolitical atmospheres, there is a large *spectrum* of democratic governments in existence around the globe. And to shed light on the above forms of democracy, the following explanations are provided.

Direct democracy

A direct democracy is when citizens get to vote for a policy directly, without any intermediate representative or house of parliament. If the government has to pass a certain law or policy, it goes to the people. The latter vote on the issue and decide the fate of their own country.

The people can even bring up issues themselves, as long as they have a substantial consensus on the matter. Even taxes cannot be raised without the public support.

When the population is small, educated and mostly homogeneous, a direct democracy does not seem like a bad idea. Switzerland, for example, has had a long history of a successful direct democracy. In this country, many practices have elements of direct democracy. For instance, many important political decisions on issues including public health, energy, and employment, are subject to a vote by the country's citizens. And some might argue that, the internet is creating new forms of direct democracy, as it empowers political groups to raise the matter for their cause by appealing directly to like-minded citizens.

However, most countries are too large and too complicated for direct democracy to work within their political borders. In those cases, people prefer to elect representatives on their behalf, rather than vote on every single issue.

Representative democracy

Representative democracy or indirect democracy is when people choose to vote for who will represent them in the parliament. This is the most common form of democracy found across the World. This form of democracy is based on protecting the rights of not only the majority of the people in the state but also the minorities. By electing a more qualified representative, a minority population would be able to vocalize its ***grievances*** in a more efficient manner.

Most of the representative democracies of the World consider themselves to be liberal democracies. This is because they value the needs of their individual citizens more than those of the entire state. This is why

in countries like India and the USA; it is difficult to proclaim a state of emergency.

However, some states feel constantly threatened by outsiders or civil unrest. These states, such as Israel and South Korea, prefer a defensive democracy over a liberal one. This is done so that the government can organize an army at a moment's notice. A liberal democracy can take on different forms, since different countries have different needs and different ideologies. The following types are just a few subsets of representative democracy.

Presidential democracy

Under a presidential democracy, the president of the state has a significant amount of power over the government. He/she is either directly or indirectly elected by citizens of the state. The president and the executive branch of the government are not liable to the legislature, but cannot, under normal circumstances, dismiss the legislature entirely. Similarly, the legislature cannot remove the president from his/ her office either, unless the case is extreme.

In a presidential democracy, the head of state is also the head of the government. Countries like the USA, Argentina, and Sudan employ this kind of democracy.

Parliamentary democracy

A democracy that gives more power to the legislature is called a parliamentary democracy. The executive branch derives its democratic legitimacy only from the legislature, i.e. the parliament. The head of state is different from the head of government, and both have varying degrees of power. However, in most cases, the president is either a weak monarch (e.g. the United Kingdom) or a ceremonial head (e.g. India).

Authoritarian democracy

This is when only the elites are a part of the parliamentary process. Some individuals of the state are allowed to vote for their chosen candidate, but "regular people" cannot enter the elections. Therefore, in the end, it is only the ruling elite that decide on the various interests of the state's

population. Modern day Russia under Vladimir Putin is a classic example of this type of governance. Even Hong Kong generally falls under the same category.

Participatory democracy

This is the exact opposite of authoritarian form of democracy. There are different types of participatory democracy, but all of them yearn to create opportunities for all members of the population to make meaningful **contributions** to the decisionmaking process. It empowers the disempowered by breaking up the state into small networks and prefers to empower community-based grassroots politics. It values deliberation and discussion, rather than merely voting.

Today, no country actively practices this form of democracy. Although the theories behind it are sound, the real life application of this approach is fraught with complications. However, many social movements like the International Occupy Movement, the Bolivarian Movement in Venezuela and the Narmada Bachao Andolan in India organize themselves around a participatory model of democracy.

Islamic democracy

This form of democracy seeks to apply Islamic law to public policies, while simultaneously maintaining a democratic framework. Islamic democracy has three main characteristics. Firstly, the leaders are elected by the people. Secondly, everyone is subject to the Sharia law including the leaders. Thirdly, the leaders must commit themselves to practicing shura, a special form of consultation practiced by Prophet Muhammad. The only countries that fulfil these three characteristics are Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Malaysia.

Social democracy

Social democracy arose as a reaction to neoliberal policies in international economics. Under neo-liberalism, profit-making entities like multinational corporations can easily infiltrate other political states, thus the power of the political state seems weak.

Social democracy aims at empowering the state in favour of the neoliberal market. The state can increase its expenditure by providing free alternatives to overpriced private **ventures**. It may focus on providing free education or free healthcare, so that people do not have to depend on profit-making corporations.

This list obviously does not claim to be an exhaustive discussion around the different types of democracy that exist today. There are as many theories concerned with democracy as there are different governments in the World.

9.2.2. Forms of justice

Issues of justice arise in several different spheres and play a significant role in causing, perpetuating, and addressing conflict. Just institutions tend to instil a sense of stability, well-being, and satisfaction among the society members, while perceived injustices can lead to dissatisfaction, rebellion, or revolution. Each of the different spheres expresses the principles of justice and fairness in its own way, resulting into different forms and concepts of justice: distributive, procedural, retributive, and restorative. People can seek these forms of justice when they have been wronged.

Distributive justice

Distributive justice, or economic justice, is concerned with giving all members of the society a “fair share” of the benefits and resources available. However, while everyone might agree that wealth should be distributed fairly, there is much disagreement about what counts as a “fair share.” Some possible criteria of distribution are equity, equality, and need. Equity means that one’s rewards should be equal to one’s contributions to the society, while “equality” means that everyone gets the same amount, regardless of his or her input. Distribution on the basis of need means that people who need more will get more, while people who need less will get less. Fair allocation of resources, or distributive justice, is crucial to the stability of the society and the well-being of its members. When issues of distributive justice are inadequately addressed and the item to be distributed is highly valued, intractable conflicts frequently result. This is the essence of the conflicts arose across Europe and in the United States politics in 2012-2013 over taxes, deficits, “**austerity** programmes”, jobs, rights of labour, etc.

Procedural justice

The principle of fairness is also found in the idea of fair play (as opposed to the fair share of distributive justice). If people believe that a fair process was used in deciding what is to be distributed, then they may well accept an imbalance in what they receive in comparison to others. If they see both procedural and distributive injustices, they will likely seek restorative and/or retributive justice.

Procedural justice is concerned with making and implementing decisions according to fair processes that ensure “fair treatment.” Rules must be impartially followed and consistently applied in order to generate an unbiased decision. Those carrying out the procedures should be neutral, and those directly affected by the decisions should have some voice or representation in the decision-making process. If people believe procedures to be fair, they will be more likely to accept the outcomes, even ones that they do not like. Implementing fair procedures is central to many dispute resolution procedures, including negotiation, mediation, arbitration, and adjudication.

Restorative justice

Restorative justice (also sometimes called “reparative justice” or “corrective justice”) is an approach to justice that focuses on the needs of victims and offenders, instead of satisfying abstract legal principles or punishing the offender. Victims take an active role in the process, while offenders are encouraged to take responsibility for their actions, “to repair the harm they have done by apologizing, returning stolen money, or doing community service”. In other words, the simplest form of restitution is a straight forward **apology**. Restoration means putting things back as they were, so it may include some acts of apology to demonstrate one is truly sorry. This may include actions and even extra payment to the offended party.

Restorative justice is based on a theory of justice that considers crime and wrongdoing to be an offense against an individual or community rather than the state. Restorative justice that fosters dialogue between victim and offender shows the highest rates of victim satisfaction and offender accountability.

Retributive justice

Retributive justice is based on the idea that people deserve to be treated in the same way they treat others. It is a retroactive approach that justifies punishment as a response to past injustice or wrongdoing. The central idea is that the offender has gained unfair advantages through his or her behaviour, and that punishment will set this imbalance straight. In other words, those who do not play by the rules should be brought to justice and deserve to suffer penalties for their transgressions. The notion of deterrence also plays in here: the hope is that the punishment for committing a crime is large enough that people will not engage in illegal activities because the risk of punishment is too high. In addition to local, state, and national justice systems, retributive justice also plays a central role in international legal proceedings, responding to violations of international law, human rights, and war crimes.

However, because there is a tendency to slip from retributive justice to an emphasis on revenge, some suggest that restorative justice processes are more effective. While a retributive justice approach conceives of transgressions as crimes against the state or nation, restorative justice focuses on violations as crimes against individuals.

Retributive justice is concerned with healing victims' wounds, restoring offenders to law-abiding lives, and repairing harm done to interpersonal relationships and the community. Victims take an active role in directing the exchange that takes place, as well as defining the responsibilities and obligations of offenders. Offenders are encouraged to understand the harm they have caused to their victims and take responsibility for it. Restorative justice aims at strengthening the community and prevent similar harms from happening in future. At the national level, such processes are often carried out through victim-offender mediation programs, while at the international level restorative justice is often a matter of instituting truth and reconciliation commissions.



Application Activity 9.2

1. After being acquainted with the different forms of democracy, find out the forms of democracy that are employed in the following countries: Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Sudan, Yemen, Iran, Iraq, France, United Kingdom and the United States of America. Justify your answer.
2. There are four main forms of justice. Elucidate each form by providing concrete instances that are based on your day-to-day actions.
3. Compare the presidential democracy and parliamentary democracy.
4. Do you think that the role of the Governments is required to ensure the social justice to their citizens or individuals have to struggle by themselves to earn their livings?
5. Describe the features of the direct democracy.

9.3. Preservation of democracy, unity, reconciliation and justice in Rwanda



Learning Activity 9.3

Since the end of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda has improved and promoted democracy, unity, reconciliation and justice in their all dimensions. Discuss this statement.

9.3.1. Preservation of democracy in Rwanda

After the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the country of Rwanda strived to set up a democratic regime. The main principles underlying democracy including elections, political pluralism, rule of law, decentralisation, liberalisation of the press and media were emphasized. Moreover, due to the regional and ethnic divisions that had characterized the first and the second Republics and culminated into the Genocide against the Tutsi, an emphasis was also placed on the promotion of unity and reconciliation among Rwandans.

In the process of democratization, the Transitional Government organized a number of meetings in **Urugwiro** Village and this offered an initial leap to this process. Different themes that were dealt with during these meetings included the issue of organization of elections which had in fact been the final step to put in place democratic institutions in Rwanda.

In 1998, elections were organized to choose grass roots administrative committees (cells and sectors). Later in 2001, elections were organized to elect the Executive Committees as well as district and municipal council representatives. The year 2003 which closed the period of the Transitional Government culminated into a referendum as well as presidential and parliamentary elections. Many other elections were organised both on the local and central government for instance the 2013 legislative elections and the presidential elections in August 2010 and 2017.

Elections

An election can be defined as a mechanism of filling an office or post through choices made by the designated body of the people known as the electorate. Participation of the citizens in elections and thereafter collective involvement of the elected officials in the decision-making process are important ingredients for the gradual establishment of democracy. In addition, the concept of representative democracy is based on the principle that it is the people who are the nominal holders of political sovereignty and that, in the exercise of that sovereignty, they elect their representatives so that they can exercise their political rights.

In other words, elections are meant to do more than bolster support for the regime. They may also be the means by which leaders and (sometimes) actual policies are chosen by the people. An election must involve a choice between candidates or a choice whether a particular policy is to be followed or not. If elections are to be used to choose political leaders, there must be some rules translating people's votes into a particular selection of leaders.

In Rwanda, elections are one of the underlying principles of democracy. The Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda guarantees the right to vote and to be elected. This implies that the legitimacy of the leaders shall derive from the consent of the people through elections. Actually, the

Constitution of Rwanda in its article 80 provides for affirmative action by stating that the President of the Republic has the power to appoint eight senators from the historically **marginalised** groups, giving particular consideration to the principles of national unity and any other national interests and four Senators designated by the National Consultative Forum of political organisations.

Genuine democracy requires free and fair elections. And even if elections and democracy complement each other, elections are central to promotion of democracy. Besides, a free and fair election can be said to be a direct dividend of democracy and vice-versa, because there can only be free and fair election where there is democracy, and there can never be democracy when there is no free and fair election.

In the post genocide period, the Government of Rwanda organised the first elections at the local level. The elections for cell and sector councils took place earlier in 1999, as well as district level elections that took place in 2001. These grass roots elections were seen as testing the waters for democratic transition before direct elections planned at the national level in 2003. The 1999 and 2001 elections were run on a nonparty basis with candidates standing as individuals and campaigning by political parties was not allowed. In 2001, candidates were **vetted** by the National Electoral Commission (NEC), whose members were nominated by the government officials. Elections were held successfully and 81% of those elected were the incumbents previously appointed by the government.

The end of the post-genocide transition period was marked by the adoption of a new constitution in 2003. In a referendum held on May 26, 2003, it was approved by 93 % of the voters, with almost 90 % of those registered turning out to vote. The first elections under the new Constitution were held just months later, with the presidential election on August 25, 2003, followed by multi-party parliamentary elections between September 29 and October 2, 2003. The year 2003 is, in fact, a turning point in the history of Rwanda because it marked the beginning of regular elections in post genocide period both at local and national level, with a new constitution and clear guidelines set by the National Electoral Commission.

In August 2008, the second Parliamentary elections since the adoption of the new constitution of 2003 were conducted and in August 2010, the

second presidential elections since the adoption of a new constitution took place. In February 2011, local leaders' elections from the village, cell, sector, and district to Kigali city level and in late 2011, Rwanda held the second senatorial elections. Many other local level elections took place in Rwanda to elect members of councils from the villages to the districts. And the last elections took place in 2017 to elect the President of the Republic of Rwanda.



Figure 9.1: *The counting of votes at the end of the 2017 presidential election at polling station*

Source:<https://www.voanews.com/a/rwanda-votes-presidential-election/3972455.html>.

Separation of powers

The notion of separation of powers can be understood as the separation of government decision-making into the legislative, executive, and the judicial functions. This aims at reinforcing constitutional protection of individual liberties by preventing the concentration of such powers in the hands of a single group of government officials. However, as stated earlier in Unit 6 (the Age of Enlightenment), the separation of powers is supported by checks and balance. It must be noted that arrangements of checks and balances among the three organs allow an independent judiciary to hear and determine matters involving the interpretation of constitution, a legislature to scrutinise both primary and secondary legislation and also having overseeing the activities of the executive.

However, it must be noted that the over sight of the activities of the executive by the legislature implies that the President of the Republic is responsible to the legislature in the political sense because political

responsibility implies a day to day relationship between the executive and the legislature. Furthermore, the impeachment process enforces juridical compliance with the constitutional letter of the law and is quite different from the exercise of political control over the President's ordinary conduct of his or her office.

In Rwanda, the separation of powers is the principle that is explicitly guaranteed in the Constitution. Interestingly, the Constitution of Rwanda goes further by emphasizing that the judiciary is both independent and separate from the executive and the legislature. Furthermore, the separation of powers is enhanced by the principle of checks and balance, and thus it is important to note that the Constitution of Rwanda provides for checks and balance between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary. The power sharing arrangement does not stop the Parliament from having an over sight role over the activities of the executive and the Parliament of Rwanda is bicameral and is made up of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The Government is obliged to provide the Parliament with all the necessary explanations on questions put to the Government concerning its management and activities.

In application of the principle of checks and balance, the President of the Republic after consultation with the Prime Minister, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies and the President of the Supreme Court may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. Elections of Deputies shall take place within 90 days after the dissolution. By consulting the Speaker of the Chamber of the Deputies, the power sharing arrangement is activated in so far the Speaker of t he Chamber of the Deputies is not from the same political party with the President of the Republic. However, as previously noted, the Constitution of Rwanda does not specifically exclude the possibility of the President of the Senate belonging in the same political party with the President of the Republic.

Nevertheless, as far as the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies is consulted, power sharing becomes effective.

The Constitution of Rwanda complies with the concept of the separation of powers.

Political pluralism

In Rwanda, a multi-party system is recognised in its Constitution (article 54). Political organisations fulfilling the conditions required by the law may be formed and operate freely. However, due to the historical context of the country of Rwanda that had been characterised by “ethnic” and regional discrimination which culminated into the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Rwandans have put in place other principles underpinning the political system which involves power -sharing, consensus and the existence of the Forum of the Political Parties.

Power sharing

Power sharing can be understood as a system of governance in which all major actors of the society are provided a permanent share of power. This system is often used by majority of the government system in which ruling groups rotate among various social groups over time. The basic aims of power sharing are traditionally to ensure the decentralization of power, the protection of rights for the minority groups, the establishment of grand coalition governments in which nearly all political parties are represented and the provision of mechanism to ensure decision making by consensus.

Furthermore, it is argued that when the minority is a permanent one defined by race, ethnicity, language and the system of political party competition coincides with these communities, rather than cuts across them, such a minority may be permanently excluded from governmental office and from all prospects of political influence. Thus, a system of power sharing that guarantees the minority positions in the government and other political offices proportionate to their numbers is suggested. Finally, Power sharing arrangements help to promote government legitimacy and a sense of political fairness among the populace.

Power sharing is respected in State institutions in accordance with the fundamental principles set out under Article 62 of the Constitution of Rwanda and the provisions of other laws. The President of the Republic and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies cannot come from the same political organisation. Cabinet members are selected from political organisations on the basis of seats held by those political organisations

in the Chamber of Deputies. However, a political organisation holding the majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies cannot have more than fifty (50%) per cent of Cabinet members. It is not prohibited for other competent persons to be appointed to Cabinet.

In Parliament, the principle of representation of various categories is respected as provided for by the Constitution of Rwanda and other laws. In addition, with regard to the cabinet composition, it must be noted that the possibility of having a member of the Cabinet who does not belong to any political party is not excluded.

The power sharing concept in the Constitution of Rwanda focuses on the consensus of political parties rather than the ethnic aspect. In so doing, the concept of power sharing under the Constitution of Rwanda places an emphasis on a coalition government. The advantage of a coalition government is that the policies adopted based on consensus are likely to be accepted by a large number of political parties provided they were involved in the negotiations and debate.

Article 62: Power sharing

Power sharing is respected in State institutions in accordance with the fundamental principles set out under Article 10 of this Constitution and the provisions of other laws. The President of the Republic and the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies cannot come from the same political organisation.

Cabinet members are selected from political organisations on the basis of seats held by those political organisations in the Chamber of Deputies. However, a political organisation holding the majority of seats in the Chamber of Deputies cannot have more than fifty (50%) per cent of Cabinet members. It is not prohibited for other competent persons to be appointed to Cabinet in Parliament, the principle of representation of various categories is respected as provided for by this Constitution and other laws.

The National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations

In the respect of the Constitution of Rwanda in its spirit of political consensus, the same constitution provides for an organisation named The National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations (NFPO). This institution was established by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 Revised in 2015, in its article 59.

Membership to the forum

According to the Organic Law No 10/2013/OL of 11/07/2013 governing Political Organisations and politicians, a political organisation enrolls in the Forum voluntarily and that it must apply for and be granted membership by the Forum. It is composed of political organisations recognised and signatories to the internal rules and regulations of the Forum; and political organisations whose membership application has been approved by the General Assembly and accept to comply with provisions of the internal rules and regulations of the Forum. Today, the Forum consists of 11 members political organizations:

1. RPF Inkotanyi	6. Party for Progress and Concord (PPC)
2. PL	7. Centrist Democratic Party (PD)
3. UDPR	8. Rwandese Socialist Labour Party (PSR)
4. PDI	9. Party for Solidarity and Progress (PSP)
5. PSD	10. Social Party Imberakuri (PS Imberakuri)
	11. Democratic Green Party of Rwanda (DGPR)

Mission of the forum

“The Forum is mainly responsible of being a platform for national political dialogue, consensus building and national cohesion”.

The Forum is also mandated to:

Maintain political and social dialogue, as well as public trust and transparency between political parties and the people, in order to consolidate national development and democracy.

Strengthen the capacity building of legally recognized political parties to perform their core functions.

Advice support to political party internal conflict resolutions (upon a written request).

Organs of the forum

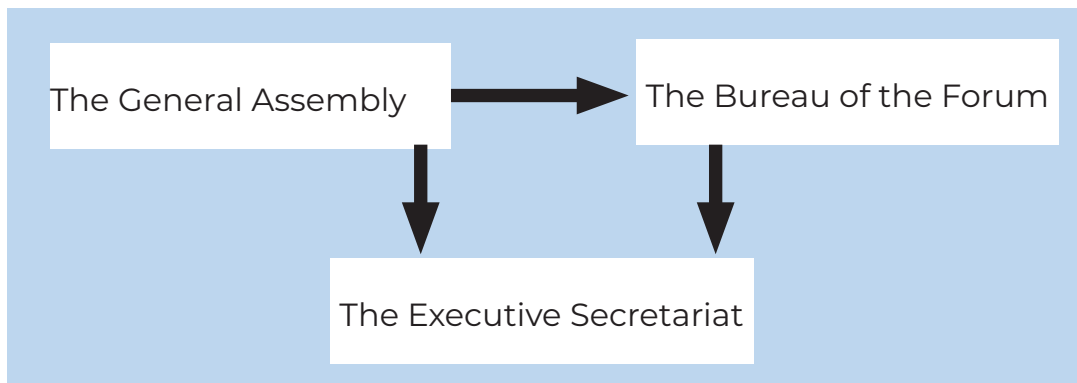


Figure 9.1: Organisational structure of the National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations

The General Assembly is the supreme organ of the Forum and is constituted of recognized political organizations. Each political organization provides four representatives in the Assembly, two of whom should be women.

The Bureau of the Forum is constituted of a spokesperson and a deputy spokesperson. It has the responsibility of following up the implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly and representing the Forum before the law. The spokesperson and the deputy spokesperson are elected by the General Assembly. They are elected for a six months non-renewable term.

The Executive Secretariat is headed by the permanent executive secretary that is elected for a term of three (3) years renewable only once. It supervises and coordinates the daily activities of the Forum.

Programmes and activities

The NFPO carries out activities like promoting the consultation and political dialogue through regular sessions of the Forum General Assembly that are held once within three months and discusses the national concerns and makes recommendations to the concerned national institutions on high national political interests and career development. Besides, the forum

performs activities aiming at consolidating the national cohesion and political pluralism by providing advice on resolution of internal political party's conflicts, upon a written request. It also strengthens the capacity of political parties and their members

Party Leadership Programme was developed in 2004 targeting the Senior Political Leaders with funds from the European Union (EU). This programme covered topics which all linked to political party's capacity building needs. These topics include: Political communication, recruitment and membership, leadership and political conflict management, governance measurement and indexes, English language and communication skills.

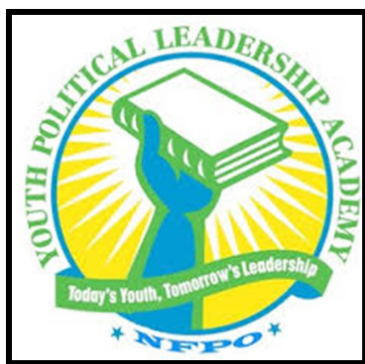


Figure 9.2 : Logo of the Youth Political Leadership Academy

Source: <http://www.forumfp.org.rw/>

The Youth Political Leadership Academy (YPLA) was launched in February 2010 to train Youth from different political parties in leadership and politics and equip them with the necessary skills and knowledge to meaningfully participate in national governance and development.

Since 2010, about 120 political cadres have been trained through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) support. From 2011 up to June 2014, the programme got the national coverage at all provincial headquarters through the UNDP partnership; about 660 youths were trained and awarded certificates.

Taking of evening class (Kigali branch) and weekend (provincial branch) programme for six weeks. They are trained by local and international highly skilled and experienced politicians and academicians.

The Intermediate Local Party Leadership Training Programme aims at improving knowledge and capacity in the politics and governance for the representatives of political organisations at local organs of their leadership, with intermediate level of education and mainly in charge of communication, sensitization and mobilization. It also reinforces the party field activities and leadership at grass roots.

From February up to June 2014, 1311 grass roots political party leaders from 11 political parties have been trained and were provided with hand outs to use for their further references. Each political party has chosen four districts and all have been covered.

The Gender Leadership Training Programme was put in place in order to be compliant with the compulsory 30% women's representation at its leadership organs as provided for by the law. The Forum developed a training project aiming at urging women occupying positions in the political organisations' leadership organs to approach other women members of political organisations to share ideas on women's importance and role in the leadership of political organisations in particular and in national politics in general. This activity aims at sensitising women to join the leadership of their respective political organisations in order to follow the example of their colleagues who campaigned for leadership positions before them. This will also be used to mainstream gender issues in a party leadership and programs. Then, it will be a tool for establishment of a party for women networking through gender wing operations. Eleven political parties carried out a seminar and awareness campaign for their women members on their role in their party leadership development. As a result, the following political parties have set up their women wings at provincial levels: RPF *Inkotanyi*, PDC, PSP, PSD, PS *Imberakuri* and UDPR.

There are trainings carried out by political parties themselves. In this regard, a project proposal designed by a political party is sent to the Forum for analysis and financing. This analysis is based on the topics to be covered and the funds availability. Within the topics to be covered, it includes some approved by the General Assembly and other relevant topics proposed by political the party based on its ideological framework.

Rule of law

The rule of law requires state institutions should act in accordance with the law. The branches of the state must obey the law and in addition the state cannot exercise power over anyone unless the law permits to do so. It has to be noted that the rule of law signifies that no political authority is superior to the law itself. When and where the rule of law obtains, the rights of citizens are not dependent upon the will of rulers; rather, they are established by law and protected by independent courts.

The judicial apparatus is well established and the judicial authority is vested in the judiciary composed of ordinary courts and specialised courts.

Ordinary courts are comprised of the Supreme Court, the High Court, Intermediate Courts and Primary Courts while Specialised Courts are comprised of Commercial Courts and Military Courts.

The High Council of the Judiciary is the supreme governing organ of the Judiciary. It sets general guidelines governing the organisation of the Judiciary. In Rwanda, the Judiciary is independent and exercises financial and administrative autonomy.

In Rwanda, there have been signs of significant progress and improvements in the area of rule of law since 1994. As earlier discussed, much has been done to rehabilitate the judicial system in order to ensure that the law is not enforced in an arbitrary fashion, individual rights are respected, and that the population lives in security.

A part from the judicial system, the rule of law is supported by the existence of a good situation in terms of security. The national police that replaced the old system of gendarmerie and communal police have increased the level of professionalization in law enforcement, while the role of the military has been limited increasingly to protecting the country from security threats from outside the country. Moreover, these two institutions, the police and the army, are charged with maintaining security, law and order, discipline and are trusted by the population. As stated earlier, they ensure security of the country but they are also involved in security and peacekeeping in different countries where they are part of UN or AU security forces such as Sudan, South Sudan, Central African Republic, Haiti and Mali.

The situation of human rights is also well maintained. Since 1994, the Government of Rwanda embarked on a programme of rebuilding itself by enhancing the principles of the rule of law, respect of human rights and bringing about national unity and reconciliation. In its preamble, the constitution of the Republic of Rwanda reaffirmed the adherence to the principles of human rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter as well as in the core international human rights instruments. Rwanda has effectively ratified all the eight key human rights instruments and most of their additional protocols. Many other international and regional human rights conventions were ratified by Rwanda or are in the process of ratification. Once ratified, all the treaties and conventions are integrated into the domestic legal system. As per the Constitution, ratified treaties have precedence over the domestic laws. Rwanda has withdrawn all its reservations on International human rights treaties. Rwanda is committed to submit periodic reports on the implementation of key human rights treaties.

Given the terrific human rights abuses carried out during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government has committed itself to promote and protect human rights. A National Human Rights Commission was created and its capacity firmly strengthened. It has accelerated investigative work and presented different annual reports since 2000, detailing a number of human rights abuses. It also works closely with human rights NGOs.

The Country has also formulated several policies and programmes geared towards the promotion and protection of human rights enshrined in various sector policy papers. Apart from the general policy of human rights, which remains one of the key priorities, almost all other key policies in different sectors related to human rights (education, health, social protection, rights of women, rights of children, rights of people with disabilities) were adopted. All the three branches of Government play a key role in the promotion and the protection of human rights:

The Parliament has human rights committees (in both the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate) which conduct investigations and research in relation to the respect of human rights. This has enabled parliamentarians to investigate the respect of human rights in local communities through working visits. Different Government authorities are often questioned by

the Parliament on issues related to human rights. The Rwandan Parliament established mechanisms to further participate to the promotion of human rights, including the Forum of Women Parliamentarians and the Amani Forum which is actively involved in strengthening peace and security in the Great lakes region.



Figure: 9.3 : Logo of the National Commission of Human Rights

Source:<http://cfnhri.org/members/africa/rwanda>.

The National Commission for Human Rights is an independent and permanent institution. It is in conformity with Paris Principles and has “A” status. It is composed of seven commissioners whom at least 30% are women. Commissioners are appointed from different categories of the Rwandan society, including the civil society. Commissioners enjoy immunity in the process of execution of their duties. The Commission has a specific mission of educating and raising public awareness on human rights and providing guidance upon request or on its own initiative on bills related to human rights (*International Bill of Human Rights: consists of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (adopted in 1948), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with its two Optional Protocols and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*) and engages State bodies to ratify international conventions related to human rights and take steps to domesticate these conventions in the national legislation.

The Commission also investigates violations on human rights committed within the territory of the Republic of Rwanda by State organs, public officials abusing their powers, organizations and individuals. The Commission is empowered to launch cases before civil, commercial, labour and administrative courts in case of violation of human rights. Each year the Commission submits a report of its activities to the parliament and gives copies to the President of the Republic, the Cabinet and the

Supreme Court. This report is an important tool for the Parliament to monitor the protection and promotion of human rights in Rwanda.

As stated in unit related to achievements of the Government of National Unity, there are also other institutions established by the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda to promote and protect human rights and ensure social justice in the country such as the Office of the Ombudsman, the Public Prosecution Authority, the National Police, the Observatory of Child Rights, the Gender Monitoring Office, the National Women Council, the National Council for Persons with disabilities, etc.

In respecting the rule of law, the Rwandan Government is also very effective and responsible for delivering good services to the people of Rwanda. Through the process of decentralization, authority, responsibility and service provision were transferred from the central Government to the local government and its administrative divisions. Rwanda is internationally recognised as a very secure country, characterised by its firm commitment on economic growth, but also on good governance and the zero tolerance to corruption. The President of the Republic, and the Government of Rwanda in general, have received many international awards for different outstanding achievements for the development of the country and its population, including the African Gender Award (Senegal in 2007) and the global UNICEF Children's Award in 2009.

Rwanda has also already ratified many treaties, protocols and conventions on promotion and protection of Human rights, for instance, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights on the abolition of death penalty; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment; the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crimes and its additional protocols, the UN conventions related to the fight against terrorism, etc. Therefore, Rwanda enjoys a very good situation in terms of promotion and protection of human rights as it has been attested by different annual reports of the National Commission of Human Rights (NCHR).

International Standards: The Paris principles

In 1992, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights endorsed a set of internationally recognized principles concerning the status, powers and functioning of national human rights institutions.

The U.N. Principles relating to the Status of National Institutions, known as the Paris Principles, which were subsequently endorsed by the U.N. General Assembly in 1993, set out the basic guidelines recommended by the U.N. in the establishment of a national human rights institution. The U.N. defines a national human rights institution as a government body established under the constitution or by law, whose functions are specifically designed to promote and protect human rights. The U.N. broadly groups national human rights institutions into three categories: human rights commissions, ombudsmen, and specialized national institutions designed to protect the rights of a particular vulnerable group (such as ethnic minorities, indigenous populations, refugees, women or children).

The Paris Principles stress, as fundamental features designed to contribute to independence, the need for:

1. A founding constitutional or legislative statute;
2. “as broad a mandate as possible;”
3. An independent appointments procedures, with terms of office specified by law;
4. A pluralistic and representative composition;
5. Regular and effective functioning;
6. Independence from the executive branch; and in recommending methods of operation, the Paris Principles call on governments to create national institutions that can take up any human rights matter at their own initiative, at the suggestion of government, and at the request of “any petitioner.” Responsibilities should include.
7. Adequate funding.

8. Reporting and making recommendations to the government on human rights matters (including the adoption or amendment of national legislation and the reporting of situations of human rights violations);
9. Promoting conformity of national law and practice with international human rights standards, including the ratification of international human rights treaties;
10. Cooperating with national, regional and U.N. human rights bodies, including through contributions to country reports submitted to U.N. treaty bodies and committees; and
11. Human rights education programs.

Most importantly, human rights commissions should be empowered to make public statements on their work directly or through the press.

The Paris Principles direct human rights commissions to cooperate and consult with other bodies responsible for the protection and promotion of human rights. The Paris Principles specifically note the importance of effective cooperation with or through the presence of non-governmental human rights groups, trade unions, concerned social and professional organizations, eminent scientists, philosophers, religious leaders, professors and qualified experts, parliament, and other government departments (in an advisory capacity only).

The powers vested in a human rights commission should include the ability to seek settlement through “amicable settlement,” “binding decisions,” or “where necessary, on the basis of confidentiality.” Petitioners should be informed of their rights and remedies and access to them promoted by human rights commissions. Complaints should be resolved by human rights commissions or forwarded to the appropriate authority. Human rights commissions should make recommendations to the government on human rights matters, including amendments or reforms of laws and practices.

Decentralisation

Decentralization being the opposite of centralization refers to the process of transferring powers, authority, functions, responsibilities and the requisite resources from central government to local governments or administrative divisions. Decentralization has to be implemented through three modes: deconcentration, delegation and devolution.

Under *deconcentration*, services and functions reserved to be performed by central government are executed by central government public servants located in local governments but hierarchically responsible directly to central government.

Under *delegation*, services and functions reserved to be performed by central government are delegated to local governments and the requisite resources transferred to them for effective provision of these delegated services.

Under *devolution*, the powers, authority, functions, responsibilities services and resources currently centralized at central government level are transferred to local governments which are created by law as legal entities with powers to sue and be sued.

The combination of the three phases of decentralization that has been carried out to date was geared towards economic, political and managerial/administrative empowerment and reconciliation of the people of Rwanda to determine their livelihood.

The inappropriate, highly centralized dictatorial governance of the colonial as well as post independence administration of the country excluded Rwandans from participating in the determination of their political, economic and social well-being.

When the Government of National Unity came into power in 1994, it made great efforts to launch democratic decentralization as yet another government policy targeting poverty reduction by improving the quality of governance in the country and by promoting the mobilization and participation of the people in the planning and management of the development process.

Decentralization aimed at providing a structural arrangement for government and the people of Rwanda to fight poverty at a close range and to enhance their reconciliation via the empowerment of local populations. Rwanda's decentralization policy was an important innovation. Its objective was to empower and invite the population to participate actively in debates on issues that concerned it directly. It also aimed at encouraging the electorate in the countryside to provide information and explain issues in order to take decisions knowingly. The decentralization of activities went hand in hand with the decentralization of financial, material and human resources. The policy enabled the population, not only to elect its leaders but also to control them. Where need be, the policy enabled the population to replace them through regular elections.

It was this new policy altogether that changed previous mind set which was based on central administration whereby people were used to receiving orders. The major setback in realizing the decentralization policy was that some leaders at the grass roots did not earn any salary despite acting as pillars of the system.

As time went on, the people started to get used to this policy. It was adopted after consultations and discussions with the population. The Ministry of Local Government which was set up in 1999 published a document in 2000 entitled National policy on decentralization. This was followed in 2002 by another Policy on community development.

The major ideas of the sectorial policies of National policy on decentralization and Policy on community development

- Enabling the people to participate in decision making at all levels.
- Enabling the people to freely choose leaders known to them.
- Giving a strong foundation to transparent management and, consequently, fight against bad practices in managing public funds.
- Promoting equality of all before the law. In achieving this policy, the government set up three levels of administration: central administration, de-concentrated administrative entities (province),

decentralized administrative entities (district and towns). The government proceeded to setting up new administrative demarcations that took into account the viability of the set-up entities.

- Encouraging ministries to gradually reduce their load and responsibilities in favour of decentralized and de-concentrated units in terms of staff, material and financial means corresponding to tax categories and imports.

As earlier stated, the first phase of decentralization (2001-2005) aimed at establishing democratic and community development structures at the District level and was accompanied by a number of legal, institutional and policy reforms, as well as democratic elections for local leaders. The second phase also focused on trying to build capacities (human and financial) at local levels, and to boost local development but this has been rather piecemeal and a slow process. Enhanced upward accountability, particularly after introduction of the process of performance contracts (Imihigo), has led to significant achievements in terms of governance, social and economic development, and has reinforced synergies, coordination and harmonization of interventions in local governments. But the next phase needs to improve on the key downward accountability linkages between local government leadership and the citizens.

In general, the decentralization policy had had several advantages. This policy encouraged teamwork in decision making between Councils and Executive Committees at local administration level. It brought services closer to the people in order to solve their problems. The policy also helped in enforcing unity in so far as different Rwandan communities were concerned. In addition, the people participated in choosing and checking their leaders. Above all, the people took decisions jointly on concrete programmes and activities.

For instance, the Rwandan population participated in placing the households in new categories based on their social-economic status, and their property – in terms of land and other belongings – and what the families' breadwinners do to earn a living at the level of each village.

Press and media

The media means any process, whether in print, audio-visual, auditory, signs or internet, to disseminate, broadcast and make known to the general public facts, opinions and any other expression of thought particularly in order to inform, educate and train, promote leisure and entertainment. And the Public media refers to public broadcasters and newspapers.

In Rwanda, the present media policy elaborated in 2014 by the Ministry of Local Government aims at availing an informed citizenry which is sacrosanct to democratic governance, sustainable peace and development. In addition, the policy is inspired by the fundamental principles of freedom of speech and opinion, free access to information, media freedom and their relationship to the pursuance, attainment and sustainability of a free, secure, united, reconciled and democratic Rwanda.

The media policy is inspired by the National Constitution as well as international legal instruments such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights endorsed by the same constitution. The policy is also a consequence of Rwanda leadership's unwavering belief in the power of the media to contribute to good governance, social and economic transformation of the country as well as a commitment to media freedom and responsible reporting. Thus, the policy benefits from the leadership's clear understanding of where the country is coming from as well as where it is going and the realisation that the media, as a cross-cutting sector which links the leadership to the citizens and all facets of society, it has to be empowered to play its rightful place on the country's journey to a strong, united, and democratic state.

Fundamental principles of the Rwanda National Media Policy

The media policy is inspired by and builds from certain fundamental principles that are central to free, independent, developed and democratic societies regardless of culture or geography. These fundamental principles, enshrined in Rwanda's constitution of 2003 and discernable in the international legal regime, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 as well as the International Covenant on Civil and

Political Liberties endorsed by the same national constitution are four as outlined and elaborated below:

Freedom to hold and express opinion: That freedom to hold opinion, express opinion and speak freely is not only critical to individual self-actualization, happiness and fulfilment but is also important for nurturing, strengthening and reproducing citizenship and democratic governance since it is only through freely expressing one's self and expressing opinions and beliefs that communities and cultures emerge facilitating the consensual development of common values that are central to sustainably free and democratic societies that Rwanda aspires to and is committed.

Freedom of the press and of the media: This principle is central not only because it enables the media to hold office holders accountable and act as watchdogs, elements that facilitate democratic and good governance that Rwanda is committed to, but also empowers citizens both through providing information and education as well as facilitating freedom of expression and speech that are key to democratic governance.

Access to information and informed citizenry: That an informed citizenry is sacrosanct not only to good governance and sustainable peace but also sustainable development; yet, without a guarantee to access information, an informed citizenry cannot emerge.

That access to a variety of views and perspectives also facilitates informed and active citizenship which is critical to democratic and accountable governance.

As achievements made by the Rwandan media, it is worth noting that more than twenty years after the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi, tremendous progress has been made in the industry of media. For example, at the end of the genocide in 1994, the country had only a radio and television stations both owned and operated by the government. In 2014, the country had 35 radio stations that operate on FM like Radio Rwanda, Contact FM, Radio 10, Salus Radio, Radio Maria, five private television stations such as Tele10, Lemigo TV and a number of pay television channels. These radio and television stations are owned by different individuals and organisations,

Rwandans as well as non-Rwandans; a point that serves to ensure plurality of ownership to avoid over concentration of the media in a few hands which would adversely affect media freedom. These radio stations also represent varied interests as some are commercial, others religious while others are community based. This also means that the radio stations fulfil the principle of representing variety of views and opinions which is also crucial for media freedom.



Figure: 9.4: *The Office of the Rwanda Broadcast Agency*

Source: <https://twitter.com/rbarwanda>

In addition, the former state broadcaster was reformed and renamed Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (RBA) with a mandate to become more focused on citizen based programming and citizen generated stories rather than the government.

The broadcaster has added on five community radio stations and two FM stations (Magic FM and Inteko) besides the parent radio station that broadcasts throughout the country and Rwanda television.

With regard to the print media, the country had in 2014 at least 43 registered newspapers and magazines, 80 web-based newspapers and a host of blogs; factors that illustrate how the media has expanded since the liberalization of the media in 2002 and deliberate heavy government investment in the internet infrastructure. Crucially, these media outlets are privately owned with some owned by Rwandans while others are owned by foreign investors. This structure of ownership also serves to illustrate the government's commitment to deconcentration of ownership to ensure plurality and ensuring variety of opinions in the media so as to serve the people better.

At the legal level, the Nation's Constitution of 2003 guarantees media freedom as it does freedom of thought and opinion. In addition, the media law of 2013 not only protects media pluralism and freedom to start and own a media outlet but also provides for media self-regulation. The provision of self-regulation came into effect after the amendment of the media law of 2009. Besides media law, there is an access to Information law that also guarantee the right not only of journalists but also citizens to access information whether in position of government or some private entities. The law was also enacted and came into force in 2013.

With regard to the economic environment, there is a strong political will to ensure that media becomes a sustainable and profitable business sector. That is why the policy of the government is for media outlets to compete for its advertisement without the exclusion of any media out and regardless of ownership. This is also done to both ensure transparency as well as competitiveness in the sector.

In addition, media capacity and institutions at the end of the Genocide in 1994 were very low. However, human and institutional capacity has since been strengthened although there are still gaps that need to be filled. For instance, while there were no institutions that trained journalists in 1994, today, there are five such institutions, including the School of Journalism and Communication (SJC) at the University of Rwanda (UR) and the Great Lakes Media Centre (GLMC) both directly funded by the Government of Rwanda. In addition, the Media High Council (MHC) was reformed and is now charged with media Capacity Development. And since the Government decided to withdraw from media regulation, journalists regulate themselves through their own created organ known as the Rwanda Media Commission (RMC). However, since this organ does not have the capacity to regulate the technical part of the media, particularly radio and television, RMC works with Rwanda Regulatory Agency (RURA) when the technical part of media regulation is needed. It is RURA therefore that also issues broadcasting licenses and frequencies.

9.3.2. Preservation of national unity and reconciliation



Figure 9.4: Logo of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission

Source: <http://mucuruzi.com/job-at-national-commission-for-unity-and-reconciliation-advisor>

In Rwanda, unity and reconciliation can be defined as a consensus practice of citizens who have common nationality, who share the same culture and have equal rights; citizens characterized by trust, tolerance, mutual respect, equality, complementary roles interdependence, truth, and healing of one another's wounds inflicted by their history, with the objectives of laying a foundation for sustainable development.



Figure 9.5: Members of a school Unity and Reconciliation club

Source: <https://www.google.rw/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nurc.gov.rw>

As earlier stated in Unit one, the Government of Rwanda has initiated different home grown and reconciliatory mechanisms including the creation of NURC and establishment of a revamped version of the traditional Gacaca Courts in June 2002 to promote unity and reconciliation among Rwandans. Beside these two programmes, other mechanisms have also been put in place such as the programme of *Ndi Umunyarwanda*, creation of villages for both perpetrators and survivors of the 1994 Genocide against the tutsi and rewarding the rescuers of the Tutsi during the Genocide.

Gacaca courts were used as a restorative justice measure to deal with perpetrators on a communal level. In the implementation of the sentences pronounced by the Gacaca jurisdictions on Genocide convicts of the second category who pleaded guilty and confessed their role in Genocide, another innovation was also carried out. Since Rwandans who took part in the Genocide that devastated the country and destroyed the national development infrastructure, the Government designed a strategy to give them a role in the country's reconstruction. In this regard, it was decided that such prisoners should have their terms commuted to community service of national interest. It is from this idea that a French acronym loosely translated as community service as an alternative to custodial sentence (*Travail d'Intérêt Général: TIG*) was conceived.

Their community work includes building schools, construction of radical terraces to fight soil erosion, production of stones for road construction and building houses for the homeless. Thus, the prisoners are engaged in productive work instead of being a burden to the nation for their support in jail. The net worth of their work as of 09/11/2011 was estimated at Rwf 42 billion.

Besides, TIG reinforced the national unity and reconciliation process in the sense that the prisoners given this kind of punishment were also involved in the rehabilitation of the houses of the genocide survivors or cultivation of their farms. It also enabled the convicts to acquire new professional skills to facilitate reintegration in society, in addition to the training in human rights. As a result, TIG also contributed to national economic development.

In addition to Gacaca and especially TIG, other many efforts have also been made so as to unite and reconcile Rwandans. It is worth mentioning here the work done by the different non- government organisations in healing the wounds of both survivors and perpetrators of genocide. For instance, there are 40 housing units inside Kabarondo Reconciliation Village, built by *Prison Fellowship Rwanda (PFR)*, an international charity group, for families of survivors of the 1994 genocide against the Tutsi where genocide survivors and perpetrators live in the same village and work together in their common small projects.

Inter peace, an international peace building organization also operates in Rwanda as a societal healing and it uses the different healing approaches including the following:

- *Group Approach* that includes story-telling, testimonies, sharing of social emotions, peace education, active listening, drama, etc.
- *Holistic Approach* encompasses for instance socio-economic activities, legal aid, psychological interventions, interpretation, training on various skills development, dialogue and audio visual.
- *Community approach* comprises for instance radio, shows, dialogue, training workshops, film screenings and discussions, sports competitions, sports competitions, truth-telling and home visits.
- *Individual Approach* is made up of active listening, interpretation, story-telling, trust-building, confidence-building, etc.

Catholic Relief Services, the official overseas humanitarian agency of the US. Conference of Catholic Bishops, has also played a critical role in helping with peace-building efforts in the country. Following the Genocide, the organization has worked closely with the local Church and government to implement reconciliation programs and structures.

As achievement, this organisation has contributed to the trainings of 40,000 leaders in conflict resolution.

The programme of “*Ndi Umunyarwanda*” and clubs of unity and reconciliation in schools also play a significant role in uniting and reconciling Rwandans. *Ndi Umunyarwanda* is a program and a tool that will sustain cohesion among current and next generations.

It was initiated in 2013 with a goal to build the national identity and to strengthen solidarity of Rwandan people, uphold their moral and spiritual values by first making them understand their rights as Rwandans. Ndi Umunyarwanda contributes to healing the wounds of Rwandan History and restoring social cohesion among Rwandans. More specifically, Ndi Umunyarwanda spirit has considerably contributed to alleviate suspicion, frustration and mistrust among the citizens and has become a bridge to human development.

The unity and reconciliation clubs in schools play an important role in education. They give the youths an opportunity to understand the country's history and decide on the path to take from an informed point of view. For them, focus is put on conflict resolution, where students learn to solve disputes among themselves amicably, through the club of justice and peace. They also help students to fight against Genocide ideology and to grow in critical thinking.

Rewarding the rescuers of the Tutsi during the genocide is another mechanism that is used to enhance unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. In fact, since 1994, the importance of the country's programmes to build a cohesive national identity and educate citizens as a means of Genocide prevention is undeniable. Recently, Hutu people who, in 1994, despite the risk to their own lives, resisted the Genocide against their fellow Tutsi and, rescued potential victims fit the category of being selected and rewarded as *Abarinzi b'Igihango na Gihanga cyahanze n'u Rwanda* (literally *guardians of alliance with Gihanga*, the founder of Rwanda). These individuals all resisted perpetrating the Genocide that targeted their fellow Rwandan Tutsi in 1994.

The Government of Rwanda has now initiated the program of identifying how people who resisted the Genocide can be included in relevant programs like the ongoing campaign of *Ndi Umunyarwanda* and this plays a significant role in enhancing unity and reconciliation among Rwandans and promoting the envisioned national identity.

9.3.3. Maintenance of justice in Rwanda

With the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi that destroyed all the sectors of the life of the country, the judiciary needed to be rebuilt to meet the

challenges created by that Genocide. To address this situation, the Government of National Unity committed to create a strong, responsive, professional and independent judiciary that Rwandans could trust and respect by reforming the judicial system and establishing of *Maisons d'Accès à la Justice* (MAJ) that assist and plead, before all courts, for indigents.

To meet this objective, the justice system was revised in 2003. With this judicial reform, the Ministry of justice had to oversee the functioning of the judicial police, the criminal investigation, the prosecution and the prison services and all these entities were separated with full financial and administrative independence including the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court and the National Prosecution Authority.

The High Council of the Public Prosecution is composed of persons from different organs with experience and expertise. The Council is responsible for taking decisions, recruitment and appointment of staff.

The National Prosecution Authority has branches across the country and is headed by the Prosecutor General. It also has several special units such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Unit, Genocide Fugitive Tracking Unit, Sexual and Domestic Violence Unit, all ideology and related Crimes Unit, Witness and Victims Protection Unit, all of which have helped in delivering justice.

At the same time, the Inspectorate General of the Prosecution was created to oversee the functioning of prosecutors. It has a mechanism of evaluating prosecutors, and sanctioning or rewarding them according to their performance. Prosecutors in managerial and administrative positions have a limited term of office to ensure transparency, efficiency and accountability. All these initiatives have enabled the Prosecutor's Office to handle more cases in courts of law than ever before.

According to justice reforms of 2003, the structure of the Supreme Court was reduced from six separate chambers, each with its own president, to a single unit under the leadership of the Chief Justice. A new High Court of the Republic was also created and replaced the former four chambers of the Supreme Court. The High Court of the Republic has two lower

levels, namely the Intermediate Court and the Primary Court (District). The new structure has had a positive effect on the efficiency of the High Court because it facilitates harmonisation of jurisprudence.

In addition, the Inspectorate General of Courts was established to regularly supervise the functioning of courts so as to evaluate court judges and personnel who are in turn rewarded in case they perform well while poor performances are sanctioned accordingly. Heads of courts, on the other hand, have a fixed term of office.

In 2007, Commercial Courts were established by an organic law No. 59/2007 of 16/12/2007 to settle commercial disputes. Commercial courts comprise the Commercial High Court and the Commercial Courts. Commercial Courts in the country are three namely Nyarugenge Commercial Court; Huye Commercial Court and Musanze Commercial Court.

The reforms have also introduced “single judge seating” at all levels with the exception of the Supreme Court. This reform has contributed at a certain extent to the reduction of delays and backlogs, which had previously characterised Rwanda’s judiciary, in the disposal of cases.

New kinds of courts like *Gacaca* jurisdictions and *Abunzi* (mediators) were initiated as home-grown solutions in the justice system. The historical background of their creation, structures, achievements and challenges will be developed in Unit 10.

Through the Ministry of Justice, the *Government* initiated the Access to Justice Bureaus, referred to in French language as *Maisons d’Accès à la Justice* (MAJ), in 2007. Now established in all 30 districts of Rwanda, MAJ serves as the first point of orientation with legal aid service for Rwandans. MAJ mainly provides legal information/education as well as legal advice. MAJ also aligns with the policy objective of a more decentralized and reconciliatory justice system that involves citizens. The Rwanda Bar Association (RBA) law grants MAJ staff powers to provide legal and judicial aid to indigents and needy people.

MAJ staff may assist, counsel, represent and plead, before all courts, for indigents. They are also able to analyze cases, offer legal advice and mediation to parties, sensitize the population on their legal rights, assist

prisoners and provide legal training to *Abunzi*.

In Rwanda, there is also another means utilised in conflict resolution. This is based on law on arbitration and conciliation in commercial matters published on No 005/2008 of 14/02/2008. This law defines “arbitration”: a procedure applied by parties to the dispute requesting an arbitrator or a jury of arbitrators to settle a legal, contractual dispute or another related issue while “conciliation” describes a process, whether referred to by the expression conciliation, mediation or an expression of similar import, whereby parties to the dispute request a conciliator to assist them in their attempt.



Application Activity 9.3

1. Assess the different achievements made by the Government of Rwanda and especially the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) to unite and reconcile the Rwandan population from its establishment in 1999.
2. Describe the structure of the judicial system in Rwanda and analyse how justice is practiced in the country.
3. Towards 2000, the Government of Rwanda placed an emphasis on the policy of decentralisation. Evaluate the achievements that have been made so far at the local administration level. Simultaneously discuss some of the challenges that still impede its realisation.
4. In Rwanda, 1994 tremendous progress has been made in the industry of media. Discuss this assertion.
5. Read the article 59 of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda. Come up with clear example showing that the Forum can help to understand the principle of collaboration between political organisations for the purposes of political dialogue, and building consensus and national cohesion.
6. National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations brings together political organisations for the purposes of political dialogue, and building consensus and national cohesion.

The functioning of the National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations is provided for by the organic law determining modalities for the creation of political organisations, their functioning and the code of conduct of their leaders.

7. The second chapter of the Constitution, from article 10 to article 52, provides for the fundamental human rights and the duties of the citizen. Read these articles and identify some (like 5) fundamental human rights as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
8. The Gacaca jurisdictions match with which form of justice. Justify your answer basing on the programme of unity and reconciliation that the Government of Rwanda considers as the sine qua non condition for the rebuilding of the social fabric destroyed by the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.

9.4. Democracy and justice in neighbouring countries: case studies of Tanzania and Kenya



Learning Activity 9.4

After having analysed how democracy and justice are maintained in Rwanda, establish a comparison between the Rwandan democratic and judicial systems and those that are practiced in Tanzania and Kenya.

9.4.1. Democracy in Tanzania

The United Republic of Tanzania was established in April 1964, following the amalgamation of the former independent states of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika attained independence in December 1961 under the leadership of Julius Nyerere. The transition to independence was achieved without violence and in 1964, the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form Tanzania.

Tanganyika (Tanzania mainland) had a multiparty political system. The Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), established in 1954 was

the overwhelmingly a dominant political party in pre independence Tanganyika. Other political parties were United Tanganyika Party (UTP), the African National Congress (ANC) and All Muslim National Unity of Tanganyika (AMNUT). In Zanzibar (Tanzania Islands) there were three important political parties prior independence.

These included Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), ASP-Afro Shiraz Party and Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples Party (ZPPP).

The multi- party general election in Tanganyika prior to independence took place in 1958, 1960 and 1962 when Tanganyika became a republic and *Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere as the first President. Although all the political parties struggled to bring independence in Tanganyika, soon after the attainment of independence, the ruling party (TANU) under the Chairmanship of Mwalimu Nyerere, denounced opposition parties and introduced the single party system in 1962.

Tanganyika united with Zanzibar in 1964 which led to the birth of The United Republic of Tanzania in which TANU became the only political party in Tanzania Mainland and ASP-Afro Shiraz Party in Zanzibar after the dissolution of other political parties. This was followed by the introduction of the single party constitution in 1965.

All general elections since 1965 to 1990 were held in a single party system, though they were competitive in nature. The single party political system did not give the citizens freedom to join in or form the political parties, even though they were not pleased by the ruling party. The presidential position had one candidate and a shadow or blank, in which the electorate was required to vote for YES for a candidate or NO for a shadow. This system violated the citizens' rights of electing the leader they wanted. On February 5, 1977, TANU and ASP merged to form *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM) [meaning Party of the Revolution] a revolutionary state party. It became the sole legal political party in Tanzania.

All candidates had to be approved by CCM and were permitted to campaign only under the CCM platform. Elections within a single party framework were competitive. For example in October 1985, there were 328 candidates competing for 169 elective seats in the National Assembly.

The multi-party political system was officially reintroduced in 1992 after the collapse of the USSR in the 1990s and pressure from the donor countries (USA and Europe), the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund conditionalities forced the less developed countries including Tanzania to adopt the multiparty system in order to get financial assistance in terms of loans, grants and aids.

Surprisingly, the majority of Tanzanians refused the introduction of multi-party due to the fear that the political parties will lead to civil wars and disruption of the long existing unity and peace. The late *Mwalimu Nyerere* played a major role in educating the Tanzanians on the importance of multi-party system. Unexpectedly, he was the one who banned the political parties soon after independence. He realized his mistakes and because of his influence and reputation as the *father of the nation*, multi-party system was officially instituted on July 1, 1992.

This marked the era of multi-party system and democracy in Tanzania, where many political parties registered, including the ruling party (CCM) which was the first party to get the certificate of registration, followed by the Civic United Front (CUF) in Kiswahili, *Chama Cha Wananchi* and CHADEMA in Kiswahili *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (meaning in English Party for Democracy and Progress). There were also other many political parties and in 1995 there were 13 political parties that participated in the general election.

Since 1995 multiparty elections have always been organised and the CCM has always managed to win all the presidential ones. The election results witnessed the return of the CCM to power with Benjamin Mkapa who received 62% of the vote while the opposition candidates amassed 38%. In the parliamentary elections, the CCM also won more seats than other political parties.

The 2000 elections were not different from the 1995 elections with the CCM able to ensure that they were not operating on a level playing field. The abolition of state subsidies to political parties meant that the opposition was unable to fund their campaigns adequately. The problem of the differentiation between the CCM and the state remained.

Although Tanzania has escaped the more overt political turmoil that its neighbouring countries have endured, in the aftermath of the 2000 multiparty elections, the country appears to be open to inter-ethnic rivalry largely due to the Zanzibar question which threatens the union itself.

Zanzibar is the site of the greatest opposition to the ruling CCM party which has been in power since independence. The challenge faced by the former President Jakaya Kikwete was to deal with the dysfunctional economy and to meet the ever growing demands of its population which has seen a rapid decline of social services. The ideal of self-reliance which was espoused by Nyerere is no longer a choice, but increasingly a necessity.

After the two presidential mandates of Mkapa in 2005, the CCM's Candidate Jakaya Kikwete won the presidential election with an unassailable lead of 68%. By 2015, CCM's margin of victory had been shortened to 18%. For the first time in Tanzania's history, the opposition is a force to be reckoned with. In 2015, Dr John Pombe Magufuli from the CCM political Party also won presidential elections and became on November 5, 2015 the fifth president of Tanzania. After all, the CCM had been in power for decades, and meaning seemed to herald continuity with the past.

9.4.2. Democracy in Kenya

The participation by citizens in political decision-making is an important aspect of a functioning democracy. It is very important that the citizens' interests are represented in the different institutions and processes.

Since the time of the independence of Kenya in 1963, the development of democracy and public participation have had mixed results. Kenya adopted a Westminster style of democracy with multi-party institutions and a federal system of government. There was a devolution structure of government, known as *majimbo* (Kiswahili term for regionalism), under which the country had seven autonomous regions, some of whose boundaries were coterminous with ethnic settlement patterns. Some of the numerically large groups have a region to themselves and therefore some regions are identifiable with ethnic groups. Each regional government was responsible for setting and implementing a broad range of policies.

There were several political parties, the main ones being the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). KANU's membership included some of the large ethnic groups, the Kikuyu and the Luo, while KADU coalesced the numerically smaller ethnic communities, many of which feared domination by large groups after independence.

The first government dismantled this set-up after independence. The ruling party, KANU, made it difficult for the regional governments to operate. The main opposition, KADU, joined KANU to form one party and govern with them. The government also introduced a series of constitutional amendments that centralised power in the presidency.

These changes significantly constrained democratic participation. The government became increasingly intolerant of dissent. In 1966, some critics within government resigned their positions to form a new political party the Kenya People's Union (KPU). Keen to consolidate power without rivalry, the government banned the opposition in 1969. This gave the then ruling party, KANU, unchecked dominance. More amendments to the constitution to centralise power in the executive followed. In 1982, Parliament changed the constitution to make Kenya a one-party state. The country remained as such until 1991 when pressure, through people's struggles for democratic change and international pressure from multilateral and bilateral donors compelled the government to repeal this constitutional provision and provide for a return of multi-party democracy.

This return to multi-party democracy was an important milestone in this respect: it marked the beginning of enhancing space for freedoms and rights. It ushered in a new beginning in which citizens could participate in public affairs, question leaders and hold them to account for their actions. In the 1990s, multi-party democracy was not yet exercised to fulfil such expectation but it still reproduced certain negative tendencies and needed to be enhanced.

At the end of 2002, the coming to power of a new government seemed to make another new promise for the transition to democracy. There was a new beginning where some of these hopes were momentarily realised

but the country experienced unprecedented electoral violence after a dispute over presidential election results in December 2007. This violence again eroded some of the gains in the area of democracy and political participation.

In 2010, yet democracy values and principles of governance provided in the new constitution such as accountability, public participation and the rule of law were not fully practised. In fact, interplay of ethnicity, electoral system and struggles over executive power has constrained public participation and the democratic transition.

The new constitution has addressed some of these challenges by establishing strong checks on the powers of the executive as well as two levels of government: national and county. However, the electoral system remains largely unchanged and this led to contestations of the results of presidential elections at different periods.

First of all, violence engulfed Kenya following a dispute over presidential election results in December 2007. The violence spread fast and split the country along two main ethno-regional blocs: the Kikuyu and Kalenjin. It also pushed the country towards the brink of civil war. The violence ended in February 2008 after mediation by the African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities. The panel persuaded the two parties in the dispute, the Party of National Unity (PNU) of the incumbent President Mwai Kibaki and the main opposition, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) of Raila Odinga, to sign a National Accord committing to end violence and to share power in a coalition government.

The violence indeed occurred as a result of the failure to respond to long-standing governance issues. It continued to threaten the consolidation of democracy and it constrained political participation. Among these issues were the manipulation of ethnic identity by politicians, the lack of comprehensive constitutional reforms, centralisation of power in the executive, and the problems around the majoritarian electoral system.



Figure 9.6: Picture illustrating the post-electoral violence in Kenya in 2007

Source :<https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/kenya-election-violence/2/>.

Kenya normalised fast and held a peaceful referendum for a new constitution in August 2010 and, following this achievement, the new constitution was promulgated and later Kenya held a peaceful election in March 2013. Attempts to make a new constitution had failed to deliver one for about two decades, but the National Accord signed in February 2008 to end the violence, developed a framework and timelines for constitutional review and institutional reforms. The negotiations on the National Accord revealed that constitutional review, among other reforms, was urgently required to prevent a recurrence of violence. What is interesting in the evolving political economy dynamics, is that the two main ethnic communities that fought one another in the post-2007 election violence, the Kikuyu and Kalenjin, grouped together into a political alliance, the Jubilee alliance, which finally won the March presidential elections held in 2013 and those of 2017. The alliance had both the presidential (Kikuyu) and deputy presidential (Kalenjin) candidates Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto who were indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) for the post-2007 election violence. They were elected as president and deputy president in spite of indictment for crimes committed during the post-election violence.

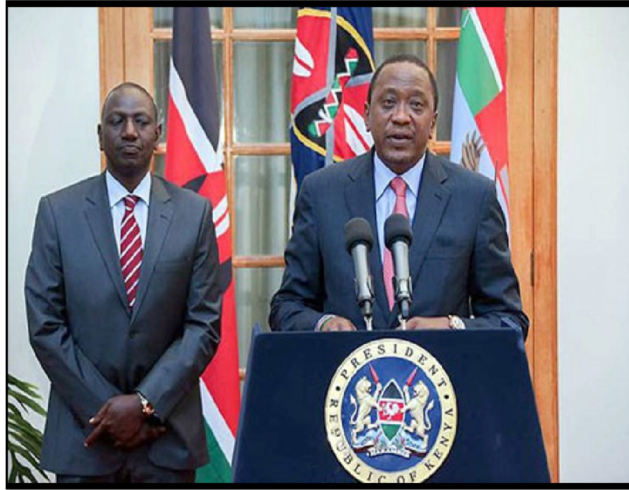


Figure 9.7: The photo of Uhuru Kenyatta, President of Kenya and his Vice-President William Ruto.

Source:<https://nairobi.news.nation.co.ke/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/editor7053775513564086556.jpg>

The 2010 constitution has addressed some of the obstacles that prevent consolidation of democratic gains. It has established two levels of government: national and county government. The County governments are given resources to undertake development in their areas. The powers of the president have also been reduced; the president cannot make appointments without the approval of Parliament. The constitution has secured the independence of the judiciary and Parliament and, therefore, the executive cannot compel them to tend to its interests.

9.4.3. Maintenance of justice in Tanzania and Kenya

Social justice is the view that everyone deserves equal economic, political and social rights and opportunities. The social justice is differently maintained in Tanzania and Kenya. However, the judicial system has some similarities since the two countries inherited a judicial system that is based on the British law, the former colonial master of both countries.

The Tanzanian case

Since independence Tanzania has gone through distinct policy episodes of social integration. In the first two decades of the post independence period Tanzania made deliberate efforts and took various initiatives to attain social integration.

In this period Tanzania strived to build national unity and placed emphasis on human development and social policy consistent with the basic needs approach. This period was characterized by emphasis on investment in human development consistent with the basic needs approach. During this period an emphasis was placed on promoting the principles of human dignity, equality and freedom of the individuals, equality of opportunity in life and equal citizen political rights across all races and commitment to reduce income and wealth differentials in society and fight against corruption.

In the same period, the Government of Tanzania deliberately downplayed religious differences and promoted religious tolerance. It was declared that the state was a secular state which worked with various religious denominations. Moreover, the Government adopted the policy of health for all availing free medical services to all. Massive investments were made in health facilities and primary health care was given priority. The Government of Tanzania also made significant contribution in the provision of basic services. This has been done through direct funding of services such as health, education and water which are basic necessities to the population, and through provision of subsidies on basic goods such as food. All these are efforts to provide social protection to the population.

Various policy statements on social security issues have been made and Acts passed in regard to the protection of some sections of the population against contingencies such as injuries and old age. In total these formal social security covered only a very small proportion of the population (less than 10%). Apart from the formal social protection schemes, there are also traditional and non-traditional informal social protection schemes. Tanzania, like many other countries in the developing world, has had strong informal/traditional safety nets built on family and/or community support and informal income transfers. The traditional social security systems are often based on customary rights, or on spiritual and religious grounds. They are often organized around family groups, kinship groups or neighbourhood and community groups. While it is recognized that over time traditional social system has tended to decay and change forms in response to the forces of urbanization and industrialization there are indications that family and community social support systems have

remained the main safety nets, particularly among the rural poor and other vulnerable groups. In times of crises, individuals have depended on family and clan members and/or members of the community for assistance in the form of cash or in-kind, remittances to rural areas and facilitating settling in of new migrants into the urban areas.

The villagization programme that was adopted was a more inclusive and country wide programme involving the replacement of the traditional system of rural settlements in which households were located often in isolated homesteads by the creation of larger and more viable villages which were perceived to be more viable economic units. The government's efforts to deal with the challenges of smallholders, uneconomically small plots and challenges of providing social services to a scattered population took various forms but the most memorable policy stance was villagization, which involved the resettlement of rural population with view to facilitate the provision of social and economic infrastructure. Priority was given to education including adult education, health services and rural water supply. Villages were created in 1974 in which 60% of the population was relocated. The logic behind villagization was based on what was seen as ideal African traditional family whereby which was almost self-contained economic and social unit which provided and shared basic necessities of life on the basis of mutual respect and obligation. The principles of love, sharing and work which had prevailed in traditional African family units were expected to be carried into Ujamaa Villages.

In fact, Tanzania made considerable achievements in human development and during that period, there was an economic progress but this model ran out of steam towards the end of the 1970s as exhibited by the way this development was interrupted by the economic crisis starting from the late 1970s and the early 1980s. In response Tanzania adopted structural adjustment programmes which were meant to focus on efficiency gains and growth acceleration.

The second policy episode from 1981 to 1995 was essentially a period in which Tanzania adopted adjustment and reforms which were aimed at restoring stabilization and growth but in the process it contributed to causing cracks into the social integration status that had been achieved in the previous two decades. In the third period (1996-2005) Tanzania

embarked on more comprehensive economic and social policies in which social integration received attention again but this time in a new context of the market economy, competition and globalization.

The Kenyan case

Since the time of independence on December 12, 1963, Kenya has experienced periods of human rights violations including land clashes, massacres, arbitrary arrest, extrajudicial executions, and detention without trial, torture, electoral violence, grand corruption, and economic crimes. Most of these are directly or indirectly attributable to a constitutional order that concentrated power in the presidency and weakened other arms of government and civil society.

For a period of at least two decades, Kenyans struggled to reform their constitution. This struggle ended in 2010 when the people of Kenya voted for a new constitution. The new Constitution establishes the framework for the restoration of constitutional democracy in Kenya. It strengthens the likelihood of accountability for past human rights abuses, of guarantees that they will not reoccur, and of reparations for victims namely these of violence that followed 2007 presidential elections. The adoption of the new Constitution is an important milestone and a starting point in the long road to addressing the root causes of conflict in Kenya.

The 2010 new Constitution focuses on making more inclusive citizenship through the new devolved system of government; reduced presidential powers and better separation of powers between the three arms of the government; a restructured and vetted judiciary; an expanded, enforceable bill of rights that includes social, economic, and cultural rights; security sector and land reforms; environmental protection, etc.

The Kenyans are hopeful that this new constitution will play a key role in correcting the different errors of the past period in implementation of the social justice principles that the old constitution was not providing. Actually, before the vote of the new constitution, there were a number of failures in the provision of social justice. For instance, the old constitution had no clarity as to who the republic belongs. There was no specification on how people's aspiration and needs were to be catered for. But the new constitution gives the Kenyans all the sovereign power, recognize the

aspirations of all Kenyans for a government based on essential values of human rights, equality, freedom, democracy, social justice and the rule of law. These aspirations are very critical in the realization of a just, secure and peaceful society.

In other words, the new Constitution establishes rules, values, and principles that if implemented will facilitate the realization of equality and inclusive citizenship. It promises to end the political manipulation of perceptions of marginalization and exclusion that has contributed to interethnic strife in Kenya. In this respect, the new Constitution seeks to address the root causes of interethnic conflicts, by:

- Establishing national values and principles of governance that seek to diffuse ethnic tensions often fuelled by perceptions of marginalization and exclusion;
- Reforming the electoral system, which has been used as an instrument of inclusion and exclusion, in sharing of national resources, with a view to ensuring that the voices of all segments of society are represented equitably in government and making elections less fractious;
- Creating devolution mechanisms that seek to enhance fairness in the sharing national resources; and establishing mechanisms to ensure fairness in land administration and to address historical land injustices that have often reinforced perceptions of marginalization and exclusion and triggered ethnic conflicts, especially during elections.

Further, the new Constitution seeks to facilitate government accountability, by seeking to circumscribe the exercise of power in the three branches of government in general, and the security agencies in particular.

In doing so, the new Constitution promises to prevent future violation of human rights and the commission of economic crimes.

Concerning the judicial system, Mainland Tanzanian law is a combination of British, East African customary law, and Islamic law. The courts at the lower levels are presided over by magistrates appointed by the chief justice. They have limited jurisdiction, and there is a right of appeal to district

courts, headed by either resident or district magistrates. Appeal can be made to the High Court, which consists of a chief justice and 17 judges appointed by the president. It has both civil and criminal jurisdiction over all persons and all matters however, appeals from the High Court can be made to the five-members Court of Appeal and judges are appointed to the Court of Appeal and the High Court by the president on the advice of the chief justice and to courts at lower levels by the chief justice.

In 1985, the Zanzibar courts were made independent to those of the mainland. Islamic courts handle some civil matters and cases concerning the Zanzibar constitution are heard only in Zanzibar courts. All other cases may be appealed to the Court of Appeal of the Republic.

The judiciary is made up of various courts of judicature and is independent of other arms of the government. Tanzania adheres to and respects the constitutional principles of separation of powers. The Constitution makes provision for the establishment of an independent judiciary, and the respect for the principles of the rule of law, human rights and good governance.

The Judiciary in Tanzania can be illustrated as follows: The Judiciary in Tanzania has four tiers: The Court of Appeal of the United Republic of Tanzania, the High Courts for Mainland Tanzania and Tanzania Zanzibar, Magistrates Courts, which are at two levels, i.e. the Resident Magistrate Courts and the District Court, both of which have concurrent jurisdiction. Primary Courts are the lowest in the judicial hierarchy.

The structure of the Zanzibar legal system is as follows:

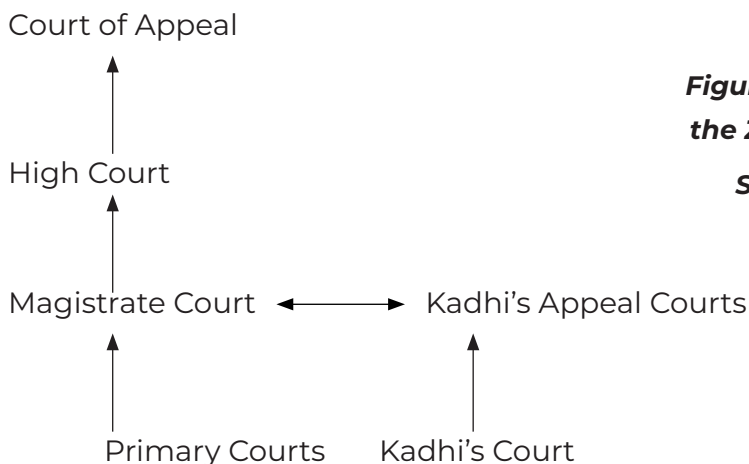


Figure 9.8: The structure of the Zanzibar legal system

Source: <http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Tanzania.html>.

Kenya is a country in which the Judiciary of Kenya is the system of courts which interprets as well as applies the law. There are courts both at the federal level and the state level and each is responsible for its own set of functions and responsibilities.

The entire court system is divided into a hierarchical system wherein the superior courts consist of Supreme Court, Courts of Appeal, High court and Industrial court etc. whereas the subordinate courts are made up of Magistrate court, Kadhi court and others.

The Supreme Court is the Apex court which is comprised of the Chief Justice, The President, the deputy chief justice and five other judges. The word of the Supreme Court is final and cannot be negated by any other court. All the other courts fall beneath this court.

The Court of Appeals is the court which handles the appeal cases from the High court as well as those as prescribed by the President. This court comprises of not less than 12 judges and is headed by the President who is appointed by the Chief Justice.

The High Court has the supervisory jurisdiction over all the lower or subordinate courts and other persons whereas the Industrial Court of Kenya was established for the purpose of handling issues or cases related to employment and industrial relations etc. Environment and Land Court is responsible for hearing and settling disputes which are related to the environment.

The Subordinate Courts comprise the Magistrate Court, Kadhi Court and Courts Martial. The Magistrate Court is where the majority of judiciary cases are heard and these courts are located in each of the district of Kenya. Kadhi Court is the court which is responsible for hearing civil and criminal matters which are related to Islamic law. Courts Martial is the military court of Kenya which mostly hears or settles those cases which are related to the Kenya Defense Forces. Appeals that move on from this court are heard by the High court.



Figure 9.9: Kenya Court hierarchy

Source:<https://www.hierarchystructure.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Kenya-Court-Hierarchy.jpg>.



Application Activity 9.4

1. Analyse the evolution of democracy process in Kenya.
2. Assess the progress of democracy in Tanzania.
3. Analyse the social justice in Kenya. Illustrate your response by articles from the Constitution of Kenya.
4. What lessons do you draw from democratic process and social justice in Tanzania? Explain clearly your answer.



End of Unit Assessment 9

1. One of the basic features of democracy is the separation of powers. Explain how this characteristic is stipulated in the Rwandan constitution.
2. Account for meritocracy as one of the features of social justice.
3. Evaluate the meetings held in Urugwiro Village in the democratisation process in Rwanda in the aftermath of the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
4. Write an essay form in not more than 800 words on how democracy is maintained in Rwanda.
5. Assess the key achievements of the National Consultative Forum of Political Organisations.

6. Analyse the circumstances of the conception of the *Travail d'Intérêt Général* (TIG). Evaluate the achievements made thanks to this work that involves Genocide convicts of the second category who pleaded guilty and confessed their role in Genocide.
7. Research on internet and examine the process of reconciliation in Kenya after the violence that engulfed this country following a dispute over presidential election results in December 2007.

UNIT 10

DIGNITY AND SELF-RELIANCE

Key unit competence: Critique how home-grown solutions contribute to self-reliance (Abunzi, Gacaca, Girinka, Imihigo, Itorero, Ingando, Ubudehe, Umuganda, umwiherero).



Introductory Activity 10.1

Discuss how Rwandan people were handling their problems in traditional society in different domains such as medicine, education, agriculture, justice, leisure, arts, handcraft and environment and then propose which methods from Rwandan traditional society should be applied to our modern society to handle problems. Write your answer on not more than one page.

Introduction

Home Grown Initiatives (HGIs) are Rwanda's brain child solutions to economic and social development. They are practices developed by the Rwandan citizens based on local opportunities, cultural values and history to fast track their development. Being locally created, HGIs are appropriate to the local development context and have been the bedrock to the Rwandan development successes for the last decade.

After the 1994 genocide against Tutsi, Rwandan economic structure was devastated none was hoping that the county should be rebuilt and continues its development process. After this period, Rwandan government has adopted several programs and policies to boost Rwandan economy and to promote the general welfare of the population.

HGIs had a significant impact on recipient households and the community. In terms of social impact, Home Grown Initiatives have contributed to beneficiary households through the increased access to health and education services, shelter, improved nutrition, social cohesion and sustained participation in decision making at community level.

10.1. Concepts of home-grown solutions and self-reliance



Learning Activity 10.1

1. Using internet and textbooks in your school library, explain in not more than 500 words your understanding of civic education with specific examples to Rwanda.
2. Examine the context in which Rwanda has initiated her proper innovations such as *Gacaca*, *Abunzi*, *Itorero*, *Umwihereho* and *Girinka* to achieve economic and social development and write your response in not more than 15 lines.
3. Read and use your knowledge on Umuganda to comment on the following statement:

“Our country was once known for its tragic history. Today, Rwanda is proud to be known for its transformations...When your achievements are a result of hard work, you must be determined to never slide back to where you once were... What we have achieved to date shows us what we are capable of and Umuganda is an integral part of achieving even more...Umuganda is one of the reasons we are moving forward, working together and believing in our common goal of transforming our lives and the lives of our families”, President P. Kagame at Ndera on October 30, 2015.

Home -Grown Initiatives (HGIs) are Rwanda’s brain child solutions to economic and social development. They are practices developed by the Rwandan citizens based on local opportunities, cultural values and history to fast track their development. Being locally created, HGIs are appropriate to the local development context and have been the bedrock to the Rwandan development successes for the last decade.

HGIs are development/governance innovations that provide unconventional responses to societal challenges. They are based on:

- National heritage
- Historical consciousness
- Strive for self-reliance

HGIs include *Umuganda* (community work), Gacaca (truth and reconciliation traditional courts), *Abunzi* (mediators), *Imihigo* (performance contracts), *Ubudehe* (community-based and participatory effort towards problem solving), *Itorero* and *Ingando* (solidarity camps), *Umushyikirano* (national dialogue), *Umwiherero* (National Leadership Retreat) and *Girinka* (One cow per Family program). They are all rooted in the Rwandan culture and history and therefore easy to understand by the communities.

10.1.1. Abunzi – Community mediators

The word *abunzi* can be translated as “those who reconcile” or “those who bring together” (from verb *kunga*). In the traditional Rwanda, *abunzi* were men known within their communities for personal integrity and were asked to intervene in the event of conflict. Each conflicting party would choose a person considered trustworthy, known as a problem-solver, who was unlikely to alienate either party. The purpose of this system was to settle disputes and also to reconcile the conflicting parties and restore harmony within the affected community.

Abunzi can be seen as a hybrid form of justice combining traditional with modern methods of conflict resolution. The reintroduction of the *Abunzi* system in 2004 was motivated in part by the desire to reduce the accumulation of court cases, as well as to decentralise justice and make it more affordable and accessible for citizens seeking to resolve conflicts without the cost of going to court. Today *Abunzi* is fully integrated into Rwanda’s justice system.

Conflict resolution through community participation

Historically, the community, and particularly the family, played a central role in resolving conflicts. Another mechanism for this purpose was *inama y’umuryango* (meaning ‘family meetings or gatherings’) in which relatives would meet to find solutions to family problems. Similar traditions existed elsewhere, such as the *dare* in Zimbabwe. These traditional mechanisms continue to play important roles in conflict resolution regarding land disputes, civil disputes and, in some instances, criminal cases.

The adoption of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms in Rwanda emerged from the recognition of a growing crisis in a judiciary where it had become almost impossible to resolve disputes efficiently and in a cost-effective manner. The Government of Rwanda concluded that modern judicial mechanisms of dispute resolution were failing to deliver and so the decision was taken to examine traditional mediation and reconciliation approaches as alternatives. By doing so, it would not only help alleviate the pressure on conventional courts but also align with the policy objective of a more decentralised justice system. In addition, the conflict resolution mechanisms rooted in Rwandan culture were perceived as less threatening, more accessible and therefore more intimate. Those who referred their cases to Abunzi were more comfortable seeking mediation from within their community, which afforded them a better understanding of the issues at hand.

Establishment of the mediation committees

In 2004, the Government of Rwanda established the traditional process of *abunzi* as an alternative dispute resolution mechanism.

Established at the cell and sector levels, *abunzi* primarily address family disputes, such as those relating to land or inheritance. By institutionalizing *Abunzi*, low level legal issues could be solved at a local level without the need to be heard in conventional courts. Citizens experiencing legal issues are asked to first report to *abunzi*, cases not exceeding 3,000,000 Rwf (for land and other immovable assets) and 1,000,000 Rwf (for cattle and other movable assets). Cases of these types can only be heard in a conventional court if one party decides to appeal the decision made at the sector level by the mediation committee.

As the *Abunzi* system gained recognition as a successful method to resolve conflict and deliver justice, the importance of providing more structure and formality to their work increased. Consequently, the *abunzi* started receiving trainings on mediating domestic conflicts and support from both governmental and non-governmental organisations to improve the quality of their mediation services.

Organisational structure

The mediation committees that make up the *Abunzi* operate at a cell level in the first instance (initial cases) and at a sector level in the event of appeal (appeal cases). According to the law establishing the structure of *abunzi*, the committee is composed of twelve people known for their integrity, who reside respectively in the concerned cell and sector and who are recognised for their ability to reconcile differences. These mediators are elected by the Cell Council and the Sector Council respectively for a renewable term of five years.

The mediation committee, at the cell and sector level, is headed by a bureau composed of a president and a vice-president elected by their peers. Claims made to the *abunzi* are received by the Executive Secretary who in turn forwards them to the mediation committee. If the Executive Secretary is unable to receive the claim, the request is delivered to the chairman of the mediation committee. The relevant council (cell or sector level) is then notified.

Functioning of the mediation committees

In order to initiate a case, one of the parties must first submit a complaint to the Executive Secretary of the cell verbally or in writing so that it can be registered by the mediation committee. The applicant must provide a brief outline of the case to inform the proceedings, after which the mediation committee can summon parties and decide on the venue, as well as the date and time for hearing the case.

As outlined in Article 17 of the 2010 Abunzi Organic Law on the Organisation, Competence and Functioning of Mediation Committees, the parties agree on three mediators to whom they submit their case. When the parties cannot agree on mediators, each party chooses one mediator, and the two chosen mediators choose the third. Where parties agree on one mediator, that mediator chooses two others from within the mediation committee. Parties have no right to refuse a mediator or mediators chosen via this procedure. When the case involves a police officer or a soldier, the nearest commander of the police force or army is required to assist the mediators. Abunzi must settle the litigation within one month from the day the litigation is registered by the mediation committee.



Figure 10.1: 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

If the summoned party fails to appear at the hearing, a summon is issued informing them that the mediators will make a decision on the case during the next hearing regardless of their absence. If the summoned party fails again to attend on the new date, the applicant and the mediation committee choose one mediator each and the chosen two select the third one to examine the case in the summoned party's absence. However, if the summoned party is considered by the Committee to have offered an acceptable reason for non-attendance, the matter can be postponed to a later date.

In most cases, the mediation hearing is public, unless decided otherwise by mediators. Other members of the mediation committee not chosen to settle the matter may participate in the mediation session but do not have the right to make a decision. When settling a case, mediators hear from each of the parties in conflict and from any available witnesses. During those hearings, advocates are allowed to assist the parties but they cannot represent or plead for any party.

In each instance, the mediators are obliged to first strive to conciliate both parties but where this proves impossible, they render a decision in all honesty and in accordance with the laws and local customary practices. When the mediators are successful at reconciling the parties, prosecution does not occur.

After considering the case, the mediators withdraw to make a decision.

The mediators' decision is taken by consensus or by the absolute majority of votes in the event that a consensus cannot be reached at.

Recorded minutes of the proposed settlement are signed by mediators and the concerned parties when the mediation procedure is completed. In all cases, the decision is written, signed on each page and available within ten days from the day of the decision.

Mediators who fail to do this may face disciplinary action for not meeting the Standard of Conduct established by Order of the Minister of Justice.

The minutes of a case taken to *Abunzi* contain the following:

1. Identification of the parties
2. A summary of the dispute
3. Arguments put forward by the involved parties
4. The mediation decision with which all parties agree
5. The mediation decision with which one of the parties does not agree, if any
6. The date and the place where the mediation session took place
7. Signatures or finger prints of parties in conflict
8. The mediators' names as well as their signatures or fingerprints
9. The reporters' name as well as their signature or fingerprints

The mediation minutes are closed with the seal of the mediation committee and kept by the Executive Secretary of the cell, who then submits them to the concerned parties. Any dissenting opinion held by a mediator will also be included in those minutes. The decision taken by the mediators, and agreed upon by all parties, will then serve as a compromise for those parties.

The mediators' decision is carried out voluntarily, but in the event that one party refuses to comply with the decision, it will be enforced through a request to the President of the Primary Court.

Appealing decisions of mediation committees

Either party can appeal the mediators' decision at the sector or cell level within a period of one month from the day the written decision was handed down. Once received by the mediation committee at the sector level, mediators will only examine aspects of the case deemed objectionable by the appealing party. There is no filing fees associated with the appeal process.

If a party is not satisfied with the decision taken at the sector level, the party may refer the matter to the Primary Court within a month of notification of the sector level decision. However, filing an action before a Primary Court will require payment of filing fees. As with all appeal cases, minutes from the mediation session will be provided to the Primary Court, which is obliged to consider only those aspects of the earlier decision to which one of the parties objects.

Any member of the Mediation Committee may be suspended for a maximum of a month in the event of exhibiting bias or other misconduct. The decision to suspend one of its members must be taken by two thirds of the Committee. The affected mediator has an opportunity to challenge the suspension. In the event that the Electoral College finds the concerned mediator unable to further fulfil his/her duties, then the mediator will be dismissed.

Legal competence of mediation committees

- Disputes over land and other immovable assets whose value does not exceed 3,000,000 Rwf or US \$4,762
- Disputes over cattle and other movable assets whose value does not exceed 1,000,000 Rwf or US \$1,587
- Disputes relating to alleged breaches of contract where the case in question does not exceed the value of 1,000,000 Rwf, or US \$1,587, with the exception of central government, insurance and commercial contractual obligations
- Employment disputes between individuals where the value is less than 100,000 Rwf or US \$159
- Family disputes other than those related to civil status

- Successions when the matter at issue does not exceed 3,000,000 Rwf or US \$4,762

With respect to criminal matters, Article 9 allows for Mediation Committees to preside over cases involving “the removal or displacement of land terminals and plots, any form of devastation of crops by animals and destruction of crops when the value of crops ravaged or destroyed does not exceed three million Rwandan francs (3,000,000 Rwf) or US \$4,762, theft of crops when the value of crops does not exceed three million Rwandan francs (3,000,000 Rwf) and larceny (theft) when the value of the stolen object does not exceed three million Rwandan francs (3,000,000 Rwf).

Civil and low level criminal cases can only be heard by the Mediation Committees when both parties reside within their jurisdiction (Article 10). In the event that either the defendant or the complainant resides outside the committee’s jurisdiction, then the case will be brought before the competent authorities. The mediation committees do not have jurisdiction over cases involving the state and its entities or public or private associations and companies endowed with legal status.

10.1.2. Gacaca – Community courts

The word *gacaca* refers to the small clearing where a community would traditionally meet to discuss issues of concern. People of integrity (elders and leaders) in the village known as *inyangamugayo* would facilitate a discussion that any member of the community could take part in. Once everyone had spoken, the *inyangamugayo* would reach a decision about how the problem would be solved. In this way, *Gacaca* acted very much as a traditional court. If the decision was accepted by all members of the community, the meeting would end with sharing a drink as a sign of reconciliation. If the parties were not happy with the decision made at *Gacaca*, they had the right to take their case to a higher authority such as a chief or even to the king.

One aspect particular to traditional *Gacaca* is that any decision handed down at the court impacted not only the individual but also their family or clan as well. If the matter was of a more serious nature and reconciliation could not be reached, the *inyangamugayo* could decide to expel the offenders or the members of their group from the community.

The most common cases to come before *Gacaca* courts were those between members of the same family or community. It was rare for members of other villages to be part of the courts and this affirmed the notion of *Gacaca* as a community institution.

Colonisation had a significant impact on the functioning of *Gacaca* and in 1924 the courts were reserved only for civil and commercial cases that involved Rwandans. Those involving colonisers and criminal cases were processed under colonial jurisdiction. While the new justice systems and mechanisms imported from Europe did not prohibit *Gacaca* from operating, the traditional courts saw far fewer cases. During the post colonial period, the regimes in power often appointed administrative officials to the courts which weakened their integrity and eroded trust in *Gacaca*.

The Genocide against the Tutsi in 1994 virtually destroyed all government and social institutions and *Gacaca* was no different. While *Gacaca* continued after the Genocide, its form and role in society had been significantly degraded.

Contemporary Gacaca as a home-grown solution

Contemporary *Gacaca* was officially launched on June 18, 2002 by President Paul Kagame. This took place after years of debate about the best way to give justice to the survivors of the Genocide and to process the millions of cases that had risen following the Genocide.

Contemporary *Gacaca* draws inspiration from the traditional model by replicating a local community-based justice system with the aim of restoring the social fabric of the society. In total, 1,958,634 genocide related cases were tried through *Gacaca*. The courts are credited with laying the foundation for peace, reconciliation and unity in Rwanda. The *Gacaca* courts officially finished their work ten years later on June 18, 2012.



Figure 10.2: A community's danse.

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Gacaca%202001%204_1.jpeg.

Gacaca first began as a pilot phase in 12 sectors across the country one per each province as well as in the City of Kigali. After the pilot, the courts were implemented across the country and the original Organic Law No. 40/2000 (January 26, 2001) was replaced by the Organic Law No. 16/2004 (June 19, 2004) which then governed the *Gacaca* process.

The aims of the Gacaca were to:

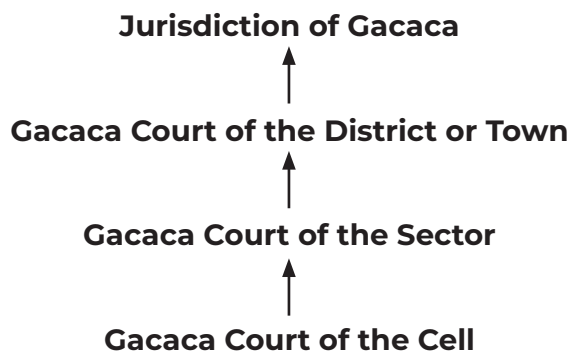
- Expose the truth about the Genocide against the Tutsi
- Speed up genocide trials
- Eradicate impunity
- Strengthen unity and reconciliation among Rwandans
- Draw on the capacity of Rwandans to solve their own problems.

These activities were carried out at three levels of jurisdiction: the *Gacaca* Court of the cell, the *Gacaca* Court of the Sector, and the *Gacaca* Court of appeals. There were 9013 cell courts, 1545 Sector courts and 1545 Courts of Appeal nationwide.

The following principles guided the *Gacaca* process:

- Classification of genocide suspects into categories based on the gravity of the charges brought against them. Opportunity was given to genocide suspects to admit and confess to their crimes and to ask for forgiveness; when their confessions were accepted, their sentences were reduced.
- Special sentencing for those who committed genocide crimes as minors. For example, those over 14 but under 18 years old were ordered to follow a rehabilitation program in a correctional centre.
- Similar to conventional courts, the defendants in Gacaca had the right to appeal the judgment of the first hearing and to receive retrials in cases where the law was not observed during the first hearing.

With the introduction of the *Gacaca* law of 2004, these four categories were revised down to three to streamline the process. The offences constituting to the crime of the Genocide were classified into 3 categories. Apart from the acts of torture and the dehumanising acts on a dead body, the first category contained the same accusations as provided for by the Organic Law of 2001, the 2nd and 3rd categories of the old law were merged to make category 2, the fourth category became the third.



Functioning of Gacaca

While *Gacaca* courts were given competence similar to other judicial systems, they also had the special competence of investigating the manner in which crimes were committed, a task normally carried out by the prosecution department.

Judges in Gacaca courts

The public elected the judges who presided over the hearings in *Gacaca* courts, known as *inyangamugayo* (people of integrity in their community). The election of *inyangamugayo* was conducted countrywide from 4-7 October 2001; other elections were held to replace *inyangamugayo* who were no longer able to serve on the courts. 34.3% of the *inyangamugayo* were women, and 65.7% men.

Criteria to be elected as *inyangamugayo*

- To be of Rwandan nationality
- To have his or her residence in the Cell where he or she needs to present his or her candidature
- To be at least 21 years of age
- To be a person of good morals and conduct
- To be truthful and characterised by a spirit of truth telling
- Not to have been sentenced to a penalty of at least six months of imprisonment
- Not to have participated in the Genocide or other crimes against humanity
- To be free of sectarianism
- To have no history of dismissal for indiscipline.

The National Service of *Gacaca* Courts organised general training sessions for all *Gacaca inyangamugayo* countrywide and special training sessions for the courts that demonstrated need for supplementary training. *Inyangamugayo* also received training relating to the amended Organic Law governing the functioning of *Gacaca* Courts before starting any *Gacaca* activities.

As part of a capacity building exercise for *inyangamugayo*, the National Service of *Gacaca* Courts established a team of 551 trainers including 106 *Gacaca* Court Coordinators and 445 *inyangamugayo* judges selected on the basis of the knowledge and skills they demonstrated. These *inyangamugayo* mainly comprised of school teachers, civil servants and business people.

Analysis of the cases

After gathering the information about the case presented to the court, it was analysed by the *inyangamugayo* of the *Gacaca* Court at the cell level. These judges then prepared a file for those who were accused of committing crimes. Based on the gravity of the crimes allegedly committed, the suspect was put in one of the three categories described above.

After the *inyangamugayo* had prepared the file and categorised it appropriately, it was then submitted to the court with the competence to judge it. The files of the first and second categories were submitted to the *Gacaca* court of the sector, while those in the third category remained in the *Gacaca* court of the cell.

During this investigative phase, the number of suspects increased significantly which placed a strain on the courts' ability to deliver timely justice to victims. As a result, the Organic Law governing the functioning of *Gacaca* was revised. This transferred a large number of genocide suspects in the first category to the second category.

Gacaca hearings were public, except those in camera as decided by the court, or upon the request of any interested party and decided with a pronounced judgment for reasons of public order. Deliberations of the *inyangamugayo* were conducted in private. Every *Gacaca* court held a hearing at least once per week usually beginning at 8:30am and finishing at 4:00pm.

Whoever was to be summoned to appear before the court, whether accused, witness, victim or any other person, had to be informed at least seven days before the trial. If the defendant had neither a known address nor residence in Rwanda, the summons period was one month.

At every hearing, the president of the court requested all those present to observe a minute of silence in memory of the victims of genocide. Before testifying, the witness had to take an oath and swear to tell the truth. The sessions were governed by a set of eight rules which ensured the proper and respectful functioning of the hearing. These included, those present raising their hand to speak, a prohibition on insults or threats and an obligation to always tell the truth among others.

10.1.3. Girinka Munyarwanda- One Cow per Poor Family Programme

The word *girinka* (*gira inka*) can be translated as ‘may you have a cow’ and describes a centuries’ old cultural practice in Rwanda whereby a cow was given by one person to another, either as a sign of respect and gratitude or as a marriage dowry.

Girinka was initiated in response to the alarmingly high rate of childhood malnutrition and as a way to accelerate poverty reduction and integrate livestock and crop farming.

The programme is based on the premise that providing a dairy cow to poor households helps to improve their livelihood as a result of a more nutritious and balanced diet from milk, increased agricultural output through better soil fertility as well as greater incomes by commercialising dairy products.

Since its introduction in 2006, more than 203,000 beneficiaries have received cows. *Girinka* has contributed to an increase in agricultural production in Rwanda - especially milk products which have helped to reduce malnutrition and increase incomes. The program aimed at providing 350,000 cows to poor families by 2017.

Traditional Girinka

Two methods, described below, come under the cultural practice known as *gutanga inka*, from which *Girinka* is derived.



Figure 10.3: A traditional Rwandan giving a cow to a friend

Kugabira: Translated as “giving a cow”; such an act is often done as a sign of appreciation, expressing gratitude for a good deed or to establish a friendship.

Ubugake: This cultural practice was a way for a parent or family to help a son to obtain a dowry. If the family was not wealthy or did not own cattle, they could approach a community or family member who owned cows and requested him/ her to accept the service of their son in exchange for the provision of the cows amounting to the dowry when the son marries. The aim of *ubuhake* was not only to get a cow but also protection of a cow owner. This practice established a relationship between the donor and beneficiary. An informal but highly valued social contract was established which was fulfilled through the exchange of services such as cultivating the farm of the donor, looking after the cattle or simply vowing loyalty.

For centuries the cow has been considered as a symbol of prosperity in Rwanda and was used in barter trade before colonisation. For these reasons, the whole chain of social relationships across the country has been built around cattle for generations. This remains true up-to-date.

The 20th century experienced a dramatic shift in the social understanding of what it meant to own cattle in Rwanda. Before colonisation, there was little distinction between cattle keepers and those who cultivated. Herders and cultivators often worked together to achieve greater agricultural production. During this time while owning cattle was associated with being rich, herders and cultivators alike faced the challenges of drought, poor soil fertility and the country’s topography. The arrival of colonisation, however, brought a change in these understandings and cultural practices. The cow was used to divide Rwandans along “ethnic” lines and cattle became a symbol of elitism and a commodity reserved only for a portion of the country’s people.

While significant progress had been made since the genocide in improving the livelihoods of its people, Rwanda continued to face high levels of poverty and childhood malnutrition. It was with these indicators in mind that *Girinka* was established in 2006.

Contemporary Girinka

Girinka was introduced in 2006 against a backdrop of alarmingly high levels of poverty and childhood malnutrition. The results of the Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey 2 (EICV 2) conducted in 2005 showed rural poverty at 62.5%. The Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis (CFSVA) and Nutrition Survey showed that 28% of Rwanda's rural population were food insecure and that 24% of the rural population were highly vulnerable to food insecurity.

The survey showed that in some parts of the country (such as Bugesera), up to 40% of the households were food insecure. The Demographic Health Survey of 2005 indicated that 45% of Rwandan children under the age of five had moderate chronic malnutrition and 19% had severe chronic malnutrition. At that time, 90% of the Rwandans lived in households that owned some farming land, and more than 60% of the households cultivated less than 0.7 hectares of land, according to the EICV2. It was these factors that provided the catalyst for the *Girinka* programme.

The objectives of the programme are as follows:

- Reducing poverty through dairy cattle farming.
- Improving livelihoods through increased milk consumption and income generation.
- Improving agricultural productivity through the use of manure as fertilizer.
- Improving soil quality and reducing erosion through the planting of grasses and trees.
- Promoting unity and reconciliation among Rwandans based on the cultural principle that if a cow is given from one person to another, it establishes trust, respect and friendship between the donor and the beneficiary. While this was not an original goal of *Girinka*, it has evolved to become a significant aspect of the program.

The program is structured in two phases. First, a community member identified as someone who would greatly benefit from owning a cow is given a pregnant dairy cow. That person benefits from its milk and manure production. Beneficiaries are then obliged to give the first born

female calf to another worthy beneficiary in their community. This is known as the 'pass on' principle, or *kuziturirana/kwitura*.



Figure 10.3: A *Girinka* beneficiary receives a pass on Heifer from a fellow Gatsibo resident.

Source: <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/1%20copy.jpg>

Girinka has been described as a culturally inspired social safety net program because of the way it introduces a productive asset (a dairy cow) which can provide long-term benefits to the recipient. Approved on 12 April 2006 by Cabinet decision, *Girinka* originally aimed to reach 257,000 beneficiaries; however, this target was revised upwards in 2010 to 350,000 beneficiaries by 2017. The Government of Rwanda was initially the sole funder of the *Girinka* program but development partners have since become involved in the program. This has led to an increase in the number of cows being distributed.

Girinka is one of a number of programs under Rwanda's Vision 2020, a set of development objectives and goals designed to move Rwanda to a middle income nation by the year 2020. By September 2014 close to 200,000 beneficiaries had received a cow.

10.1.4 Imihigo – Performance contracts

The word *Imihigo* is the plural Kinyarwanda word of *umuhigo*, which means to vow to deliver. *Imihigo* also include the concept of *guhiganwa*, which means to compete among one another. *Imihigo* practices existed in pre colonial Rwanda and have been adapted to fit the current challenges of the Rwandan society.

Traditional Imihigo

Imihigo is a pre colonial cultural practice in Rwanda where an individual sets targets or goals to be achieved within a specific period of time. The person must complete these objectives by following guiding principles and be determined to overcome any possible challenge that arises. Leaders and chiefs would publicly commit themselves to achieving certain goals. In the event that they failed, they would face shame and embarrassment from the community. Definitions however vary on what constitutes a traditional *Imihigo*. Some have recalled it as having a basis in war, where warriors would throw a spear into the ground while publicly proclaiming the feats they would accomplish in battle.

Contemporary Imihigo

Imihigo were re-initiated by Rwanda's President, Paul Kagame, in March 2006. This was as a result of the concern about the speed and quality of execution of government programs and priorities. The government's decentralisation policy required a greater accountability at the local level. Its main objective was to make public agencies and institutions more effective and accountable in their implementation of national programs and to accelerate the socioeconomic development agenda as contained in the Vision 2020 and Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS) policies as well as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Today, *Imihigo* are used across the government as performance contracts and to ensure accountability. All levels of government, from the local district level to ministries and embassies, are required to develop and have their *Imihigo* evaluated. Members of the public service also sign *Imihigo* with their managers or head of institution.

While *Imihigo* are now widely used across government, it first began at the district level. When developing its *Imihigo*, each local government administrative unit determines its own objectives (with measurable indicators) taking into account national priorities as highlighted in the national as well as international strategy and policy documents such as the MDGs, Vision 2020, EDPRS, District Development Plans (DDPs)

and Sector Development Plans (SDPs). The *Imihigo*, at both planning and reporting phases, are presented to the public for the purpose of accountability and transparency. The mayors and province governors also sign the *Imihigo* or performance contracts with Rwanda's President committing themselves to achieving set objectives. The *Imihigo* process ensures the full participation and ownership of citizens because priorities are developed at the grassroots level.

Between 2006 and 2009 a limited evaluation process took place whereby the best ten performing districts from across the nation were reviewed (two from each province and the City of Kigali). Each province and the City of Kigali would rank the performance of their districts with the top two then communicated to the national evaluation team. This team then conducted their own review and ranked them from 1-10. This approach suffered from significant limitations including the fact that it was not possible to objectively compare the performance of all districts because while one province may have had better performing districts than another, this system did not allow that to be discovered. Due to these shortcomings, a nation-wide district *Imihigo* evaluation exercise was conducted in 2010 for all the thirty districts. A national evaluation committee with technical expertise and experience conducts this process.



Figure 10.4: President Paul Kagame with high achieving districts' Mayors for *Imihigo* performance 2009 - 2010 on July 7, 2010.

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/DSC_2162.JPG

Undertaken by a multi-sector team of experts from government, the private sector and civil society institutions, the first *Imihigo* evaluation was launched on May 11, 2010 and completed on June 17, 2010. The evaluation exercise was significant because it was the first time that the Government of Rwanda had thoroughly assessed the degree to which district priorities and targets were realised against their *Imihigo*. The exercise acknowledged key achievements and challenges in the areas of planning, implementation, reporting and communication.

Principles and objectives of Imihigo

Imihigo are guided by the following principles:

Local: Each district decides what goes into its *Imihigo*. However alignment with national priorities is required.

Ambitious: Pledges are made to achieve only what has not already been gained or achieved.

Excellence: *Imihigo* is about outstanding performance.

Imihigo aims at:

- Speeding up implementation of the local and national development agenda.
- Promoting accountability and transparency.
- Promoting result-oriented performance.
- Instilling innovation and encourage competitiveness.
- Engaging stakeholders (citizens, civil society, donors, private sector, etc) in policy formulation and evaluation.
- Promoting zeal and determination to achieve set goals.
- Instilling the culture of regular performance evaluation.

Imihigo preparation process

Imihigo and action plans are used by the Government of Rwanda to define goals, targets and objectives. While different in their purpose, the two tools are interlinked. The action plan is a set of activities to be

achieved within a set time period, usually a period of one year. *Imihigo* are a subset of the action plan showing priority activities to be used as a performance measure. The action plan may contain any number of activities of a routine nature such as payment of salaries whereas *Imihigo* define targets that have a significant impact on economic development, poverty reduction, good governance and social welfare.

When *Imihigo* are developed, the Rwandan Government leaders are advised to ask some key questions before including activities in *Imihigo*. Activities that answer positively to the questions outlined below are given priority consideration.

1. Will the activity impact positively on the welfare of the local population (water access, transport, energy access, schools, etc.)?
2. Does it create jobs for the local population?
3. Does it create income generating opportunities for the population/ local government?
4. Does it have an impact on poverty reduction?
5. Is it a priority for the residents in the area?
6. Does the activity have synergy with development of other areas (an activity may have potential to impact development in neighbouring areas)?
7. Is the activity sustainable or are the results sustainable?
8. Is there ownership from the local population for the activity?
9. Does it help to achieve the national targets and is it linked to the national and international priorities, programs or policies (MDGs, EDPRS, and Vision 2020)?
10. Can the activity produce quality results/outputs with minimum resources?
11. Can it improve the way services are delivered or reduce costs?
12. Does the activity promote social cohesion (unity and reconciliation)?
13. Does the activity reduce social disturbances (insecurity, drug abuse, prostitution, environmental degradation, conflicts, corruption, etc.)?

14. Does it address key cross cutting issues (gender, HIV/AIDS, environment, social inclusion and youth)?
15. Has the source of funds for implementation been determined?
16. Is it realistic and can it be achieved?

Imihigo is the result of a participatory process of identifying and implementing priorities from the grassroots to the national level. In the process of identifying priorities, each level demonstrates its contribution to the achievement of the development goals.

Step 1: Identification of national priorities by the central government

Each ministry identifies national priorities to be implemented at local levels for which they have earmarked resources that they will transfer to local governments.

Consultation on the following policies and programs occurs:

- Vision 2020.
- Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS).
- Government of Rwanda programs and policies.
- National Leadership Retreat and National Dialogue resolutions.
- Cabinet resolutions.
- Three Year Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF).
- Five Year District Development Plan (DDP).
- Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).
- Seven Year Government Program.

Where they do not have earmarked resources, line ministries identify how the resources, whether financial or non-financial, can be mobilised (both national and local). The central government consolidates the priorities paying special attention to areas of quick wins and synergy while avoiding duplication.

Step 2: Communication of national priorities to the local government

The list of central government priorities is communicated and discussed with local government leaders at a forum of central and local government leaders.

Step 3: Identification of local priorities

District leaders consult their District Development Plans (DDPs). Consultative meetings with different stakeholders are held at province/Kigali City, districts, sector, cell and village levels to discuss and consolidate the emerging priorities.

Step 4: Preparation and approval

Firstly, districts consult their respective DDPs and national priorities as communicated in the forum/meeting between central and local governments. Secondly, local and national priorities at district level are consolidated. Thirdly, the draft (for district and province/City of Kigali) is discussed with Quality Assurance Technical Team (from the Ministry of Local Government and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning). Fourth, priorities are presented to stakeholders. Finally, priorities are approved.

The Quality Assurance Technical Team was set up to assist the districts and provinces/Kigali City in preparing tangible Imihigo that respond to national targets. The Quality Assurance Technical Team is composed of members of the Imihigo evaluation team, the Office of the Prime Minister (PMO), the Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) and Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) as well as all sector ministries that are part of decentralisation including:

- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Agriculture
- Ministry of Infrastructure
- Ministry of Trade and Industry

The team gives regular feedback to district planners during the process of preparing *Imihigo*. District leaders across Rwanda are asked to prepare plans that are realistic, take into account the cost of delivering services as well as the available resources. To make sure that proper monitoring and evaluation can be conducted, indicators, targets and outputs must be clearly identified in the planning process.

Monitoring and evaluation

A full evaluation of *Imihigo* takes place once a year. Evaluation teams are established to carry out the process in all districts (each province and the City of Kigali). The terms of reference for the team are distributed to all team members beforehand to ensure proper understanding of the exercise.

The evaluation team is made up of people with skills in planning, monitoring and evaluation (this might include a director general, coordinators and experts). Objectivity is also assessed to make sure that any person with potential bias is excluded from the team.

The methodology for the evaluation (including scoring) is developed and communicated to local government in advance of the evaluation exercise. The evaluation used is a standard template developed against the *Imihigo* of each district.

After analysing the *Imihigo* reports received from the districts, the evaluation team conducts field visits to specific activities for verification and assessment purposes.

After the field visits and verification of selected activities, the team scores/assesses performance against *Imihigo* targets and provides a written report.

The table below describes who prepares *Imihigo* from the individual to provincial level.

Level	Imihigo preparation	Monitoring	Evaluation
Village	Village Executive Committee	Executive Committee of Village	Executive Council of Village and Executive Secretary of the Cell
Cell	Cell Executive secretariat	Cell Executive Secretariat	Cell council and sector Executive secretary
Sector	Community Development Committee (CDC) and Sector Executive Secretary agreed with the Sector Joint Action Development Forum (JADF)	Community Development Committee (CDC) and Sector Executive Secretary agreed with the Sector Joint Action Development Forum (JADF)	Sector council and District executive Committee
District	Community Development Committee (CDC) and District Executive	Community Development Committee (CDC) and District Executive Committee agreed with District Joint	On a semester basis, the National Evaluation Team consists of: Representative from Ministry of Local Government (MINALOC) Representative from Prime Minister's office (PRIMATURE)

District	Committee agreed with District Joint Action Development Forum (JADF)	Action Development Forum (JADF) Governor of Province or Mayor of KC	Representative from Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MINECOFIN) Representative from RALGA (association of districts)
Province/ Kigali City	Province Executive Secretary	Ministry of Local Government	Representative from Province/Kigali City (executive Secretary or in charge of imihigo) Representative from National Decentralisation Implementation Secretariat (NDIS) PRIMATURE MINALOC MINECOFIN

Assessment and evaluation of *Imihigo* at local levels below the sector level is managed by the district including setting up the planning, reporting, evaluation guidelines and timelines consistent with the higher level framework.

Reporting

Districts report their *Imihigo* progress to the provincial level on a monthly basis. Reporting to the national level is completed quarterly (in line with the timelines of the EDPRS). An assessment of the progress in implementing *Imihigo* is done after six months, while a full evaluation is done at the end of each fiscal year. The assessment and evaluation of *Imihigo* is conducted by the National Evaluation Team whose composition is shown in the table above.

10.1.5. *Itorero* - Civic education

Traditionally *Itorero* was a traditional institution where Rwandans would learn rhetoric, patriotism, social relations, sports, dancing, songs and defence. This system was created so that young people could grow with an understanding of their culture. Participants were encouraged to discuss and explore Rwandan cultural values. *Itorero* was reintroduced in 2009 as a way to rebuild the nation's social fabric and mobilise Rwandans to uphold important cultural values.

Traditional Itorero

As a traditional school, *itorero* trainers planned daily activities according to different priorities and every newcomer in *itorero* had to undergo initiation, known in Kinyarwanda as *gukuramo ubunyamusozi*. The common belief was that *intore* were different from the rest of the community members, especially in matters of expression and behaviour because they were expected to be experts in social relations, quick thinkers and knowledgeable. Each *Itorero* included 40 to 100 participants of various age groups and had its own unique name. The best graduates would receive cows or land as rewards.

The tradition of *Itorero* provided formative training for future leaders. These community leaders and fighters were selected from *intore* (individuals who took part in *Itorero*) and were trained in military tactics, hand to hand combat, jumping, racing, javelin, shooting and endurance. They were also taught concepts of patriotism, the Rwandan spirit, wisdom, heroism, unity, taboos, eloquence, hunting and loyalty to the army.

Itorero was found at three levels of traditional governance, the family, the chief, and the king's court. At the family level, both girls and boys would be educated on how to fulfil their responsibilities as defined by the expectations of their communities. For example, the man was expected to protect his family and the country, while the woman was expected to provide a good home and environment for her family. Adults were also asked to treat every child as their own in order to promote good behaviour among children.

At the chief level, a teenage boy was selected by either his father or head of the extended family to be introduced to the chief so that he could join his *Itorero*. Selection was based on good behaviour among the rest of his family and his community.

At the king's court level, the person selected to join this highest level of *Itorero* could either be the son of a man who went through the king's *Itorero* or a young man who distinguished himself while in the chief's *Itorero*. The king could also select the young man who would join his *Itorero* based on his own observations of the candidate in action.

Both the chief and king's *itorero* trainings lasted for long periods of time to test the perseverance of the participants. Those who performed well would be rewarded with cows, allowed to return home and get married, or were nominated to various national duties. Intore who distinguished themselves were called *Intore zo ku mukondo*, which translates as the 'frontline Intore'.

During colonisation, traditional *Itorero* gradually disappeared because the core values taught did not align with the structures established in society. In 1924, the colonial administration prohibited classic *Itorero*. The *Itorero* during and after the colonial period were different in the sense that they focused on singing and dancing, whereas the other core civic education components of *Itorero*, such as respect and good relationships with others, were no longer taught.

Contemporary *Itorero*

In the aftermath of the Genocide against the Tutsi, the Government of Rwanda reintroduced *Itorero* in view of societal transformation. This HGS translated as Civic Education Program, was adopted following the 4th *Umwihherero* (National Leadership Retreat) in February 2007.

Contemporary *Itorero* includes physical activities along with classes on Rwandan history that reintroduce some of the cultural values lost during colonisation. Training is adapted for the group participating in *Itorero*. For example, health workers have been trained on activities relevant to their profession, while local leaders have been trained on service delivery and good governance.



Figure 10.5 : Boniface Rucagu, first coordinator of Itorero handing over a certificate of participation in Itorero to a member of CPC 2011.

Source: <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Boniface%20Rucagu>

National Itorero Commission

The Government of Rwanda established the National *Itorero* Commission with the objective of mobilizing Rwandans to uphold important cultural values and the culture of *intore*. The commission was entrusted with developing a program that allowed Rwandans from diverse backgrounds to undertake personal development and contribute to the wellbeing of the communities where they live or that they serve. The *Itorero* program provides opportunities for participants to enhance positive values, build a sense of responsibility through patriotism and gain professional knowledge.

The values at the core of contemporary *Itorero* are unity, patriotism, selflessness, integrity, responsibility, volunteerism and humility.

Participants

Itorero is designed for all Rwandans. Different curricula have been developed to suit the program's varied participants.

Children of seven years and above take part in their *imidugudu*, villages, to help them grow up to become responsible citizens. Compulsory National Service (*Urugerero*) is designed for those between the ages of 18 and 35 who have completed secondary education.

Others keen to participate are given the opportunity to do so according to their professional backgrounds.

Rwandan citizens living abroad also join *Urugerero* and a number of young Rwandans have organised *Itorero* in cities including London and Brussels.

Non-nationals desiring to participate and provide service to the country can also do so. University graduates and retired people who participated in *Urugerero* before and wish to do so again are also given the opportunity to join *Itorero*. Participants come from each administrative level across the country.

Below is a table which explains who joins *Itorero* and from which level:

At the level of village	Every family in a village will send one member of each generation to <i>Itorero</i> . There will be four <i>Itorero</i> based on the ages of the village inhabitants: (1). <i>Itorero</i> for the teenagers; (2). <i>Itorero</i> for the young people (3). <i>Itorero</i> for the adults; (4). <i>Itorero</i> for the old people
At the level of sector	District employees at Sector level, associations, cooperatives, private sector and employees of NGOs working in the Sector together with other public servants who work in the institutions supervised by the sector.
At the level of district	District leaders and employees, elected leaders, school headmasters and managers of NGOs working in the district, students who have finished secondary studies as well as mentors at the sector level.
At the level of entire Country	High level leaders, leaders of recognized political parties in Rwanda, students who have finished university studies and university lecturers, church leaders of recognized religions, as well as leaders of the private and civil society.

10.1.6. Ingando – Solidarity camps

The word *Ingando* comes from the verb *kugandika*, which means going to stay in a place far from one's home, often with a group, for a specific reason.

Traditionally, the term *ingando* was used in the war context. It represented a temporary resting place for warriors during their expeditions, or a place for the king and the people travelling with him to stay. In these times of war, *ingando* was the military camp or assembly area where troops received briefings on their organisation and mission in preparation for the battle. These men were reminded to put their differences behind them and focus on the goal of protecting their nation.

The term *Ingando* has evolved in contemporary Rwanda to describe a place where a group of people gather to work towards a common goal. *Ingando* trainings served as think tanks where the sharing of ideas was encouraged. *Ingando* also included an aspect of *Umuganda*. The trainings created a framework for the reevaluation of divisive ideologies present in Rwanda during the colonial and post colonial periods. Thus, *ingando* was designed to provide a space mainly for the young people to prepare for a better future in which negative ideologies of the past would no longer influence them.

The other aim of *Ingando* is to reduce fear and suspicion and encourage reconciliation between genocide survivors and those whose family members perpetrated the Genocide. *Ingando* trainings also serve to reduce the distance between some segments of the Rwandan population and the government. Through *Ingando*, participants learn about history, current development and reconciliation policies and are encouraged to play an active role in the rebuilding of their nation.

Main objectives of contemporary *ingando*

Providing a platform for the exchange of ideas and experience among Rwandans.

- Encouraging Rwandans to better manage their communities.
- Encouraging self-reliance within the community.
- Promoting a culture of volunteerism among Rwandans.
- Leading every section of the population towards peace and reconciliation.
- Promoting social cohesion through civic education.

- Assisting in building shelters for disadvantaged genocide survivors and other vulnerable citizens.

A range of topics such as the man and the universe; the History of Rwanda, human rights and conflict management; the Rwandan nation; good governance and the economy and social welfare are discussed during *ingando*.

Ingando trainings restarted in 1997 and were organised by the Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. The first contemporary *Ingando* was held in Karangazi, Nyagatare District, and Eastern Province and brought together young people, students and others from the region of Byumba. The event facilitated the social reintegration of recently returned refugees who had come back from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. After the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) was established and organised *Ingando* trainings from 1999. These trainings received logistics and financial support from the government and non-governmental agencies including:

- Ministry of Education (MINEDUC) for the lists of high school graduates going to Universities;
- Ministry of Health (MINISANTE) for health-related presentations;
- Ministry of Internal Security (MININTER) for the security of the camps and its participants;
- Ministry of Defence (MINADEF) for the morning sports activities;
- World Food Program;
- UNICEF for mothers participating in the trainings.

These trainings had a socio-economic aspect as they included community service activities and allowed for the demystification of the government. The trainees wore military uniform to make them at ease around the military, reduce any fear associated with the uniform and so they could experience life outside of their comfort zones and learn how to survive physically and mentally during difficult times. The trainings aimed at changing the negative perceptions about different aspects of the government and reduce the distance some people perceived between themselves, the government and its policies. *Ingando* aimed to teach participants how to face certain challenges and overcome them.



Figure 10.6: Participants showing their certificate of completion of Ingando in July 2008.

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Ingando%20Closing_2008_6_0.JPG

Ingando graduates learned new skills to help them find new ways to become more financially stable and organise themselves into cooperatives. In the case of students, those who went to *Ingando* showed their aptitude at resolving conflicts and fighting genocide ideologies in their schools and universities. The trainings for genocide perpetrators also helped during the *Gacaca* trials as participants talked about the roles they played during genocide and confessed their crimes. Telling the truth helped to create an environment that allowed for the perpetrators to return to their villages and do community service activities to help rebuild the lives of the victims.

The activities of *Ingando* included various groups of students until 2007 when another Home Grown Solution, *Itorero* (Civic Education Program) was launched. Students in Rwanda and abroad began participating in *Itorero*, which focused on the reintroduction of lost cultural values in order to strengthen different communities.

The groups that continue to take part in *Ingando* are those striving to be reintegrated into mainstream society, such as former combatants who recently returned home, war veterans, and those who worked in the informal sector.

10.1.7. *Ubudehe* – Social categorisation for collective action and mutual support

Ubudehe refers to the long-standing Rwandan practice and culture of collective action and mutual support to solve problems within a community. It is one of Rwanda's best known Home Grown Solution because of its participatory development approach to poverty reduction. In 2008, the program won the United Nations Public Service Award for excellence in service delivery. Today *Ubudehe* is one of the country's core development programs.

Traditional *Ubudehe*



Figure 10.7: People working and sharing together during *Ubudehe*.

The origin of the word *Ubudehe* comes from the practice of preparing fields before the rainy season and finishing the task in time for planting. A community would cultivate clear the fields together to make sure everyone was ready for the planting season. Once a community had completed *Ubudehe* for everyone involved, they would assist those who had not been able to take part, such as the very poor. After planting the partakers gathered and shared beer. Therefore the focus of traditional *Ubudehe* was mostly on cultivation. It is not known exactly when *Ubudehe* was first practiced, but it is thought to date back more than a century.

At the end of a successful harvest, the community would come together to celebrate at an event known as *Umuganura*. Everyone would bring something from his/her own harvest for the celebrations.

This event would often take place once the community's sorghum beer production was completed.

Ubudehe was an inclusive cultural practice involving men, women and members of different social groups. As almost all members of the community took part, the practice often led to increased solidarity, social cohesion, mutual respect and trust.

Colonisation and the introduction of a cash-based economy weakened the practice of *Ubudehe* as some members of the community were able to recruit some people to perform agricultural works for payment. While this trend occurred across the country, in some places *Ubudehe* was still practiced until the 1980s.

Contemporary *Ubudehe*

Contemporary *Ubudehe* is a poverty reduction initiative by the Government of Rwanda which provides communities with the skills and support necessary to engage in problem solving and decision making for their development. This programme was conceived through a set of meetings of political, social, legal and religious leaders between 1998 and 1999 known as the Urugwiro Debates. These gatherings discussed the most pressing issues concerning national reconstruction after the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. The Urugwiro Debates prioritised policies and programs that promoted collective action and that upheld the principles of decentralisation.

After Urugwiro Debates, *Ubudehe* was reintroduced into Rwandan life in 2001 as way to better involve communities in their development by setting up participatory problem solving mechanisms. The program helps citizens to use local institutions to achieve goals set by the community.

The program was seen as a way to strengthen democratic processes and good governance through greater community involvement in decision making process. In this regard, *Ubudehe* creates opportunities for people at all levels of the society, especially the village level, to interact with one another, share ideas, create institutions and make decisions for their collective development.



Figure 10.8: A community coming together to build their *Ubudehe* project.

Source:http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/IMG_8251-s.jpg

Ubudehe has its roots in the Participatory Poverty Assessment (PPA) whereby citizens would self identify as poor or otherwise according to a set of criteria. The objective of the PPA was to help community groups and some poor households to create their own problem solving strategies.

Evolution of *Ubudehe*

The programme was reinstated and launched in a pilot phase in Butare prefecture (known today as Huye) by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the Ministry of Local Government in 2001. The pilot covered all 769 cellules in the prefecture and was funded through a €1 million grant from the European Union. The pilot was carried out as a way for the government to test the methodology of *Ubudehe* as well as to demonstrate its potential for nationwide adoption. After a positive assessment at the end of the two year pilot, *Ubudehe* was rolled out nationally.

The national roll out of *Ubudehe* took place between 2004 and 2006 as the programme was officially adopted as a national policy overseen by the Ministry of Local Government. Funding of €10 million (8,000,000,000 RWF) was provided by the European Union. In 2005, an additional €200,000 (160,000,000) was injected into the program.

A consolidation of *Ubudehe* took place between 2007 and 2012. This was at the same time as an administrative restructure which saw the creation of 14,837 villages (*umudugudu*) as the lowest level of government organisation. In 2011-12, *Ubudehe* was conducted in ten districts and in 2012-13 *Ubudehe* was conducted in 15 districts.

The Government of Rwanda planned to carry out *Ubudehe* in the 20 districts by 2014.

How *Ubudehe* works

- Identifying and analysing the problems facing the community and determine a priority problem to be addressed.
- Planning the activities and resources needed for addressing the prioritised problem through a collective action plan (*Ubudehe*).
- Putting in place a system to manage the identified collective action.
- Assisting people to classify the level and type of poverty that exists in their community and reach a common understanding of this classification.
- Drawing up the social map of the cell showing the names of household heads, their social category (different categories are again decided by the people themselves) and development infrastructure.
- Helping communities define their development priorities.
- Bringing communities together to discuss and decide upon the most effective and efficient ways to achieve poverty reduction and their development priorities.
- Helping communities establish ways of funding their development plans, at a group and individual level.

To achieve these aims, participating villages across Rwanda come together over a period of four to seven days (at times convenient to the community such as after farming activities) to complete the *Ubudehe* process. This process takes place at the beginning of the financial year.

Meetings are chaired by the President of the local *Ubudehe* Committee and the village leader. They usually last for three hours each day. *Ubudehe* takes place at both the umudugudu (village) and household level through similar processes.

The first three steps described below are carried out every two years while the remaining are carried out each year.

- Determine the poverty profile as perceived by the people themselves.
- Determine the causes and consequences of poverty.
- Submit the action plan to an applicability test for all stakeholders to see if the strategies are the best to solve the identified problem.
- Check if collective action principles are respected.

The management committee, elected by the community, local technicians, local authorities and other stakeholders approve the execution of the collective action and engage to safeguard and respect the principles of collective action. After this process, funds are made available to support the identified *Ubudehe* collective action.

At the household level, one household is chosen to undergo the *Ubudehe* process to assist it in overcoming poverty. The purpose of singling out one household is to provide the community with a model that can be followed. The household's coping strategies are analysed before the following process is undertaken with the assistance of trained *Ubudehe* facilitators. A compatibility test is then carried out by people of integrity in the community (*inyangamugayo*) to make sure that the retained strategy is appropriate and will be of good use to the household. The household members finally accept and sign for the funds that are accorded to them. They agree that the funds supporting the execution of their strategy will have a rotating character.

A key part of *Ubudehe* is the residents of a community defining the levels of poverty that exist in their village. This process takes place every two years and the information is used to decide development priorities as well as who should benefit from other social security programs and Home Grown Solutions such as *Umuganda* and *Girinka*.

10.1.8. *Umuganda* – Community work

In simple terms, the word *Umuganda* means community work. In traditional Rwandan culture, members of the community would call upon their family, friends and neighbours to help them complete a difficult task.

Umuganda can be considered as a communal act of assistance and a sign of solidarity. In everyday use, the word '*Umuganda*' refers to a pole used in the construction of a house. The pole typically supports the roof, thereby strengthening the house.

In the period immediately after independence in 1962, *Umuganda* was only organised under special circumstances and was considered as an individual contribution to nation building. During this time, *Umuganda* was often referred to as *umubyizi*, meaning 'a day set aside by friends and family to help each other'.

On February 2, 1974, *Umuganda* became an official government programme and was organised on a more regular basis – usually once a week. The Ministry of District Development was in charge of overseeing the program. Local leaders at the district and village level were responsible for organising *Umuganda* and citizens had little say in this process. Because penalties were imposed for nonparticipation, *Umuganda* was initially considered as forced labour.

While *Umuganda* was not well received initially, the programme recorded significant achievements in erosion control and infrastructure improvement especially building primary schools, administrative offices of the sectors and villages and health centres.

After the Genocide, *Umuganda* was reintroduced to Rwandan life in 1998 as part of efforts to rebuild the country. The programme was implemented nationwide though there was little institutional structure surrounding the programme. It was not until November 17, 2007 with the passing of Organic Law Number 53/2007 Governing Community Works and later on August 24, 2009 with Prime Ministerial Order Number 58/03 (determining the attributions, organisation, and functioning of community work supervising committees and their relations with other organs) that *Umuganda* was institutionalised in Rwanda.

Today, *Umuganda* takes place on the last Saturday of each month from 8:00 a.m. and lasts for at least three hours. For *Umuganda* activities to contribute to the overall national development, supervising committees have been established from the village level to the national level. These committees are responsible for organising what work is undertaken as well as supervising, evaluating and reporting what is done.



Figure 10.9: *Umuganda* at Masaka, Kicukiro, Kigali, 22 November 2012

Source: <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Masaka%20Umuganda%20November%2022%202012.jpg>.

Rwandans between 18 and 65 are obliged to participate in *Umuganda*. Those over 65 are welcome to participate if they are willing and able. Expatriates living in Rwanda are also encouraged to take part. Those who participate in *Umuganda* cannot be compensated for their work – either in cash or in kind.

Today close to 80% of the Rwandans take part in monthly community work. Successful projects have been developed for example the building of schools, medical centres and hydro-electric plants as well as rehabilitating wetlands and creating highly productive agricultural plots. The value of *Umuganda* to the country's development since 2007 has been estimated at more than US \$60 million (48,000,000,000 RWF).

While the main purpose of *Umuganda* is to undertake community work, it also serves as a forum for leaders at each level of government (from the village up to the national level) to inform citizens about important news and announcements. Community members are also able to discuss any problems they or the community are facing and to propose solutions together. This time is also used for evaluating what they have achieved and for planning activities for the next *Umuganda* a month later.

10.1.9. *Umwiherero* – National leadership retreat

Umwiherero, translated as retreat, refers to a tradition in Rwandan culture where leaders convene in a secluded place in order to reflect on issues affecting their communities. Upon return from these retreats, the objective is to have identified solutions. On a smaller scale, this term also refers to the action of moving to a quieter place to discuss issues with a small group of people.

In modern times, the Government of Rwanda is drawing on this tradition to reflect on, and address the challenges the country faces on an annual basis. *Umwiherero* is organised by the Office of the President in conjunction with the Office of the Prime Minister. The President chairs *Umwiherero* during which presentations and discussions centre on a broad range of development challenges, including economics, politics, justice, infrastructure, health, education and others. Contemporary *Umwiherero* was intended exclusively for senior public officials but has evolved to include leaders from the private sector as well as civil society.

Since its inception, organisers of *Umwiherero* have adopted numerous initiatives to improve the implementation of resolutions agreed upon at each retreat. By 2011, these efforts resulted into noticeable improvements in planning, coordination, and accountability leading to clearer and more concise priorities. In 2011, six priorities were identified, down from 174 in 2009, allowing for more effective delivery and implementation of *Umwiherero* resolutions.



Figure 10.10: President Paul Kagame and Prime Minister Habumuremyi leading *Umwiherero*. 11th National Leadership Retreat

Source: http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/13062988465_7e76c492ef_b_0.jpg.



Application Activity 10.1

1. Use your own words to explain the following concepts of home-grown
2. Compare the traditional umuganda and contemporary umuganda.
3. Discuss the reason why Rwanda adopted home-grown solutions to social and economic development.
4. Basing on the concepts of home-grown initiative, identify and explain other examples of home-grown initiatives found in Rwanda not stated in the section 10.1.
5. Use the internet and other available documents to discuss how Agaciro is a home-grown initiative.

10.2. Contribution of home-grown solutions towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity



Learning Activity 10.2

“Akimuhana kaza imvura ihise” [in English: *One bird in the hand is worth two in the bush*]. Discuss this Kinyarwanda proverb in reference to the concepts of home-grown solutions.

As part of the efforts to reconstruct Rwanda and nurture a shared national identity, the Government of Rwanda drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programmes to the country’s needs and context. The result is a set of Governance and Home -Grown Initiatives (GHI) - culturally owned practices translated into sustainable development programmes.

The cultural based policies have contributed a lot in helping getting some socio-economic solutions that were not possible to get otherwise.

10.2.1. Contribution of *abunzi*

As the *abunzi* system gained more recognition as a successful method to resolve conflicts and deliver justice, the importance of providing more structure and formality to their work increased.

During the fiscal year ending June 2017 for example, mediation committees received 51,016 cases. They were composed of 45,503 civil cases representing 89.1% and 5,513 penal cases received before the amendment of the law determining organization, jurisdiction, and competence and functioning of mediation committees. A total of 49,138 cases equivalent to 96.3% were handled at both sector and cell levels. 38,777 (76.0%) cases received by mediation committees were handled at cell level, 10,361 (20.3%) cases were mediated at sector level whereas only 3.6% were undergoing at the end of the year. The number of cases received by mediation committees increased at the rate of 30.9% over the past three years.

The Rwanda Governance Board (RGB) conducted an investigation into public perceptions of some of the benefits of *Abunzi* in comparison to ordinary courts. Those surveyed highlighted the following positive attributes:

- The reduction of time spent to settle cases (86.7%).
- Reduction of economic costs of cases (84.2%);
- The ability to mitigate conflicts between litigants (80.1%).
- Other advantages mentioned are the participation of citizens in the mediation process (67.3%) and freedom to choose a judge by the complainant and defendant (56.7%).

Best Practices

The best practices from mediation committees are as follows:

- *Pre-hearing counselling*: Before cases are heard, mediators call on both complainant and defendant to emphasize the importance of social cohesion and conflict resolution through community mediation. In some instances, both parties may opt to withdraw the case at this point, and come instead to a mutual agreement.

In other cases, litigants are more inclined to accept, rather than appeal, the mediation decision as a result of the counseling.

- *Reduced social distance between parties and mediators:* Since mediators are members of the same community from which disputants come, the latter feel less intimidated and more comfortable expressing themselves during those sessions, whether in public or in camera.
- *Integrity over legal literacy:* The majority of the participants insisted that the question of integrity, which determine the selection of mediators, confer more “trust and confidence” in the committees and fostered an environment in which justice prevailed.
- *Parties’ freedom to choose mediators:* This was another factor highlighted by participants who felt that the freedom to choose mediators helped ensure equal treatment during mediation and reduced the likelihood of corruption.
- *Win-Win approach:* During mediation, *Abunzi* avoid referring to either party as “winner” or “loser” as these words could create resentment and further contribute to the atmosphere of conflict. The goal of these mediations is to find lasting solutions through reconciliation, hence the avoidance of such words.

10.2.2. Contribution of Gacaca courts

Gacaca courts officially finished their work on June 18, 2012 and by that time a total of 1,958,634 genocide related cases were tried throughout the country. As earlier mentioned *Gacaca* is credited with laying the foundation for peace, reconciliation and unity in Rwanda.

Number of trials judged by Gacaca per category

Category	Number of cases	Guilty				Acquitted	
		Total	%	Confessions	%	Total	%
One	60,552	53,426	88.3	22,137	41.4	7,126	11.7
Two	577,528	361,590	62.6	108,821	30	215,938	37.4
Three	1,320,554	1,266,632	96	94,054	7.4	54,002	4
Total	1,958,634	1,681,648	86	225,012	13.3	277,066	14

10.2.3. Impact of Girinka

Girinka has led to a number of significant changes in the lives of the poorest Rwandans. The impact of the program can be divided into five categories including agricultural production, food security, livestock ownership, health outcomes, unity and reconciliation.

Agricultural production

Girinka has contributed to an increase in agricultural production in Rwanda, especially milk products. Milk production has risen due to an increase in the number of cows in the country and because beneficiaries have received cross breeds with better productive capacity than local cattle species. Between 2000 and 2011, milk production increased seven fold allowing the Government of Rwanda to start the One Cup of Milk per Child program in schools. Between 2009 and 2011, national milk production increased by 11.3%, rising to 372.6 million litres from 334.7 million litres. Over the same period, meat production increased by 9.9%, according to the Government of Rwanda Annual Report 2010-2011.

The construction of milk collection centres has also increased and by February 2013, there were more than 61 centres operational nationwide with 25 more due to be completed by the end of 2013.

Most of the beneficiaries produce enough milk to sell some at market, providing additional income generation. The manure produced by the cows increases crop productivity, allowing beneficiaries to plant crops

offering sustenance and employment as well as a stable income. *Girinka* has also allowed beneficiaries to diversify and increase crop production, leading to greater food security.

Food Security

According to the *Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis and*

Nutrition Survey (CFSVA) conducted in March/April 2012, almost four in five (79%) or about 1,717,000 households had acceptable food consumption and could be considered food secure. Others either had poor food consumption (82,000 households, representing 4% of all the households) or borderline food consumption patterns (378,000 households, 17%), adding up to a total of 21% of food insecure households in Rwanda. These figures show a 7% decrease in food insecure households since 2006 at which time the figure was 28% according to the CFSVA report of 2006.

Livestock ownership

The Third Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey (EICV III) of 2012 indicated that 4% of all Rwandan households received a cow under the One-Cow per Poor family policy. The highest rate was seen in the Eastern Province (7%). Animal production and the integration of livestock into smallholder farming is a key contributor to food security. Animal products are a good source of proteins and lipids and, in times of crisis, livestock functions as a shock absorber, contributing to the resilience of poor households.

According to the CFSVA and Nutrition Survey 2012, 70% of all households in Rwanda own some type of livestock. Results of the EICV III of 2012 showed that in comparison to 2005/2006, higher proportions of households are now able to afford cattle at 47% nationally (up from 34%). The survey also showed that the percentage of livestock-owning households owning cattle increased to 47.3% in 2012, up from 34.4% in 2005/2006.

Health outcomes

While *Girinka* cannot be credited with single-handedly for improving the health outcomes across Rwanda, the program has certainly played a part

in reducing the level of malnutrition across the population, in particular among children under five years. According to the Demographic Health Survey of 2010, the percentage of stunted children fell from 51% in 2005, to 44% in 2010, and the percentage of underweight children fell from 18% to 11%.

Reconciliation and unity

Girinka has played a significant role in post genocide reconstruction in Rwanda. During the colonial period, the cow was used to divide Rwandans along ethnic lines and cattle became a symbol of elitism and a commodity reserved only for a portion of the country's people.

Girinka has changed what it means to own cattle in Rwanda. While the symbolism of prosperity is still attached to the cow, by giving cattle to the poorest in society, the program has helped to end the divisive perception surrounding owning cattle. The 'pass on' component of *Girinka*, whereby a recipient gifts the first born calf to a neighbour, has helped to rebuild social relationships which had been destroyed during the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi. This is because the giving of a cow to someone or "*Gutanga Inka*" translated as "sealing a bond of friendship" remains a cultural practice owned, understood and valued by Rwandans.

10.2.4. Contribution of *Imihigo*

Since its introduction, *Imihigo* has been credited with improving accountability and quickening the pace of citizen centred development in Rwanda. The practice of *Imihigo* has now been extended to the ministries, embassies and public service staff.

Once the compilation of the report on *Imihigo* implementation has been completed, the local government entity presents it to stakeholders including citizens, civil society, donors and others. After reviewing the results, stakeholders are often asked to jointly develop a way forward and this can be done by utilising the Joint Action Development Forums (JADF).



Figure 10.11 The H.E Paul Kagame

Source: <https://rwandaguide.info/post-details/imihigo>

Since the inception of *Imihigo* in 2006, the following results and best practices were observed:

SACCOs (Savings and Credit Cooperatives) and payment of teachers' salaries and arrears: Good progress was made in mobilising citizens to join SACCOs and reasonable funds were mobilised. Although most of the SACCOs obtained provisional licenses from the National Bank of Rwanda to operate as savings and credit cooperatives, they needed to mobilise more member subscriptions in order to realise the minimum amount required to obtain full licenses. Most of all SACCO at the sector level needed adequate offices. In addition great efforts were made to ensure that teachers were paid their monthly salaries on time.

9YBE (Nine Years Basic Education): All districts evaluated made substantial progress in classroom construction, made possible by the willingness of the community to play a role in the districts' development programmes, particularly *Imihigo*. This was as a result of awareness raising campaigns and mobilisation efforts to encourage citizens to own their development activities.

VUP (Vision 2020 Umurenge Programme): Programmes implemented under VUP substantially improved the welfare of citizens and facilitated the implementation of government policies such as SACCO, terracing and road construction.

Community assemblies (Inteko z'Abaturage): The function of Community Assemblies was reasonably understood, taking place once a month to resolve various community problems. This was evidenced by the fact that very few unresolved problems reached the district level.

Citizen participation and ownership of government programmes: Most of the citizens contacted during the field visits were aware of, and actively participated in government programs especially the health insurance scheme, SACCOs, 12YBEs, *Girinka* and adult literacy. Citizen participation in the Imihigo process was especially visible in rural areas.

Health statistics such as those of maternal and child mortality, accessibility of maternal and child care, and accessibility to health insurance (*Mutuelle de Santé*) revealed improved levels of health care for Rwandans.

Land use consolidation: Through programs such as *Umuganda*, TIG (*Travail d'Intérêt Général*, meaning community service done by prisoners) and the one village one product program, selected crops such as wheat, Irish potatoes, coffee, tea, and beans were cultivated extensively.

Improvement of agricultural production: Significant efforts were made by the districts in mobilizing and advising farmers on how to improve farming, notably among which was land use consolidation (maize, rice, coffee, tea, cassava, potatoes, banana and beans) which helps to guarantee national food security.

Infrastructure development: A significant number of infrastructure projects were completed including roads and bridges, hospitals and health centres, classrooms and toilet facilities, houses for vulnerable people, modern markets, selling points, drying grounds, street lighting and housing development in urban areas, trading centres and administrative offices. There was great improvement in distribution of electricity and water in both urban and rural areas. In addition, there was evidence in most districts of small scale factories being started, especially those involved in agro-based products being initiating.

Greening and beautification: Reasonable effort was made to plant grass and flowers at most public buildings such as district, sectors and cell offices, schools, health and trading centres. In other places, especially at district level, pavements were laid. Land registration improved drastically where the lowest performing districts have registered 60% of lands.

Rural settlement (imidugudu): There was a general improvement in mobilizing citizens to build in areas set aside for communal villages. This was accelerated by setting up basic infrastructure like roads, water supply and power. The eradication of grass thatched houses and the construction of houses for vulnerable people was also a contributing factor to this success.

10.2.5. Contribution of Itorero

The contribution of Itorero as a home-grown solution towards good governance, self-reliance and dignity is observed through *Itorero* activities described above.

Capacity building for Itorero ry'Igihugu: structures of *Intore* were elected from villages up to sector levels in 2009. Later on in 2012, *Itorero ry'Igihugu* was officially launched in primary and secondary schools. From November 2007 up to the end of 2012, Itorero ry'Igihugu had a total of 284,209 trained *Intore*. The number of *Intore* who have been trained at the Village level amounts to a total of 814 587. Those mentored at the national level are the ones who go down to mentor in villages, schools, and at various work places. In total, 1 098 599 Rwandans have been mentored nationwide.

Instilling the culture of unity, truth and hard work among Rwandans: in 2009, *Itorero ry'Igihugu* was launched in all districts of the country. Each district's regiment presented their performance contracts at that colourful ceremony marked by cultural festivals. Each district's *Intore* regiment publically announced its identification name. At the national level, all the 30 district *Intore* regiments comprised one national Itorero, but each district regiment has its identification name. Each district regiment can have an affiliate sub-division which can, in turn, also have a different identification name. There is also *Itorero* for Rwandans in Diaspora that has the authority to develop its affiliated sub-division.

In order to enable each *Intore* to benefit and experience change of mindset, each group chooses its identification name and sets objectives it must achieve. Those projected objectives must be achieved during or after training, and this is confirmed by the performance contracts that necessarily have to be accomplished. With this obligation in mind, each individual also sets personal objective that in turn contributes to the success of the corporate objectives.

Achievements Made Through Urugerero Program: Plans to implement *Urugerero* (National Service) started towards the end of 2012 and the actual implementation started in 2013. Despite this short time, however, *Urugerero* program has started to yield impressive results. Students who completed Secondary School since 2012 went through Itorero mentorship.

Upon the completion of the prescribed course, participants were given the certificates, but later on they had to undergo practical exercise of *Urugerero* organized through various activities designed to promote social cohesion and community wellness in particular, and boost national development in general.

The achievements of Urugerero can be categorized as follows:

- Sensitizing Rwandans on the eradication of genocide and its ideology.
- Encouraging all Rwandans to participate in activities organized to commemorate the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi.
- Sensitizing the community on the importance of mutual health insurance.
- Sensitization on adult literacy.
- Sensitizing the community in general and the youth in particular, to fight against drug abuse.
- Sensitizing the community on the importance of legalizing their marriages especially for families that are just cohabitating.
- Organizing meetings at village levels aimed at educating the community on Rwandan cultural values, unity, patriotism, and development.
- Sensitizing the community to participate in ceremonies organized to honour the national heroes and the International Women's Day.
- Educating the population on personal hygiene and cleanliness of their environment.
- Sensitizing the population on environmental protection.
- Sensitizing the communities on the culture of saving via SACCOs and other nearby banking institutions.

In line with the above achievements, *Urugerero* participants did different activities related for instance to data collection; service provision and delivery; communal work; promotion of volunteerism in national development programmes and partnership with other stakeholders.

Partakers in *Urugerero* did data collection related to illiterate people; people not yet registered for mutual health insurance; potential tax payers; school drop outs and children of school going age who are not yet in school; illegal marriages. Making inventories of districts' properties was also done by *Urugerero* participants.

Other *Urugerero* activities are related to manual community work such as vegetable gardening for family consumption; shelters construction for vulnerable families; participation in the construction of cell offices and their compounds' landscaping.

In the area of environmental protection, Intore constructed terraces and planted trees as a measure of preventing soil erosion,

Regarding activities related to service provision and delivery, some groups of Intore in *Urugerero* opted to demonstrate how speedy and exceptional service could be rendered while working with various public offices. This kind of support work was done in Health Centers, Cell offices, District offices, especially in the services relating to issuing of documents, data entry in computers and customer care.

Intore contributed to activities related to the Volunteer Services in National Development Programmes. In the Rwandan culture, "volunteerism" means rendering a sacrificial and selfless service out of love either to a national cause or to a needy neighbour. According to the policy of *Itorero ry'Igihugu*, volunteerism refers to any unpaid communal work, voluntarily undertaken in the service of the nation.

Volunteerism is reflected in various community works such as *Umuganda*, *Ubudehe* and contributions to a common cause. Other voluntary activities include those of community mediators, various councils, community health workers, Community Policing Committees/CPCs, Red Cross volunteers, etc.

Regarding partnership with other Organs/Stakeholders *Itorero ry'Igihugu* as a homegrown educational institution was revived to complement existing Government organs and initiatives, civil society organizations, and religious institutions in their work of moulding Rwandans with appropriate moral values.

It is in this regard that *Itorero ry'Igihugu* has sought partnership with these institutions, especially for the purpose of harnessing synergy in availing resources (financial, human and materials) with the aim of speeding up the desired transformation. Each stakeholder has contributed in the programs of *Itorero ry'Igihugu* and this has made Itorero, an exemplary partnership undertaking.

10.2.6. Impact of Ingando

Ingando has contributed significantly to the national unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. This is especially true for the early years of the programme (between 1996-1999) when most participants were returning combatants or Rwandans afraid or unsure of their new government. Special attention was paid to social justice and helping participants understand government strategies to improve social welfare. This approach was key in ensuring that the progress made in reconciliation was sustainable.

At a consultative forum in 2001, a number of observations were made that are indicative of the progress towards national unity, reconciliation and development. These included rejection of genocide ideology, a desire to be involved in safeguarding national security and having equal access to education as well as being part of the national army and the police force.

This consultative forum also gathered strong and positive recommendations from Rwandans throughout the country on the necessity to teach love and truth denounce wrongdoing and encourage forgiveness among people, foster tolerance, promote the culture of peace and personal security, as well as promoting development and social welfare for all Rwandans.

Between 1999 and 2010, more than 90,000 people took part in the Ingando trainings organised by the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission.

NO	Years	Categories	Number of participants
1	1999 - 2010	High school graduates going on to higher education institutions	38,388
2	1999	Ex-combatants and militia men returning from Zaire (now DRC)	1,779
3	1999 - 2007	Members of the Local Defence Forces	4,744
4	1999	Officials from different levels of government	332
5	2001 - 2005	Prisoners on provisional release granted by the President	88
6	2001	University students from abroad	
7	2006	Children survivors of the Genocide and the heads of households	716
8	2006	Officials and professors of the National University of Rwanda	76
Total			93,363

10.2.7. The contribution of *Ubudehe*

Ubudehe has been recognised internationally as a highly successful development program. In 2008, *Ubudehe* was awarded the United Nations “Better Management: Better Public Service” Award.

One of the most significant impacts of *Ubudehe* is the way in which it has transformed citizens’ engagement with their own development. Much of the twentieth century in Rwanda was characterised by centralised planning and delivery of services with little or no involvement from local communities. *Ubudehe* has changed this and, coupled with decentralisation efforts, has changed the way Rwandans participate in decision making processes that affect their lives. *Ubudehe* has achieved almost nationwide coverage and communities across Rwanda are now actively involved in developing their own social maps, visual

representations and collection of data to the extent of poverty in their village.

This information is used to determine national development objectives against which the national government and its ministries are held accountable.

The way in which *Ubudehe* has brought communities together for collective action based on their own priorities is also considered a major achievement of the programme. The provision of a bank account to each community has enabled thousands of community led actions such as purchasing livestock, undertaking agriculture activities, building clean water facilities, classrooms, terraces, health centres as well as silos for storing produce. In 2006-2007, 9,000 communities undertook different projects through *Ubudehe* and in 2007-2008 that number rose to 15,000. 2010 saw over 55,000 collective actions by communities with the assistance of 30,000 *Ubudehe* facilitators.

At least 1.4 million people, around 20% of the population, have been direct beneficiaries of *Ubudehe*. Between 2005 and 2008, around 50,000 people were trained on *Ubudehe* concepts and procedures.

This has resulted in a greater level of skills available to the community at the local level helping *Ubudehe* to be more effective.

10.2.8. Contribution of Umuganda

Umuganda is credited with contributing to Rwanda's development, particularly in the areas of infrastructure development and environmental protection. Common infrastructure projects include roads (especially those connecting sectors), bridges, health centres, classroom construction (to support the 9 and 12) Years of Basic Education programs), housing construction for poor and vulnerable Rwandans (often to replace grass-thatched housing) and the construction of local government offices and savings and credit cooperative buildings.



Figure 10.12: President Kagame participates in monthly community service (Umuganda) with residents of Kicukiro, in Kigali, June 2015.

Source:http://www.newsfrwanda.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/m_116.jpg.

Environmental protection projects undertaken include tree planting and terracing to fight erosion, wetland rehabilitation, renewable energy construction and crop planting.

From 2007 to 2010/11, the activities valued at 26,397,939,119 Rwf consisted mainly of the construction of houses for vulnerable people, roads, classrooms for the Nine Year Basic Education Programme (9YBE), health centres, public offices, and tree planting, terracing and other infrastructures to protect against erosion.

To measure the impact of *Umuganda* and encourage greater participation, the Government of Rwanda introduced the National *Umuganda* Competition in 2009. The aim of the competition is to create awareness of the best projects carried out, award communities that have completed good initiatives and to encourage communities to plan properly and maintain what they have achieved.

The competition includes all levels of Rwandan society from the village up to the national level. The best activity in each district is awarded with a certificate and funding for future projects, and the best three projects in each province are awarded prizes. The best three projects from across Rwanda are awarded a cash prize of between US \$1,500 (1,200,000 RWF) and \$2,300 (1,840,000 RWF).

Umuganda is also credited with assisting in reconciliation and peace building in Rwanda. This is because neighbours are brought together to build their community and have the opportunity to discuss problems and solve them collectively.

10.2.9. Impact of Umwiherero

For a few days every year, leaders from all arms of Government come under one roof to collectively look at the general trajectory the country is taking and seek remedies to outstanding problems. Initially, *Umwiherero* had been designed exclusively for senior public officials but it has evolved to include leaders from the private sector as well as civil society. Provided for under the constitution, *Umwiherero* is chaired by the Head of State and during this time, presentations and discussions centre on a broad range of development challenges including but not limited to the economy, governance, justice, infrastructure, health and education.

Since its inception, organizers of *Umwiherero* have adopted numerous innovative initiatives to expedite the implementation of resolutions agreed upon at each retreat. Since then, the results are quantifiable. These efforts have resulted in noticeable improvements in planning, coordination, and accountability leading to clearer and more concise priorities.

As discussions go deep in exposing matters affecting the well being of the people of Rwanda, poor performers are reprimanded and those who delivered on their mandate are recognized.



Figure 10.13: The 15th National Leaders Retreat took place from February 26, 2018 to March 1, 2018.

Source: <http://en.igihe.com/local/cache-vignettes/L1000xH652/1-1963-90fc1-2-65dec.jpg>

Umwihereho provides a platform for candid talk among senior officials. For example, an official raises a hand to mention his/her superior who is obstructing a shared development agenda. The said superior is then given a chance to explain to the meeting how he/she intends to resolve this deadlock.

The retreat sets a scene for every leader to be held accountable. Ultimately, this provides an opportunity for leaders to forge a better future for Rwanda. The organization, implementation and outcomes of *Umwihereho* have vastly improved and significant achievements recorded. The focus has been to make number of key priorities that makes it easier for meaningful discussions and effective implementation. The retreats are also credited with significantly improving coordination and cooperation between government ministries and agencies. This time round, priorities might not be just small in number, but much more challenging and tougher.



Application Activity 10.2

1. Analyse the impact of abunzi as a home-grown initiative.
2. Discuss the contribution of home-grown initiatives to social and economic development of Rwanda.
3. Analyse the contribution of home-grown initiatives to unity and reconciliation of Rwandans.
4. Evaluate the role of umuganda as a home-grown solution.

10.3. Challenges encountered during the implementation of home - grown solutions



Learning Activity 10.3

Discuss in not more than 500 words challenges encountered in Girinka programme and how they can be handled.

10.3.1. Challenges of Abunzi

Some of the challenges encountered during the implementation of *abunzi* are:

- *Inadequate legal knowledge*: While most mediators acknowledged that they received training session on laws, they expressed a desire to receive additional training on a more regular basis to enhance their knowledge of relevant laws.
- *Insufficient mediation skills*: Mediators also expressed a desire to receive additional training in professional mediation techniques in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of their work.
- *Lack of permanent offices*: In some areas, mediation committees do not always have workspace reserved for them and must share space with the staff from cells and/or sectors offices; this sharing can sometimes result in the loss or mix-up of case files.
- *Incentives*: A number of mediators complained that the incentive promised to them and their families in the form of “*mutuelle de santé*” (health insurance) was not always forthcoming.
- *Transportation for field visits*: According to a study conducted by RCN Justice & Démocratie in 2009, mediators complained about not always being able to afford transportation to perform site visits when reviewing cases. While each chairperson at the appeal level received a bicycle, it has been recognised that field visits for all mediators have been very difficult in some cases. This can result in delays in the mediation process.
- *Communication facilities*: To perform their duties, mediators have to communicate among themselves or with other institutions, but they are not given a communication allowance. This proves problematic at times and can lead to financial stress for some when they are obliged to use their own money to contact for instance litigants and institutions.

10.3.2. Challenges of Gacaca Courts

Below are challenges faced during implementation of Gacaca:

- At the beginning of the data collection phase at the national level, 46,000 *Inyangamugayo* representing 27.1% of the total number of judges, were accused of genocide. This led to their dismissal from *Gacaca* courts.
- Leaders, especially in the local government, were accused of participating in genocide constituting a serious obstacle to the smooth running of *Gacaca*.
- In some cases there was violence against genocide survivors, witnesses and *Inyangamugayo*.
- Serious trauma among survivors and witnesses manifested during *Gacaca* proceedings.
- In some cases there was a problem of suspects fleeing their communities and claiming that they were threatened because of *Gacaca*.
- In some cases there was corruption and favouritism in decision making.

10.3.3. Challenges of Girinka

The following are the major challenges faced by the Girinka programme:

In some cases, the distribution of cows has not been transparent and people with the financial capacity to buy cows themselves were among the beneficiaries. This issue was raised at the National Dialogue Council (*Umushyikirano*) in 2009 and eventually resolved through the cow recovery programme. This program resulted in 20,123 cows given to unqualified beneficiaries (out of a total of 20,532 wrongly given) redistributed to poor families.

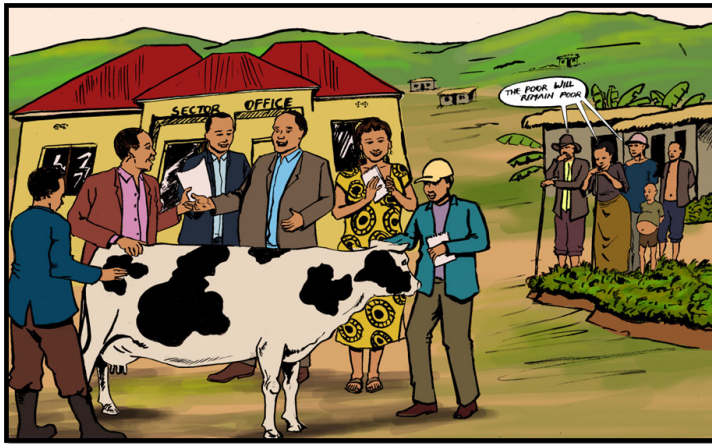


Figure 10.14: Distribution of cows

A lack of feed factories in the country has hindered efforts to properly feed some of the cattle affecting their health and productivity. The Ministry of Agriculture worked with investors who have shown interest in building feed factories in Nyagatare, Kayonza and Kicukiro. In some instances, the cost of management inputs has been high and in some districts there has been a delay in utilisation of earmarked fund. Decentralisation of the programme has helped address this.

Provision of additional services (especially veterinary services and artificial insemination) has been limited in some cases due a shortage of skilled staff with relevant training. This has affected the cows' milk production and the 'pass on' system.

With regards to bank loans, some farmers received cows that were overpriced. As a resolution, farmers who were overcharged are required to pay the bank the actual cost of the cow only through a new contract with the difference paid by those who were responsible for over costing.

Poor management by inexperienced farmers has increased the mortality for some cows. A shortage of land requires an intensification program in cattle management practices which can sometimes have adverse impacts on the cows such as increase in disease prevalence. To address this, beneficiaries now receive training about modern farming practices prior to receiving their cow.

10.3.4. Challenges of *Imihigo*

While *Imihigo* has provided the Government of Rwanda and citizens with a way to hold leaders to account, some challenges listed below have been identified from the 2010-2011 evaluation report:

- There is a planning gap especially on setting and maintaining logic and consistency: objectives, baseline, output/targets and indicators
- Setting unrealistic and over-ambitious targets by districts was common. Some targets were not easily achievable in 12 months. For example, construction of a 30 km road when no feasibility study had been conducted or reducing crime by 100%.
- In some districts low targets were established that would require little effort to implement.
- The practice of consistent tracking of implementation progress, reporting and filing is generally still weak.
- Some targets were not achieved because of district partners who did not fulfil their commitments in disbursing funds - especially the central government institutions and development partners.
- There is a weakness of not setting targets based on uniqueness of rural and urban settings.
- Setting targets that are beyond districts' full control was observed: For example, construction of stadiums and development of master plans whose implementation is fully managed by the central government.
- There was general lack of communication and reporting of challenges faced that hindered implementation of the committed targets.

10.3.5. Challenges of *Itorero*

During its implementation, *Itorero* faced a series of challenges including:

- Inadequate staff and insufficient logistics for the monitoring and evaluation of *Itorero* activities;
- Training modules and internal regulations and procedures governing *Itorero* programmes not yet refined;

- Low level of understanding the important role of *Itorero ry' Igihugu* on the part of partners;
- Districts lack sufficient training facilities;
- Some *Itorero* mentors lack sufficient capacity to train other people;
- The National *Itorero* Commission does not get adequate information on partners' commitment to Volunteer Services;
- A number of various institutions in the country have not yet started considering voluntary and national service activities in their planning.
- Low understanding of the role of *Itorero* especially at the village level;
- Existence of some partners who have not yet included activities relating to the promotion of *Ubutore* culture in their plan of action.

10.3.6. Challenges of *Ingando*

Ingando has contributed significantly to national unity and reconciliation in Rwanda. But when the programme was established, it faced significant challenges including a lack of trust between participants and facilitators as well as low quality facilities. These issues were slowly overcome as more resources were dedicated to the programme.

10.3.7. Challenges of *Ubudehe*

The major challenges of *Ubudehe* can be divided into categorisation and project implementation:

Categorisation

In some cases, village members have preferred to be classified into lower poverty levels as a way to receive support from social security programs such as health insurance and Girinka. To overcome this, household poverty level categorisation takes place publically with all heads of households and must be validated by the village itself.

In the event that community members dispute the decision made by their village, they are entitled to lodge a complaint and appeal in the first instance to the sector level. The *Ubudehe* Committee at the sector

level conducts a visit to the household and either upholds or issues a new decision. If community members remain unhappy with the decision they can appeal in the second instance to the district level. The final level of appeal is to the Office of the Ombudsman at the central government level.

Project Implementation

The major challenges of project implementation are with the community choosing a project and then completing the project.

Communities sometimes have difficulty defining the problems affecting their development and struggle to know how best to prioritise the projects and select the most crucial project to execute. Challenges also sometimes arise when communities are required to choose one household to act as a model for the village. This can be a point of contention because that household receives significant resources to carrying out its Ubudehe development plan.

To overcome these challenges, the programme has increased training provided to communities on how to select and prioritise projects. In deciding which household will be the model for the village, the community is required to vote which helps members support the decision.

At the household level it has been observed that some beneficiaries have struggled to manage the funds or resources they received. In some cases, households spent the money on things other than their project or sold the livestock they received. To overcome this challenge, the Ubudehe Committee at the village level has been tasked to provide regular follow up and support.

10.3.8. Challenges of *Umuganda*

The challenges faced by *Umuganda* fall into two broad categories: planning and participation. In some areas of the country, poor planning has led to unrealistic targets and projects that would be difficult to achieve without additional financing. In urban areas, participation in *Umuganda* has been lower than in rural areas.

To address these challenges, the team responsible for *Umuganda* at the Ministry of Local Government has run trainings for the committees that oversee *Umuganda* at the local level.

These trainings include lessons on monitoring and evaluation, how to report achievements, the laws, orders and guidelines governing *Umuganda* as well as responsibilities of the committee.

To overcome the issues of low participation rates in some areas of the country, especially in urban areas, an awareness raising campaign is conducted through documentaries, TV and radio shows to inform Rwandans about the role *Umuganda* plays in society and its importance.

A mobilisation strategy is currently being devised which includes ideas about how to streamline the laws and policies governing *Umuganda* so that they are more easily understood. This is also to ensure that they are in line with the National Community and Local Development Strategy. The City of Kigali is also embarking on a process to find the best ways to encourage those living in urban areas to take part in *Umuganda*.

The Ministry of Local Government has begun a partnership with South Korea to learn from the community work practice there known as Saemual Undong. This is part of attempts to learn from the best practices all over the world as well as share Rwanda's experience with other countries.

10.3.9. Challenges of *Umwihherero*

The first four years of *Umwihherero* saw questionable results. The organisation of the retreat was often rushed, objectives were poorly defined and few tangible results could be measured.

This led President Paul Kagame to establish the Strategy and Policy Unit in the Office of the President and the Coordination Unit in the Office of the Prime Minister. At the same time, the Ministry of Cabinet Affairs was set up to improve the functioning of the Cabinet. These two newly formed units were tasked with working together to implement *Umwihherero*.

While the first retreat organised by the two new teams suffered from similar problems to previous retreats, improvement was noticeable.

Following *Umwihherero* in 2009, Minister of Cabinet Affairs served as head of the newly formed steering committee tasked with overseeing the retreat. The steering committee was comprised of a 14 team members. Alongside the steering committee, working groups were set up to define

the priorities to be included on the retreat agenda. This process was overseen by the Strategy and Policy Unit who developed a concept paper with eleven priority areas to be approved by the Prime Minister and the President.

Since that time the organisation, implementation and outcomes of Umwiherero have vastly improved and significant achievements have been recorded.

The focus on a small number of key priorities has made it easier for meaningful discussions to be had and for effective implementation to take place. For example, the number of national priorities agreed upon by participants fell from 174 in 2009 to 11 in 2010 and to six in 2011. The retreats are also credited with significantly improving coordination and cooperation between government ministries and agencies.



Application Activity 10.3

1. Analyse challenges encountered in the implementation of Gacaca courts.
2. Using internet, reports, media and your own observation discuss the challenges met by abunzi.
3. Discuss the key challenges in the Imihigo planning process and implementation.



End of Unit Assessment 10

1. Assess the achievements and challenges of Umuganda in social and economic sector and propose what can be done to improve it.
2. Explain the contribution and challenges of Umwiherero on economic development and good governance and what can be done to improve it.
3. Discuss the contribution of Ubudehe to dignity and self-reliance.
4. Analyse the contribution of Girinka to poverty reduction.
5. Discuss the social impact of Abunzi and its contribution to unity and reconciliation.

UNIT 11

PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS

Key unit competence: Explore ways of preventing and resolving conflicts and violence at national and international levels.



Introductory Activity 11.1

Ever since the appearance of mankind on earth, conflict has been obvious. By reading books and doing a research on the internet, account for various ways through which conflicts may occur and suggest ways to solve them. Analyze again the challenges may be encountered while dealing with conflict.

Introduction

This eleventh unit first of all defines the term conflict as a reality of social life which can exist at all levels of society. It also adds that the conflict has the attribute of being dynamic and not inherently negative or positive. It further says that the conflict exists when there is an interaction between two or more individuals, groups or organizations where at least one side sees their thinking, ideas, perceptions, feelings or will contradicting with that of the other side and feels that they cannot get what they want because of the other side.

Different types of conflicts have also been provided in this unit. These include intra-personal conflicts, inter-personal conflicts, intra-group conflicts, inter-group conflicts, intra-state, inter-national and inter-state conflicts. Therefore, in general the above conflicts can be grouped into two main parts internal conflicts between individuals and inter-state conflicts.

In the conflict prevention and resolution, different measures have to be adopted and respect certain rules and procedures. In fact, the preventive

measures of conflicts are based on conflict analysis and assessment from local communities to the national level and international level. To make this analysis, it is necessary to understand the background and history of the events and identify all relevant groups involved and factors and trends that underpin conflicts.

Once the conflict breaks up, the measures to resolve it would be taken by the community, nation and international community headed by the United Nation Organisation. Main measures that can be used are negotiation and mediation. However, in resettling conflicts, there are still different challenges to handle. Most of them are the lack of conflict mechanism and programmes in local community which can hinder the prevention and resolution of conflict in the community. At international level, as a challenge there is the unwillingness of the United Nation Organisation to develop such mechanisms and programmes.

11.1. Organs and actors responsible for preventing and resolving conflicts and violence at national and international levels



Learning Activity 11.1

Analyze and discuss various actors involved in preventing and resolving conflict and violence at national and international levels.

Conflict is a reality of social life and exists at all levels of society. Conflicts are as old as the world itself. We learn from history about individuals being in conflict with each other because of various reasons.

11.1.1. Causes of conflicts

The conflict was already evident in the thinking of the European theorists of the early modern period. For **Nicholas Machiavelli**, conflict was a result of the human desire for self-preservation and power.

For **Hobbes**, the three 'principal causes of quarrel' in a state were competition for gain, fear of insecurity, and defense of honour. For **Hume**, the underlying conditions for human conflict were relative scarcity of

resources and limited altruism. For **Rousseau**, the “state of war” was born from “the social state” itself.

The trend has not changed even today. Individuals, villages, tribes, political parties, nations and other types of groups engage in conflicts. Practically each of us has in one way or the other been involved in conflicts either at family level, workplace, and many other places.

Generally, a conflict exists when there is an interaction between two or more individuals, groups or organizations where at least one side sees their thinking, ideas, perceptions, feelings or will contradicting with that of the other side and feels that they cannot get what they want because of the other side.

Four main causes of conflict

Structural factors: such as weak states, security concern and ethnic geography;

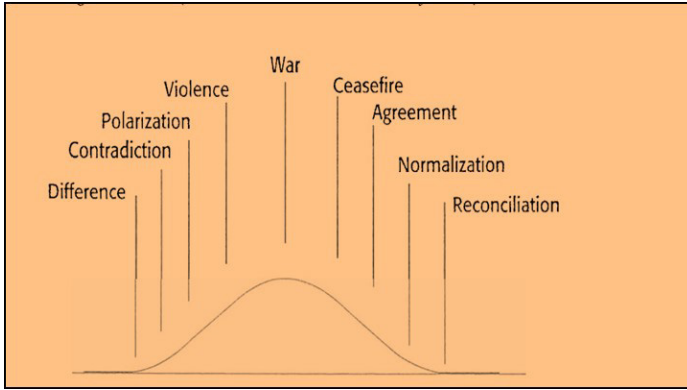
Political factors: example discriminatory political institutions, exclusionary national ideologies, intergroup and elite politics;

Economic factors: example widespread economic problem, discriminatory economic system, poverty, unequal access to national resources and modernization.

Cultural factors: example cultural discrimination, problematic group histories, emerging dehumanizing ideologies, etc.

Conflicts are dynamic and are not inherently negative or positive. They can facilitate growth or bring harm to the people involved. Having differences is something that is ‘natural’; it is how we express such differences and what we do that can lead to positive or negative experiences for us and those around us. If we look at conflicts from a positive point of view, they can be a source of positive change.

The *escalating* or “going up” factors are what contribute towards turning a conflict into something negative or destructive. The de-escalating or going down factors are the factors that help to channel the conflict energy into something positive and constructive. The way conflicts are seen can determine how to deal with them.



Conflict escalation and de-escalation

Conflict and violence are linked but are not identical. Violence is very often an expression of conflict, a way of carrying out conflicts.

Violence can be used:

- As an instrument of repression by a more powerful conflict party, wishing to impose its interests upon others;
- As an instrument for the articulation of interests by the weaker conflict parties, especially if they do not know other ways;
- When conflict parties fail to find other means of carrying out conflicts (dynamic of escalation).

11.1.2. Types of conflicts

- **Intra-personal conflicts:** some are conflicts within a person such as psychological conflicts and decision making conflicts in one person. Though intra-personal conflicts may play a part in social conflicts, they are not the subject matter of conflict transformation work but more a concern of therapy or counselling.
- **Inter-personal conflict:** conflicts between two or a small number of people;
- **Intra-group conflicts:** conflicts within smaller (team, organization, family) or larger groups (religious community, within elites in a country, etc.);
- **Inter-group conflicts:** conflicts between groups, like organizations, ethnic groups, political parties;

- **Intra-state:** conflicts within a country;
- **Inter-national, inter-state conflicts:** Conflicts between two or more countries or states.

There are no conflicts that are entirely similar and special features always have to be kept in mind. There are rules, norms and understandings that try to resolve each type of conflict.

Domestic disputes are resolved by counsellors or psychologist provided by the government; for labour disputes, trained mediators or arbitrators might work well. A similar process can apply to international disputes where a third party is brought in as discussed later.

11.1.3. Role of the state in conflicts

The state is, according to political science definition, the only legitimate user of physical violence in a society. Thus, it is almost by definition involved whenever there is an armed conflict in society. The control of violence is not the only distinguishing feature. There are also fiscal, territorial and ideological monopolies. All these roles make the state an actor in conflict as well as an object of conflict.

If the state is not capable of performing some of these functions, its strength as an actor diminishes. This is one of the causes of the phenomenon of warlords that can be observed in different parts of the world and the phenomenon of state failure which received particular attention since the 1990s.

The dilemma of state in prevention and conflict resolution can be summarized as follows: if the state is powerful (totalitarian system), it creates counteraction, fear among the population and pay high cost of the repression in case of resistance; if it is weak (failed state unable to maintain, order, and collect taxes) it can be dismissed.

There are many forces which can compete against the state. These forces include the companies interested in the extraction of minerals, the religious groups wanting to institute their own order, the political groups ethnically oriented searching for control of the power. A weak state can create intrastate wars, and a strong state may do the same. Both may also lead to regional/international repercussions.

To find the “ideal” state for lasting peace is not easy. Liberal democracy has been identified as an appropriate model, but it may not be applicable in every context and be sufficient to handle all the world’s conflicts.

Traditionally, a firm distinction has been drawn between international and internal conflicts. The first can be handled by the international institutions (such as the UN, the International Court of justice and regional organizations), and the later treated as “home affairs”.

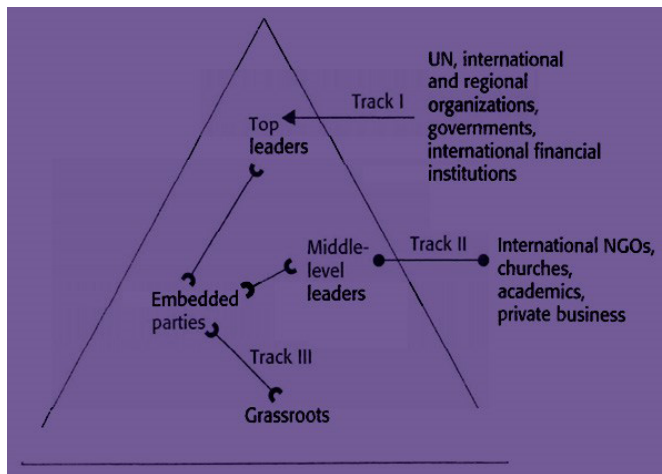


Figure 11. 1: International conflicts resolutions

- ← **Track I:** Negotiation, peace-keeping, arbitration, peace support, mediation with muscle. Exchange and threat power dominate.
- **Track II:** Good offices, conciliation, and pure mediation, problemsolving. Integrative and exchange power dominate
- ┌ **Track III:** Peace constituencies within the conflict, building social cohesion, common ground. Integrative and exchange power dominate

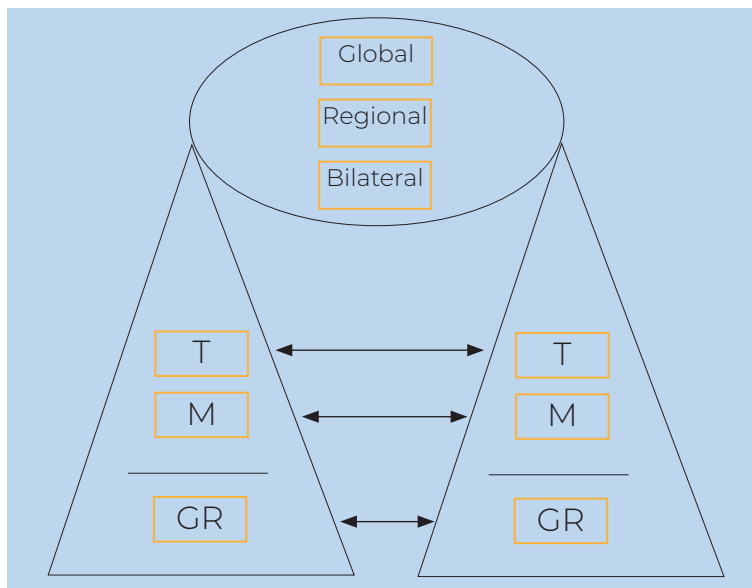


Figure 11.2: Modelling of international social conflicts

Internal conflicts, which consist of interactions among individuals, groups and peoples brought together inside the same borders, are, according to this thinking, left to the domains of the states themselves and placed outside of the international bodies. Internal affairs can be submitted to the international community if the legitimate, the government, ask for such an intervention. This is a basic principle of the UN Charter and was seen as an untouchable principle during the Cold War.

The separation of interstate conflicts from other conflicts is well established. Most interstate conflicts dealt with territorial issues, notably changes of borders and the recuperation of an occupied territory, and control over government. The Cold War saw many interstate interventions to remove or support *incumbent* regimes (unilateral interventionism) by a major power. In fact, a larger number of current governments have come to power through non-democratic process, coups, revolutions, civil and dynastic arrangements with the support of external actors.

A more complex situation is if the external actor is supporting a non-state actor in the other country. This support is regarded as intervention in an internal conflict between a non-state actor (the rebels) and the government or, in fact, an interstate conflict where the external actor is only using the non-state actor. The internal conflicts must be linked to

regional dimensions and with the international efforts to deal with the problems posed by internal conflicts.

Internal conflicts have always implications for regional stability. Neighbour states can be innocent victims of internal conflicts, but they are also active contributors to military escalation and regional instability (“spill over”, “contagion”). Two aspects of the regional dimension of internal conflicts have to be considered: the effects of internal conflicts on neighbouring states (refugee problem, economic problem, military problem, instability, war) and the actions taken by these states with respect to these conflicts (humanitarian, defensive, protective and opportunist intervention).

Ancient explanation of internal conflicts given like “ethnic grievances” is no more appropriate because internal conflicts are caused often by power struggles and ideological differences. Bad leaders are the bigger problem. To prevent this type of conflict, long term efforts aimed at underlying conditions that make violent conflicts more likely to happen (economic, political, cultural), focus on the decisions and actions of domestic elites.

11.1.4. Conflicts and the global system

States and governments are part of the *global system*. Other actors are very active on the regional and international level. One of the most important is the armed- *non- states actors*. Few of these organizations are recognized by international community and certainly not by the states against which they are fighting. They are instead defined variously as terrorists, gangs, bandits, criminal groups and so on. Such descriptions may sometimes be accurate, sometimes not.

Some of these organizations enter into negotiations or even win wars. Their leaders may then appear as reasonable or even enlightened statespersons despite the labels that have been put on them previously (for instance, Nelson Mandela in South Africa). Sometimes the organizations turn into political parties or legitimate armed structures (integrated in national armies). Other organizations are still recorded as uncivilized, and cruel (the al-Qaida network led by Osama bin Laden).

Recently (in the 1990s) new groups of actors emerged such as:

- The private companies of mercenaries very active in Africa, South America and Middle East. They are also militias or paramilitaries; they are locally recruited, operate with obscure finances and often directed by a leader with political objectives;
- The trans-state organizations like arms dealers trading in small arms, merchants dealing in minerals controlled by governments or non-state actors, drug traders engaged in international cartels and coalitions, or monetary transfers and money laundering to support war efforts;
- The non-governmental organizations (NGO) called also civil society organization (CSO); they have the ability to act in transnational giving quick answers that few actors can;
- The legitimate multinational companies operating all over the globe. They may be involved in the early phases of conflict, as the exploitation of resources may be at the heart of social dynamics, leading to armed conflict.
- The large number of non-state actors illustrates the shortcomings of focusing only on the interstate system. Many of the non-state groups would not have been able to sustain themselves without access to other countries.
- The term “global system” is appropriate because it includes all these groups and organizations with numerous different types of actors who use violence as means to achieve their objectives.

Armed conflicts

“According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP), for example, the number of active armed conflicts decreased from 52 to 49 in 2016. However, despite this reduction, 2016 confirms the trend for there to be a significantly larger number of conflicts in the past three years compared to the period 2007–13. Comparisons over a longer period show that the number of armed conflicts in recent years has been equivalent to the number in the period 1990–92. The two periods 1990–92 and 2014–16 constitute two distinct peaks in the post-cold war era. Much of the increase in the number of conflicts in 2014–16 stemmed from the spread of the

Islamic State (IS), which often transformed active conflicts and led them to be recorded as new conflicts in UCDP data. Of the 49 active conflicts in 2016, 2 were fought between states (India–Pakistan and Eritrea–Ethiopia) and the other 47 were fought within states and over government (22), territory (24) or both (1). There is a clear recent pattern for a larger share of intrastate conflicts to involve troops from other states on the side of one or both of the warring parties. In 2016 over one-third (38 per cent) of intrastate conflicts were internationalized in this way. Most of these (13 out of 18) were fought against Islamist organizations” (*Sipri year book 2017*, Uppsala 2018, p.2).

Negotiation on international level to resolve conflicts has become a common and frequent practice. Many ways are available to deal with conflict. In most cases conflicts are resolved through efforts of trained government representatives or diplomats.

This is an old tradition by which ambassadors were personal representatives of one sovereign to the court of another. In modern times, electronic communication has supplanted the individual diplomat when it comes to the establishment of important international agreements, but the role of person-to-person contact, even at the highest levels, remains important.

The process of conflict resolution is like a debate. However, diplomacy and negotiations have elaborated rules and customs. During the Cold War, it was common to think that if leaders of two major groups meet and talk over their disagreements, as concerned human beings, peace between longtime adversaries might be possible. Unfortunately, in some summits between big powers negotiations were merely artificial; maybe they have improved the international atmosphere but few things changed. At other times, summit meetings made things worse because of bad will.

Third parties can also serve as “fact finders”, for example on a disputed border, identify the number of political prisoners, how large the military forces, economic situation in a particular region. International organizations have used also them in various “commissions of inquiry” to evaluate conflicting claims.

Third parties fulfil the diplomatic functions in mediation and arbitration. Mediators make suggestions that might be agreeable to both sides. Adherence to their suggestions is voluntary. By contrast, in arbitration both sides agree in advance to accept the judgment of the arbitrator.

There is no guarantee that all disputes can be resolved by negotiations. A positive outcome requires a degree of goodwill and a desire to reach an agreement. It also requires to “*bargain in good faith*”. There have been cases in which good faith was not shown. Such cases are exceptions, because the desire for non violent conflict resolution appears to be strong and widespread.



Application Activity 11.1

1. Discuss the various organs responsible for preventing and solving conflict.
2. Using internet, textbooks, media, analyze causes of armed conflicts in Africa taking as case study one of the following countries: Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Mali, Libya, Nigeria, DRC, and Central African Republic.
3. By giving clear historical examples, distinguish national conflict of international conflict.

11.2. Strategies used to prevent and resolve conflicts and violence



Learning Activity 11.2

By doing your own research through the internet and books, analyze the ways that can be used in preventing and solving conflict and violence.

Because conflicts are an integral part of human interaction, one should learn to manage them in order to prevent escalation and destruction. Throughout history, individuals and groups used a variety of ways to resolve their disputes or conflicts, trying to reach a resolution acceptable to all parties. There is a common belief in all cultures that it is better to

resolve disputes/conflicts and to reach an agreed compromise, because conflict can be a destructive force.

Much can be learned about the different ways in which conflicts have been prevented in the past. In older practices, resolving disputes was considered a domain reserved for the wise and the elders of the community (mostly men) or for religious leaders. But now, conflict prevention has become an important focus of interest for everyone.

11.2.1. Conflict analysis

In dealing with conflicts, it is necessary to have a better understanding of the dynamics, relationships and issues of the situation. A detailed analysis of the conflict from a variety of perspectives must be carried out by exploring the specific issues and problems that relate to it. This practical process is what is called “conflict analysis”. It helps to plan and carry out better actions and strategies by facilitating to:

- Understand the background and history of the current events;
- Identify all the relevant groups involved;
- Understand the perspectives of all these groups and to know more about how they relate to each other;
- Identify factors and trends that underpin conflicts;
- Learn from failures as well as successes.

The whole dynamic conflict analysis is to be able to move from an attitude of *“I don’t know what the real cause of the conflict is!”* to *“Now I know why we have this conflict!”*

It is therefore important for the person or group analyzing a situation to gather data about the positions, values, issues, interests and needs of each party in conflict.

Positions They are what the person says and demands. They contain an understanding of the situation, the outcome of the conflict and the role that the conflicting party plays in it. Very often they contain a value as a justification or legitimization. Positions are formal, official and very often public.

Values are basic principles which are held to be very important and may be used to justify positions. They can be cultural norms, laws, ethics, etc.

Issues are what the parties claim the conflict is about. They are specific and concrete. Very often factual problems are less important than relationship problems, though conflicts are usually framed in factual terms.

Conflicting parties are motivated by their own **interests**. They may be expressed but often they are hidden. Frequently, an actor may have several interests in a conflict. As interests are not essential human needs, they are negotiable and their relative importance may change with time.

Needs are the fundamental, essential requirements for human survival. They relate to security, identity, community and vitality of human life. They are not negotiable, but they may be satisfied in different ways. They are usually unstated or disguised.

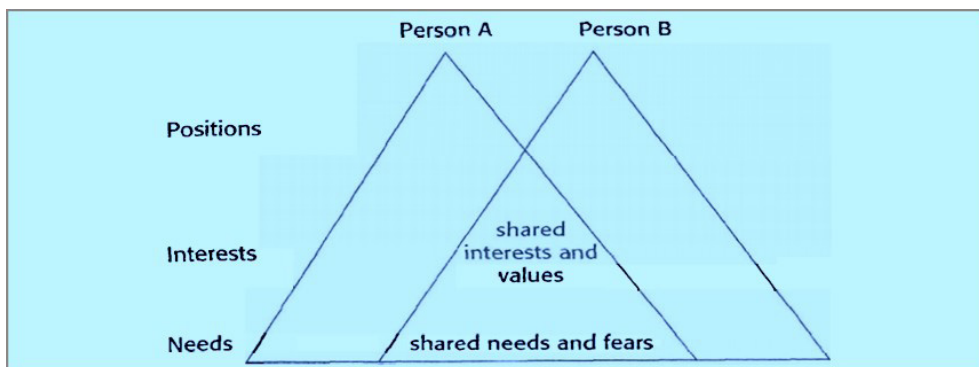


Figure 11.3: *Interests and needs*

Factors related to attitude, behaviour and context of each side have also to be analyzed. The purpose is to see how these influence each other; to relate these to the needs and fear of each party; to identify a starting point for the intervention in the situation. For example, a context that ignores the demands of one group is likely to lead to an attitude of frustration, which in turn may result in protests.

There are different practical operations which are accomplished in order to achieve appropriate strategies and actions of resolving a conflict. The most important are:

Stages of conflict

Conflicts change over time, passing through different stages of activity, intensity, tension and violence. It is helpful to recognize and analyze each stage (see the next figure). There are:

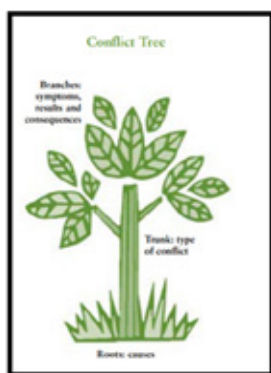
Pre-conflict: period when there is an incompatibility of goals between two or more parties, which could lead to open conflict;

Confrontation: when the conflict has become more open;

Crisis: the peak of the conflict, when the tension and/or violence is most intense. This is the period of war, when people on all sides are being killed;

Outcome/Consequence: One way or another the crisis will lead to an outcome: defeat, or perhaps call for a cease-fire (if it is a war), negotiations either with or without the help of a mediator. At this stage the levels of tension, confrontation and violence decrease somewhat with the possibility of a settlement.

Post conflict: the situation is resolved in a way that leads to the end of a violent confrontation, to decrease the tension and to more normal relationships between the parties. The problems are not completely addressed, that is why another crisis can happen again.



It is a list of data (years, months, days, location, and actors) which depicts events in a chronological order. It shows a succession of events and gives examples in the history of the country. People of opposing sides may have different histories, emphasize different events, describe them differently, and attach contrasting emotions to them. The aim of using

timelines in this way is to try to arrive at a “correct” or “objective” history of the conflict and to understand the perceptions of the people involved. The timeline is also a way for people to learn about each other’s history and perceptions of the situation. The aim to reach is the point where the parties in a conflict can accept that others may have valid perceptions, even if these are opposed to their own.

Conflict mapping

Mapping is a technique used to represent a conflict graphically, placing the parties in relation both to the problem and to each other. When people with different view points map their situation together, they learn about each other’s experiences and perceptions.

Conflict tree

This exercise answers the following questions:

- In many conflicts there will be a range of opinions concerning questions such as:
- What is the core problem?
- What are the root causes?
- What are the effects that have resulted from this problem?
- What is the most important issue for our group to address?

The Conflict Tree offers a method for a team, organization, group or community to identify the issues that each of them sees as important and then sort these into three categories:

1. Core problem (s)
2. Causes
3. Effects

This tool offers also a way of identifying positive and negative forces and to assess their strengths and weaknesses.

Pillars

There is a range of factors or forces called the ‘pillars’. If we can identify these pillars and try to find ways to remove them or minimize their effect on the situation, we will be able to topple a negative situation and build a positive one.

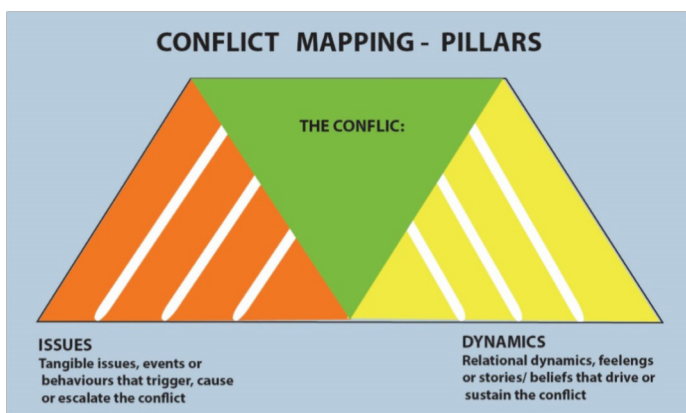


Figure 11.6: Conflicts mapping pillars

Having looked at the pillars that support the conflict, problem or unjust situation, the next step is to devise definite actions or strategies that could address each pillar and weaken or remove it. The Pillars tool can help to see at a glance how feasible it is to intervene.

This diagram does provide an opportunity to consider which other individuals, groups or organizations could become allies, and to learn from their constructive actions already taking place.

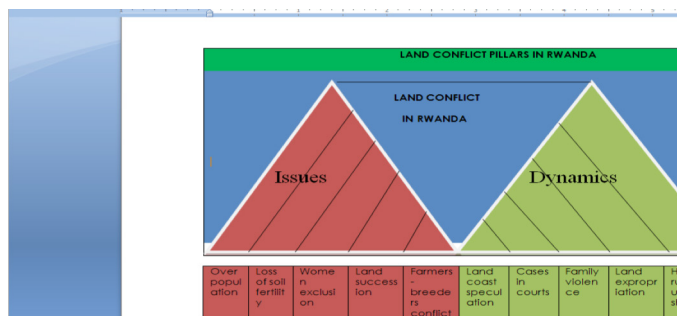


Figure 11.7: Land conflicts pillars in Rwanda

Pyramid

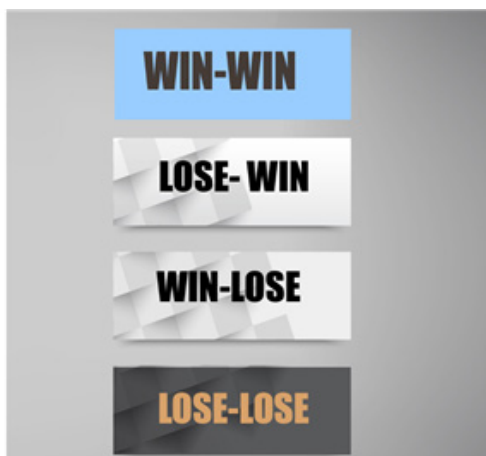
Conflicts can have more than one level. With this method, key parties or actors at each level are identified. This type of analysis helps to locate resource people who are strategically placed and embedded in networks that connect them vertically and horizontally within the conflict. These are people who have the ability to work with counterparts across the lines of division. Therefore they can be key allies for working within the various levels as well as working simultaneously at all levels.

11.2.2. Intervention in conflict

Dealing with conflicts is called differently: “conflict management,” “conflict resolution”, “conflict transformation”, “conflict mediation”, “consensus building”, etc. Most of the theorists and practionners prefer to use “conflict resolution”.

Nations, groups, and individuals have tried throughout history to manage conflicts in order to minimize the negative and undesirable effects that they may pose to them.

The possible outcomes can be win-lose (one wins, the other loses), or compromise (parties settle their difference or win-win). But the common outcome in violent conflicts is that both parties lose.



Because conflicts are an integral part of human interaction, one must learn to manage them, to deal with them in a way that will prevent escalation and destruction, and come up with innovative and creative ideas to resolve them.

Negotiation

Negotiation is a process in which parties to a conflict discuss directly possible outcomes. Parties exchange proposals and demands, make arguments, and continue the discussion until a solution is reached, or an impasse declared. The goal of negotiation is to reach an agreement that is acceptable to all parties, to which they remain committed, and which they indeed implement.

In negotiations there are many approaches to resolving the conflict. For example, negotiators can focus on the discussion about the interests of parties. Because there are many interests underlying any position, a discussion based on interests opens a range of possibilities and creative options, but positions may not be reconciled and can lead to the fail of the negotiations. That is why the dialogue on interest should be transparent, in order for the parties to arrive at an agreement that will satisfy the needs and interests.

Another possibility is when the parties attempt to resort to what they consider to be their rights. This means appealing to the court (local, national or international) in a legal process in which the law is the dominant feature.

Negotiations are based on the following basic principles:

- 1. *Separate the people from the problem:*** The participants in a negotiation have with different perceptions, beliefs, viewpoints and emotions. Taking positions makes things worse because people tend to identify with their position and feel that they are personally attacked when their position is threatened. In negotiation the “people side” must be treated separately from the factual issues. Ideally, participants should also see themselves working side by side attacking the problem, not each other.
- 2. *Focus on interests, not positions:*** The object of negotiation is to satisfy underlying needs and interests. To take and hold on a position will not lead to agreements that take care of human needs. Thus the focus should be on interests.

3. **Invent options for mutual gain:** Trying to decide on an agreement under pressure will not lead to good results. In negotiation partners must take time to look for a wide range of possible solutions before trying to come to an agreement. If there are many options, there is more chance of finding solutions which advance shared interests and reconcile differences.
4. **Use objective criteria:** Agreement must reflect some fair standards. These standards are not subjective criteria of one participant; rather they should be shared by all participants and objectively verifiable.
5. **Active listening** is the most important and difficult skill needed for negotiator or mediator to succeed in the negotiation process.

On international level, it was a common understanding, in recent past, that only diplomats conducted international negotiation and agreements between countries. Negotiating today is not restricted to the diplomatic corps; it involves also various actors such as professional people, experts, non-governmental organizations, local interested groups, local authorities, international entities, etc.

Cultural issues play a major part in international negotiation, and have a significant impact on it. Issues such as personal relations, mode of bargaining, and hierarchy, are culturally based; they need to be considered during negotiations between different nations, societies, or ethnic groups.

Today it is realized that conflicts and the issues involved are very complex. For this reason, the international negotiation process is also more complex, because of the various interdependencies between countries; the outcomes can affect other nations, a region, or the world.

Mediation

Mediation is a process that employs a neutral/impartial person or persons to facilitate negotiation between the parties to a conflict in an effort to reach a mutually accepted resolution. It is a process close to negotiation.

The mediator's role is multiple: to help the parties think in new and innovative ways, to avoid rigid positions instead of looking after their interests. In general, the mediator not only facilitates but also designs

the process, and helps the parties to get to the root of their conflict, to understand their interests, and reach a resolution agreed by all concerned parties. He/she uses tools such as active listening, open-ended questions, and his/her analytical skills.

The mediators, who are hired, appointed, or volunteer to help in managing the process, should have no direct interest in the conflict and its outcome, and no power to render a decision. The parties agree on the process, the content presented through the mediation, and the parties control the resolution of the dispute.

Because the participation of the parties and the mediator is voluntary, the parties and/or the mediator have the freedom to leave the process at any time. The mediator may decide to stop the process for ethical or other reasons, and the parties may decide that they are not satisfied with the process. The agreement, which is reached between the parties, is voluntary; the parties own it and are responsible for implementing it. The agreement is validated and ratified by the courts.

Mediation has a special advantage when the parties have ongoing relations that must continue after the conflict is managed. Since the agreement is by consent, none of the parties should feel they are the losers. Mediation is therefore useful in family relations, disputes between neighbours, in labour relations, between business partners, and political parties. It creates a foundation for resuming the relation after the conflict has been resolved.

There are several different approaches and mediation models: the model of co-mediation, the model of a single mediator, and the model of a panel of mediators.

Co-mediation has many advantages, but only if the mediators are compatible and know how to work together. If however the mediators do not know one another, or are not compatible, the process may work better with a single mediator.

Single mediation is a very common model which is used for many reasons, and because mediators enjoy working alone and be in control of the process. Experienced mediators who work alone do excellent work.

The model of a panel of mediators is used in very complex cases that involve multi-party mediation. The models vary in terms of the methods, the techniques, the process of mediation, and in the particular circumstances of the conflict in question.

Mediation plays an important role in international conflicts. The mediator in international conflicts can be a private individual who is an international figure, a religious personality, an academic scholar, a government representative, an international organization, or some other person or body, depending on the nature of the dispute.

West African Women as Ambassadors of Peace - The Mano River Story

“Women were struggling for peace across the Mano River countries of Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Guinea throughout the 1990s. But their successes were shortlived as conflict in one country inevitably affected the others. In 1999, believing that the solution could be found through regional peace efforts, women from the three countries joined together to form the Mano River Women’s Peace Network (MARWOPNET). Lobbying regional security organizations, training women in communities, issuing public declarations, organizing protests and directly meeting with leaders across the region became the network’s trademark. In recognition of their important role in bringing the parties to the table, MARWOPNET was a signatory to the August 2003 peace agreement in Liberia. The UN recognized their efforts in December 2003, awarding them the annual United Nations Prize for Human Rights”. (INCLUSIVE SECURITY, SUSTAINABLE PEACE: A *Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*, London: 2004)

In individual conflicts the mediator is an impartial neutral third party. In international conflicts the mediator is not always impartial, or neutral, and may have his/her own agenda, status, interests, and power, which may be used during the process. In that case, the mediator becomes part of, and party to, the negotiation process.

The mediation process works under three basic principles. One, the principle of the parties’ self-determination which means parties resolve their differences without coercion but freely. This also means that the mediator helps them to make informed choice or decision. Two, the mediator is impartial, meaning that the mediator has no personal interest

or benefit in the issue. Three, the mediator should keep proceedings private and confidential.



Application Activity 11.2

1. Take any case of conflict and analyze its pillars using the diagram showing the issues and dynamics of the conflicts.
2. Make analysis on how the conflict develops.
3. The negotiations are the common way used in helping people in conflict. Do any analysis and discussions on the basic principles of negotiations.

11.3. Challenges encountered during the prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence



Learning Activity 11.3

By using internet, textbooks, journals and reports make a research on prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence and examine the challenges encountered by the peacemakers in conflict prevention and resolution process.

Solving conflicts completely is impossible. We have seen that conflict is part of the daily life. What is needed to achieve a lasting peace is to prevent escalation so that it does not become crisis with killings of human beings and destruction of social and material structures.

Practitioners say that peace begins within each individual and then spread out. This implies not only examining one's life and making changes that are consistent with one's beliefs life but also identifying those personal attitudes and behaviour that reinforce systems of oppression. Such self-examination may lead to some painful recognitions and decisions recognizing how one's life may have at times contributed to the oppression of others. The question is that not everyone is ready to engage in that process unless there is awareness action with that aim. This can be initiated by the state, the international institutions or civil society organizations.

Lack of conflict mechanism and programmes in local community can hinder the prevention and resolution of conflict in the community. Not all countries or communities have such experience. Rwanda is among the countries who have elaborated such kind of programmes because of its particular tragic experience.

The government has established mechanisms to protect and fight against genocidal ideology and to resolve conflicts on the community level (like Mediation and *Gacaca courts*). Public and private media are also involved in this education campaign as well as some civil society organization like Never Again, for example.

Peace operations in Africa

“Africa remained the primary focus of peace operations. As recommended in the report by the UN High-level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (the HIPPO report), the UN, the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities and Regional Mechanisms are deepening their partnerships. Funding African operations is still one of the main challenges. In 2016 the AU Assembly of Heads of State and Government decided to increase the AU contribution to the funding of all AU peace support operations to 25 per cent by 2020, by means of a 0.2 per cent import tax on “eligible imports” into the continent. However, African actors will remain dependent on external funding in the short to medium term and some external actors - particularly the EU and its member states - are becoming less generous and more demanding. This presents financial challenges for several African peace operations, some of which face potential closure as contributors consider withdrawing their troops” (SIPRI YEAR BOOK 2017, Uppsala: 2018, p.7).

Minimizing oppressive personal relationships may be a *prerequisite* for helping to alleviate the oppression of others. The world will be better and less violent place if each individual makes peace in his or her own life (inner peace). Commitment in the struggle for peace may require conflict - preferably non violent - with existing authorities if meaningful change has to happen.

The best scenario is a national context which is conducive because sensitive to conflict prevention and resolution by having appropriate

policies, especially the programmes targeting to fight against the potential roots of conflict or to solve those which have emerged.

On a wide scene, contemporary armed conflicts encompass different levels from international level (global, regional, bilateral), through national state level, down to societal level. This is what makes them so hard to resolve or transform.

The *ambivalent* role played by the state at the national level, the same time the main actor on the international scene, obliges actors in conflict transformation, to operate simultaneously at all these levels, including vertical relations up and down across the levels from the grassroots up to the international, and horizontal relations across and between all the social actors involved.

There has been a shift from seeing third-party intervention as member of external agencies towards appreciating the role of internal 'third parties' or indigenous peacemakers. Instead of outsiders offering the space for addressing conflicts, the emphasis is on the need to build constituencies and capacity within societies and to learn from domestic cultures how to manage conflicts in a sustained way. Emphasis is placed on the importance of indigenous resources and local actors.

The world has become one global village. Distances are smaller, communication means are easier and faster, and the economy has become a major factor in international relations. A conflict between two or more countries may affect a whole region. We live in a new and changing world, in which negotiation plays a major role in resolving these conflicts.

The multilateral arena is more complex than bilateral because there are many parties, and many issues and interests are at stake. The international community has not yet been able to manage this complex situation.

Key challenges to conflict prevention remain in international affairs. Many states in the South are concerned that conflict resolution can be abused as a pretext for the big powers to violate the sovereignty of the weak. These concerns have been somewhat verified in the past couple of years. It is the case of recent operations in Libya.

Concerns about violations of sovereignty persist, as do suspicions about the underlying motivations behind the use of military power for ostensibly humanitarian purposes, and perceptions that, even when well-intentioned, the application of force can potentially have troubling and *unpredictable* consequences.

In the field of conflict prevention, the prevailing perception about the performance of the international community is that recent attention on the issue has been more rhetorical than practical in addressing emerged and ongoing crises.

Lack of international community ownership regarding some crises: the actions of the United Nations are limited with insufficient humanitarian activities and in some cases (like in Darfur crisis), the international community's will is oriented by the big powers such as the USA and China. To some extent, China was mandated to play a more role to end the conflict in Darfur. Therefore, the conflict became insignificant to the UN which delays the action to be taken in order to stop it.

Unwillingness of the UN to develop a conflict resolution mechanism capable of managing crisis also is another challenge in process of conflict resolution. This unwillingness is a result of the misperception of the existence of glob threats by states and non-states actors.

Such willingness can be also resulted from the division within international community based on different interests each member state can find in conflict.

In case of intra-state conflict, some states are not able to address the menace of the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in polity with functional policies. This enables different groups to get armed and able to challenge the national security. As a result, the government is seen as a weak and failed state. Even the civil society is not able to act in order to prevent the conflict.

Some states also failure to tackle the immediate and root causes of conflict holistically. After many years of neglect the government can fail to really solve many cases of injustice, poverty, unemployment and issues of resource control. In addition, the state failure to address early

warning signs and early response systems can greatly affect the conflict prevention and resolution.

Conflict and the feminization of poverty

“Violent conflict is often said to be a trigger for the “feminization of poverty,” meaning that women are increasingly found among the ranks of the poor. This happens partly because of the increasing proportion of households headed by, and dependent on, women (usually around 30–40 percent in post conflict transition societies). Female-headed households are thought to be particularly vulnerable. One difficulty female-headed households may face is inadequate labor resources, especially in agricultural communities, because there are few adult men and the adult women are occupied with domestic work. Another is that without men they are not well linked into the networks that control marketing, supplies, community decision-making and have poor links to power structures. Despite their vulnerability in society at large, there are also instances where members of female-headed households fare better than others, since female caregivers prioritize the family’s welfare. Also depending on the cultural conditions and the extent to which war has diminished traditional male roles in the economy, women often find new public outlets for trading and other incomegenerating activities. In Somaliland, the absence of government regulation has provided opportunities for business to flourish. This has been positive for women in some ways, because they now occupy increasingly important roles in trade. But such changes are often temporary. Typically, after war, women are forced out of jobs and put under pressure to give control of resources to men. The challenge for those wishing to support female household heads is to increase their entitlements (i.e. strengthen their position when it comes to making claims on authorities or on other members of the community). This can be done by changing legislation and policies, raising awareness among women of their rights and supporting their efforts to voice their needs. However, this is difficult to achieve when all households are likely to be unusually vulnerable and when new systems of governance and legislation are not yet in place. In these circumstances women rely more extensively on mutual support”. (INTERNATIONAL ALERT, INCLUSIVE SECURITY, SUSTAINABLE PEACE: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action, London, 2004)



Application Activity 11.3

1. In the section 11.3 you have been exposed to the challenges faced during the prevention and resolution of conflicts and violence. From your own research, suggest the appropriate solutions to those challenges.
2. Discuss with example the involvement of western countries in conflicts as a challenge to armed conflict resolution in Africa.
3. Explain how natural resources constitute challenges to conflict resolution.



End of Unit Assessment 11

1. *“Conflict is a reality of social life and exists at all levels of society”*. Discuss this assertion
2. In January 2000, over half of the countries in Africa were affected by conflicts(gsdrc.org/document-library/causes-of-conflicts-in-Africa/). Analyze the causes and impacts of conflicts in sub Saharan Africa.
3. *While solving conflicts, one among the ways used is negotiations. The mediator must fulfill some qualities to be said as good mediator.* Explain the basic qualities that may possess a good mediator.
4. Explain challenges that may occur when resolving a family conflict.
5. Based on your personal experience, what kind of conflict that may rise at school? Explain their possible causes and how they can be prevented.

REFERENCES

Adu Boahen, A. (1987). *African Perspectives on Colonialism*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

African Development Bank (2012). *Performance contracts and social service delivery- lessons from Rwanda, Kigali*.

African Union (2000). Rwanda, the preventable genocide. The report of the international panel of eminent personalities to investigate the 1994 genocide in Rwanda and the surrounding events. Addis Ababa: PEP/OAU.

Alderman C, L. (1967). *The Story of the French Revolution*. New York: Julian Messner.

Allan, T. (2001). *The Modern World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Allen, L. (1971). *Japan: The years of Triumph*. London: Macdonald.

Andrew, R. (1976). *A History of Zambia*. London: Heinemann.

ASSA, O, (2006). *A History of Africa, Volume One: African societies and the Establishment of Colonial Rule, 1800 – 1915*. Kampala: East African Educational Publishers.

Asa, O. (2010). *History of Africa, Volume 2*. Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.

Attah, N.E. (2013). The historical conjuncture of neo-colonialism and underdevelopment in Nigeria, *Journal of African Studies and Development*, 5 (5), 70-79.

Bailey, S. (1989). *The United Nations*. London: Macmillan.

Balley.A.Th. (1983). *The American Pageant, Seventh edition*. Massachusetts: Lexington

Bamusananire, E. (2012). *History for Rwanda secondary schools*. BK 4. Kigali: Fountain Publishers Ltd.

Barash, D.P., Charles P.W. (2009). *Peace and conflict studies*, 2nd edition. Los Angeles: Sage publications.

Bayern-Jardine, C. (1987). *The Second World War and its Aftermath*. London: Longman.

Beasley, W. (1987). *Japanese Imperialism 1894-1945*, London: Oxford.

Berridge, G.R. (2005). *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*. 3rd Edition. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ben Wash. (1997). *Modern World History, Second edition*. London: Mastering.

Berton, P., Kimura, H. & Zartman, W. (1999). *International negotiation. Actors, structure/process, values*. New York: St. Martin's.

Birmingham, David (1995). *The Decolonization of Africa*. London: UCL Press Limited.

Black.J. (1999). *Atlas of world History*. London: Darling Kindersly.

Boahen, A.A., Ade, J.F., Ajayi and Michae Tidy (1986). *Topics in West African History*, second edition. Harlow: Longman.

Boahen, A.A., *Britain, the Sahara and the Western Sudan 1788-1861*. Oxford 1964.

Bovill, E.W. (1995). *The Golden Trade of the Moor*. Princeton: Markus Wiener.

Bowker, M. (1997). *Russian foreign policy and the end of the Cold War*. Aldershot: Darmouth Publishing Company.

Bown, C. P. (1984). *Cold war to detente 1945-1983*. London: Heinemann.

Bradford, S. (1960). *The Islands of Hawaii*. Philadephia and New York.

Breckman, C. (1994). *Histoire d'un genocide*. Paris: Fayard.

Breslin, W. & Rubin, J. (1991). *Negotiation theory and practice*. Harvard University: Pon.

Brown M.E. (ed.) (1993). *Ethnic conflict and international security*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Byanafashe, D & Rutayisire, P.(Eds) (2011). *History of Rwanda. From the beginning to the end of the twentieth century*. Huye: National University of Rwanda and National Commission for Unity and Reconciliation.

Carlyle, T. (1934). *The French Revolution*. New York: The Modern Library.

Collins, R.O. (1990). *Western African History*. Princeton: Wiener.

Croucher, A. (2011).*The international community and the prevention of genocide, University of Queensland*. Retrieved on February 18, 2018 from <http://www.e-ir.info/2013/09/14/never-again-all-over-again-the-international-community-and-the-prevention-of-genocide/>

Davidson, B. (1989). *Modern Africa*, 2nd edition. New York: Longman.

Davies, I. (1966). *African trade unions*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Day, J. (1967). *International nationalism*. London: Routledge.

Deibel, T.L. (Ed.) (1987). *Containing the Soviet Union. A critique of US policy*.

Washington: Pergamon-Brassey's International Defense Publishers.

Des Forges, A. (1999). *Leave none to tell the story. Genocide in Rwanda* Retrieved from http://www.essex.ac.uk/armedcon/story_id/Leave%20None%20to%20tell%20the%20story-%20Genocide%20in%20Rwanda.pdf.

Devisse, J. (1988). Trade and Trade Routes in West Africa. In M. El Fasi and I. Hrbek

(Ed.)*Africa from the Seventh to the Eleventh Century. Volume 3 of General History of Africa* (pp. 367-435). London: Heinemann / Berkeley: University of California Press / Paris: UNESCO.

Ellis E.G. & Esler, A. (2008). *World History*. Boston: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Evans, D. (1987). *The Great War 1914-1918*. London: Arnold.

Ezyanya, C. (2015). *Home-grown and grassroots-based strategies for determining inequality towards policy action: Rwanda's Ubudehe approach in perspective*, Helsinki: United Nations University Institute for Development Economics Research (UNUWIDER).

Fanon, F. (1962). *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove Press.

Feis, H. (1970). *From trust to terror: The outset of the cold war*. London: Longman.

Fieldhouse, D.K. (1986). *Black Africa 1945-1980: Economic decolonization and arrested development*. London.

Fischer, F. (1967). *Germany's Aims in the First World War*. London: Chatto and Windus.

Garuka Nsabimana, C. (2005). *The concept of power sharing in the constitutions of Burundi and Rwanda*. University of the Western Cape.

Gasanabo, D. J. Simon & M. M. Ensign (Eds.). (2014). *confronting genocide in Rwanda: Dehumanization, denial, and strategies for prevention*. Bogota: Apidama Ediciones Ltd.

Gasanabo, J. D., Mutanguha, F., & Mpayimana, A. (2016). Teaching about the Holocaust and Genocide in Rwanda. *Contemporary Review of the Middle East*, 3(3), 1-17.

Gasanabo, J.-D. (2014). Dehumanization and anti-dehumanization in schools. In J. D. Gasanabo, D. J. Simon & M. M. Ensign (Eds.). *Confronting genocide in Rwanda: Dehumanization, denial, and strategies for prevention* (pp. 89-125). Bogota: Apidama Ediciones Ltd.

Gibbons, S. a. (1970). *The League of Nations and United Nations Organisation*,. London: Longman. Gilbert, M. (1987). *The Holocaust: The Jewish tragedy*. London: Collins.

Goldberg, S. B., Sander, F. E. A. & Rogers, N. H. (1995). *Dispute Resolution: Negotiation, Mediation, and other Processes: 1995 Supplement*. Boston, Toronto, London: Aspen.

Government of the Republic of *Rwanda* (2017). *Rwandan home-grown solutions and good practices. The drivers of transformation*. RDB.

Henig, R. (1976). *The League of Nations*. Edinburgh.

Henig, R. (1984). *Versailles and after, 1919-1933*. London: Methuen.

Herberty, L. (1982). *A History of Modern Europe 1789-1981*. Peacock.

Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2006). *History and conflicts in Rwanda*. Kigali.

Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2006). *Rwanda Tutsi genocide: Causes, Implementation and Memory*. Kigali.

International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2011). *Rwanda: Country Evaluation Report*.

Innovation and Civic Participation (2003). *The Impact of National Service on critical social issue. Getting things done*. Washington.

International Rescue Committee, (2016). *Access to Justice Project*, Kigali.

Isaacs, J. & Downing, T. (1998). *For 45 years the world held its breath*. Sydney: Bantam Press.

Joll, J. (1992). *The origins of the First World War*. London: Longman.

Kamukama, D. (1997), *Rwanda conflicts: its roots and regional implications*, 2nd Edition, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Kaunda, H.R (1964). *Founder of Zambia*. London: Longman.

Kester, P.B. & Ray, L. (2002). *Conflict Resolution Training Program*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Law Number 53/2007 of 11/11/2007 establishing Community works Works in Rwanda in Official Gazette No special of 04/03/2008. In Official Gazette No 2 of 15/01/2008.

Liddell-Hart, S. B. (1970). *History of second World war*, London: Cassel.

Mamdani, M. (2002). *When victims become killers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Masabo, F. (2014). Educating about the history of genocides in Rwanda. In K. Fracapane & M. Ha (Eds.), *Holocaust education in a global context* (pp. 129-134). Paris: UNESCO.

Masolo, D.A. *African Philosophy in Search of Identity*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Mauny, R. (1961). *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain au Moyen Age d'après les sources écrites, la tradition et l'archéologie*. Dakar: IFAN.

Mayroz, E. (2012). The legal duty to 'prevent': after the onset of 'genocide'. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14(1), 79 – 98.

Mazrui, A.A (Ed.) (1993). *General History of Africa. VIII. Africa since 1935*. Heineman, California: UNESCO.

Mazrui, A.A. (1978). *Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the Post colony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McCauley, M. (1983). *Origins of the Cold War*. London: Longman.

Melvern, L. (2000). *A people betrayed. The role of West in Rwanda's genocide*. London: Zed Books.

Migai, A. et al. (2010). *Institutional reform in the new constitution*. International Center for Transitional Justice, Kenya.

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, (2006). *Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Evaluation Report (2002-2005)*.

Ministry of Local Government (2009). *Ubudehe mu Kurwanya Ubukene*.

Concept Note. Kigali.

Morel, J. (2011). *La France au coeur du génocide des Tutsi*. Paris: Esprit Frappeur/ Izuba.

Mudimbe V.Y. (1994). *The Idea of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mudimbe, V.Y. (1988). *The invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Mushemeza, E.D. (2015). *The politics of empowerment of Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda (1959 – 2001)*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Mutisi, M. (2011). *The Abunzi Mediation in Rwanda: Opportunities for Engaging with Traditional Institutions of Conflict Resolution* at www.accord.org.za.

Nantulya, P. et al. (2005). *Evaluation and Impact Assessment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (NURC)*. Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR).

National Commission for Human Right. (2008). *International Instruments on Human Rights*. Kigali.

National Itorero Commission (2013). *Strategic Plan (2013-2017) of National Itorero, Commission*. Kigali: Imanzi Ltd.

National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2016). *Unity and reconciliation process in Rwanda*, Kigali.

Ndabangingi Sithole (1968). *African nationalism*, 2nd Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ndahiro, A., Rwagatare, J. & Nkusi, A. (2015). *Rwanda rebuilding of a nation*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Ngugi WA Thiong'o (1986). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Curreys.

Nigel, S. (1990). *The Industrial Revolution*. East Sussex: Wayland Publishers Ltd.

NISR (2013). The Third Integrated Household Living Conditions Survey (EICV3): And, the Evolution of Poverty in Rwanda from 2000 to 2011: Results from the Household Surveys (EICV). Kigali.

Nkrumah, Kwame (1963). Africa Must Unite. New York: Frederick Praeger. A. Publisher.

Nkrumah, Kwame (1965). Neo-Colonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism.

London: Heinemann.

Olisanwuche Esedebe, P. (1982). Pan-Africanism: The idea and the movement, 1776–1963. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.

Organic Law No. 16/2004 establishing the organization, competence and functioning of Gacaca courts charged with prosecuting and trying the perpetrators of the crime of genocide and other crimes against humanity, committed between October 1, 1990 and December 31, 1994 in Official Gazette No. 43 Special of June 19, 2004.

Organic Law No. 31/2006 of 14/08/2006 on Organisation, Jurisdiction, Competence and Functioning of the Mediation Committee in Official Gazette no Special_ of_16.08.2006.

Organic Law N° 02/2010/OL of 09/06/2010 on Organisation, jurisdiction, competence and functioning of the mediation committee in Official Gazette n°24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

Organic Law No. 40/2000 Setting up Gacaca Jurisdictions and Organising Prosecutions for Offences Constituting the Crime of Genocide or Crimes Against Humanity in Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, Year 40 no 6 15th March 2001.

Organic Law No. 02/2010/OL on the jurisdiction, Functioning and Competence of Abunzi mediation committees in Official Gazette of the Republic of Rwanda, No. 24 Bis of 14/06/2010.

Organic Law No 10/2013/OL of 11/07/2013 governing Political Organisations

and politicians in Official Gazette n° Special of 12/07/2013.

Owens, R. a. (1985). The United Nations and its Agencies. London: Pergamon Press.

Padmore, G (1972). Pan-Africanism or communism. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday.

Prime Ministerial Order Number 58/03 determining the attributions, organisation, and functioning of community works supervising committees and their relations with other organs.

Pruitt, D.G. (1981). Negotiation behavior. New York: Academic Press.

Prunier, G. (1999), The Rwanda crisis: history of a genocide (2nd edition) New York: Colombia University Press.

Rees, R. (1996). The Western front. London: Heinemann.

Reid, R.J., A (2009). History of Modern Africa: 1800 to the Present, 2009, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Republic of Rwanda (2010). The History of Rwanda Secondary Schools, Teacher's Guide, Module I & II, Kigali: Ministry of Education, National Curriculum Development Centre.

Republika y'u Rwanda, Komisiyo y'Itorero y'igihugu (2014). Raporo y'ibikorwa bya Komisiyo y'Itorero y'Igihugu 2013 – 2014. Kigali.

République du Rwanda, Ministère de l'administration locale, du développement communautaire et des affaires sociales (2004). Dénombrement des victimes du génocide. Rapport final. Version révisée. Kigali.

Richard, J. R. (2009). A History of Modern Africa, 1800 to the present. Concise history of the modern world. West Sussex: Wiley – Blackwell publishing.

Richards, D. (1977). An Illustrated History of Modern Europe 1789-1984, 7th Edition. Longman.

Ramsbothan, O., Woodhouse, T. & Miall H. (2005). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution*. Cambridge (UK): Polity.

Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission (2013). *Strategic plan (2013 – 2017) of National Itorero Commission*. Final report.

Republic of Rwanda (2011). *Itorero National Commission (Strategy)*. Kigali.

Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission (2012). *Volunteerism policy paper*, Kigali.

8. Peacock, H,L,A *History of Modern Europe 1789-1981*,Seventh Edition,Heinemann education,1982

Republic of Rwanda. Office of the Prime Minister. *The constitution of the Republic of Rwanda of 2003 revised in 2015*. In *Official Gazette Special issue of 24/12/2015*.

Republic of Rwanda. Rwanda Parliament. The Senate. (2010). *Political pluralism and power sharing in Rwanda*. Kigali.

RGB (2012). *Survey on the performance of mediation committees*.

RGB (2014). *The assessment of the impact of home grown initiatives*.

Rosenberg, A. (1964). *The birth of the German Republic 1871-1918*, Boston: Beacom Press.

Rotberg, R. I. (1967). *The Rise of nationalism in Central Africa: The*

Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873-1964. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rouge, D. (2007). *Saharan salt caravans ply ancient route*, Reuters.

Rwanda National Service of Gacaca Courts (2012). *Administrative Report of the National Service of Gacaca Courts*.

Ruvebana, E. (2014). *Prevention of genocide under International law: An analysis of the obligations of States and the United Nations to prevent genocide at the primary, secondary and tertiary levels [S.I.]*: Intersentia

Cambridge. 7. Ruhlman, J & Pommerolle, F, History from 1914 to date, Berlin, 1982

Sartre, J.P. (1964). Colonialism and neocolonialism, (translated by Azzedine Haddour, Terry McWilliams). London: Routledge.

Sayer, J. (1987). Superpower Rivalry. London: Arnold.

Sharp, A. (1991). The Versailles Settlements, peace making in Paris, 1919. London: Macmillan.

Schreiber, J. (1986). Western Hemisphere, America and Canada. Illinois: Glenview.

Scher, D. (2010). The Promise of Imihigo: Decentralized Service Delivery in Rwanda, 2006-2010, in Innovations for Successful Societies. Princeton University.

Shillington, K. (1995). History of Africa. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Shillington, K.; (2005). History of Africa, Second Edition Revised. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Stanton, G.H (2003). How we can prevent genocide; building international campaign to end genocide. Retrieved on February 12, 2018 from <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/COMM.6.24.03.HTM>.

Stanton, G.H. (1996). The eight stages of Genocide. Briefing paper prepared for the United States Department of State. Retrieved on February 5, 2018 from <http://genocidewatch.org/images/8stagesBriefingpaper.pdf>.

Stanton, G.H. (2014). Why do people commit genocide and what can we do to stop it? Taylor, A. (1963). The First World War. London: Penguin.

Totten, S. (2011). Post Genocide Rwanda: Critical issues for genocide survivors. 16 years after the genocide perpetrated against Tutsi (1994-2010) (pp. 391-406). Kigali: CNLG.

The Republic of Rwanda. Ministry of Local Government (2014). Rwanda National Media Policy: 2014-2020. Consolidating a free, self-regulating and responsible media in Rwanda. Kigali. Turner, L. (1970). *Origins of the*

First World War. London: Arnold. UNESCO, (2017). Education about the Holocaust and preventing genocide. A policy guide. Paris.

WFP (2009). Rwanda: comprehensive food security and vulnerability analysis and nutrition survey.

William, J. (1977). *Explosing our World Latin America and Canada*. Chicago: Follet Publishing Company.

Young, R. (2001). *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Zartman, W. (1994). *International Multilateral Negotiation: Approaches to the Management of Complexity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Electronic references

Arusha Peace Agreement. Retrieved on February 20, 2018 from www.incoreulst.ac.uk/services/cds/agreements/pdf/rwan1.pdf. <https://www.gounesco.com/rwanda-liberation-war/> <https://teachwar.wordpress.com/resources/war-justifications-archive/rwandan-civil-war-1990/#fm> www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgpreventgenocide.shtml http://www.peace.ca/ten_lessons_to_prevent_genocide_.htm <http://www.genocidewatch.org/howpreventgenocideic.html> <http://www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/rwanda/about/bgpreventgenocide.shtml> <https://en.unesco.org/themes/holocaust-genocide-education>

United Nations General Assembly, (1948). Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, on <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume-78-i-1021-English.pdf>.

<https://www.africanexponent.com/post/africas-nationalist-leaders-biographies-andcontributions-2823>

www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10 www.globalblackhistory.com/wp-content <http://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/History/South-Africa-history2.htm> <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v16/v16i1a2> <http://www.maliweb.net> <http://www.dw.com/en/africa-in-world-war-ii-the-forgotten-veterans/a-18437531> <https://ebonydoughboys.org/index-12.html> <https://www.thenation.com/wp-content/>

uploads/2015/09/FLN_algerian_war_cc_img.jpg http://www.rfksafilm.org/html/apartheid_cartoons.php. <http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archive/27/index.html> <https://scontent-dft4-2.xx.fbcdn.net>

<https://leonkwasichronicles.com/2015/01/31/the-imf-and-neo-colonialism-in-the-developingworld-article/> <https://i.pinimg.com/originals/4e/4a/c3/4e4ac325acdd0b19ceb305f0a1691dac.jpg> <http://banknoteworld.com/find?start=0&Country=West%20African%20States#banknotes> <http://thomassankara.net/franz-fanon/> <http://fullpraxisnow.tumblr.com/post/69905905367/neo-colonialism-the-looting-of-africa> <https://www.pinterest.fr/search/pins/?q=neo-colonialism&rs=typed&term>

<https://www.rts.ch/archives/tv/information/3443279-la-chute-de-bokassa.html><https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/john-locke>

<https://danassays.wordpress.com/encyclopedia-of-the-essay/rousseau-jean-jacques/jean-jacquesrousseau/> <https://rickrozoff.wordpress.com> <https://www.google.rw/search?q=montesquieu+photos> <https://www.google.rw/search?q=denis+diderot+photos> <https://www.google.rw/search?q=d%27alembert+photos> http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Galileo_Galilei <https://www.google.rw/search?q=Johannes+Kepler+photos> <https://www.fromoldbooks.org/Aubrey-HistoryOfEngland-Vol3> <https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Tanzania.html> <http://www.hierarchystructure.com/Kenya-court-hierarchy/> <http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/Africa/Kenya-JUDICIAL-SYSTEM.html>

http://www.commonwealthgovernance.org/countries/africa/...of_tanzania/judicial-system/

https://www.indexmundi.com/tanzania/legal_system.html<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/.../151111ebadi.pdf> <http://top5resources.blogspot.com/2014/05/sources-of-law.html>

<http://www.kas.de/wf/doc/4181-1442-1-30.pdf> <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9f13/2aacc14b8af475cc6daf44414c8a69ca09c3.pdf> <https://www.hierarchystructure.com> › Court Hierarchy

<https://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/.../kenya-democracy-political-participation-2...>

<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/9f13/2aacc14b8af475cc6daf44414c8a69ca09c3.pdf> pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/pnacr569.pdf

https://kr.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/75/.../Democracy-in-Brief_kor-1.pdf http://www.minijust.gov.rw/fileadmin/Documents/JRLOS.../SSP_II_2013-2018.pdf

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/.../151111ebadi.pdf> <http://www.forumfp.org.rw/> <https://www.voanews.com/a/rwanda-votes-presidential-election/3972455.html> <http://cfnhri.org/members/africa/rwanda>

<http://cfnhri.org/news-events/detail/the-rwandan-national-commission-for-human-rights-talks-to-the-cfnhri> <https://twitter.com/rbarwanda>
<http://mucuruzi.com/job-at-national-commission-for-unity-and-reconciliation-advisor-to-executive-secretary-deadline-31-october-2017>
<https://www.google.rw/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.nurc.gov.rw> <https://nairobinews.nation.co.ke/wpcontent/uploads/2016/06/editor7053775513564086556.jpg> <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Compilation1.1en.pdf> http://rgb.rw/fileadmin/Key_documents/Rwanda_National_Media.doc <http://ktpress.rw/2017/10/ndi-umunyarwanda-program-here-to-stay-ndayisaba/>

<https://www.cbsnews.com/pictures/kenya-election-violence/2/>

<https://www.e-ir.info/2014/05/01/rwandas-national-unity-and-reconciliationprogram/> <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.514.8305&rep=rep1...> <https://www.capitalfm.co.ke/eblog/?p>

<http://www.statistics.gov.rw/survey-period/integrated-household-living-conditions-survey-2-eicv-2> <http://en.igihe.com/local/cache-vignettes/L1000xH652/1-1963-90fc1-2-65dec.jpg> http://www.newsofrwanda.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/m_116.jpg http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/13062988465_7e76c492ef_b_0.jpg

<http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Masaka%20Umuganda%20November%2022%20>

2012.jpg http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/IMG_8251-s

jpg <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Ingando%20>

Closing_2008_6_0.JPG <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/>

Boniface%20Rucagu <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/>

DSC_2162.JPG <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/1%20copy>

jpg <http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Gacaca%202001%20>

4_1.jpeg

<http://www.rwandapedia.rw/sites/default/files/Mediation%20Session%20>

in%20Nyamugari%20 Sector%20in%20the%20Kirehe%20District_2012.

jpg