

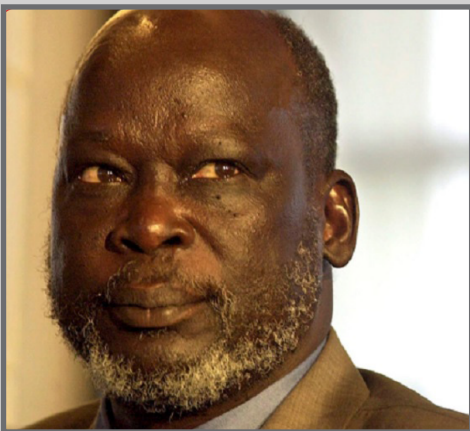
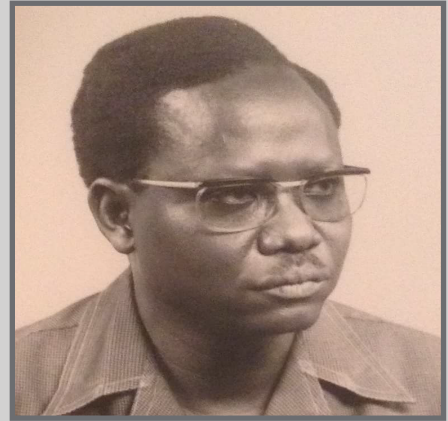


South Sudan



Secondary History 2

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2

History

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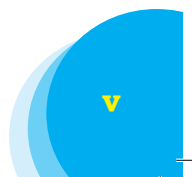
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The French Revolution (1789 to 1799)

Activity 1: The French Revolution (1789 to 1799)



Group work

1. Create a crossword puzzle using the words given and exchange them with another group. Complete the puzzle and check each other's answers.
(i) Revolution (ii) Turmoil (iii) Noble (iv) Monopoly
(v) Tax (vi) Oath (vii) Power (viii) Patriotic
2. Write the meaning of the words in your crossword puzzle.

Introduction

The **French** Revolution was a period in France when people overthrew the monarchy and took control of the government. The revolution led to the overthrow of the monarchy, establishment of a Republic, political violence, turmoil and culminated in a dictatorship under Napoleon Bonaparte. This revolution brought many of its principles to Western Europe and beyond.



Fig. 1.1: Napoleon Bonaparte

Causes of the French Revolution

Source 1

Causes of French Revolution **danielle beach**

www.bitstripsforschools.com

What does the cartoon suggest about:

- The cause of the French Revolution?
- The reasons for the status quo?

The following were some of the causes of the French Revolution:

- Unjust social system
- Poor governance
- Bourgeoisie unrest
- Ideas of the thinkers and writers
- The American Revolution
- Decline in the country's economy
- Unemployment
- Poor harvest and high food prices

The above causes have been explained below in detail.

(i) Unjust social system

One cause of the French Revolution was the unjust social system that created bitterness among many French people who detested it. Before the French Revolution, the society in France was organised into three classes called Estates. This traditional political and social unit was known as the Old Regime. They enjoyed many privileges. They were exempted from taxes and could only be tried in church courts. The church owned a tenth of French land and received enormous revenue

from rents, taxes and fees. Most of the revenue were in the hands of the top clergy, archbishops, bishops who had become lazy, worldly and neglectful of spiritual duties.

Source 2

THE THREE ESTATES

The First Estate:


- Royal family & Clergy
- ~1% of population
- Paid no taxes
- owned 10% of the land

The Second Estate:

- Nobility ~2% of pop.
- owned 25-30% of the land
- Held leading positions in gov't, army, church & law courts
- Paid no taxes

The Third Estate:

- All others ~97% of pop.
- 3 subgroups
- urban middle class –educated w/ \$, resented nobility
- City laborers – poor
- Peasant farmers – pd. Rent, tithe & taxes



Composition of the three estates.

The lower clergy or parish priests were poorly paid and overworked. They had special privileges. They were exempted from the heaviest royal taxes. They collected feudal dues of various kinds from the peasants. They held senior positions in the army and in the government. They were thoughtless, irresponsible and lived extravagantly.

The third estate comprised of all the other people of France approximately 97 percent of the population. This estate was divided into three groups. At the top were the bourgeoisie who comprised of city dwelling middle class, merchants, manufacturers and professionals such as doctors and lawyers. Most bourgeoisies were people of wealth and education.

The bourgeoisies were manual workers such as labourers and artisans. This group received poor wages and lived in crowded areas. The bottom group of the third estate was the serfs and peasants. They paid the heaviest taxes and church tithes and worked for long hours. They lived in ignorance. This was a very unjust social system that greatly exploited the third group of the third estate. This can be compared to the social injustices and economic exploitation the South Sudanese have suffered under the different regimes of Sudan and the initial countries that invaded the area through slave trade. Interestingly, just like the church condoned exploitation of the French people, Islamic religion also condoned and justified slave trade and subsequent exploitation of the African South Sudanese people.

(ii) Poor governance

Another cause of the French revolution was the poor government. France had an absolute monarchy system of government. Some kings for example Louis XIV, was fairly efficient. During the reign of King Louis XV from 1715 to 1774 the government drifted. He was a lazy ruler and inefficient. His rule was full of graft and waste everywhere. The system of law was not uniform as there were hundreds of different courts. Merchants were unable to carry out their businesses because of heavy custom duties.

During the Old Regime, there were no individual rights and personal liberties such as freedom of speech, press or assembly. Judges were appointed and removed by the king. Trials were secret and without a jury. The King ordered imprisonment without trial on anyone who displeased him. Some people were imprisoned for years without knowing why.

(iii) Bourgeoisie unrest

Bourgeoisie unrest contributed to the revolution too. The bourgeoisie were unhappy because they did not have political power equal to their economic power in this Old Regime. They hated the fact that a wealthy bourgeoisie merchant or most brilliant bourgeoisie lawyers were socially inferior to the poorest and most ignorant noble or priest. The bourgeoisie resented special monopolies given to some companies and government interference with merchants' freedom to buy in foreign countries.

(iv) Ideas of the thinkers and writers such as Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu

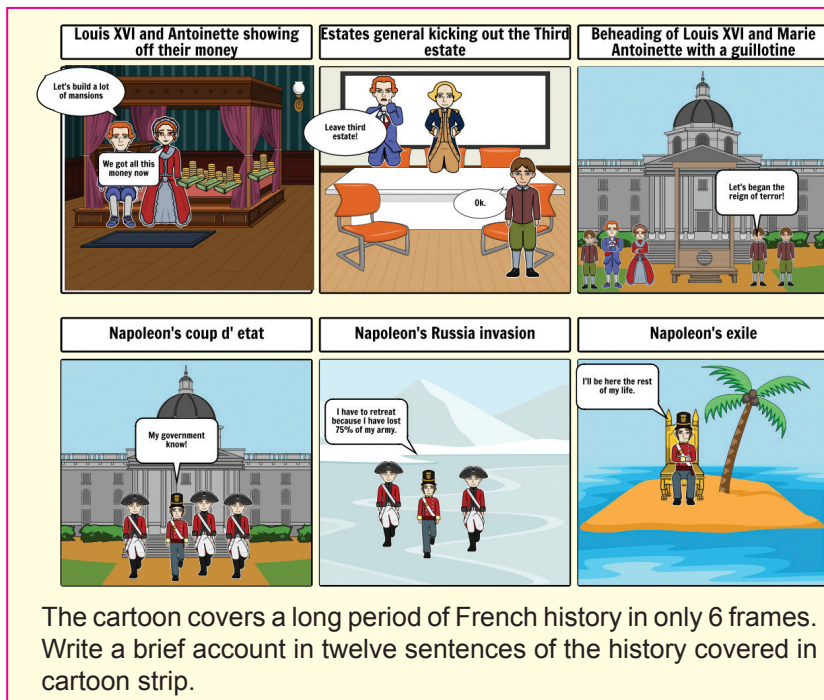
Their ideas greatly influenced and were welcomed by the bourgeoisie. Francois Marie Arouet commonly referred to as Voltaire was a crusader against tyranny. He defended freedom of speech and religious tolerance. To him, ideal religion would teach more morality more than just following rigid rules.

Jean Jacques Rousseau believed that a good government must have the freedoms of all its citizens as the most fundamental objective. In his social contract theory (Social contract is an agreement between the people of a state and the government of a state), Rousseau wrote that "man is born free and everywhere he is in chains. One man thinks himself the master of others but remains more of a slave than they are." Baron De Montesquieu believed in separation of powers and that administrative powers should be divided into the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary and that

there should be separation of powers among these three organs. He also advocated for separation between the spheres of God and the emperor.

“We ought not to decide by divine laws what should be divided by human laws nor determine by human laws what should be determined by divine laws,” he said.

Source 3



(v) The American Revolution

The American Revolution greatly influenced the French Revolution. The success of the American Revolution also had profound effect on the thinking of the French middle class. Declaration of independence in America based on ideas of equality of man and his right to control his own government was an inspiration to the French middle class. During this period, France was experiencing heavy debts and financial problems. The basic cause of financial problems was the unwillingness of the wealthy to pay taxes. The high debts and financial problems made the people discontent and restless. Louis XVI came to the throne in 1774 finding France headed for financial disaster. He was a weak leader who was encouraged to resist change by his queen Marie Antoinette and the corrupt and stubborn nobles of his court.

Other factors that contributed to the French Revolution were; problems in the decline of the economy, unemployment, poor harvest in 1788 and high food prices.

The poor peasants lacked food while the monarch and nobles lived extravagantly. The queen, Marie Antoinette even spat on people when they asked for bread which was the staple food, and told them to eat cakes if they cannot afford bread.



Fig. 1.2: Marie Antoinette



Group work

Discuss what the Tennis Court Oath was all about during the French Revolution. Thereafter, each group to present their findings to the teacher for assessment.

Activity 2: The course of the French Revolution

Several events characterised the French Revolution. These events were;

1. The meeting of the Estates General

Faced with all the financial problems, Louis XVI called for a meeting of the Estates General at Versailles in May 1789. The Estates Generals had not met for almost 200 years and they met in an atmosphere of confusion and uncertainty with no one knowing exactly what its powers and rules were. The third Estate which consisted of young men acquainted with Montesquieu and Voltaire's ideas and many of the lawyers insisted on having a real voice in decisions. They also argued that they represented the majority of the Frenchmen. They even refused to take votes separately as the king desired and had been the custom. They claimed that the Estates Generals represented the Frenchmen and not the three Estates.

They insisted that they should meet and vote as individuals.

Louis being a weak leader failed to take action prompting the Third Estate to declare themselves the National Assembly. This declaration made on June 17th 1789 was the first act of the French Revolution. The king locked these Third Estates representatives out of the meeting place. They met in a nearby tennis court on June 20th and made what was known as the Tennis Court Oath. They agreed not to adjourn until they had written a constitution for France and adopted it. The king gave into the demand of the Third Estate.

2. Riots and violence

King Louis XVI, due to fear, brought large bodies of troops to Paris and Versailles where the representatives were meeting. People began to riot on 14th July 1789. A Paris mob stormed and captured the Bastille which was the hated prison Fortress. They were searching for weapons. This day is still celebrated as a national holiday known as the Bastille Day. The riots led to the formation of a new government in the city under the leadership of General Lafayette. The white flag was replaced by a tri-colour flag of red, white and blue stripes which is still the flag of France.

In July and August, the Paris riots spread to the rest of France. Eager to avenge old wrongs and old burdens, the peasants attacked monasteries of the Catholic Church and manor houses of the rich. They robbed and destroyed government offices burning documents which contained records of their rents, feudal dues and other obligations. They killed some nobles, their agents and government officials especially tax collectors.



Fig. 1.3: General Lafayette

3. The end of the Old Regime

In August 1789, the National Assembly abolished the last remnants of serfdom. They cancelled all feudal dues and services of the peasants and repelled the church tithe. They removed the special privileges of the French nobles and clergy including tax exemptions. All these changes were included in a decree known as the Law of the Fourth of August on 27th August 1789. The representatives adopted the Declaration of the Rights of man, a document influenced by the English Bill of Rights. This document emphasised equality of all people before the law. It advocated for freedom of speech, of the press and of religion. It emphasised people's participation in government and that oppressive governments should be resisted.

4. Reforms in the government

The National Assembly undertook several reforms by passing more than 2000 laws to correct old abuses. It abolished provinces and divided France into eighty three uniform districts called departments. All government officials would be elected. Most of the land was bought by peasants who had been renting it. In the constitution of the clergy, it was passed that priests and bishops would be elected by voters of their parishes. Their salaries would be paid by the government. This civil constitution of the clergy though, was a mistake as it turned many people against the revolution.

5. The constitution of France 1791

The constitution of France was written providing for a limited monarchy with separate legislative, executive and judicial branches. Louis XVI together with his wife tried to flee to the Austrian Netherlands but they were intercepted and brought back to Paris.

6. The end of the monarchy

In April 1792, Paris was invaded by Prussian and Austrian armies. This led to a group of radicals seizing control of the city government and setting up an organisation called the "commune". This organisation mounted pressure on the assembly to abolish the monarchy. On August 10th 1792, the assembly by order of the commune voted to suspend the office of the king. Troops marched to the royal palace, massacred many of the king's guards and imprisoned Louis XVI and his family.

7. France under the National Convention

The National Convention after representatives being elected held its first meeting in September 1792. There were several representatives harbouring diverse views ranging from moderates to radicals. Extreme radicals wanted a republic representing all the people and not just the middle class. The National Convention ruled France by dictatorial methods for three years. The National Convention tried King Louis XVI on charges of plotting against the security of the nation. He was declared guilty and sentenced to death. He was beheaded by the guillotine on January 21st 1793.

8. Exporting the revolution

In 1792, the French army defeated Austrian and Prussian invasion. France invaded the Austrian Netherlands and captured Brussels. With those victories the National Convention declared that the French armies would liberate all the people of Europe from their autocratic rulers. The rest of Europe was alarmed by the French decision to export the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Some French people were also opposed to this move. Britain, the Dutch, Netherlands, Spain and Sardinia joined Prussia and Austria to form a coalition against France. France faced several military defeats. French troops were driven out of the Austrian Netherlands and France was invaded.

9. Desperate measure

In 1793, the convention set up a public safety to direct the army in crushing foreign invaders. It also established a court called “The Revolutionary Tribunal” to sought out and try “enemies of the Revolution”. The army carried out massive conscription where all men between eighteen and forty five years were eligible to military service. The new army comprised of loyal patriotic men of all classes. Despite all these, there continued to be unrest which was intensified by food shortage.

Points to remember

The course of the French Revolution;

1. The meeting of the State General
2. Riots and violence
3. The end of the old regime
4. Reforms in the government
5. The end of the monarchy
6. Exporting the revolution
7. Desperate measures

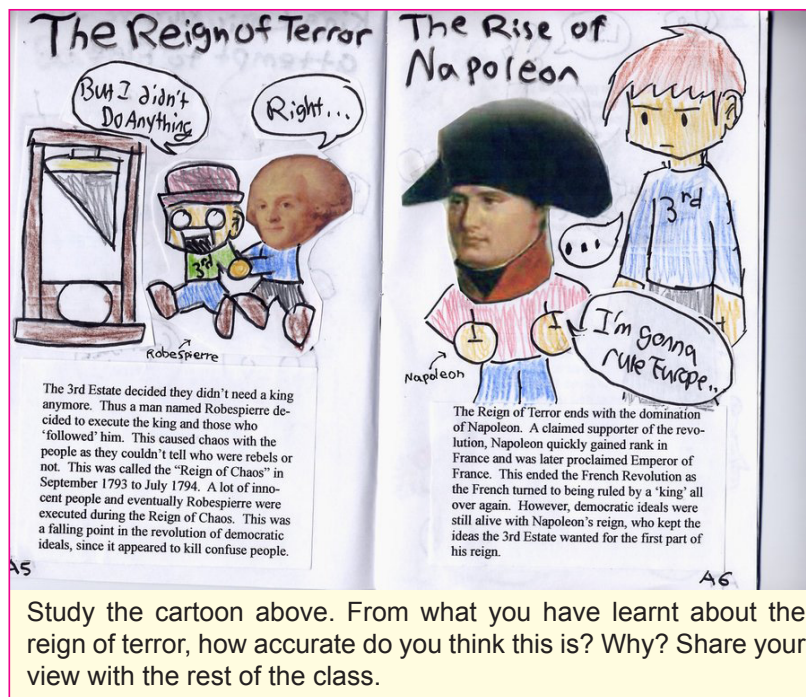


Pair work

Research the reign of terror using the internet, the library, this text book and other books, a resource person and your teacher. In pairs prepare a visual aid to explain the effects of the reign of terror to the rest of the class.

Activity 3: The Reign of Terror

Source 4



To meet the danger of opposition and revolt within France, the convention under Robespierre's direction instituted a program to suppress all opposition. Maximillien Robespierre was one of the most powerful individuals in the National Convention. This is what was known as the "Reign of Terror" which lasted from 1793 to 1794. According to one delegate, "what constitutes the Republic is the complete destruction of everything that is opposed to it". The Revolutionary Tribunal conducted swift trials and handed down harsh sentences. Many people were arrested, tried and executed on mere suspicion. The method of execution was beheading by the guillotine.

Source 5

The Reign of Terror

- After the death of Louis in 1793, the Reign of Terror began.
 - Marie Antoinette led a parade of prominent and not-so-prominent citizens to their deaths.
 - The guillotine, the new instrument of egalitarian justice, was put to work.
- Public executions were considered educational. Women were encouraged to sit and knit during trials and executions.
- The Revolutionary Tribunal ordered the execution of 2,400 people in Paris by July 1794. Across France 30,000 people lost their lives.

Read these bullet points.

Discuss what impact you think the reign of terror had on different sectors of the population.

Georges Jacques Danton another powerful member of the National Convention and Robespierre persecuted not only the moderate members but also extreme radicals. Many were led to the guillotine. The reign of terror fell on all, that is, the nobles, bourgeoisie, clergy, peasants and even labourers.

In 1794, Danton felt that the reign of terror had accomplished its purpose and should be relaxed but Robespierre became more fanatical, accused Danton of disloyalty to the Revolution. Danton and his followers were executed. For a hundred days, Robespierre ruled with an iron hand carrying out the policy of suppression that aroused fear even among his supporters. Members of the convention intervened. In July 1794, Robespierre himself was arrested and then guillotined. The reign of terror ended leaving what remained of the moderates in control.

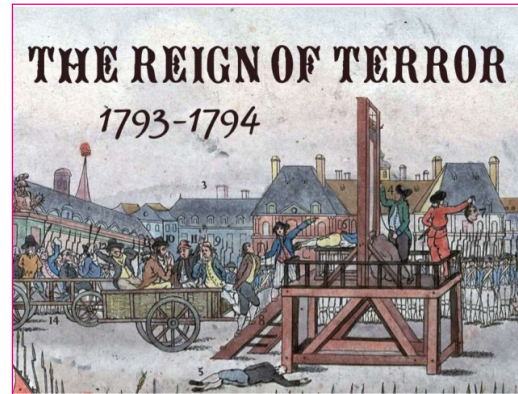


Fig. 1.4: Georges Jacques Danton

Effects of the reign of terror

The reign of terror led to the following:

- Massive loss of lives.
- Destruction of property.
- Poor infrastructure.
- Unemployment.
- Famine and starvation.
- War between France and other neighbouring nations.
- The rise of Napoleon to power.
- Exile of several nobles and clergy.
- Rise of directorate government.
- Downfall of clubs and political pluralism in France.



Group work

1. Come up with questions on the achievements and failures of the directorate government. Afterwards, exchange your questions with another group.
2. Each group to find answers for the questions they have been given to tackle.
3. Group leaders to present their answers in class.

Activity 4: The Directorate in France after the French Revolution

In 1795, the National Convention wrote a new constitution that called for a republican form of government. The executive branch which controlled the government consisted of five men chosen by the legislature. These five men were called directors. Therefore the government created by the constitution of 1791 was known as the Directory. The Directorate government ruled France for four years.

Achievements of the directorate government

The directory encouraged good leadership in the French army. Many young

generals arose during the years of 1795 to 1799 whose suppression of a Paris uprising had permitted the directory to be established. Among these young generals was Napoleon Bonaparte who took over France through a Coup de tat from the Directorate government on 1799 and ruled France as a dictator.

The directorate government ended the reign of terror and restored law and order in France. They abolished committees of public safety, revolutionary tribunals and general security which were instruments of the reign of terror. They released political suspects most of whom were unfairly imprisoned during the reign of terror. They allowed people who had fled persecution in France during the reign of terror to unconditionally return.

The directorate government checked and minimised the influence and threats of the royalists against the government. Two thirds of government posts were to be held by former members of the convention government. The directorate initiated several reforms. These included the codification of French laws; centralisation of administration, public works for example roads and railways, educational, industrial and agricultural reforms. Some of these reforms were perfected by Napoleon Bonaparte making him great.

The directorate restored democracy in France after the worst dictatorship of the reign of terror. It was a liberal government headed by a committee of five men of high reputation. The directors were regularly replaced to avoid dictatorship and struggle for power. It made attempts to safeguard people's freedoms and rights throughout the four years.

Failures of the directorate government

1. Voting was restricted to property owners.
2. The government was made up of weak, corrupt and selfish men.
3. Constant quarrels among the directors who were unable to agree on solutions to the problems of France.
4. The directorate became unpopular as the old regime.
5. The directorate made France bankrupt and paved the way for military dictatorship.



Group work

Analyse the effects that the French Revolution of 1830 had on the book industry and writing of the time.

Activity 5: Impacts of the French Revolution on Europe

The French Revolution spread revolutionary ideas across Europe. The revolution was profound in shaping politics, society, religion, ideas in France and European nations. It brought about liberalism. For example in Switzerland, ideas of the French revolution of equality of all citizens before the law, equality of languages, freedom of thought and faith were useful in creating Swiss citizenship based on modern nationality, separation of power, reformed civil and penal law among other factors. Historians widely regarded the French Revolution as one of the most important events of world history. The upper and lower classes had a clear example of what could happen if the social contract broke down.

The French Revolution led to the migration of thousands of French people who were escaping political tension and death. They fled to neighbouring countries such as Britain, Germany, Austria and Prussia. These displacements led to the spread of the French culture to the places they moved to. Some nations though, received these French people with caution. This is because they feared that these people brought with them a plot to disrupt their political order. Some European countries therefore, increased regulation and documentation of the influx of immigrants. Coming closer to home, we can relate this to South Sudan. The civil wars in Sudan led to many people being displaced. These people fled to neighbouring countries like Kenya and Uganda among others.

The war increased French conquests on European countries to spread the ideas of the French Revolution notably ideas of equality, liberty and fraternity. For example France conquered Belgium and turned it into a province of France. She conquered Netherlands and made it a puppet state. She took control of the German areas on the left bank of the Rhine River and established a puppet regime. It conquered Switzerland and most of Italy establishing puppet states. France therefore lived in glory and money from conquered lands which was used to support the French army. It was only after the countries that were now enemies of France, formed a coalition that they were able to hold back French successes.

The French Revolution greatly inspired the growth of modern nationalism across Europe. Many nations including small German states started harbouring great nationalist feelings where countries put emphasis on promoting their own interests.

In Ireland, the French Revolution led to a mass movement by protestant settlers to gain some autonomy. This was a mass movement that involved Catholics and Protestants. This stimulated reforms throughout Ireland that laid the foundation for modern Irish imperialism. This in turn led to the partition of Ireland and independence of 26 of its 32 counties.

In Germany, the French Revolution brought liberal and democratic ideas such as the end of serfdom and Jewish ghetto. It brought economic freedoms, agrarian and legal reforms.

New Words

Autocratic	– It is an organisation that has power and makes decision without asking anyone.
Codification	– The action or process of arranging rules.
Commune	– The smallest French territorial division for administrative purposes.
Constitution	– A body of fundamental principles to which a state is acknowledged to be governed.
Directorate	– A section of government department in charge of a particular activity.
Disaster	– It is a sudden or natural catastrophe that causes great damage or loss of life.
Exile	– The state of being barred from one's native country.
Merchant	– This is a person who buys or sells goods in large quantities
Monarchy	– It is a form of government in which law-making power is given to a single person, usually holding such authority by birth right and not by merit.
Reign of terror	– It is a period of time when a ruler controls people in a violent and cruel way.
Regime	– A government, especially an authoritarian one.
Remnant	– A small minority of people who will remain faithful to God.
Revolt	– It is to take a violent action against an established government.
Revolution	– A forcible overthrow of a government or social order, in favour of a new system.
Tith	– This is a tenth part of one's income contributed to support the clergy or the church.
Tyranny	– This is a cruel, harsh and unfair government.

End of unit questions

1. What were the most important conflicts between various social groups in eighteenth Century in France? Explain.
2. How did the Reign of Terror cause the National Convention to be replaced by the Directory?
3. How did the French Revolution lead to democracy? Discuss.
4. Explain the weaknesses of the Directory in the French Revolution period.
5. In less than 400 words, summarise the effects of the reign of terror.

The Congress of Vienna and a New Europe



Research work

Carry out a research using the library, the internet, this textbook, other books, resource person and your teacher about the Congress of Vienna.

Carry out a research using the library, the internet, this textbook, other books and your teacher.

Activity 1: The Congress of Vienna

In September 1814 to June 1815, Austrian Statesman Clemens Lothar von Metternich, chaired a meeting of ambassadors of European states in Vienna Austria. It was convened after the defeat of Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo by the five European states of Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia and France. French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte had waged a war on Europe to introduce liberal democracies to replace monarchical absolutism that had ruled Europe. The ambassadors therefore wanted peace to prevail in Europe after the defeat of Napoleon. The Congress of Vienna is also known as the ‘**Concert of Europe**’.



Fig. 2.1: Napoleon Bonaparte

Point to remember

The Congress of Vienna is also known as Concert of Europe.

The aims of the Congress of Vienna in Europe

To ensure peace in Europe is maintained, the Congress of Vienna came up with the following aims:

1. To deal with territorial issues of Europe. The Germanic states needed to be configured to form a unified Germany just like Italy also had states that needed to be put together to form the state of Italy.
2. To restore peace and order in Europe after the Napoleonic wars.
3. To encourage conservative regimes that would renounce the democratic ideals of the French Revolution.
4. To ensure free navigation of European rivers.
5. To contain France and her activities in Europe so as to ensure balance of power in Europe.

The Achievements of the Congress of Vienna in Europe

One of the main aim of the Congress was to ensure a balance of power in Europe. The balance of power was therefore achieved when France was defeated and the continent of Europe was restored to its former self.

The Congress also created the confederation of Germany by ensuring the unification of the Germanic states that were more than 100 in number.

After the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, The Russian empire was expanded taking part of the modern day Poland, the Baltics and Finland. Napoleon had threatened the influence of Austria and Britain on Eastern Europe.



Fig. 2.2: Meeting of the Congress of Vienna

The Congress was able to preserve peace in Europe for the next forty years up to the outbreak of Crimean War. This long period of peace was to some extent due to the settlement of Vienna. There was no hard feelings by any of the European state after the Vienna Congress because unlike the Treaty of Versailles, it never humiliated France which was found to be the aggressor. France readily accepted the Vienna settlement thus sowing the seeds of peace in Europe for that period.

The Congress of Vienna was an effort to restore peace in Europe. This system was to be borrowed and used in the creation of the League of Nations after World War One and the United Nations Organisations after World War Two.



Group work

Discuss how Metternich played a key role in the Congress of Vienna.

Activity 2: The Contributions of Metternich to the Success and Failure of Congress of Vienna

Clement Lothar von Metternich was born in 1773 in Germany in an aristocratic family. He underwent proper education graduating with many degrees. However, his education was interfered with during the Napoleonic wars. Upon marrying Countess Eleanor Kaunitz, the grand-daughter of Austrian Chancellor, Metternich became involved in diplomatic relations serving as an envoy to various states. Later on, he got stationed at the French court and when war broke out between France and Austria, he was detained and released later in exchange of the Frenchmen who had been detained by Austria.



Fig. 2.3: Clement Lothar von Metternich

In Vienna during the plenary of the Congress, Metternich was able to greatly influence delegates to buy his thoughts. He was a charming leader and very

determined to succeed. Metternich on the international scene, ensured that France did not create chaos in Europe, the creation of German Confederation under Austrian leadership, checked on Russian ambition, removing revolutionary ideas in Europe and ensuring that peace prevailed in Europe. He also had a greater influence on the creation of a stronger empire of Austria.

Source 1

The Congress of Vienna was attended by conservatives from Austria, Prussia, Russia, Britain, and France and was led by Austrian minister Klemens von Metternich



Metternich and other conservatives wanted to restore powerful monarchies in Europe, disliked democracy, and feared the ideas of the French Revolution

Congress of Vienna (1814)

- To decide what to do with the chaos of Europe after the Napoleonic Wars
- Pretty much four who met only informally to hash out settlement: Austria (Metternich), Prussia (Bismarck), Russia (Alexander I) and Britain + France (Talleyrand) trying to influence from the wings
- VERY conservative: aim, to restore *ancien regime* and repudiate aims of liberals and French Revolution; spokesman of these ideals: Metternich

Use the sources to explain the role that Metternich played in the Congress of Vienna.

The events before the Congress of Vienna that brought conflicts in Europe saw France being squarely blamed. The Vienna settlement made France to be given barrier states to surround her so that she does not mobilise her forces to destabilise Europe again. In the 1830s, France appeared to want to create instability in Europe again. She wanted to help Mehemet Ali of Egypt to expand his trade to the Near East. A conference was then called in London in 1839 and Metternich convinced the delegates from Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia to keep Mehemet Ali in Egypt. Metternich also ensured that France was not able to take over Poland and that Prussia could not take over Saxony.

Metternich played a great role in developing German Confederation. German Confederation was under the leadership of Austria. Austria was under the leadership of Metternich who ensured that Austria maintained supremacy in the German Confederation. This move ensured that Austria had firmer grip on German Confederation.

To maintain the supremacy of Austria, Metternich had to check on the ambition of Russia. The Congress of Vienna resolved that Russia should not acquire Poland as she had wished to. Russia was still determined to extent her influence in Europe and beyond. She wanted to send her forces to fight those resisting Spanish rule

in South America. Russia also wanted to dominate the Balkans. Knowing that these ambitions were going to bring conflicts in Europe, Metternich was able to convince Russia against these ambitions thus making peace prevail in Europe.

Metternich belonged to the Aristocrat family and as such he was against revolutionary ideas sweeping across Europe. He was particularly against liberalism and nationalism in Europe. Ideas which meant the doing away with old form of government, that is, monarchical regimes. He believed that for peace to prevail in Europe, there was need to ensure legitimacy of governments which was possible through a well established claim to the throne. He never wanted competitive claim to the throne. He was against the democratic process of installing leadership.

Besides, Austria dominated German and Italian states so she never wanted to miss on this status by allowing revolutionary ideas. Metternich passed a decree known as Carlsbad Decrees in 1819 to repress against the spread of revolutionary ideas. To keep the spread of these ideas in check, in Troppau Protocol of 1820, Metternich came up with the idea of Armed-intervention which was to suppress any revolutionary movements. Actually, Metternich crushed revolts at Naples and Piedmont states. However, an idea whose time has come is hard to stop and so when he stepped down in 1848, the ideas of liberalism and nationalism gained a lot of momentum. Even though the spread of revolutionary was not stopped, Metternich was able to provide a check.

After the end of Napoleonic wars in Europe, Metternich was determined to see peace prevail in Europe. He ensured the periodic congresses were held in Europe so as to bring powers on the table and iron out their differences before things could get out of hand and result in war. He hosted the Congress of Troppau in 1820 and the Congress of Laibach in 1821. This enabled him to maintain peace in Europe.


In Austria, he restructured the administrative system to improve the relationship between Vienna and the outlying states. He was open to new ideas but was cautious in not to destabilise the old order of things. He never wanted to do away with the aristocratic regimes in Europe lest they turn against him.

It is therefore in order to say that Metternich was able to control European political affairs. No wonder the period shortly after the Congress of Vienna, a name was coined to say that it was the “Age of Metternich”.

Activity 3: The contributions of Talleyrand to the success and failure of Congress of Vienna

Source 2

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand



1754-1838

"Regimes may fall and fail, but I do not"

"The only thing you cannot do with a bayonet is sit on it."

- A born aristocrat who worked for French governments from Louis XVI to The Revolution to Napoleon and beyond
- Appeared at The Congress of Vienna as a champion of the 'smaller states'
- Focused on the concept of 'legitimacy'
- Succeeded in making France an equal to the nations that had defeated it.

How did Talleyrand help in making France equal to other nations?

Charles Maurice de Talleyrand was born in 1754 in France in a family of nobles. His father Charles Daniel was a soldier in the French army. He had an ambition of becoming a soldier but he got an accident which affected his physical mobility making him change his career. He was an ordained priest and rose ranks to become a Bishop of Autun. He became controversial and accepted the Civil Constitution of the clergy. He was one of the consecrators of the new bishops established under its provisions. In 1791, Pope Pius VI excommunicated Talleyrand from the church after he resigned as Bishop.



Fig. 2.4: Pope Pius VI

Talleyrand became obsessed with wealth accumulation and these made him go to England and United States. He returned to France in 1796 and was made Minister of Foreign Affairs of France in 1797. He was known to be a corrupt diplomat who would take bribes from the parties involved in a feud. He was forced to resign in 1799 as the Minister for Foreign Affairs. He also served as the Minister for Foreign Affairs under Napoleon Bonaparte. While serving under Napoleon, Talleyrand secretly provided information to King Louis XVII. When the monarchy resumed, he was again named Foreign Affairs Minister upon the establishment of the government on 1st April, 1814.



Fig. 2.5: Charles Maurice de Talleyrand

The role of Talleyrand in the Congress of Vienna was that of a peacemaker and peace protector. When he joined the Congress as French representative, he knew that the task ahead was tough as he had to convince delegates and bring France to her rightful place.

Talleyrand was one of the people who signed the Treaty of Paris to end the Napoleonic wars. Through his manoeuvres, he was able to convince the parties at the treaty of Paris not to make France pay for the damages of war caused by Napoleon Bonaparte. He argued that paying the war damages would weaken the position of King Louis XVII and give rise to the feelings that Bonaparte had among the French citizens.

Talleyrand went to the Congress of Vienna to preserve the dignity of France. He did this by trying to disunite the powers of Europe. Realising that great powers of Europe were colluding to decide what to be brought before the Congress. Feeling threatened, he teamed up with smaller powers to assert herself in the outcome of the Congress. This tactic made France to be considered in the Congress.

While attending the Congress of Vienna, Talleyrand was able to dismantle the big powers that had met earlier to decide on what to present before delegates. It was agreed that there was no way they could call themselves Allied powers. “Allied against who?” posed Talleyrand. This approach made France to be at the same level with other European powers.

Talleyrand was also able to form an alliance comprising of Austria, England and France to check on the Russian plan on Poland. The powers were each to provide 15,000 soldiers with Britain adding an equal number if need be. The treaty of this alliance was signed by Talleyrand, Metternich and Castlereagh. This act made the big powers that had ganged up against France to disintegrate to the happiness of Talleyrand.

The image of France in Europe after the Napoleon War and going into the Congress of Vienna had been really tainted. Talleyrand had gone to Vienna as the head of a power that had lost in the war. France was blamed for all the chaos in Europe at that time. Talleyrand in his wisdom was able to change this narrative by calling for peace, justice and understanding. His negotiation skills were applauded at home in France.

Activity 4: German Unification in Europe


Source 3

UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Another unification movement took place in Germany during the 1800's. Just like Italy, Germany was made up of independent states.

People who lived in the Germanic states spoke similar languages, and shared similar customs.

They also saw an increase in nationalist enthusiasm as a result of Napoleon's conquest of the region. Just like in Italy, they did not like being ruled by foreign powers.



Look at the cartoon above. What does the source tell you about the incentive for 'countries' to unify?

The causes of German Unification in Europe

Germany got unified after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871 under the leadership of Otto von Bismarck. Before then, Germany never existed instead there were small Germanic states. The causes of her unification therefore are as follows:



Fig. 2.6: Otto Von Bismarck

The Prussian military strength. She had wealth which was partly acquired from Zollverein policy. This wealth was used to equip the army, buy weapons and pay the military well. Otto von Bismarck used this wealth to create a strong army that could easily fight and win wars in Europe. Austria was in German Confederation when she waged a war against Prussia. Prussia under Bismarck defeated Austria and formed North German Confederation. Southern German States had to pay Prussia some money so as to enter into a military alliance with them.

The role of Otto von Bismarck who was the president of Prussia. Once he rose to power, Bismarck was determined to make Prussia stronger in Europe. He started by building a strong army to realise this purpose. As Minister President of Prussia, he was able to wage war against Prussia, France and Denmark.

Germanic States admired Prussia due to her economic success and the Zollverein policy. Prussia seemed to be a military protector. This attitude of other states towards Prussia made them to want to associate with her thus resulting into the unification of Germany.

Prussia and German states enjoyed economic growth in the mid-1850s, boosting several natural resources in areas such Rhine. They had improved transport infrastructure by construction of a railway line connecting states in the region. The terms of workers were also improved making them not to think revolting against the government.

The decline of Austria. In 1848 to 1849, Russia helped Austria overcome revolutions. However, during the Crimean war in the 1850s, Austria refused to help Russia and this destroyed their relationship. So when Prussia attacked Austria, Russia could not help. Bismarck knew that Russia could not help Austria so he readily provoked her into war. Economically, Prussia was superior to Austria as she lacked enough natural resources.

Nationalism was another reason. This spirit of nationalism was seen in the French revolution where it was realised that a people united can pursue a course and achieve their desire. The Germans got an inspiration from German nationalism.

The course of German Unification in Europe

As we had observed earlier, the unification of Germany started in 1871 after the Franco-Prussian war. Germany was initially composed of many states which were independent of each other. Germany was under the Holy Roman Empire and in the 17th Century the two great powers of Prussia and Austria began to expand.

The rule of the Holy Roman Empire ended in the 19th Century when Napoleon Bonaparte invaded the empire. After Napoleon's defeat by European powers, the German states in 1815 created German Confederation under the leadership of Austria.

The spirit of German nationalism was aroused when France attacked German lands. This invasion made them start thinking of a united German state. This period coincided with the leadership of the Chancellor of Prussia, Otto von Bismarck who was a zealous nationalist. Bismarck dreamt of his Prussia dominating Germany. He set out to strengthen his army as well as looking for allies to unify Germany. This made her look for Russia which was a former ally to Austria.

The uprising of German nationalists was encouraged and the two territories of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark were taken by Prussia. Austria was also interested in the two territories too but going there meant passing through Prussia

which was not easy. The other members of the Confederation supported Austria. Prussia therefore declared war on the rest of the Confederation members and Austria. This war lasted for seven weeks only.

Prussian military was well equipped and better trained than Austrian forces. This made Prussians to defeat Austrians. Bismarck became lenient with Austrians for fear of retaliation of the defeat they suffered at the hands of Prussian. Bismarck never wanted his plan to unify Germany to be interfered with.

Another challenge for Bismarck was how to get the southern states to his side. The southerners were overwhelmingly Catholic. They were not militaristic unlike Prussians who were Protestants and militants. To bring all German states on his side, Bismarck turned to *realpolitik* where he forged a note that implicated the French ambassador to have insulted the Prussian king. When this letter became public, the two nations, France and Prussia were ready for a war.

France declared war on Prussia in July 1870. Up to then, France had the strongest military force in Europe. However, Prussia got troops from southern and northern Germany having made an alliance with them earlier resulting in a resounding defeat of France and the taking away of her two rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine by Prussia.

The challenges of German Unification in Europe

1. Germany as a nation in as much as it unified, it never united in real sense. This difference was seen during the cold war when the West of Germany took up the economic ideology of Capitalism while East Germany took Communism. This saw the building of the Berlin Wall to separate the two sides. This situation developed the feeling of resentment between the two sides.
2. Germany was united around Prussia. This made Prussia the dominant state in Germany and could not fear any opposition from the smaller states. This made Germany unstable due to the fact that other states were considered “inferior”.
3. The unification of Germany brought imbalance of power in Europe. France was the strongest power and when she was defeated by Prussia and Germany unified. She felt bitter and was looking for an opportunity to revenge the loss of the war and the two rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

Activity 5: Italian Unification in Europe

Source 4

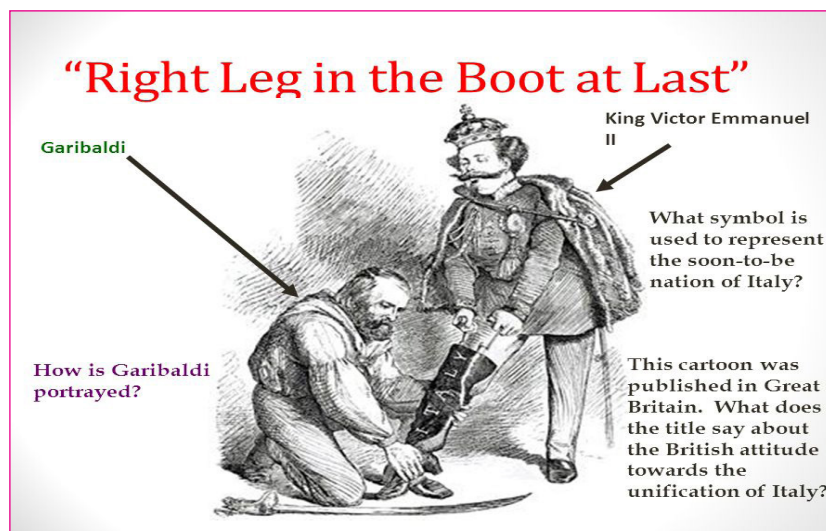
Young Italy is a brotherhood of Italians who are convinced that Italy is destined to become one nation – convinced also that she possesses sufficient strength within herself to become one. The great aim is to remake Italy as one independent sovereign nation of free men and equals.

Young Italy is Republican because it is the only form of government that ensures a free and equal community of brothers and the aristocracy is the source of inequality and corruption to the whole nation.

Young Italy is Unitarian because without unity there is no true nation or strength. Italy, surrounded by powerful nations, has need for strength. Federalism would place her under the influence of one of the neighbouring nations.

The means by which Young Italy proposes to reach its aims are education and insurrection. Education must always be directed to teach by example, word and pen, the necessity of insurrection. Insurrection – by means of guerrilla bands – is the true method of warfare for all nations wanting to free themselves from foreign control.

From Mazzini's 'General Instructions for Members of Young Italy', published in 1831.



Group work

Discuss what the two sources tell you about attitudes towards the unification of Italy, both within Italy and abroad.

The causes of Italian Unification in Europe

Just as Germany, the state of Italy never existed before 1870. There were just several Italian states that came up to form Italy. The states included among them

Piedmont, Venice, Rome, Genoa, Lombardy, Venetia, Naples, Sicily, Milan among others. The reasons for her unification or *Risorgimento* (meaning revival) are as follows:

The contribution of their leaders such as Count Camilo Benso di Cavour, Giuseppe Mazzini, King Victor Emmanuel II and Giuseppe Garibaldi. All these were keen to ensure that Italy unified. They were the fathers of unification in one way or another. These were notable statesmen who could understand the problems of the country and solve them.

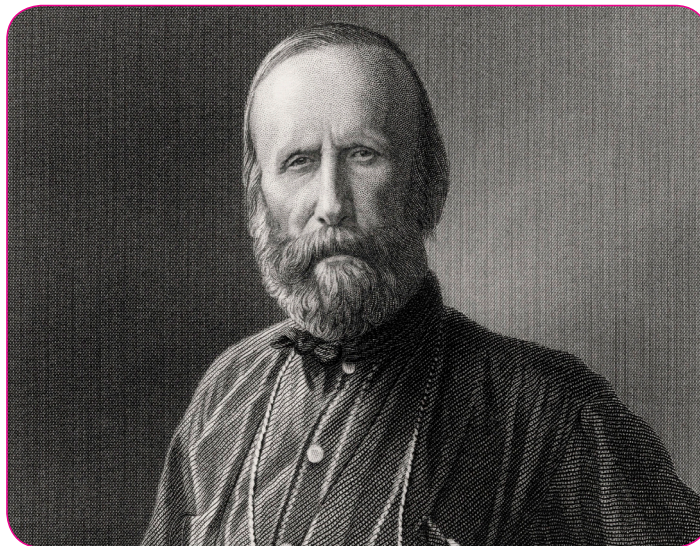


Fig. 2.7: Giuseppe Garibaldi

The role of foreign players. The activities of Napoleon Bonaparte evoked the spirit of nationalism among the people of Italy. What resulted was the creation of a group known as Young Italy by Mazzini.

Another reason was **the urge of economic growth during their integration.** They believed that trade barriers will be eliminated should they come together to form a union.



Fig. 2.8: King Victor Emmanuel II

The course of Italian Unification in Europe

The course of unification of Italy was championed by the members of the upper class. A secret society named Carbonari under Giuseppe Mazzini was formed to fight for the unification. Revolutionary attempts were started by Carbonari but these were crushed by Austria to the anger of Italians. Later on, Mazzini created a group known as Young Italy in 1831 whose main objective was to spread ideas of unification of Italy.

There was a period of revolutions in Europe in 1848 which affected the Papal state making the Pope to flee from Rome. The end result was the creation of Roman Republic by Garibaldi and Mazzini. In 1849, France marched to Rome and destroyed the Roman Republic. Austria also attacked Piedmont forcing the king to abdicate power. Victor Emmanuel II, his son then took over the leadership of Piedmont. Count Camilo di Cavour became the Prime Minister of Piedmont (kingdom of Sardinia) in 1852 changing the course of Italy unification dream a reality. Even though Piedmont was a small state, it was influential and had a strong military might. Cavour introduced economic reforms that saw Piedmont shine.



Fig. 2.9: Camilo di Cavour

Austria was forced to go to war against Piedmont after the latter caused trouble in one of the former's territory. France helped Piedmont in exchange for Nice and Savoy. Austria lost in the war and Prussia mobilised her forces to fight against France and Piedmont. This made Italian states to join the war in support of Piedmont. Piedmont was able to get Lombardy from Austria at the end of the war. On the other hand, Garibaldi waged a campaign in Southern Italy unifying the states there. The soldiers occupied Sicily and set their eyes on mainland Italy. Garibaldi in 1861 met Victor Emmanuel II and this began the process of creating a unified Italy. However, not all parts of Italy were united. Rome and Venetia did not form its part. Venetia was later annexed in 1866 during the seven weeks' war between Austria and Prussia. In 1870, Rome voted to be part of Italy and became the capital in July 1871.

The challenges of Italian Unification in Europe

There was a concern from the rest of the Italian states who were not impressed that most of the senior government and military jobs were taken by mostly the Piedmontese. This brought a lot of disquiet among the other states which hoped that with the unification, all of them would get equal job opportunities.

Another challenge was the Italian constitution which was the old constitution of Piedmont in use. The constitution was secular and liberal in nature not favouring regions that were deeply religious such as Naples, Rome, Sicily and Venice. This made the new constitution be rejected.

The central state of Italy was very strong. This is not what the small states of Italy expected. They wanted stronger federal governments to cater for them at local level. This resulted in weakening the national unity of Italy as the system made regions to be hostile to one another.

There was also another challenge whereby the Southern states were looked down upon by Piedmont. They were seen as savage and corrupt. The northerners considered themselves rich due to trade while the southerners considered poor. This brought an internal turmoil in Italy. This spoilt the spirit of national unity. The Catholic Church also felt bad that some of the Papal states were taken away and urged its faithful not to cooperate with the newly formed government.

New Words

Ambassador	– An important official who works in a foreign country representing his or her own country.
Aristocratic	– Someone whose family has social rank.
Bribe	– Money or favour given in order to influence the judgement of a person in a position of trust.
Capitalism	– An economic and political system in which a country trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit, rather than by the state.
Chaos	– Complete disorder and confusion.
Feud	– An argument that has existed for long time between two people or groups.
Integration	– The free association of people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.
Liberalism	– It is a political doctrine that takes protecting and enhancing individual freedom to be the central problem of politics.
Nationalism	– It is the belief that your country is better than all others. Patriotic feeling.
Piedmont	– A gentle slope leading from the foot of mountains to a region of flat land.
Rhine	– A river in Western Europe which rises in the Swiss Alps and flows for 1320km to the North sea.
Supremacy	– The state of being superior to all others in authority.
Treaty	– A formal agreement between two or more states in reference to peace or other international relations.
Unification	– The process of being united.

End of Unit Questions

1. Discuss the Congress of Vienna and its consequences on major powers of Europe.
2. Metternich has been referred to as the greatest challenge to German nationalism in the so called 'Vormarz'. How far do you agree with this statement?
3. What were the three main goals of Metternich at the Congress of Vienna?

Unit 3

The World at War in the 20th Century



3.1: European alignment during the First World War (1914-1918)



Research work

In groups, compare and contrast the treaties of Versailles and Brest Litovsk, was one more successful than the other?

Introduction

War is defined as the state of armed conflict between societies. It is generally characterised by extreme aggression, destruction and mortality using regular or irregular military. An absence of war is peace.

Total war is warfare by any means possible disregarding the laws of war, placing no limits on legitimate military targets using weapons and tactics and resulting to enormous military and civilian casualties.

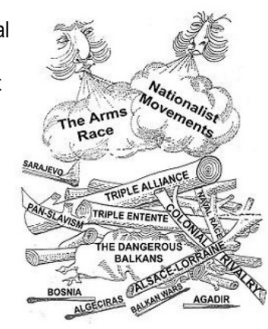
The First and Second World Wars were total wars in the world history. This is because the two world wars were fought in many countries and continents. There was the use of sophisticated machines, automated rifles, battleship tanks and other sophisticated weapons. The wars were fought on land, water and air. Leaders strategised to get victory that is, soldiers fought and civilians were tasked to provide basic needs for the soldiers. There was the use of scientific and technological inventions of the 20th Century such as poisonous gas and atomic bombs. This resulted to the loss of lives of millions of people and massive destruction of property.

Activity 1: The First World War (1914 to 1918)

Source 1

The Great War Begins

What does this political cartoon imply about the assassination at Sarajevo?



A number of causes that led to WW1



Individual work

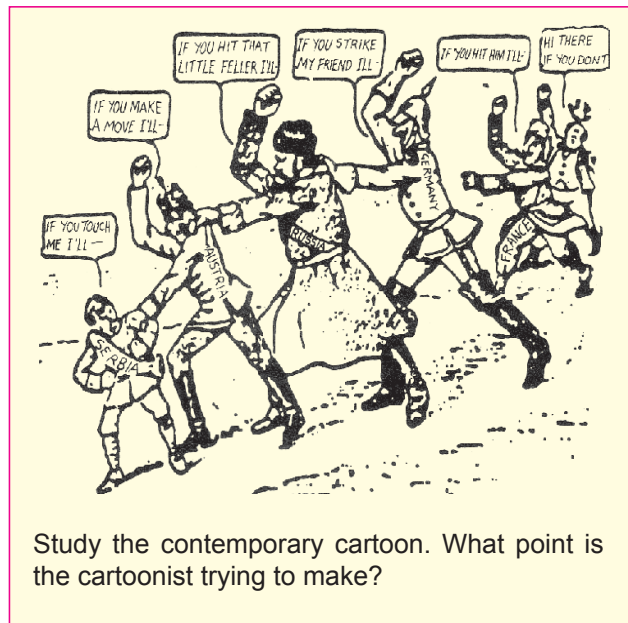
Imagine that you are a common soldier at World War 1 battle such as the Somme. What obstacles would you have faced? Why wouldn't your offensive assaults work? Would you have felt as optimistic about war and the future of your country in 1916 compared to 1914? Analyse and explain your work.

Causes of the First World War

The First World War occurred between July 1914 and November 1918. There were several causes of the war. Some were long term and others short term. These causes include:

1. Formation of defense alliances

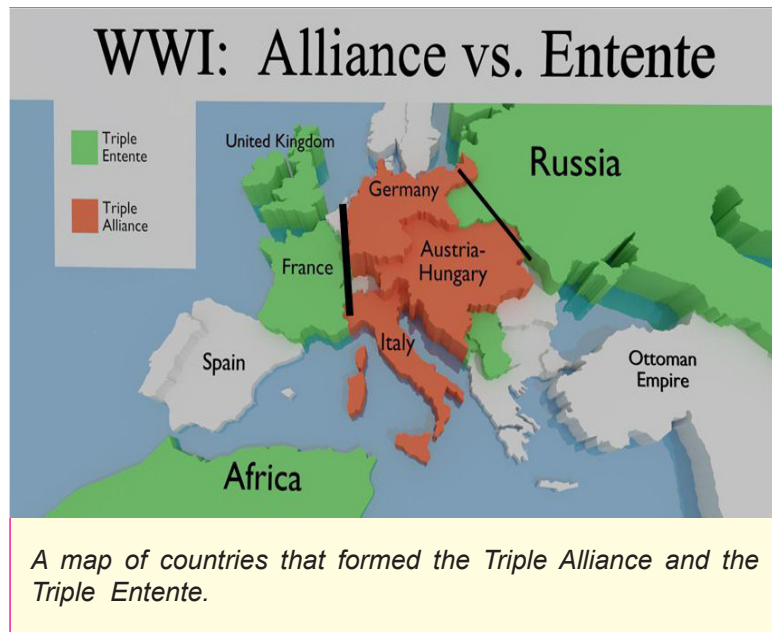
Source 2



Countries in Europe made mutual defense agreements that would pull them into battle. These treaties meant that if one country was attacked, allied countries were bound to defend them. In 1879, Otto Von Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany, with the aim of isolating France made an alliance with Austria-Hungary which was called the Dual Alliance, Italy joined this alliance and it became known as the Triple Alliance.

Threatened by the rising power of Germany and afraid of finding herself isolated, Britain formed an alliance with France in 1904 known as the Dual Entente. Russia joined this alliance in 1907 and it became known as the Triple Entente. Countries therefore knew that they would get support if war broke out. These alliances heightened tension between countries.

Source 3



2. Imperialism

Imperialism is when a country increases their power and wealth by bringing additional territories under their control. Before the First World War, Africa and parts of Asia were being colonised by European countries for acquisition of raw materials. Increasing competition and desire for greater empires led to an increase in confrontation. These helped push the world into the first World War.

3. Militarism (Arms Race)

During the 20th Century, the world entered into an arms race to prove military supremacy. Countries began to buildup their military. Great Britain and Germany greatly increased their navies and build more powerful battleships. Military establishment began to have greater influence on public policy.

4. Nationalism

In the 19th Century, Europe experienced a rise in nationalism. The Slavic peoples in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not want to be part of Austria-Hungary but instead be part of Serbia. Nationalism throughout Europe contributed not only to the beginning but extension of the war in Europe. Each country tried to prove their dominance and power.

5. *The First and Second Moroccan Crisis*

The first Moroccan crisis occurred in 1904 when France recognised British occupation of Egypt and Sudan, while Britain recognised France's occupation of Morocco. Germany was unhappy with this arrangement. Kaiser William the then German chancellor emphasised the importance of keeping Morocco an independent state. This led to the Algeiras Conference where Germany, France and Spain would have control of Morocco.

The second Moroccan crisis of 1911 erupted when Germany sent a gunboat 'Panther' to the Moroccan Port of Agadir to protect Germany citizens there. They claimed that France had ignored the terms of the Algeiras Conference. This scared Britain until Germans agreed to leave Morocco to the French in return for rights in the Congo. Many Germans felt that they had been humiliated and that their government had backed down.

6. *The Sarajevo Assassination*

The Sarajevo Assassination was the immediate cause of the First World War on 28th June 1914. Franz Ferdinand, the apparent heir of Austria-Hungary and his wife Sophie were assassinated in Bosnia. The murderer Gavrilo Princip, had been sent by a secret Serbian extremist group known as the Black Hand who were opposed to continued Austrian rule in Bosnia, a province largely inhabited by Serbs. Austria accused Serbia of involvement in the assassination and presented a set of demands threatening to go to war if the demands were not met. The demands were:

1. Serbia should suppress all societies which were organising anti-Austrian propaganda.
2. Serbia should dismiss all officials to whom Austria objected.
3. Austrian police to be allowed to enter Serbia to ensure that the above demands were fulfilled.

The Course of the First World War



Group work

Investigate the relationship between Serbia and Austria-Hungary in the years prior to 1914. Why was Serbian nationalism worrying for Austro-Hungarian leaders? Present your work in class.

Austria refused to take the course and declared war on Serbia on 28th July 1914. Russia started mobilising her forces. Germany demanded that Russia demobilise her forces. When Russia refused, Germany declared war on her on 1st August 1914. Germany demanded that France should remain neutral. France refused and as a result, Germany declared war on 3rd August 1914.



Fig 3.2: A military truck

Britain joined the war on 4th August 1914 when Germany invaded neutral Belgium in defiance of the Treaty of 1839 which had guaranteed the neutrality of Belgium. Otto Von Bismarck of Germany referred to this treaty as a 'scrap of paper' not worth Britain's defense. Thus in a short span, the war took the form of a world war in which 26 countries of the world got involved with Europe as the principal centre of this war. These hostilities divided the great powers into two camps. One group was made of the **Central Powers** which included Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The other group was the **Allies** who included Serbia, France, Russia and Britain. Eventually, many other nations joined the allies while Turkey joined the Central Powers.

The First World War was fought on three continents namely Europe, Asia and Africa. It was fought both on land and at sea. It was fought on two fronts, the Western front and the Eastern front.

Point to remember

Central Powers included Germany, Austria Hungary and Italy. Allies were made up of Serbia, France, Russia and Britain.

The Western Front

On the Western front, the Germans were fighting British and French forces and later towards the end of the war, American forces.

1. Von Schlieffen Plan

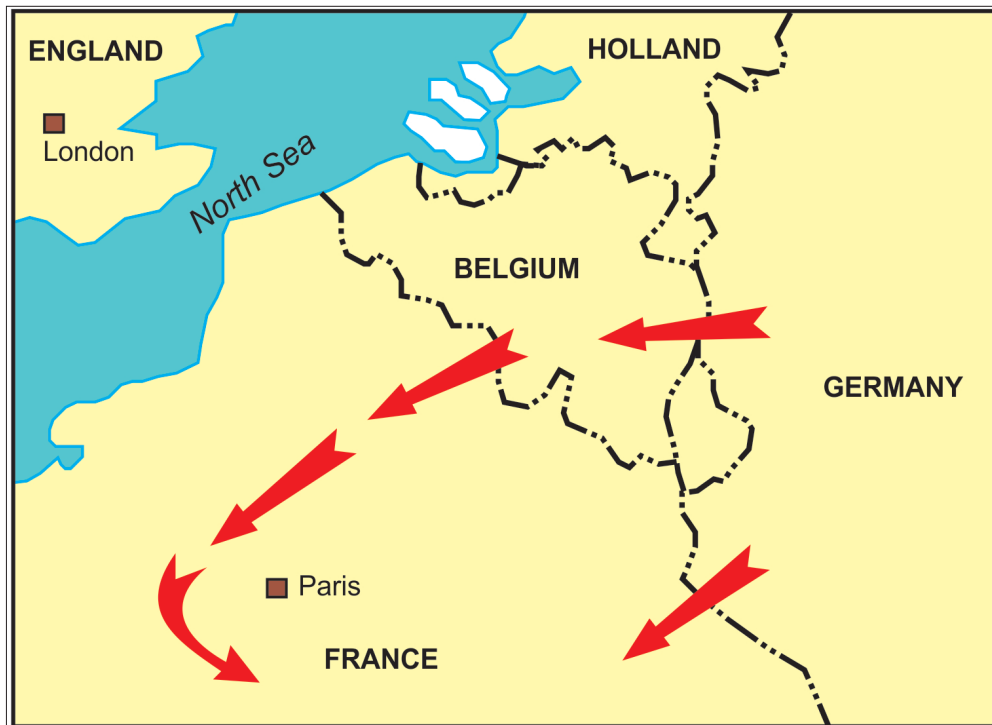


Fig. 3.3: The Schlieffen Plan (1905-1914)

The war on the western front was part of the Von Schlieffen Plan. As far back as 1905, the German Field Marshall Alfred Von Schlieffen had laid plans for a war against France. The Von Schlieffen Plan was to attack France through neutral Belgium.

It was estimated that within a fortnight, Germany forces would capture Paris, thereby end French resistance and force Britain to sign a separate peace treaty. The Von Schlieffen Plan almost succeeded and by September, 1914, Germany forces were on the outskirts of Paris, but they were forced back by British and French forces.

Several factors led to the failure of the Von Schlieffen Plan. Firstly, Russia mobilised her forces faster than expected and this meant that German forces had to be deployed to the Eastern front earlier than anticipated. Secondly, the Germany invasion of Belgium was not as fast as anticipated. British entry into the war also

contributed to this delay. Thirdly, both sides were more evenly matched than the Germans had thought. These factors led to a military stalemate on the Western Front, which lasted for most of the rest of the war.

2. The Trench Warfare

The military stalemate on the Western Front took the form of Trench Warfare. The opposing sides resorted to the digging up of a network of trenches (deep ditches for protection against artillery and machine gun fire) stretching up to 1080km across France and Belgium. In some places the trenches were only 100m apart.

Despite the many attempts which were made by military commanders on both sides, the position of the opposing armies hardly changed. The reasons for this were: Firstly, the two sides were evenly matched. Secondly, the Trench Warfare tended to shelter defenders and this made attack more difficult than defense. Thirdly, the defenders used modern weapons and techniques of warfare, for example, machine guns and barbed wire defenses.

3. Battle of Verdun

In February 1916, German gunners unleashed artillery fire on French positions surrounding the fortified city of Verdun. The Germans planned their attack to “bleed France white” but the battle dragged both sides into a costly standoff. For ten months, French and German forces attacked and counter-attacked. The French eventually halted German advance but the two sides suffered casualties of about 800,000 men.

4. Battle of Somme

After two years of Trench Warfare, the allies attempted to break through German lines on the Western Front. This led to an ensuing battle that lasted for months. This was the Battle of Somme between July and November 1916 near the Somme River in France. It was one of the bloodiest military battles in history. In this battle, both the Allies and the Central Powers lost more than 1.5 million men. The British became more critical and started a real improvement in tactic.

The Eastern Front

The war on the Eastern Front was between Russia on one hand and Germany and Austria-Hungary on the other hand, covering a front of almost 1000 miles from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Eastern Front saw bloody and chaotic battles, for example the battle at Danube River. The attacks led to heavy casualties. Russia

lost around two million men. On the Eastern Front as on the Western Front, the conflict dragged on for years with neither side truly able to deliver a knockout blow. As Winston Churchill (1874-1965) famously noted, “In the west, the armies were too big for the land, in the east, the land was too big for the armies”.

In March 1917, a Bolshevik Revolution broke out in Russia which led to the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II. The new government did not wish to continue the war against Germany and so it formally ended the war on 3rd March 1918, with the signing of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. During the course of the war, new weapons came into use, for example, the machine-guns and poisonous gas.

The War at Sea



Fig. 3.4: A war vessel

Before 1914 the British fleet was numerically superior to the Germany fleet, though the German navy had superior armour and weapons. Britain used her navy to block German ports to ensure that the Germans did not get supplies of food and raw materials.

The Germans on the other hand, sank ships bound for British ports from the British Empire and United States of America. Neutral ships were warned so that passengers could take life boats. However, in 1917, the German High command turned from this course of action and declared unrestricted submarine warfare. This meant that ships from neutral countries were no longer issued with a warning but were sunk on sight just like enemy ships. Among the neutral states whose ships were sunk by German was USA. The USA had remained neutral up to 1917.

Reasons why USA had remained neutral up to 1917

1. The USA did not want to involve herself in the quarrels of European powers according to the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, where they pledged to remain neutral.

2. There were people of German descent in the USA and there was fear that if the USA declared war on Germany, then the war might be fought on her soil between Americans of German descent and Americans of British, French, Russian or other descendants.
3. The USA had commercial trade relations with both parties. For example, the USA up to 1917 continued to allow ships of both sides to enter American banks and she even gave loans to both sides.

Reasons why USA joined the war

1. The declaration of unrestricted submarine warfare brought the USA into the war on the side of the Allies, thereby upsetting the balance of power against Germany. In 1917, Germans sank a British ship the “Sussex” that had American passengers on board. This forced Americans to join the war.
2. The other reason for USA entry into the war was the “Zimmermann letter”. This letter was written by Arthur Zimmermann, the German Foreign Minister to the German Embassy in Mexico. He expressed a desire for German alliance with Mexico, which shared a common border with the USA. Zimmerman urged Mexico to attack the Allies. This was viewed as an act of open provocation by the USA.
3. Public opinion forced the USA to join the war. On 6th April 1917, the US Congress voted in favour of a declaration of war on the Central Powers. Her entry into the war led to Allied victory.
4. American businessmen were interested in Allied victory for their financial and industrial benefits. They could incur losses if the Allied forces lost to the Central Powers.
5. Attack of neutral Belgium by Germany made the USA join the war on the side of the Allies.

Allied armies on the Western Front were led by General Foch, a Frenchman. Foch initially allowed the Germans to continue with their offensive until they were tired. After that he launched a counter-offensive, thereby driving the Germans back to their own frontier. In the meantime, Germany’s allies began to surrender one by one. Bulgaria surrendered in September, Turkey in October and Austria in early November 1918.

The First World War ended in 1918 with the signing of several treaties including the Peace Treaty of Versailles, where Germany was found to have caused the outbreak of this war. She was forced to pay all the war expenses, completely disarm and she lost all her colonies which became mandate colonies supervised by the

League of Nations. The League of Nations was an international organisation that was formed after the war to maintain world peace and make sure that there was no outbreak of another war.

War in Africa

On the African front, the war was fought in those regions where German had colonies neighbouring those of the Allied powers. These were Cameroon, Namibia, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania (Tanganyika). Hostilities in East Africa began when British attacked Dar es Salaam and Tanga. The German East Africa Commander General Paul Von Lettow-Vorbeck resorted to guerilla warfare till the end of the war. Meanwhile, Belgium forces occupied Rwanda and Burundi. The South Africans occupied Namibia bringing an end to the war in Africa.

Activity 2: Effects of the First World War on Europe



Pair work

Using a range of sources, research the political, social and economic effects of the First World War and then write an essay on the effects of the First World War in Europe.



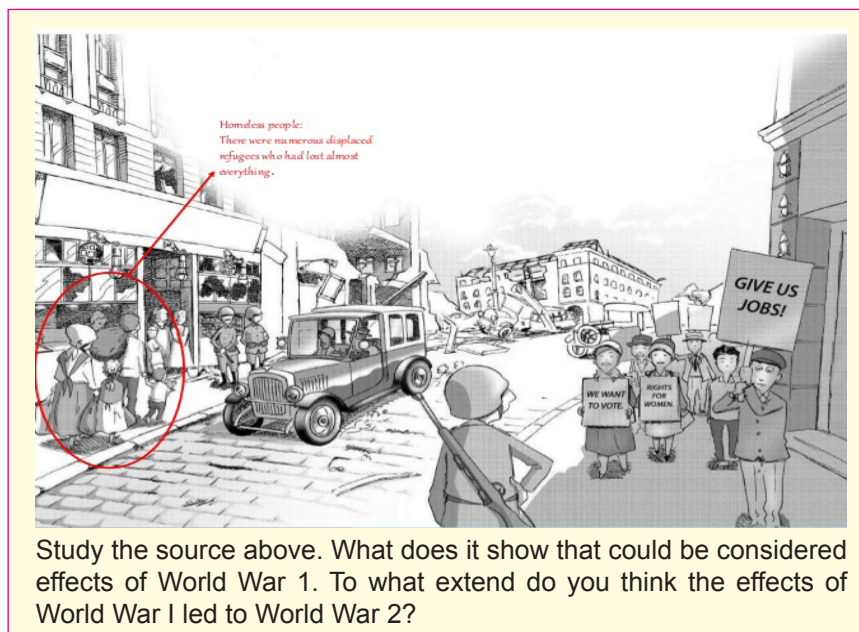
Fig. 3.5: Europe after First World War (1920-1921)

Political results

- The war led to the creation of new nations in Europe. These included Hungary and Yugoslavia.
- The USA's involvement in the war on the side of the Allied forces and their victory over Central Powers, made the USA to have an upper hand in post-war European affairs.
- The war undermined the existence of "Greater" Turkey because parts of Turkey were granted independence.
- The size of Germany was reduced. France regained her lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine from Germany. All her colonies were also taken over as mandated territories under the League of Nations.
- It led to the creation of the League of Nations as an International Organisation charged with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and security.
- The war led to the emergence of communism in Russia which hastened the collapse of the Tsarist regime.
- The war created revolutionary ideas among the colonised people such as Indians and Africans who were involved in the war.
- The resultant anarchy after the war led to the rise of dictators. For instance, Benito Mussolini of Italy and Adolf Hitler of Germany who became the architects of the Second World War.

Economic Results

Source 4



- A lot of money was spent on the war. The Allies spent millions of pounds of their total expenditure to buy guns, food, ammunition and other war materials.
- The war seriously weakened Europe's economic domination of the rest of the world. The enormous expense of the long conflict strained every nation's economic resources, piling up huge debts for the next generation.
- The war led to insecurity which in turn disrupted economic activities, for example, trade and agriculture. The pace of industrialisation slowed down as industries lacked manpower.
- There was a lot of economic loss through the destruction of property and infrastructure. For example, most schools, factories, bridges and railways were either burnt or destroyed during the war.

Social Results

- There was great loss of human life as millions of people died during the war.
- Thousands of people were displaced and rendered homeless creating a refugee problem in continental Europe by disrupting community lives in many towns, cities and villages.
- There was an outbreak of diseases and epidemics, for example, the Spanish influenza, which caused the death of tens of thousands of people.
- The war caused a lot of misery and suffering as families were separated and thousands of children orphaned.
- The war led to starvation by causing enormous food shortages and in many countries people had to depend on food supplies from other countries.

Effects of the war on women and extension of franchise

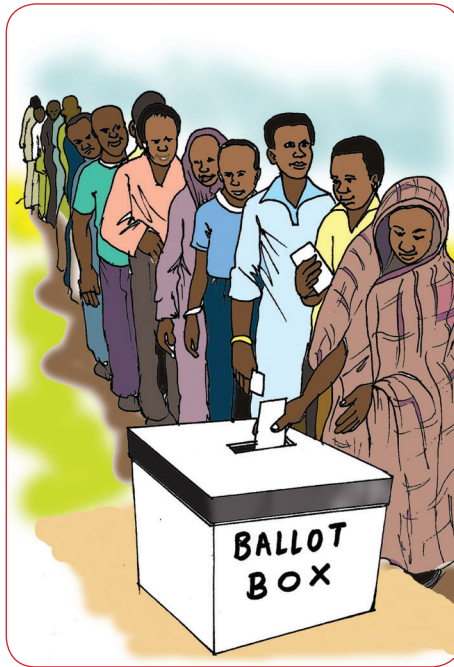


Fig: 3.6: People queuing to cast their votes

At first women tried to maintain the role of peace keepers during the war. This view changed after the war as women found many jobs through volunteering as nurses, cooks, secretaries and even assuming the jobs that men typically held at the time.

The war had liberating effects for women with many new found freedom and advantages such as:

1. Greater access to secondary and higher education.
2. The right to vote.
3. Opportunities to assuming jobs that men typically held.
4. More time for leisurely activities.

Date and month	Year	Event
28 th June	1914	Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sofia, are assassinated by Gavrillo Princip, a Serb nationalist
28 th July	1914	Austria declares war on Serbia

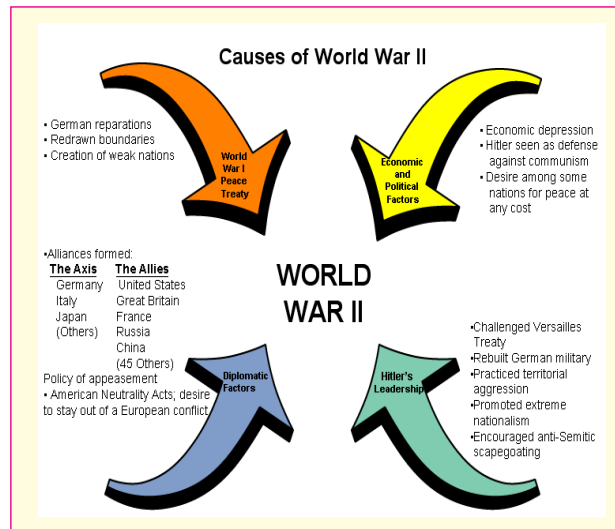
1 st August	1914	Germany declares war on Russia
3 rd August	1914	Germany declares war on France
4 th August	1914	Britain joins war after Germany invasion of Belgium
November	1914	Turkey joins the war on Central Powers Front
April	1915	Italy joins war on the Allied Front
September	1915	Bulgaria joins war on Central Powers Front
October	1915	Austria–Hungary invades Serbia
9 th March	1916	Portugal declares war on Germany
March	1916	A British ship is sunk by a Germany Submarine
February – December	1916	Battle of Verdun
July –November	1916	Battle of Somme
27 th August	1916	Romania declares war on Austria–Hungary
6 th April	1917	USA declares war on the Central Powers
7 th November	1917	The Bolsheviks Revolution in Russia begins
January	1918	US President Woodrow Wilson Publishes a 14-point peace plan
October	1918	Turkey surrenders
4 th November	1918	Austria-Hungary surrenders
11 th November	1918	An armistice is signed between Germany and the Allies. This brings First World War to an end

Table 3.1: Major events during the First World War

Activity 3: The Second World War (1939 to 1945)

Causes of the Second World War

Source 5



Outline of the Causes

The Second World War occurred between September 1939 and August 1945. There were several causes of the war, some were long term and others short term. These causes include:

1. Hitler's Ambition



Fig. 3.7: Adolf Hitler

One of the major causes of the Second World War was Adolf Hitler's ambition to restore German's dominance in Europe. Adolf Hitler was an Austrian who served as a corporal in the Germany Army in the First World War. By the end of the war, the German Empire collapsed and the Emperor William II fled to Holland. The economy of Germany crumbled and the money which the Versailles settlement had imposed on Germany became a crushing burden. In November 1923, Hitler and his friends met secretly in Munich and planned a sudden rising; a putsch. They wanted to seize power in Bavaria and later the whole of Germany. The putsch failed and Hitler was sent to prison. While there he wrote a book called *Mein Kampf* (my struggle). Germany's troubles, he wrote, came from three main causes, among others:

- The unfair Versailles settlement.
- The hatred by France and Britain.
- The fact that Jews held so many posts in Germany.

Jews he wrote, were evil; Germans were the finest men in the world and had the right to rule.

During the great depression of the early 1930s, Germans' woes increased. Germans were desperate and were eager to listen to anybody who provided any glimmer of hope. Hitler took the advantage and together with the National Socialist (Nazi) Party loyalists, recruited thousands of young men and women to advocate and advance his cause.

In 1934, Hitler made himself Fuhrer (leader) of Germany with absolute power over his subjects. With the thousands of energetic and enthusiastic young men and women, some of whom formed his secret police (Gestapo), Hitler was ready to embark on a journey to take Germany back to where he felt she belonged. He banned all political parties and started eliminating all potential dissidents such as Marxists and Jews in which millions of Jews were eliminated during what came to be referred to as the "Holocaust".

2. The Treaty of Versailles



Fig. 3.8: Nazi Germany on the eve of the Second World War (1939-1945)

The terms of this treaty blamed Germany for being solely responsible for the First World War. The Allies thus occupied most of the German territories and forced her to disarm her army, pay reparations and admit her guilt in starting the war. Germany became bankrupt and as a result suffered from widespread unemployment, inflation and shortages of food and raw materials. The Germans found it easy to blame the Versailles Treaty for their troubles.

3. Nationalism

Nationalism hindered international cooperation before the Second World War. For a time in the 1920s, it appeared as if international cooperation could reduce rivalries. But with the depression of 1929, nations became occupied chiefly with solving their own problems instead of co-operating with their neighbours. Each country sought security for herself in the form of rearmament and alliances.

4. Economic problems

Economic problems were among the major causes of the Second World War. Japan, Germany and Italy considered themselves handicapped in trying to compare with colonies. They believed that such countries as Britain, France,

Belgium, the Netherlands and the United States unfairly controlled most of the world's wealth and people. These countries imposed high tariffs and low quotas on imports.

Countries like Japan, Italy and Germany were allowed to trade with the other power colonies only when the economic situation was good. As a result, Japan, Italy and Germany looked for colonies to conquer in order to get what they considered a share in the world market.

The Great depression of 1929-1931 which began in the USA also spread to many countries. It led to unemployment, hunger and discontent. The depression also greatly affected the terms of trade and balance of payment.

5. The Rise of Dictatorship



Fig. 3.9: Mussolini, Lenin and Hitler

Many countries had liberal democratic governments before the First World War. But dictatorships developed during the 1920s and 1930s and destroyed democratic rights. These dictators include Adolf Hitler of Germany, Benito Mussolini of Italy and Lenin of Russia.

6. The Arms Race

Suspicion among the European countries led to increased armaments. Hitler began to recruit young people into the German army by 1935. New inventions in guns, aircraft, navy and submarines were made. By mid-1939, Germany's army had grown to proportions which horrified the other European Nations.

7. The weakness of the League of Nations

The weakness of the League of Nations was itself a cause of the Second World War. The League was supposed to prevent the growing militarism and armament of Germany and Italy but failed to do so. Many countries were not committed to

or ignored the League's conventions. This made it very difficult for the League to solve international disputes.

Some countries also refused to join the League of Nations. For example, the USA did not want to get involved in European affairs.

8. *The Policy of Appeasement*

Appeasement refers to a policy adopted by France and Britain of giving in to Hitler's demands instead of opposing him. The reasons were that they wanted to avoid a European war and both had colonial interests in the Far East. They hoped that if they appeased Hitler, he would not interfere with the affairs of that part of the world particularly Japan.

Hitler thus realised that he could get away with anything and from 1937 he prepared to make colonial gains wherever he could. In 1938, German invaded and regained Sudetenland which by the Versailles Treaty had been given to Czechoslovakia. This policy also encouraged other dictators to carry on with their aggression on other states.

9. *Formation of defense alliances*

The major powers had also established alliances between themselves. For example, Hitler and Mussolini, signed an agreement known as the Berlin-Rome Axis. Both men were ambitious and bent on expansion policies and to this end, they agreed to co-operate. In 1939, Japan joined in the agreement, which came to be known as the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Agreement. These are the countries that were referred to as "Axis" powers during the war. This encouraged aggression because they felt that they could get support from their allies. Germany, for example, invaded and ruled Austria. Britain, France and Russia allied again and were referred to as "Allied powers" just like in the First World War.

The Outbreak of the Second World War

On 1st September 1939, Germany invaded Poland with devastating results on Poland. The Soviet Union then moved into Eastern Poland and occupied the region. On the same day, the British gave Germany an ultimatum to withdraw before 11am, failure to which a state of war would exist between Germany and Britain.

When no reply came by 11am, Neville Chamberlain, the then British Prime Minister, announced that Britain was at war with Germany. At 5pm on the same day, France made a similar declaration. The war had effectively started. It is

important to note that after the declaration of the war, there were no military engagements in what was referred to as the “Phoney war”. Britain and France hoped that Germany would stop her aggression to avert another World War.

However, it was the German invasion of Belgium later in the same month that led to the outbreak of the Second World War. Britain and France supported Belgium. Italy then decided to join the war on the German side and France surrendered. Germany occupied all the coastal zones and ruled France through a puppet government at Vicky.

The Course of the Second World War



Fig 3.10: Army planes and Pearl Harbour attack

By the end of 1940, much of the Nazi dream of dominating Western Europe had been realised. Only Britain remained unoccupied. Winston Churchill then came to power as prime minister and rallied the British people behind him against the German onslaught.


The German launched a massive daylight attack on Britain. Unexpectedly, the Royal Air Force fought heroically. Germany then switched to night bombing of British cities throughout the winter of 1941. Hitler also decided to attack the Soviet Union and Germany now had to fight on two fronts. The first German onslaught reached the outskirts of Moscow and Leningrad but the Soviet winter offensive threw them back. In June 1942, the Germans drove to the South-East in a bid for Russian oil and reached Stalingrad where Germany was trapped. The German disaster was similar to what the French under Napoleon I had experienced in 1812 when they invaded Moscow.

Source 6

Section 2, The Course of World War II

Japan in the Pacific

Japan attacks **Pearl Harbor** on Dec. 7th, 1941. This is a military base in Hawaii, on the island of Oahu. This was before Hawaii became a state. On the same day, the Japanese also attacked Philippines and the British colony of Malaya. By the spring of 1942, Japan controlled all of Southeast Asia & much of the western Pacific. Japan now declared **Greater East-Asia Prosperity Sphere**.



Discuss how Japan contributed to the course of the World War II.

Meanwhile there was war in North Africa. The Italians had a brief success by attacking Egypt but were soon pushed back by the allied forces under the British general, Wavell.

General Rommel, with superior German forces, pinned the British back in Egypt. After a long military buildup by General Montgomery, the Germans were decisively defeated by the British at the battle of EL Alamein. The Allied powers were under able leadership of Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin of Britain, USA and USSR respectively.



Fig 3.11. From left Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin

The Invasion of Europe

In Europe, the Anglo-American forces landed and overran Sicily. Italy was invaded and Mussolini overthrown. The new Italian government then declared war on Germany. In response, German forces entered Italy and a battle struggle began which lasted until the end of the war.

The invasion of Normandy began on the D-day, 6th June 1944, under the allied command of General Eisenhower. The preparations included making intensive artificial harbours which were then towed across the English Channel. A fuel pipeline was laid under the water. After hard fighting, France was liberated and German itself attacked.

The Germans made a desperate last counter-attack but were defeated. There was a race between the allies and the soviets to Berlin. In order to escape capture of advancing Allied and Soviet troops, Hitler committed suicide on 30th April 1945 and the war in the west was over.

In the East, the war was protracted and very expensive. So the Allies and the USA turned to Japan determined to end the war by using the atomic bomb, which was available in the USA. On 6th August 1945, the first atomic bomb was dropped at Hiroshima. It had devastating results but the Japanese did not surrender. A second bomb was dropped at Nagasaki three days later, on 9th August 1945, killing tens of thousands of people. Japan then surrendered and the war was over.

Activity 4: Effects of the Second World War on Europe



Pair work

It can be argued that the outbreak of the Second World War could have been avoided by the European leaders. It was their decisions and actions that helped plunge Europe into another world war. In pairs, explain the actions taken by the leadership of Europe and the US that helped to catapult the world into war.

Consider the objectives, fears and goals of the various leaders and countries around the world as you explain the reasons for Second World War.

Political results

- The war led to the rise of two super powers, the USA and the USSR as the world's most powerful nations.
- The communist zone was extended to include nearly half the continent of Europe resulting into an "Iron curtain" that geographically divided Europe right down the middle.
- There ensued the Cold War, an ideological and economic struggle between the opposing blocs. It was accompanied by an arms race between the USA and the Soviet Union, made more sinister by the development of thermonuclear weapons.
- The UNO was founded in 1945 to promote peace, security and international cooperation. It was founded on a broader basis than the League of Nations.
- It led to the division of Germany into East and West Germany.
- The war led to the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. This was aimed at settling the Jews who had been scattered by among other factors the Nazi persecution.
- With the introduction of the Marshal Plan, USA found herself getting more involved in European affairs.
- The war catalysed the movement towards decolonisation. The defeat inflicted on Britain, Holland and France by Japan; shattered the myth of European superiority and invincibility. The end of the war intensified the struggle for independence in the colonies, especially after India gained her independence in 1947.
- The war led to the production of nuclear weapons. Their first ever use on Hiroshima and Nagasaki leaving a horrifying trail of their devastation. The world had to live under the threats of a nuclear war which could lead to global destruction.

Economic Results

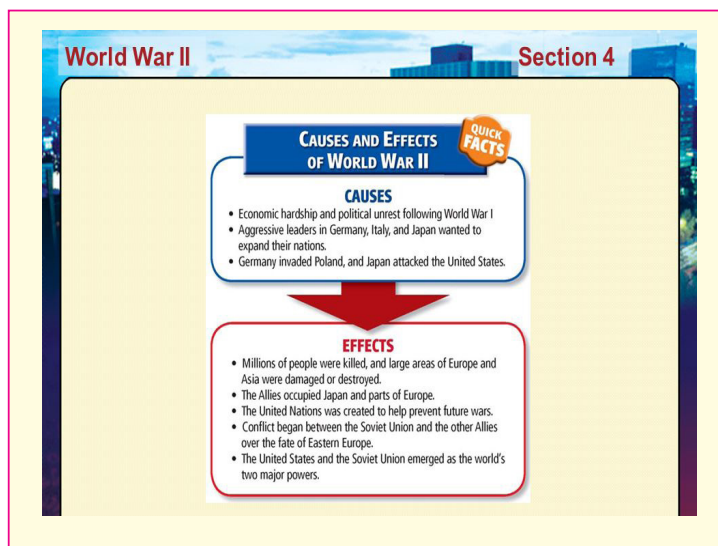
- The war ended Europe's economic domination of the rest of the world. Leading European powers that is, Italy, Germany and Britain had been weakened and were on the verge of bankruptcy. They had to be rescued by the USA's Marshal Plan.
- With the enormous destruction of industries, infrastructure such as roads, railways, communication systems, the economies of the countries involved were either destroyed or their developments slowed down.
- The war created unemployment. This was because the demobilised servicemen and prisoners of the war increased demands for jobs.

- The war was costly as the countries involved spent a lot of money on the war efforts. This slowed down economic development.
- It led to developments in engineering. During the war, engineers built military bridges in hours, laid oil pipelines under the English Channel and turned jungles into airports. They also overcame overwhelming obstacles to construct roads.

Social Results

- Massive loss of human life. Over 40 million people were killed. Over 21 million people were rendered homeless some through destruction of their homes and others through abduction to concentration camps in Germany. Others were forced to flee from invading armies.
- Pharmacologists developed DDT to destroy disease spreading insects and sculpture and penicillin drugs to fight infections.
- It led to the spread of infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and venereal diseases mainly syphilis.
- Doctors made great advances in surgery and in treatment of the mentally and physically disabled as they treated war victims.
- The war produced a new kind of life. For instance, in London, Londowners camped in subways whenever the German bombs fell.
- During the Second World War, women entered occupations which were regarded highly skilled and as male preserves. For example, as drivers of fire engines, trains, metal and ship building industries and trade unions renewed debates about equal pay for women when they performed the same job as men had without assistance or supervision”.

Source 6



Summary of the Second World War

Date and month	Year	Event
23 rd August	1939	A pact between Nazi and Soviet in signed
1 st September	1939	Germany invades Poland
3 rd September	1939	Britain and France declare war on Germany
November	1939	USSR invades Finland
April	1940	Germany invades Denmark and Norway
May	1940	Germany invades France, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg
10 th June	1940	Italy declares war on Britain and France
20 th June	1940	Germany troops enter Paris, France surrenders
October	1940	Italy invades Greece and Albania
October	1940	Germany and Italy invade Romania
April	1941	Germany invades Yugoslavia
22 nd June	1941	Germany invades the USSR
8 th December	1941	USA declares war on Japan
December	1941	Germany declares war on USA
August	1942	USA bombing raids over Europe begin
September to January	1942/3	Germany siege of Stalingrad
January	1943	Germany army surrenders at Stalingrad
8 th September	1943	Italy surrenders to Allies
October	1943	Italy declares was on Germany

23 rd August	1944	Allied forces liberate Paris
October to November	1944	Allied forces liberate Greece
May	1945	Berlin surrenders to the Red Army
6 th August	1945	An atomic bomb is dropped at Hiroshima
9 th August	1945	An atomic bomb is dropped at Nagasaki
14 th August	1945	Japanese surrender unconditionally The Second World War comes to an end

Table 3.2: Major events during the Second World War

Activity 5: Impacts of the First and Second World Wars on Africa



Group work

Discuss the similarities between the First and the Second World War. Group leaders to present the work in class.

Discuss how conflicts affected your families.

Many Africans fought in the First and Second World Wars in defending interests of their colonial masters with some not knowing why they were fighting. The wars had several effects on the African continent.

1. Millions of Africans died during the war leading to immense suffering and misery. Africans who fought in the wars had been torn from their roots and were looked down upon by local populations.
2. Back home they were missed in the fields. Harvests suffered or were plundered and destroyed by troops passing through to ensure there would be no food left for the pursuers.
3. The defeat of Germany during the First World War made her lose her colonies in Africa. These colonies did not become independent but simply acquired new masters.

4. The wars affected trade and development of Africa due to limited trading partners and shortage of human power as most the able bodied African people were recruited to fight. This led to decrease in domestic income.
5. Through combat experience and social cohesion with Europeans, African soldiers discovered the realities of European society. This gave confidence to Africans to play a role in the administration of their territory.
6. The Second World War brought into focus the illegality of colonisation in Africa. Most Africans were more spirited to regain their lost sovereignty after the war. The Second World War contributed to a new political climate, rise of nationalism and waging of independence campaigns in various colonies.
7. Many Africans who had fought in the wars commonly referred to as the ex-servicemen provided leadership for nationalist activists in their countries due to exposure during the wars that had enabled them demystify the myth of European superiority since they had seen Europeans die in the war.

Effects of the war to the present global situations

The social, economic and psychological effects of the First and Second World Wars were deep and devastating. The balance of power approach to international relations was broken but not shattered after the Second World War, sufficient political forces embarked on a revolutionary new approach to state relations. The wars led to profound change in political thinking in Western Europe about how states should conduct their relations. European Union founding fathers such as Robert Schuman and Jean Monnet developed the idea of states establishing a political system based on sharing sovereignty. It led to European integration to redouble efforts to combat nationalist and extremist forces.

The First and Second World Wars stimulated advances in science, technology and medicine.

The First and Second World Wars led to fundamental changes in European politics, economics and society. This paved way for the formation of the United Nations Organisation (Current United Nations) in 1945 to bring new ways of dealing with interstate relations. The United Nations emphasises peaceful conflict resolution methods. The horrors of the wars remain alive in Europe today and contribute to the reluctance of most European countries to resort to war to achieve political ends.

The United Nations together with the United States led to the formation of multinational organisations such as, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to safeguard nations from the effects of the great depression.

How can destructive wars be avoided?



Role play

1. Brainstorm ways to deal with anger without fighting.
2. Role play: Choose an issue about which people may get into conflict. Write and then perform the dialogue. One person's objective is to escalate it into a fight. The other person's objective is to resolve it peacefully or at least to prevent a fight. After the role play, have the class analyse what each person did to satisfy his or her objective. What general principles or guidelines can be drawn from this?



Fig. 3.12: Judges in an international court.

There are very many measures nations and people can take to avoid wars. These include:

1. Require the leaders who promote and support war to personally participate in the hostilities. This would provide a critical threshold of personal commitment requiring some actual personal sacrifice of leaders.
2. Show the faces and tell the stories of the children of the enemy until we can feel the pain of their death of our own children. It is much more difficult to slaughter an enemy who one recognises as being part of the human family. This should not be extreme but age friendly.

3. Impeach any elected leaders who promote or support illegal, preventive war. It is the responsibility of citizens in a democracy to exercise control over their leaders who threaten to commit crimes under international law.
4. Rise up as a people and demand that one's government follow its constitution, cut off funding for war and find a way to peace.
5. Educate yourself and understand the issues that cause war. For example, what approaches have and have not been successful in the past.
6. Communicate – do not be afraid to speak out and to listen; talk with your neighbours, your friends, relatives, co-workers or classmates. Learn from people you disagree with but do not shy away from voicing your opinions in places where they are unpopular. Use the radio, television, talk shows, write letters to the editor and opinion articles for your local community newspapers.
7. Set up community forums, teachings, panels, lobby groups. Through them you will be able to educate and sensitise the masses.
8. Participate in or create visible public events for the same goals. Attend or organise vigils, rallies, marches, parades, art festivals, non-violent direct actions.
9. Reclaim patriotism to make sure that one lives in participatory democracy that respect citizens' rights.
10. Inculcate in young people values of respect, tolerance and acceptance to appreciate diversity of views, ethnic groups, tribe, gender, religion and skin colour. This will reduce stereotypes, discrimination and any other vices that easily trigger wars.
11. Exploit and use peaceful conflict resolution methods such as mediation, negotiation, litigation and arbitration.

Unit Summary

In the 20th Century, there were two total wars in the world history. These were First World War, 1914 to 1918 and the Second World War, 1939 to 1945. They occurred in many countries and continents using sophisticated machines such as machine guns, atomic bombs, rifles and poisonous gas. The world was changed the world in many ways. For instance, there was a great loss of human life, creation of new nations and a lot of economic loss through destruction of property and infrastructure.

These wars occurred majorly because of imperialism, arms race, nationalism, formation of defense alliances and economic problems. They led to a profound change in political thinking in the world and how states should conduct their relations. They also led to the formation of international and multinational organisations such as the United Nations Organisations (UNO) and World Bank (WB) to bring new ways of dealing with interstate relations.

New Words

- Abdication** – Failure to fulfil a responsibility or duty.
- Ally** – A country that has agreed officially to give help and support to another one.
- Ammunition** – This are bullets and rockets that are made to be fired from guns.
- Arbitration** – It is the settling of disputes between two parties by an impartial third party.
- Armament** – Military weapons and equipment.
- Crumble** – It is to fall apart.
- Demobilise** – To release someone from one of the armed forces, especially at the end of the war.
- Embassy** – A diplomatic building where ambassadors live or work.
- Epidemic** – A widespread occurrence of an infectious disease in a community at a particular time.
- Exploit** – It is to treat someone unfairly.
- Guilt** – The fact of having committed a specified offence or crime.
- Hostility** – It is an unfriendly behaviour towards people or ideas.

- Immense** – Extremely large in size.
- Imperialism** – A policy of extending a country’s power and influence through colonisation.
- Military** – The armed forces of a country.
- Rearmament** – It is the process of building up a new stock of military weapons.
- Solely** – Not involving anyone or anything else.
- Span** – The full extent of something from end to end.
- War** – It is the state of armed conflicts between societies.

End of unit questions

1. Compare the roles of Germany and Japan during the Second World War.
2. Discuss reasons why USA remained neutral until 1917.
3. Did technology have a fundamental effect on the outcome of the World War 2? Discuss.
4. Why did the United States enter the Great War in Europe? Discuss.

It is true that South Sudan is now tracing its history back to the days of Anglo-Egyptian occupation of Sudan in the 20th Century. The introduction of Closed District Ordinance under Anglo-Egyptian rule implemented a different administration in the south from that in the north. This arrangement made the two regions begin to operate as different entities though under one rule.

The coming of European missionaries, traders and colonial officers introduced South Sudan to the international community thus bringing onto a collision path with colonisers. Besides Anglo-Egyptian rule in South Sudan, there was also Turco-Egyptian and Mahdia rule.



Individual work

Write an essay on the roles of European missionaries in exposing South Sudan to the outside world.

Activity 1: The forms of British policy towards Southern Sudan from 1920-1948

The British used the policy known as “Condominium Policy” between 1899-1920. Condominium is a political territory where two or more states formally agree to share sovereignty equally and to exercise their rights jointly, without dividing it up into ‘national’ zones. So, the interest of Egypt and British were catered for in Sudan.

Another phase of colonisation started in 1920 with Indirect rule or “Native Administration” as the colonial system of administration. The British used indirect rule to avoid African resistance. The African indigenous traditional leaders were used by the British to administer the colony. The traditional leaders had to be loyal to the colonisers for them to be considered. The leaders were meant to supply labour and help in collecting taxes.

Points to remember

Why British used indirect rule?

1. It was a cheap form of administration.
2. British lacked trained personnel to administer the territory.
3. They also had inadequate money to spend on administration.
4. The poor infrastructure of South Sudan made transport and communication logistics hard.

Indirect rule was Lord Lugard's idea who believed it was a cheap form of administration and would prevent African resistance. The British also lacked trained personnel to administer the territory. They also had inadequate money to spend on administration. Another reason for using indirect rule was that the infrastructure of South Sudan was poor making transport and communication logistics hard. With this, only a few British officers were needed in the territory. There was also the belief that native administration would prevent the growth of detribalised religious or nationalist movements headed by educated men. Indeed, a disadvantage of the system of indirect rule was that it ignored the educated elite and did not recognise their ability to run the affairs without British supervision. The educated were distrustful of the illiterate chiefs appointed by the British.

In the North, the old families with authority under the Turko-Egyptian rule were reinstated and their chiefs were given specific judicial and administrative powers. In the South there was a much later assimilation of indigenous structures in the administration, mainly because there were hereditary authorities such as those of the Shilluk (Collo) and the Azande. In many cases, indirect rule caused a "tribalisation" of people who had neither memory nor desire of tribal authority. The Chief's courts for instance were just as much a colonial convention as an indigenous custom.

Point to remember

Condominium: A political territory where two or more states formally agree to share sovereignty equally and to exercise their rights jointly.

To establish chief's courts was not an easy task where there were no indisputable leaders, for example, among the Nuer. Before this time, conflicts were mediated by the chief or religious specialists who relied on the support from the community. Now, the chiefs and the elderly men were supported by the British and had a

personal interest in upholding law and order written by the government. The elections of these chiefs was monitored by British officials and in the 1930's an increasing number of chiefs had a military background.

The British tried to impose the system by force. They were successful with Dinka of Bahr el-Ghazal, but failed with the Nuer of Upper Nile. Two different models of administration were developed, one mobile for the pastoralists in Upper Nile and Bahr el-Ghazal a bureaucratic one for the sedentary agricultural communities in Equatoria and Bahr el-Ghazal. Native Administration eroded tribal custom and authority in the South.



Fig. 4.1: A South Sudanese traditional chief

The British came up with a policy of separation through the Milner Report of 1920 in which Sudan was to be divided into two distinct territories and frontiers. A boundary was drawn along the rivers Baro, Sobat, White Nile and Bahr el-Ghazal (Kirr). It was also recommended to arrange annual meetings of the three governors in the South and not with the other governors of the North.

The result of the policy of separation was the “Closed District Ordinance” in 1922. Under the provision of passports and permits in 1920, Southern Sudan was classified as “Closed districts” resulting in the exclusion of the Northern staffs and traders. Moreover, it prevented the Southerners from travelling North to find work and education. All the Egyptian and Northern Sudanese Muslim officers were withdrawn from the South and local Southern Sudanese were recruited instead. Southern Sudanese who lived outside the closed districts (Kordofan, Darfur, parts of Kassala and the White Nile provinces) needed a special permit to live and work in these areas. Arab style, dressing and names were prohibited.

This law was designed to abolish the internal slave trade and to halt the spread of Islam to non-Islamic parts.

Another suggestion was that South Sudan should be assimilated into Uganda and East Africa. In 1930, the civil secretary reinforced his thinking by declaring that the South should be developed according to 'African' rather than Arab traditions, and that the South possibly should belong to East Africa in future.

The reasons why the British promoted the policy of separation was a change of attitude after the First World War towards the colonised people from domination to development in cooperation with the missionaries. Another reason was the fear of Sudanese and Egyptian nationalism and an attempt to prevent linking the South's future with the north. The fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1914 made Egypt pursue the goal of independent Nile Valley which comprised of Egypt and Sudan. The attempt of a united Egypt –Sudan was aborted by the British and as early as 1919, there was a British plan for political independence of the South from the North of Sudan. Britain's intervention in the plans of a united Egypt and Sudan led to several independent insurrection incidents in Sudan, the most important in 1924 led by Ali Abd al-Latif.



Research work

Carry out research in groups on the contribution of the Anya-Nya wars towards the struggle for independence of South Sudan and make summary on this contribution. Group leaders to present their findings in class.

Activity 2: The Juba Conference of 1947

In June 1947, Sir James Robertson, who became civil secretary following the death of Newbold in 1944, called a conference in Juba after the Sudan Administrative Conference recommended a closer association of the government with the Sudanese people. It was to seek the South Sudanese opinion on the future status of the South and its role in the Legislative Assembly, which meant a national parliament would be established in Khartoum.

The conference was held in Juba, the capital of Equatoria on the 12th and 13th June, 1947. The seventeen delegates from the South were all selected by the British from among their employees; tribal chiefs, junior officials or police officers among them, Philomon Majok, Clement Mboro, Buth Diu, Hassan Fertak, James Tambura,

Chief Cir Rehan, Siricio Iro and Chief Lolik Lado. Some Northern members were Mohammed Saleh El Shingeiti, Ibrahim Badri and Habib Abdalla. The governors of the Southern provinces were also present.



Fig. 4.2: Sir James Robertson

The Aims of the Juba Conference of 1947

The Juba conference aimed at measuring:

1. Southern reactions to the recommendations about the proposed unity between the North and South.
2. The representation of the South in the proposed Legislative Assembly/Parliament.
3. The educational policy in the South.

The Juba conference confirmed a major change of British policy which had been separation between the North and the South. The condominium government argued for a change for these reasons:

- (i) Since 1945, economic and educational development had occurred in the South.
- (ii) It was recognised that the Southern Sudan, because of its history and geographical position, should turn more to the Arab world rather than to East Africa.

This meant that the Closed Districts order had been abolished.

Despite the British claims that the situation in the South had changed somehow since 1945, the Juba Conference underlined how unprepared the Southerners were to take part in political discussions on a national level. Many of the Southern

representatives did not have the needed educational background and they did not have a consistent strategy to safeguard Southern interests during the conference.

There were mixed reactions towards a reversal by the British administrators in South. On day one of the Juba conference, all the Southerners spoke against sending representatives to the Legislative Assembly in Khartoum. But on the second day, the Southerners had changed their minds and agreed to the idea of sending representatives to Khartoum.

One of the prominent representatives from the South was Clement Mboro, whose changing statement from one day to the other underlined the lack of professionalism and amateurism of the Southerners at the Conference.



Fig. 4.3: Clement Mboro

The outcomes of Juba Conference of 1947

The Chairperson asked on the 13th of June why the Southern delegates had changed their minds from the previous day. James Tembura replied that judge Shingeiti had convinced him that the only way to influence the future government of Sudan was to accept unity. They were also interested in having one education system, in introducing Arabic to Southern schools to enable Southern Sudanese to catch up with the North. The question of the unity of Sudan was, however, not decided upon, only postponed, nor was a separate administration for the South agreed upon.

As a result of the Juba conference, the Southerners were due to their lack of consistent strategy, compelled to participate in the Legislative Assembly.

Following the Juba Conference, the Sudan government allowed senior Northern officials to return to the South and Southerners were sent to study in the Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum instead of Makerere College in Uganda.

This was the first time Southern Sudanese had been asked their opinion during the time of the Condominium. The Southerners came together and South Sudan was identified as a region. This in turn resulted in the birth of nationalism in Southern Sudan.

Activity 3: Anya-Nya Movement (1955-1972)

The factors that led to Anya Nya wars of 1955-1972

The revolutionary tide could not be stopped in Sudan. A group of former Torit soldiers together with former policemen deserted and ran into exile. They organised themselves and almost empty handed, except for knives and sticks, attacked a border police station at Pamoju, near Kajokeji, on the Sudan-Uganda border killing a policeman, abducting another and gaining their first fire arms. The armed struggle had started. Later, the group withdrew towards the Congo border to carry out further preparation and training. The group was joined by some of the students and in May 1963, Lieutenant Joseph Lagu of Sudanese army joined the camp and gave the group a big boost.

The group started with the destruction of the Tore Bridge in the present Yei district at midnight with the hope of, among other things, attracting Sudan's Armed Forces out of Yei. But due to lack of experience, the bridge was not destroyed. The bomb did however, attract Sudanese Armed Forces out of Yei town for the first exchange of fire.

As the Anya-Nya intensified the armed struggle, the regime of General Abboud desperate for survival, accused foreign missionaries of instigating and aiding Southerners to rebel. In May 1964, the regime expelled all missionaries from the South, which only served to publicise the problem internationally. This was a big blow for the Catholic Church, which had not 'Sudanised' their clergy, because the celibacy vow was largely unacceptable within the Southern Sudanese culture.

When the caretaker government was formed, a cease fire was declared. This made the Anya-Nya soldiers to organise themselves better. Many Northern soldiers were losing their lives as a result of improved Anya-Nya attacks and as a result of the flow of arms into the South, courtesy of the crumbling Simba armed rebellion in the Congo. While escaping from the Congolese national army who were supported by white South African mercenaries, the Simba fell into the hands of the Anya-Nya fighters who disarmed them at the Sudan-Congo borders before sending them empty-handed to the Sudanese towns to take refuge.



Fig. 4.4: An Anya Nya flag



Fig 4.5 General Joseph Lagu

In 1965 Jaden and Oduhu, after some disagreement, agreed to replace SANU outside with the Azania Liberation Front (ALF) with Kampala as its location. The situation among the Southern resistance fighters in the mid 1960's was however, very confusing. The two main military leaders Joseph Lagu and Emilio Tafeng fell out and as a result should be exiled politicians were at times arrested by the Anya-Nya. The organisation of the armed groups followed ethnic lines and the ethnically based and segregated armies were not easy to organise under one command.

In 1967, the ALF was replaced by the Southern Sudan Provisional Government (SSPG) with Jaden as the leader for a short period. However, he felt wary as he was of what he termed the Dinka domination. Later, in 1969, the SSPG changed name to Nile Provincial Government while Joseph Lagu established Anya Nya National Organisation.

The year 1969 was full of Southern infighting where Southern politicians went in and out of different movements, a fact which again caused confusion among ordinary Southerners. It was not until 1970 that Lagu managed to establish the South Sudan Liberation Front with a military and political wing. The establishment seemed to unite many of the factions referred to previously, and strengthened resistance against the Sudan Defence Forces (SDF) in the North. Undoubtedly the strength of the Southern Sudanese Liberation Front was one of the reason the Addis Ababa Agreement became a reality.

Why was it so difficult for the Southerners to unite under one leader?

Activity 4: The contributions of the Anya-Nya wars towards the struggle for independence of South Sudan

- (i) The lives of the people in the South were more or less completely conditioned by a civil war which lasted with some intermissions since 1955. More than two million people died between 1989 to 2005 and the human suffering among those who survived can hardly be fathomed.
- (ii) The war resulted in a vast migration of various ethnic groups both inside the Southern territory and also to the areas around Khartoum and beyond Sudan to neighbouring countries, like Kenya, Uganda and Chad. Thousands more found their ways to the USA, Europe and Australia.
- (iii) Most Southern Sudanese were united in their pursuit of total freedom from Northern domination. Even those sought refuge in Khartoum and other Northern cities/villages were bound together in their wish to have the Khartoum government defeated and the South freed.

Obviously, the glue that bound people together across the ethnic divisions in many of the multi-ethnic communities in the South during the war was resistance against the Arabs.



Individual work

As per your own understanding, explain the factors that led to the rise of Anya-Nya movement.

Activity 5: Addis-Ababa Agreement

Source 2

THE ADDIS ABABA AGREEMENT ON THE PROBLEM OF SOUTH SUDAN Draft Organic Law to organise Regional Self-Government in the Southern provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and in realisation of the memorable May Revolution Declaration of June 9, 1969, granting the Southern Provinces of the Sudan Regional Self-Government within a united socialist Sudan, and in accordance with the principle of the May Revolution that the Sudanese people participate actively in and supervise

the decentralised system of the government of their country, it is hereunder enacted: Article 1. This law shall be called the law for Regional Self-Government in the Southern Provinces. It shall come into force and a date within a period not exceeding thirty days from the date of Addis Ababa Agreement. Article 2. This law shall be issued as an organic law which cannot be amended except by a threequarters majority of the People's National Assembly and confirmed by a two-thirds majority in a referendum held in the three Southern Provinces of the Sudan.

From the article above, discuss in groups how this agreement helped to move South Sudan towards self-governance. Write a short list of key bullet points.

The terms of Addis-Ababa Agreement

- (i) Southern Sudan was recognised as one autonomous region.
- (ii) The areas which were culturally part of Southern Sudan such as Abyei, which was administered by the North were to have their fate decided through a referendum.
- (iii) The Southern region should be governed by a regional assembly and High Executive Council. The President of the High Executive Council was to be elected by the regional assembly but appointed by the National President.
- (iv) The regional government was denied the right to legislate or exercise any power over economic planning.
- (v) The regional government could raise revenue from local taxation, and additional revenue were promised by the central government. The regional government had legislative authority on issues of education, health, natural resources and police matters.
- (vi) The Southern regional government was allowed to legislate in matters of mining, but in case of the discovery of oil and natural gas the powers lay with the central government.
- (vii) The composition of the armed forces should be proportional to the population. Anya-Nya fighters should be integrated into the Sudan People's Armed Forces.

The outcomes of Addis-Ababa agreement

The Addis-Ababa Agreement that was signed in 1972, laid the foundation of regional autonomy in Southern Sudan.

The Agreement was welcomed by many people in the South because of war fatigue. However, many of Anya-Nya fighters, politicians and the enlightened population

in the South were not happy with the speed with which the Agreement (and some of its articles) was negotiated.


In North Sudan, the Agreement was also received with mixed feelings. Although many welcomed the agreement, others called it a sell-out to the South and swore to destroy it at the first opportunity. The Northern politicians, whom Nimeiri had overthrown, believed that the Agreement granted too many concessions to the South and would result in separation claims. The Muslim brotherhood and others who favoured an Islamic state, saw the agreement and the 1973 Constitution into which the Agreement was incorporated as an impediment to their kind of Islamic state. Others wanted to overthrow the Nimeiri regime, but saw the support gained from the South being a hindrance for the overthrow of his regime. This proved right when Nimeiri, with Southern help, survived two Muslim coups attempts between 1975 and 1976.

The circumstances surrounding the negotiations and the conclusion of the Addis-Ababa Peace Agreement were seen by many as a repetition of the 1947 Juba Conference.

The implementation of the Addis-Ababa Agreement was plagued with political rivalry from the first moment.

Activity 6: The SPLM/A struggle for independence of 1983-2005

Source 3



“The SPLM is a forum in which citizens shall have right to ask their government representatives where are the hospital the school buildings, and the road you promise to construct? The SPLM is a forum in which citizens have right to report a member of the SPLA to face justice in the court of law if he has committed a crime against civilians”

— Dr. John Garang de Mabior

From the source above, briefly discuss the aims of SPLM.

Perhaps as part of his plan of weakening the Southern Sudanese unity or perhaps as a warning to Anya-Nya 2, Jaafar Nimeiri ordered in January 1983 the transfer of battalion 105 based in Bor to Northern Sudan. The soldiers refused to move,

partly because of Addis –Ababa Agreement that stated that southern soldiers should only serve in the South.

John Garang, head of the staff college in Omdurman, went to Bor allegedly to mediate in the conflict. The Sudanese army attacked Bor in May 1983, which resulted in further mutinies and desertions in the South. By July 1983, 2500 soldiers were in military camps in Ethiopia along the Sudan border in swampy place called Bilpham. It was to Bilpham that thousands of Southern Sudanese student, peasant, civil servants, police, prison officers and game army units flocked to join the rebel training centres. Another 500 remained in the field in Bahr-el-Ghazal and in addition there were Anya-Nya 2 troops in military actions inside the South.

Before the formation of the SPLM/A, Aukot Atem had already declared himself Chairman of the movement. He appointed Samuel Gai Tut as Minister of Defense, Joseph Oduho as Minister of Foreign Affairs, Martin Majier as Minister of Legal Affairs and Justice and Dr John Garang as Chief of Staff.

In preparation to meet the Ethiopian authorities, Akuot Atem wrote a manifesto of the movement that stated that “the movement’s aim was to fight for the total liberation of Southern Sudan”. This proposal was rejected by the Ethiopian authorities because it was believed to violate the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) charters. It was also against Ethiopian interests to back a separate Southern Sudan as Nimeiri was backing a secessionist movement for Eritrea. Ethiopia was ready to assist the South, but not on the secessionist ticket. Ethiopia wanted to get rid of Nimeiri, but since it had a separatist problem in its own backyard, Ethiopia did not want to support secessionist movement in the neighbouring country.

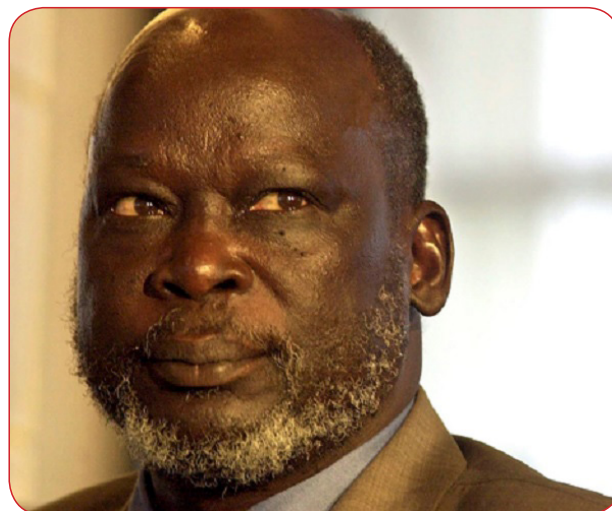


Fig. 4.6: Dr John Garang

The Southern leadership headed by Akuot Atem came back to the refugee camp of Itang dumfounded and unable to comprehend what the Ethiopian chief of staff, Mesfin, wanted them to do a precondition for soliciting support. Joseph Oduho appealed to Dr Garang to write a position paper that would be acceptable to the Ethiopian authorities. Dr Garang accepted and wrote the paper that later became the SPLM/A Manifesto. The position paper proclaimed the *creation of a socialist, united and secular Sudan*.

The Aims of the SPLM/A Manifesto

- (i) To evolve a Sudanese identity reflective of the Sudan's multi-ethnic and multi-cultural character.
- (ii) To build unity of the country on the totality of the components that make up Sudan's historical and contemporary diversities and separating religion from the state.
- (iii) To restructure power in the center and decentralisation of power by redefining the relationship between Khartoum and the regions and devolving more powers to the regions.
- (iv) To foster democratic governance in which equality, freedom, economic and social justice and respect for human rights are not mere slogans but concrete realities.
- (v) To promote environmental and sustainable development.

Dr John de Mabior Garang was elected leader of SPLM/A in Itang in August, 1983. Dr Garang was younger and educated than his rivals. Immediately after the naming of Garang as the Chairman of SPLM and Commander in chief of the SPLA, he appointed members of the top leadership of the Movement called the Politico-Military High Command (PMHC).

Having launched the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army the next step was the recruitment, training and arming of soldiers. Between 1983 and 1984 the SPLA depended almost entirely on its arms and ammunition brought from the uprisings and arms captured on battle grounds from the Sudanese army. These were supplemented with military supplies from the Ethiopian regime. After some time, Libya became strong and committed arms supplier of the SPLA.

By 1985, the SPLA was able to assemble a formidable force capable of confronting the Sudanese Army. The Sudan Army on the other hand pledged their unconditional loyalty to Nimeiri. Nimeiri offered a peace package based on the 1972 Addis-Ababa Agreement and offered Dr Garang the position of Vice President and to

administer Southern Sudan as he looked fit. In response, Garang assured the nation that SPLA would never betray the Sudanese people by negotiating with their oppressor.

By 1989, the SPLA had become stronger, not the least because of the close cooperation between Anya Nya 2 and the SPLA. The SPLA managed therefore to defend the civilians from the Murahalin and government forces.

In 1991, the SPLM/A split into the Torit and the Nasir faction. Several other splits followed and weakened for some time the South's resistance to the Northern regime. In 2002, the Nasir and Torit factions united under the leadership of Garang. The war continued because none of the fighting parties were able to get the upper hand until the signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement on January 9, 2005.

Discuss the internal problems that the SPLM/A faced

The reasons for the SPLM/SPLA armed struggle from 1983-2005

- (i) Lack of inclusivity in the appointment to senior government positions.
- (ii) The need to control some of the strategic resources like oil. SPLM/A and GoS fought to control areas that had rich oil wells like Abyei.
- (iii) Militarisation and proliferation of arms. The SPLA fighters got arms locally and from abroad through countries such as Libya.
- (iv) Another cause is the power struggle between GoS and SPLM/A.



Individual work

Summarise the aims and outcomes of the Juba Conference of 1947. Produce a table comparing the aim and the outcomes.

Activity 7: The 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the SPLM and NCP

The CPA of 2005 came as a result of involvement of regional and international bodies like the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) where the member states managed to bring Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army.

Source 4

Compliance of the National Congress Party with CPA Articles on Power and Wealth Sharing

Overall, key commissions agreed to in the CPA have not been established: The National Human Rights Commission, the Civil Service Commission, and the National Electoral Commission among others. The Commission for the Rights of non-Muslims in the National Capitol has been announced, but not set up.

The SPLM and Power Sharing at the National Level

At the national level, the CPA designated three clusters of ministries (sovereignty, economic sector, and services sector). The SPLM was to share “equitably and qualitatively” in each cluster to ensure that southerners were not handed the least influential and least sought-after ministries, far from the center of power, as has happened in the past—characteristically, southerners in government were appointed to head ministries such as Wildlife and Tourism, Animal Resources, and Transportation. The SPLM was to receive 28 percent of executive branch positions, but the parties had an unwritten understanding that the SPLM would receive the finance or energy ministry, the two most important ministries in the economic cluster. It received neither. Nor did it receive the top ministries, such as defense, interior and justice, in other clusters. The most important ministry in all three clusters the SPLM received was the foreign ministry, but although a former southern rebel heads this ministry, neither he nor the SPLM controls it: The former bureaucracy is almost entirely still in place.

From the source above, discuss how SPLM gained from the Peace Agreement.

A number of protocols between SPLM/A and NCP were signed in Kenya in the towns of Machakos and Naivasha. The leader of SPLM/A was Dr. John Garang while the Government of Sudan (GoS) was Omar al-Bashir. The areas of concern for this negotiation was the formation of the Government of National Unity (GoNU) and a Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS). Six series of peace protocols were signed between 2002 and 2004 describing what had to be done. The protocols discussed issues such as the setting up of an integrated army, equitable sharing of oil revenues and a referendum to be held in six years to determine the issue of secession of the South.



Fig. 4.7: The signing of CPA between SPLM/A and NCP

The protocols were to be implemented in two stages:

1. A six month pre-interim period, where the CPA was incorporated in the transitional constitution.
2. A six year interim period ending in a referendum to decide if the South will become independent and whether Abyei was to be incorporated into the South.

Challenges that faced the implementation of the CPA

The implementation of the CPA had many challenges such as:

- (i) The untimely death of Dr. Garang who was the driving force behind peace negotiations. He was replaced by Salva Kiir.
- (ii) The NCP rejected the findings of a commission set up to determine the border of Abyei. The International Court of Justice ruled that Abyei was in South Sudan. This ruling was rejected by NCP.
- (iii) The NCP rejected the demarcation of the north-south border impacting on oil revenue sharing, national elections and the referendum.
- (iv) The NCP delayed considerably to fund the national census which was central to the national elections during the interim period.
- (v) The central government was not transparent about the oil revenue sharing.
- (vi) Both the SPLM/A and the Sudanese Armed Forces were slow to redeploy their forces, meaning that a big number of troops were located close to each other near the contested border areas.
- (vii) There was generally a lack of commitment to quickly and sensibly implement the CPA by the central government. This made SPLM to withdraw her representatives in parliament in 2008.
- (viii) There was inadequate institutional capacity for the GoSS officials to effectively run the government. This greatly affected service delivery for the citizens of Sudan.

- (ix) There was rampant and widespread corruption in the GoSS leaving many citizens doubting if this could be a viable and sustainable government.
- (x) There were frequent ethnic and tribal conflicts which challenged the implementation of the CPA.
- (xi) Favouritism and tribalism in the employment market left many competent young people across Southern Sudan without a job.
- (xii) There were no competent legal courts at different levels of government in the South, and this made it difficult to implement the CPA.

Achievements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)

- (i) It led to formation of the GoSS running its autonomous activities with its interim constitution, legislative assembly and executive functions.
- (ii) Security and peace returned to most parts of Southern Sudan, though some of the militia groups still caused problems.
- (iii) It led to introduction of the New Sudanese pound managed by both the Central Bank of Sudan and the Bank of Southern Sudan, including the establishment of other financial and commercial banks.
- (iv) There was introduction of new Southern Sudan education curriculum.
- (v) There was basic health care facilities to prevent common diseases.
- (vi) Freedom of movement, press and association were practiced throughout the states of Southern Sudan.
- (vii) Return of refugees from neighbouring countries and IDPs.
- (viii) The army and civil servants were paid salary for the first time by the GoSS.
- (ix) Economic recovery and progress has taken place in Southern Sudan.
- (x) GoSS could now get a share of oil revenue.



Research work

Using the library, the internet and your teacher, explain the roles that Humanitarian Bodies such as Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have played to ensure that South Sudan is peaceful.

Activity 8: The effects of the armed struggle from 1983-2005 on South Sudanese

- (i) It led to loss of lives of the people.
- (ii) Destruction of property. Many soldiers and civilians lost their lives during the war.
- (iii) The armed struggle led to emergence of refugees who fled to various countries running away from wars in South Sudan. The refugees ran to neighbouring countries. There were also Internally Displaced People, IDPs.
- (iv) It led to granting of independence to South Sudan.
- (v) This struggle was able to give rise to charming leaders who led and enlightened the Southerners well creating political awareness to them.

Activity 9: The post-independence challenges and the importance of peace

- (i) There has been conflicts with Sudan as they fight over oil wells.
- (ii) Domestic challenges. Most of the top leadership of South Sudan still have military mentality making them possess dictatorship characters.
- (iii) Corruption has reached unprecedented levels among top government officials.
- (iv) There has been leadership wrangles among top government officials. President Salva Kiir Mayardit has had a difference with his Vice-President Riek Machar.

New Words

Aristocratic	- Someone whose family has social rank.
Amateurism	- Anyone who accepts money or prizes when taking part in sports.
Celibacy	- The state of abstaining from marriage and sexual relations.
Conference	- A common meeting of people with a shared interest.
Dictatorship	- It is a social situation where one person makes all the rules and decisions without input from anyone else.
Ethnic	- People who have the same customs, religion or language.
Exile	- It is the state of being barred from once native country.
Fathom	- To understand something after much thought.
Fatigue	- Extreme tiredness resulting from mental or physical exertion or illness.
Mediate	- Intervene in a dispute in order to bring about an agreement or reconciliation.
Peasant	- It is a poor person of low social status who works on the land.
Permit	- To allow something to happen.
Protocol	- A system of rules governing affairs of state.
Rebellion	- An act of armed resistance to an established government or leader.
Recruit	- To find suitable people and get them to join a company, an organisation or a company.
Referendum	- It is a vote in which all the people in a country are asked to give their opinions.
Refuge	- It is a place to flee to in order to get away from people or places that are unsafe.
Solicit	- To ask for something from someone.

End of unit questions

1. “Opposition movements are a representation of the oppressed majority.” Discuss the above statement using one of the liberal movements in South Sudan.
2. Summarise the aims of Juba conference in one paragraph of not more than eight lines.
3. Create a crossword puzzle and insert the following words:
 - (a) Condominium
 - (b) Policy
 - (c) Tribal
 - (d) Empire
 - (e) Refuge
 - (f) Liberation
 - (g) Revenue

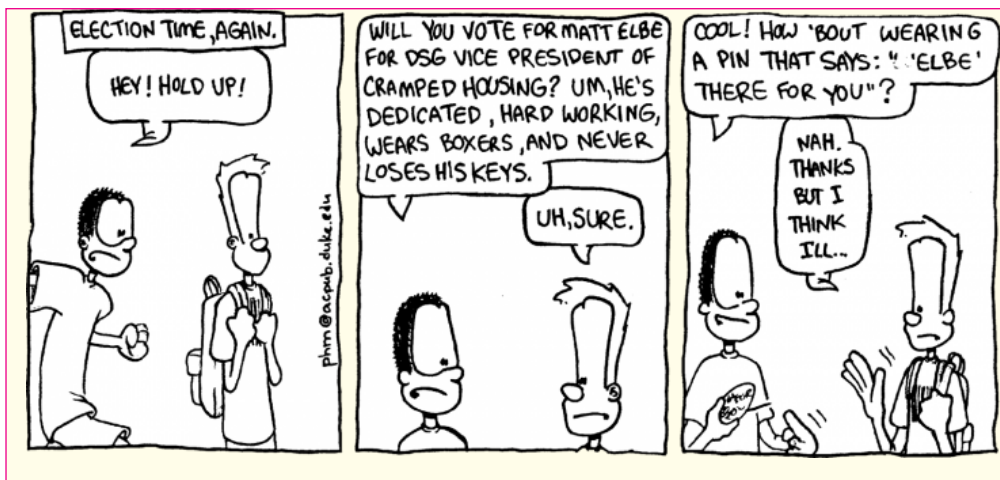
Write the meaning of the words according to the text.

4. Explain the aims of Addis-Ababa Agreement.



Class work

Source 1



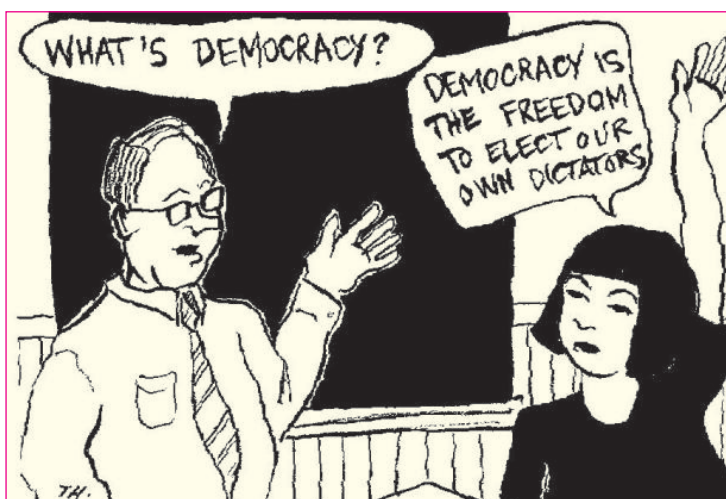
Before beginning to study this unit, the class will hold an election for its History Hero. Three candidates should put themselves forward or be chosen and prepare a short speech about why they should be elected.

The class (including the candidates) should even vote to elect the winner and proclaim him or her their History Hero. Follow this with a short class discussion about how democratic the election was.

Activity 1: Meaning of democracy

The term democracy comes from a Greek word “demokratia” which literally means the rule of the people. Democracy can be defined as a system of government in which the citizens exercise power directly or indirectly through elected representatives.

Source 2



From the sources above, do you think leaders use democracy as a free ticket to oppress citizens or do they have the best interest of the people at heart? Explain your answer. From the second source, suggest some more qualities that distinguishes a good leader from the rest.

In a democratic government people are involved in decision making through a majority vote. That is the reason why democracy is sometimes referred to as the rule of the majority. The one time United States of America president and statesman, Abraham Lincoln simply referred to democracy as “a government of the people, by the people and for the people”.

There are two types of democracy;

- (i) Direct democracy
- (ii) Indirect democracy

The first type is direct democracy where citizens are directly involved with creating laws or in decision making. The second type of democracy is indirect democracy also referred to as representative democracy in which citizens elect representatives who create laws and make decisions on their behalf. Democracy consists of four key elements namely:-

- (a) Free and fair elections. In a democracy, leaders must be chosen through free and fair elections.
- (b) Active participation of citizens. In a democracy there must be active participation of the citizens in politics and in civic life.
- (c) Protection of the human rights and freedoms of all citizens.

- (d) Respect for the rule of law. Democracy must respect the rule of law in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.

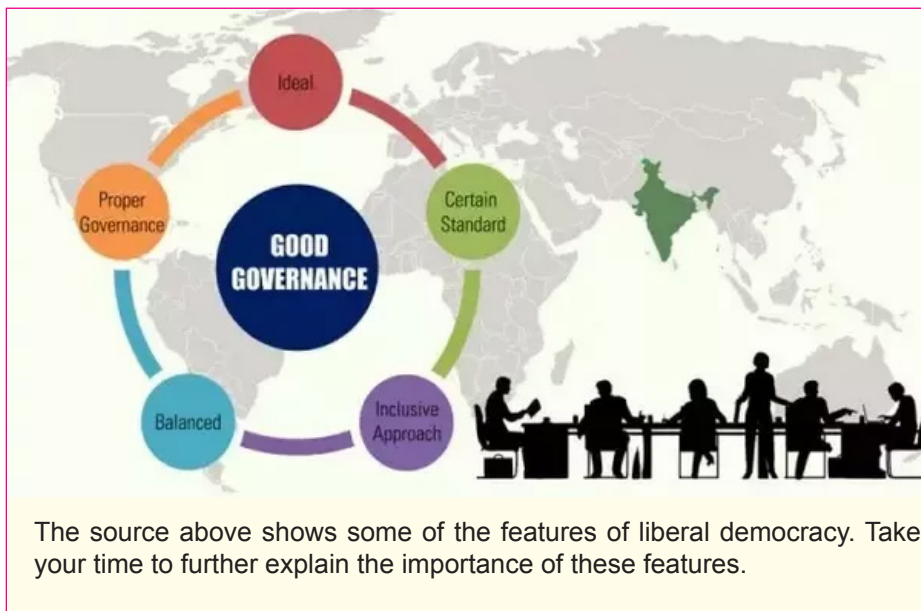


Fig. 5.1: South Sudan people in a queue ready to vote



Pair work

Source 3



The source above shows some of the features of liberal democracy. Take your time to further explain the importance of these features.

Activity 2: Meaning of liberal democracy

Liberal democracy is also referred to as Western democracy. It can be defined as a form of government in which representative or indirect democracy operates under the principles of liberalism where the rights of individuals are protected as enshrined in the constitution. Liberal democracy draw upon a constitution to deliberate the powers of the government and enshrine the social contract. As earlier seen, the social contract is an agreement between the people of a state and the government of a state.

Characteristics of liberal democracy

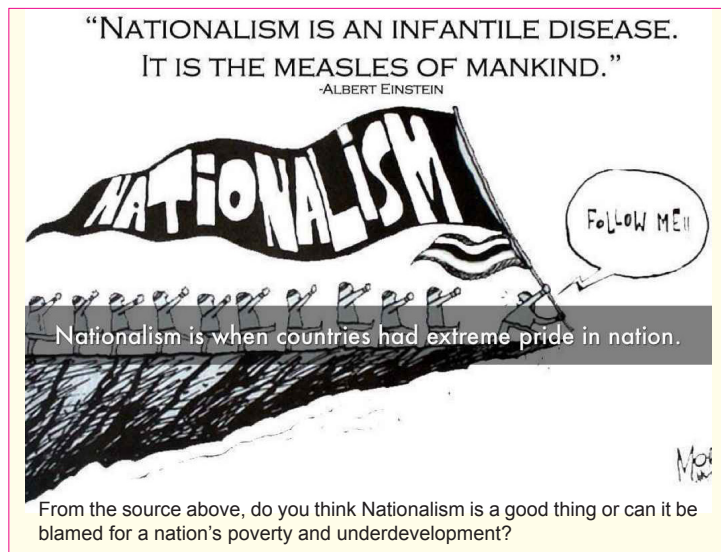
- (a) Free, fair and competitive elections between multiple distinct political parties.
- (b) A separation of powers into different branches of government.
- (c) The rule of law in everyday life as part of an open society.
- (d) Equal protection of individual rights and political freedoms of all people.
- (e) Universal suffrage granting all adult citizens the right to vote regardless of race, gender, creed and so on.



Group work

“Nationalism has its origin in people’s cultural heritage.” Discuss.

Source 4



Activity 3: Meaning of nationalism

Nationalism can be defined as loyalty and devotion to a nation. It involves exalting one nation above all others and putting primary emphasis on the promotion of its culture and interests as opposed to those of other nations. It is a political, social and economic system characterised by promoting interests of a particular nation especially in terms of gaining and maintaining self-government or full sovereignty. Nationalism is oriented towards developing and maintaining a national identity. It often involves a sense of pride in the nation's, its achievements is closely linked to the concept of patriotism.

Nationalism can also be non-state and can be expressed along civic, ethnic, cultural, religious and ideological lines. The people of South Sudan's struggle to liberate themselves from the exploitative rule of Sudan can be classified as a national movement.



Fig. 5.2: Guor Marial after winning a race



Group work

“Liberal democracy restored political order in Nations that sought it.”
Discuss.

Source 5

How does direct democracy and representative democracy work?

The people are involved in direct democracy because they are the ones that vote. Representatives are involved in representative democracy because they are the ones that vote.

In a direct democracy, all people get to vote. Representatives who are chosen by the people vote in a representative democracy.

Direct democracy started in Athens in the fifth century B.C. Representative democracy began in Europe in the 16th century A.D.

Direct democracy began in Athens. Representative democracy is used in America, Europe, and Australia.

The Greeks wanted to make everything fair and give the people a chance to control the government, so they created direct democracy. Representative democracy is better today because the population has increased so much that it is more efficient to elect representatives than it is for everybody to vote on everything.

Create your own at Storyboard That

1. Identify the kinds of democracy in the above source.
2. What is the difference between the types of democracy exercised ancient Athens and in other parts of Europe and other parts of the world?

Activity 4: Development and practice of democracy in Greece (Athens) and rest of Europe

The concept of pre- modern democracy is generally considered to have originated in Athens, a city-state in Greece around the 5th Century B.C. In around 1066 B.C. Athens started being ruled by an archon instead of a king. The position of archon was identical to king. They ruled for life and had to be from the royal family. In 752 B.C., the position of archon was limited to a term of ten years. During the reign of Solon as archon of Athens in 594 B.C. There were many social problems. Many farmers had huge debts with money- lenders who charged high interest rates. Many were getting forced into slavery to pay off their debts. Solon the archon decided to forgive all debtors and develop a fair system. He developed a council of 400 chosen men from all a part from the poorest groups. The poor had no representation in government but they also did not pay taxes.

A statesman Cleisthenes (507 B.C.), who considered the father of democracy, introduced a new form of government that featured great representation which he called “demokratia” which means rule of the people. He divided the population of Athens into ten tribal groups. Each would elect by casting, fifty representatives to the Assembly. This gave voting rights to most of the male citizens

in Athens and laid foundation upon which Athenian democracy developed. Athenians democracy was a direct democracy. Any citizen could speak to the group to persuade them of their way of thinking. The assembly had to have at least 600 citizens in attendance. The assembly met several times in a month and its functions included declaring war, granting citizenship, appointing generals among others.

Points to remember

- Athens were ruled by an archon instead of a king.
- ‘Demokratia’ rule of the people.
- Athenias democracy was a direct democracy.

Another unique feature of democracy in Athens was the use of lottery to appoint nearly public officials. Appointments by lot and short terms of office allowed more Athenians to participate in the government sometime in their life. It also limited the ability of a person or group to gain too much power.

In Athens, all eligible citizens were allowed to speak and vote in the assembly which set the laws of the city state. Athenian citizenship excluded women, slaves, foreigners, non- landowners and men under the age of 20 years. In 404 B.C. Athens surrendered to the city state of Sparta. The city of Sparta in Greece also elected their leaders from 700 B.C.

The elections in Sparta were done by range voting and shouting. This means candidates presented themselves and as they started walking to the court, those who received the loudest shouts and applause were declared winners. Aristotle called this “childish” as compared with the stone voting ballots used by Athenians. Spartans however used this method to prevent any bias voting, buying or cheating that was predominant in earlier democracies. To them this method was also simple and transparent. Democratic practices persisted until the Macedonian army conquered Athens in 338 B.C. In 200 B.C., Rome conquered Macedonia and therefore, controlled Athens under Roman rule. The archons continued to be elected as the highest officials in Athens.

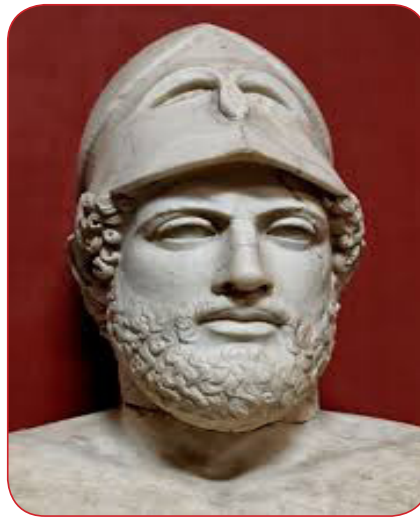


Fig. 5.3: Cleisthenes

In the rest of Europe, democracy emerged as people resisted power being unequally distributed in society. In the ancient times, the Catholic Church had a lot of power in Europe for hundreds of years. In the 16th Century, the power of the church began to weaken primarily because people wanted change. They doubted that the Catholic Church advocated the Christian faith. This is because most of its activities were about more power and money. This period became known as the Reformation which led to the split of the church and the formation of the protestant movement. Sweden for example, left the Catholic Church in the 16th Century and became protestant.

In the 18th Century a movement called the “Enlightenment” emerged in Europe. People inspired by scientific advances started to criticise the church. Thinkers and writers for example the French man Charles Louis de Montesquieu advocated for the split of power into different parts for a good balance. The parts were the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

Another significant event in the development of democracy in Europe was the French revolution in 1789. During this revolution, French people rose up against their monarchical kings. The French people were inspired by the Enlightenment ideas that power comes from the people and that no person is worth more than the other. However, just like in Greece (Athens) it was only male citizens who were allowed to vote and make decisions. In the 19th Century, the idea of socialism developed. It was advocated by Karl Marx. According to socialism, equality and justice should prevail for all people. These ideas grew and spread widely with calls for equality and justice to also encompass women.

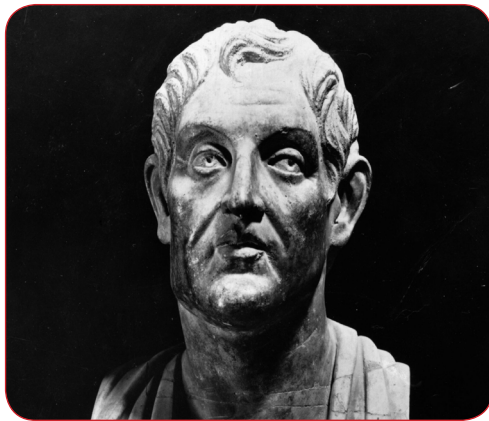


Fig. 5.4: Aristotle

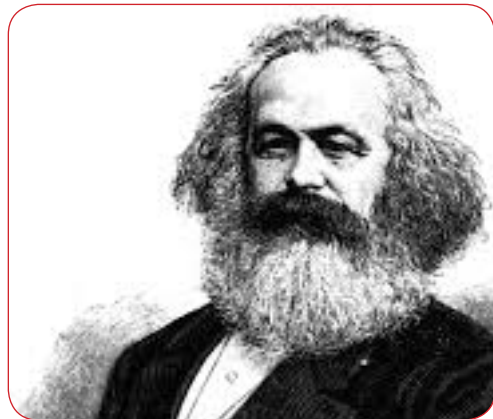


Fig. 5.5: Karl Marx



Group work

From the knowledge you have gotten from different periods of history, discuss and agree the steps that commonly take place in the rise of nationalism. Let group leaders present their summaries in class.

Activity 5: Development of nationalism in Europe

Source 6



There is a hope for Europe and it's called Nationalism .

From the source above, outline why some people feel that nationalism is a sign of hope. Published 28/08/2016.

A wave of nationalism swept the European continent in the 19th Century transforming its countries. Some newly formed countries for example Germany and Italy were formed by uniting various regional states with a common “national identity”. Other nations such as Greece, Serbia, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria were formed by nationalist uprisings against the Ottoman Empire and Russia. The spirit of nationalism is what defined these countries.

The French revolution also paved way for modern nationalism across Europe. The revolutionary armies carried the slogan of “liberty, equality and fraternity brotherhood” and ideas of liberalism and national self determination. The Enlightenment period that existed during this period emphasised national identity. A German G.W Friedrich Hegel argued that, a sense of nationality was the cement that held modern societies together in the age when dynasties and religious allegiance were in decline.

This growth of nationalism in Europe created a strong resentment of what was regarded as foreign rules among many nations. There began nationalist agitation. This led to revolutions as countries struggled to acquire a national character. Some of these reputations included the Serbian revolution (1804 to 1817), the Greek war of independence against the Ottoman Empire (1821 to 1829) and the Belgian revolution of independence from Netherlands in 1839. Over the next two decades the spirit of nationalism became powerful, inspired by nationalist writers who championed the cause of self determination.

Many other nationalist revolts broke out across Europe. National identity also became a concern for racial, ethnic or linguistic groups throughout Europe as people rose against discrimination. An Italian nationalist Giuseppe Mazzini claimed “your country is the sign of the mission God has given you to fulfill towards humanity”. It is important to note that the spirit of nationalism made European countries to take a more offensive and antagonistic stance towards competitors. In as much as it liberated European nations from exploitative and oppressive rule, it contributed to societal evils such as colonialism by European countries, the holocaust (elimination of the Jews by Adolf Hitler of Germany) and 1st and 2nd world war among others.



Group work

Discuss the meaning of liberal democracy and its impacts in Britain and France. Each group to present their findings in class.

Activity 6: Liberal democracy and nationalism in ancient Europe

Liberal practices are those institutional and customary arrangements that support individual liberty. Liberal democracy or liberalism traces its origin to the 18th century Europe during the period known as the “Age of Enlightenment”. Up to that period most European powers had monarchies who believed that they ruled by divine will. They did not value democracy believing that it was an unstable theory that would bring chaos. To them democracy was contrary to human nature as human beings were seen to be inherently evil, violent and in need of strong leaders to restrain their destructive impulses.

The Age of Enlightenment saw the intellectual writers and thinkers of the period dispute this thinking. They advocated liberalism. For example, in France, Jean Jacques Rousseau advocated for separation of powers into the legislature, executive and judiciary to avoid power monopoly.



Fig. 5.6: Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Most European countries embraced the ideas of liberalism. The 19th Century, Europe saw traditional monarchies brought down through revolutions and replaced with parliamentary governments. Leaders in these parliamentary

governments were elected by male suffrage (only men voted). Secret ballot voting was established in the 1830s. Female suffrage (allowing women to vote) was achieved from the 1890s after the two world war as this varied among countries. These liberal democracies established during this period respected individual rights and freedoms enshrined in their constitution. There were limits though to rights and freedoms for example limits to anti democratic speech. During the cold war restrictions applied to communists.

In Britain, liberalism led to the formation of the Liberal Party in the 19th Century. The party's liberal programs became the model for liberal political parties throughout Europe. It was the liberal movement in Europe that propelled the long campaigns that abolished slave trade in 1807 and slavery throughout Britain's dominions in 1833. Liberal Party governments broadened franchise to reduce limitations on who should vote.

In 1868, William Gladstone became British Prime Minister forming the Liberal Party government. He made several reforms. He de-established the church of Ireland and introduced voting by ballot. His political doctrines emphasised equality of opportunities, free trade and free economic policies. This came to be known as glastonian liberalism. The policies and reforms made him popular amongst the working class who referred to him as "The people's William".

In France, after the French revolution the government pursued liberal ideas. They abolished feudal privileges and modernised institutions inherited from the ancient regime. In 1871, popular participation in government was increased. Contemporary liberalism in Europe supports broad tradition of individual liberties and advocates for a constitutionally limited democratic and accountable government. To modern liberalism, the government should alienate poverty and social problems. Modern European liberals favour limited government intervention in the economy. They therefore advocated for competitive individual ownership of means of production or capitalism.

Modern liberalism is not completely collectivist. It has elements of both collectivist and individualistic. Modern liberalism focuses on creating a fair society rather than catering to a particular identity group or social class. Liberalism today favours state intervention through social welfare and affirmative action programs to address some of the issues that arise due to capitalism.



Group work

Liberal democracy and capitalism are two things that can never be avoided by any living person today. Discuss. (Groups to contribute to a whole class discussion)

Importance of liberal democracy and capitalism in Europe

In Europe, liberalism inspired nationalistic aspirations that saw the creation of unified independent constitutional states with their own parliaments and the rule of law. It saw the fall of feudal systems and functionless aristocracies (rule by the royal class/elites) lost their privileges. Liberal democracy saw capitalism replace the static economies of the middle ages as it advocated for limited government intervention in the economy. The middle class was therefore left free to employ its energies by expanding the means of production and vastly increasing the wealth of the society.

Liberals established constitutional governments to replace monarchies. These systems saw the governments become more accountable to the people through elections of representatives. In Europe, liberal democracy has encouraged tolerance and pluralism where people with differing social and political views are permitted to co-exist and compete for political power on a democratic basis. Liberal democracy opened franchise where all adult citizens who met required qualifications depending on the country were allowed to vote.

Importance of liberal democracy in Africa

Liberal democracy is seen as the reason why the world has become smaller and interconnected. For Africa and developing countries, liberal democracy is the best form of political organisation in terms of its ability to foster development. Liberal democracy opened up new prospects for democratic development. Liberal democracy led to the dictatorial governments in Africa to legalise opposition parties and hold competitive multi party elections after 1990. These elections though have often not met the minimal criteria of being free and fair. Many incumbent parties have exploited institutional advantages to deny the opposition any chance of winning. Liberal democracies in Africa have contributed to the weakening of the authoritarian regimes. These regimes have experienced weaker

domestic support bases and face more vigorous and organised opposition especially in civil societies. Most dictatorial regimes in Africa have become more fragile but their democracies are equally fragile. This is because of low legitimacy and weaknesses of their institutions for example the judiciary. Other factors that complicate liberal democracy in Africa are complexities of ethnic divisions, corruption, exclusion and favouritism among others.

Liberalism in Africa also contributed to the respect and promotion of rights and freedoms of individuals as enshrined in their constitutions.



Group work

“The spirit of Nationalism is what has slowed down the development of many African countries.” Debate on this statement.

Relevance of European liberal democracy and nationalism in Africa

African states were left weakened and multi-ethnic due to colonisation. International boundaries created due to colonisation also had detrimental effects on development of states and integrated economies. The 2014 South Sudanese and Central African Republic massacre are a testament of ethnic intolerance that resulted from the merging of different ethnic groups to the detriment of democracy. Culture of corruption and autocratic political leadership is also another factor that details feasibility of democracy in Africa. Africa also lacks an influential business class as Africa’s business class is very small.

The world has become a global village and therefore it is not possible for Africa to live in isolation. Globalisation can make democracy of African states feasible. Africa needs to learn from the liberal democracy in Europe or the western world. In Europe or the western part of the world, the masses are not marginalised in democratic movements. Africans should follow this path.

Africans should strengthen state structures and procedures for greater transparency and accountability. They should establish careful and creative institutional designs to give political leaders and groups incentives. This way the leaders will be forced to enhance democracy, lawlessness, stability and trust

rather than destroy them. Strong institutions for example an efficient and effective judiciary will enhance legitimacy of the democratically enhanced leaders and international support. African countries' economics and politics need openness, competition, accountability and predictability.

Liberal democracy should be measured in economic and level of human development. The determinant factors of liberal democracies include literacy and life expectancy among others. There should be a strong civil society to monitor promotion and respect of individual rights and freedoms. There should be a relationship between state and society, class structure, political culture and linkage to international system. Political environment should breed confidence to attract foreign investment and retain the capital of domestic elites. Liberal democracy thrives where there is peace, stability, low transaction cost and a rule of law. Liberal democracy requires workable physical infrastructure such as good roads. There should be effective investment in basic public education and health.

Liberal democracy provides the best means for restoring state integrity and societal peace. Political decay can be arrested through real democratisation. Liberal democracy in Africa is much more likely to provide accountability, transparency, rule of law and ethnic inclusiveness necessary for broad legitimacy and political stability. State building and democracy building should be simultaneous and complementary tasks. For example, South Sudan that became Africa's newest state in 2011 after breaking away from Sudan has a task to build the state. This should be done hand in hand with establishing liberal democracy. Democracy should involve all groups in a country.

New Words

- Age of enlightenment** – A scientific movement of 18th Century Europe which was characterised by rational and scientific approach to religious, social and economic issues.
- Democracy** – It is a system of government in which people choose their rulers by voting for them directly.
- Globalisation** – This is the process which organisations develop international influence.
- Liberal democracy** – It is a system of government in which individual rights and freedom are officially recognised and protected by rule of law.
- Nationalism** – It is a belief that people who share common language, history and culture should constitute an independent nation.
- Predominant** – Having a superior strength or influence.
- Protestant** – It is a follower of any of the western Christian churches that are separate from the Roman Catholic with the principle of the reformation.
- Regime** – It is an authoritarian type of government.
- Reign** – It is a period of rule or a period of time during which someone is in charge of something.
- Revolution** – This is the change in the way a country is governed.

End of unit questions

1. Explain the concept of liberal nationalism which developed in Europe in early 18th Century.
2. Explain any three features of the class of landed aristocracy of Europe.
3. What factors led to the rise of nationalism in Europe after 1830s?
4. Discuss four characteristics of liberal democracy.
5. List some of the features of democracy.

Introduction

The Cold War, refers to the rivalry that developed between the USA and her allies on one hand and the USSR and her allies on the other hand. It developed after World War II and was referred to as the 'Cold War'. This is because it was not fought with weapons, but with words and propaganda. The two powers also provided military and financial aid to the enemies of the opposing blocs.

The USA and the USSR rose to world prominence during World War II. Their involvement in the war contributed to Germany's defeat and though united during the war, the alliance did not last long. Their relations soon turned into a Cold War which lasted between 1945 and 1991.

The Cold War was characterised by:

- (i) Hostile USA-USSR relations.
- (ii) The build-up of arms by both powers.
- (iii) Mutual suspicion between USA and USSR.

Point to remember

Cold war was the rivalry that developed between the USA and her allies on one hand and the USSR and her allies on the other hand. It was referred to as a 'Cold War' because it was not fought with weapons, but words and propaganda.

Activity 1: Causes of the Cold War

The Cold War was caused by the following reasons:

(a) Ideological differences

Mutual suspicion, based on ideological differences, developed between the USA and her allies and the USSR and her allies. The USA was capitalist while the USSR was communist. The USA feared that the USSR would spread communism in Western Europe and other parts of the world. During the 1945 Potsdam Conference

in Germany, the USA President, Harry Truman, tried to threaten Stalin, the USSR leader, of USA's and Britain's possession of the atomic bomb. Consequently, the USSR was determined to counter the threat by expanding her influence into Western Europe. She installed communist governments in countries she had already occupied by the end of World War II. By 1949, Albania, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Hungary were already communist. The USA and her allies therefore wanted to put an end to the spread of communism.



Fig. 6.1: Harry Truman

(b) USA's military advancement

By 1945, the USA was the only country in the world that possessed atomic weapons. This created fear in the communist world and the USSR thus took a very tough line in dealing with the crises such as the Greek civil war that occurred in the 1940's. This increased tension between the two opposing blocs.

(c) European conflicts in the late 1940's

A number of conflicts occurred in the late 1940's which increased tension between the USA and the USSR. The Greek Civil War (1944-1950) and the Berlin Airlift (1948-1949) are examples of such conflicts.

(d) Disarmament

After 1945, the Allied powers held several conferences in Europe and the USA. The main concern then was the maintenance of peace and security in the world in order to avoid the occurrence of another war. The USA was particularly concerned with the manufacture and use of dangerous weapons.

In 1946, the UN established the Atomic Energy Commission to discuss ways and means of developing peaceful uses of atomic energy and of preventing its use for the purposes of aggression. The US thereafter proposed a plan for the international control of atomic energy to the UN. The plan was subsequently accepted by the western powers. The USSR and her allies rejected it and insisted that nations that are in possession of atomic weapons should destroy them before the plan for inspection could be effected. The disagreement between the USA and the USSR over the issue of disarmament increased the tension between them. Both nations therefore continued to increase their stock piles of atomic weapons. In 1949, the USSR exploded its own atomic bomb.

(e) UN domination by western powers

The domination of the UN by western powers intensified the tension between the USA and the USSR. The USSR resolved to use the veto as a weapon to fight the West and to reassert herself in the UN. A proposal by the USA to limit the veto power was rejected by the USSR. This in essence meant that most proposals that originated from the USA could not be passed because of the USSR's use of the veto.

(f) Berlin Wall

The Berlin Wall was constructed in 1961 by East Germany in order to prevent any form of interaction between the residents of East and West Berlin. This was done out of fear that the residents of East Berlin would be exposed to the higher standards of living in the West. They feared this would cause the east Berliners to hate communism.

The wall was guarded. The construction of the Berlin Wall heightened tension between the two power blocs and almost led to war.

During the cold war each power established and strengthened ties with the nations that were allied to her.

The following are some of the steps that both the USA and the USSR took in order to strengthen their ties with their allies.

(a) USA

(i) *Marshall Plan*

In July 1947, the USA Secretary of State for Colonies, George C. Marshall convened a meeting of representatives of sixteen European states in Paris, France. During the meeting, they drew up a joint request to the USA government for economic assistance to enable them rebuild their economies. The USA Congress subsequently passed the Foreign Assistance Act which established the European Recovery Program or the Marshall Plan. Under the Marshall Plan, the USA provided economic assistance to the western European nations that had been devastated by war. Initially, a sum of \$5.3 billion was set aside for the programme. By 1950, Western Europe was economically stable.

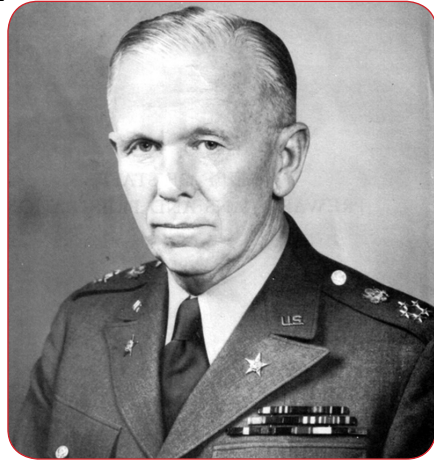


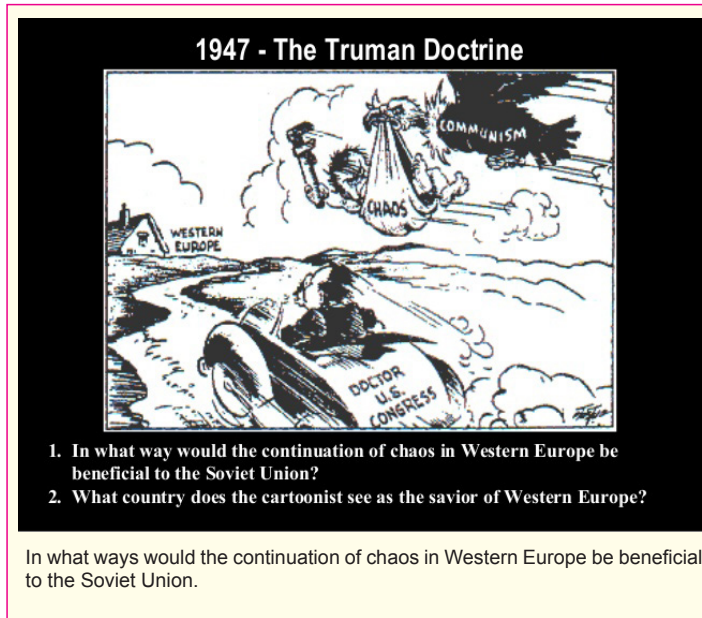
Fig. 6.2: General George C. Marshall together with others established the Marshall Plan

(ii) *North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)*

NATO, a military alliance of the USA and other western powers was formed on 4th April 1949. The members of the organisation were Britain, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and the USA. Other western European states joined later. The members pledged to assist each other militarily in the event of armed aggression against any one of them. NATO later set up specialised military organs such as the Defence and Military Committee to ensure the overall security of western Europe. NATO has its own armed forces and is still in existence.

(iii) Truman Doctrine (1947)

Source 1



The Truman Doctrine, named after the President of the USA then, Harry Truman, aimed at assisting both militarily and economically nations that were threatened by communist subversion.

In 1947, Harry Truman declared before the USA Congress that the USA would support 'free peoples' whenever their freedom was threatened. Consequently, the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed by the Congress. The USA thereafter began to provide military and financial aid to any country threatened by a communist aggressor. The Truman Doctrine is widely considered to have triggered the official eruption of the Cold War.

(b) USSR

(i) Cominform (1947)

The Cominform or the Communist Information Bureau was established by the USSR in 1947. It was supposed to co-ordinate the activities of communist parties throughout the world.

(ii) Comecon (1949)

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was formed by the USSR in order to strengthen economic links between the communist countries of Eastern Europe. This was in retaliation to the USA's Marshall Plan. In spite of this, Eastern Europe did not achieve economic recovery as fast as Western Europe.

(iii) The Warsaw Pact (1955)

The USSR founded the Warsaw Pact in May 1955 as a reaction to the western build-up of arms and alliances. Its members were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania and the USSR. The members agreed to integrate their armed forces in order to collectively face both individual and joint aggression.



Group work

Analyse the conflicting interests between capitalism and communism during the Cold War. Present your answers in class using one of your group member.

Activity 2: Course of the Cold War

The Cold War started in Europe, but it later spread to other parts of the world. The ideological differences between the USA and the USSR were manifested whenever a conflict arose in any part of the world. The two countries would support opposing warring factions, depending on whether the latter took a capitalist approach or a communist one. Both powers did this in order to try and extend their influence in the countries, involved.

In this chapter, we shall examine some of the areas where major conflicts between the two powers occurred during the Cold War period. These are; Vietnam, Cuba, Europe and Angola.

Vietnam

Vietnam had been a French Colony but was partitioned into north and south in 1954 after the French withdrawal from Indo-China. The north was controlled by the Communists, whose leader was Ho Chi Minh. It was largely due to his

leadership abilities that the French were defeated. Soon after, the Communists began to steadily extend their influence to the south where their soldiers, 'the Vietcong' continued to operate.

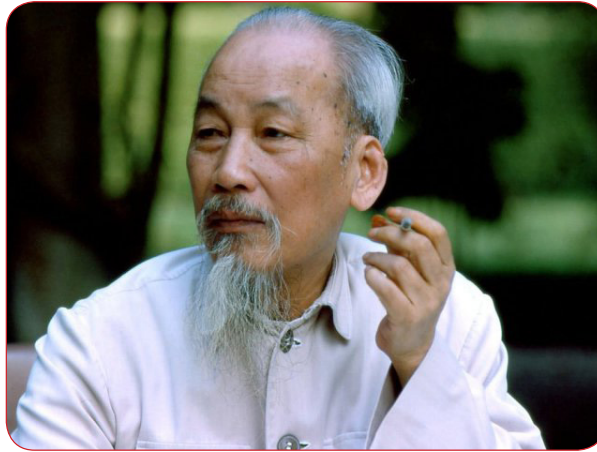


Fig. 6.3: Ho Chi Minh

The USA was worried that South Vietnam would also fall under communism, thus began to give her military assistance. In the early 1960's, the USA committed herself to a full scale war against the Vietcong. A long and costly war then ensued. Following negotiations, the USA accepted a humiliating withdrawal in 1973. However, the war continued until 1975 when Vietnam was formally re-unified under communist rule.

The following factors contributed to USA's 'defeat':

1. The Vietcong employed guerilla war tactics which disadvantaged the Americans.
2. The Americans were not familiar with the terrain.
3. The peasant population in the south at times fought alongside the Vietcong, as they had promised them land reforms once the struggle against the Americans was over.
4. The Vietcong received military assistance from North Vietnam, China and the USSR.
5. The South Vietnamese people disliked the USA soldiers as they were foreigners. They detested their presence in their country.
6. Public opinion in the USA was opposed to the Vietnam war. The war was in any case too costly and thus the USA government had to withdraw.

Cuba

The USA and the USSR clashed in Cuba during the late 1950's and the early 1960's. In 1959, Fidel Castro had come into power in Cuba after ousting General

Batista with the support of the USSR. The USA had supported General Batista and even tried to remove Fidel Castro from power. The USA was opposed to Castro's nationalisation programme which affected her investments in Cuba. The USA also opposed Castro's socialist policies.



Fig. 6.4: Fidel Castro

In 1961, the USA President, John F. Kennedy, supported the invasion of Cuba by Cuban exiles who were opposed to Castro. The 'Bay of Pigs invasion' was not only a failure, but it also strengthened Castro's alliance with the USSR.

In 1962, USA's spy planes spotted rocket sites in Cuba. The USA then realised that the USSR was equipping Cuba with missiles which could fire far into the USA. President Kennedy demanded that the USSR remove her missiles and imposed a blockade on all communist military ships approaching Cuba to prevent her from receiving new missiles. He also demanded the removal of the weapons. On 28th October 1962, the USSR leader, Khrushchev, obliged. The USA in turn lifted the blockade on Cuba and the crisis came to an end.

Europe

In Europe, the conflict between the USA and the USSR occurred in Greece and Germany.

(a) Greek Civil War (1944-1950)

During the Second World War, the Greek government was toppled and exiled. It returned with British support but was rejected by a powerful communist guerilla movement which was assisted by the USSR. This led to a prolonged war. The communists were supported by the USSR and other communist states such as Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia while the Monarchists were supported by Britain and the USA.

In 1947, the USA congress voted for funds to assist the Monarchists. The Congress also ratified the Truman Doctrine which, as earlier explained, stated that the USA would use her resources to stop the spread of communism in the world. USA's assistance led to a monarchist victory and in 1950 a democratic government was elected.

(b) Berlin Blockade (1948-1949)

After the surrender of Germany in 1945, the country was divided and administered into four zones of occupation. Britain, USA, USSR and France each occupied a zone.

The capital, Berlin, which lay deep inside the Soviet zone was divided into two sectors, a western one, under the western powers, and an eastern one controlled by the USSR. In a bid to force the western powers out of West Berlin, Josef Stalin cut off all rail and road links with Berlin.



Fig. 6.5: Joseph Stalin

The west began to airlift supplies of food, clothing and other essential commodities to the residents of West Berlin. The blockade lasted for almost a year and drove the two blocs further apart. In May 1949, the USSR lifted the blockade. By then the USA Airforce had made about 300,000 flights into Berlin. During the peak of the blockade more than 8,000 tonnes of supplies were transported into Berlin daily.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that Europe had been divided into two opposing blocs, the capitalist west and the communist east. The two were divided by an 'iron curtain,' an impenetrable barrier that geographically divided Europe down the middle between capitalist and communist states. The artificial division of Europe worsened international relations.

Angola

Angola gained independence from Portugal in 1975 under the Soviet and Cuban backed MPLA (Movement Popular de Libertacao de Angola-Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) of Agostinho Neto. Soon afterwards, the country was plunged into a civil war. Two regional parties the FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola-National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (Uniao Nacional Para a Independencia Total de Angola-National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) opposed the government. The FNLA was led by Holden Roberto while UNITA was led by Jonas Savimbi. Both the FNLA and UNITA were supported by the USA.

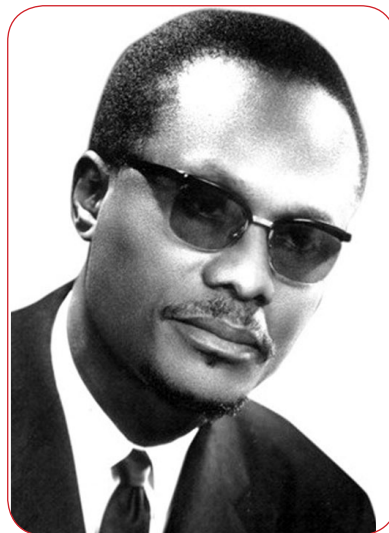


Fig. 6.6: Holden Roberto

From 1989, the USSR began to reduce her assistance to Angola. This paved way for democratic processes which led to elections whereby both the MPLA and UNITA participated.



Research work

Discuss the various events that led to the end of the Cold War and the role Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev played in the conclusion. Thereafter, present your findings to the teacher for assessment.

Activity 3: Decline and End of the Cold War

Source 2



Look at the provided source on the end of the Cold War. What can you say about the three seems to be one?

The Cold War intensified the hostility between the two super powers over economic and political dominance in the world. Several attempts were made to ease the mounting tension and to enhance co-existence. A number of summit meetings were held between the leaders of the two powers and these eventually led to the end of the Cold War.

The main events which culminated in the end of the Cold War are shown below.

Year	Event
1953	Stalin died and was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev who in 1956 announced that the USSR would pursue a policy of peaceful co-existence.

1955	Leaders of Britain, France, the USA and the USSR met in Geneva, Switzerland to discuss the reduction of the arms race. Though no major decisions were arrived at, the atmosphere was cordial.
1963	Britain, USA and the USSR signed the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, which banned nuclear tests under the sea, above the ground and in the atmosphere. Only underground tests were allowed.
1968	The Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed by the super powers and other countries. The treaty aimed at preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to the non-nuclear powers.
1972	The USA and the USSR signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Talk (SALT). In return for the agreements on arms limitation, the USSR promised to allow more freedom to dissidents (anti-government groups) Jews and certain minority groups in the country.
1985	In March, Mikhail Gorbachev became the President of the USSR and soon embarked on basic reforms known as glasnost (openness) and perestroika (economic reconstructing). In November, Gorbachev and the USA President, Ronald Reagan, met in Geneva and re-opened negotiations on the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks.
1991	Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush Senior signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) treaty which limited each side to six thousand war heads.

Table 6.1: Events that led to the end of the Cold War

By 1990, the Cold War had eased. East and West Germany had been reunited in October 1989 under Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The USSR was also on the verge of collapse, after the secession of most of its states. The collapse of the USSR finally ended the Cold War. Some of the former communist states in Eastern Europe, for example, Ukraine and Poland joined NATO.

Activity 4: Effects of the Cold War

Source 3

Effects of the Cold War on Society

The Cold War affected the United States both economically and socially. We found ourselves in a cultural battle across the country as well as political engagements. Overall, the Cold War was full of successes as well as failures and consequences but it is an important part of our history.

By: Hung Phan

For the USA, the USSR and the world identify some of the failures and successes of the cold war.

- (i) The two powers confronted each other in various parts of the world. Though they had fought on a united front during the First and the Second World War, their co-operation ceased after 1945.
- (ii) There was insecurity throughout the world as both powers used any means at their disposal, including force, to spread their ideologies.
- (iii) The Cold War led to an arms race between the two powers, as each wanted to outdo the other in military technology.
- (iv) It led to advancement in space exploration. In 1961, Yuri Gagarin orbited the earth. John Glenn of the USA orbited the earth three times in 1962. In 1968, three US astronauts, Neil Armstrong, Edwin E. Aldrin Jr. and Michael Collins landed on the moon. The Star Wars also termed as Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) came up. The aim was to set up stations in space, which, with the use of radar and laser beams, would destroy enemy missiles after they had been launched before they could cause any damage. The USSR condemned the SDI arguing that it was an extension of the war into space.
- (v) It led to the space race. After World War II, the powers embarked on the development of rockets which they could use to explore the outer space. The USSR launched their first rocket, the *Sputnik* in 1957 and this led to competition for further developments between her and the USA.

- (vi) The Cold War in some instances led to actual armed conflict as evidenced in Korea and Vietnam.
- (vii) It led to a competition for world dominance between the two powers. Most of the crises or wars which occurred during the 1950's and 1960's had their origin in the Cold War.



Fig. 6.7: Former USA President John F. Kennedy

Activity 5: Non-aligned Movement

Non-Alignment is a foreign policy approach or strategy that was adopted by a number of states, drawn mainly from the developing countries of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East in their relations with other states in the international community. When a state is non-aligned, it means that she has the freedom to decide to support or withdraw support for any other country on any issue. The non-aligned strategy therefore, does not encourage permanent support or alliance between states on international issues. It is also important to note that being non-aligned does not mean non-involvement or non-participation in all matters that are of concern to the international community.

Apart from the countries of Africa, Asia and the Middle East, a number of European countries also adopted the non-aligned strategy. They not only avoided having permanent alliances with any of the super



Fig. 6.8: Gamal Abdel Nasser

powers, but they also avoided lending permanent diplomatic support to any nation. The European countries that use the non-aligned strategy are Yugoslavia, Finland, Sweden and Ireland.

Marshall Tito, President of Yugoslavia was one of the founder members of the movement.

Point to remember

When a state is non-aligned, it means that she has the freedom to decide to support or withdraw support for any other country on any issue.

The other founder members were Jawaharlal Pandit Nehru, Prime Minister of India and Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt.



Individual work

Answer the following questions.

1. First Non-aligned movement conference was held in Belgrade (Yugoslavia) in which month and year?
2. Name 3 countries that are members of Non-aligned movement.
3. Who was the first Secretary General of Non-aligned Movement?

Formation

Non-alignment as a foreign policy has its origins in several meetings that were held in Europe and Asia by representatives of several Asian and African countries during the post-war period. The Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in 1955 is regarded as the turning point for non-alignment. The conference was attended by participants who were drawn from Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The heads of state of China, India, Egypt, Indonesia and Yugoslavia were in attendance.

The Bandung Conference discussed the following issues;

- (i) The strategy to adopt in dealing with international issues that affected them individually or collectively, for example, the Cold War.
- (ii) Failure by the western powers to consult the newly independent states of Asia on issues affecting them.

- (iii) The existing tension between socialist China and capitalist USA. They feared the tension could threaten peace in the region.
- (iv) The members discussed the issue of colonialism. They vowed to do everything at their disposal to ensure that all countries were freed from colonial domination.

In 1961, another meeting was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. It was attended by 25 heads of state and government. In 1973, a Non-aligned Movement Co-ordination Bureau was set-up in Belgrade.

The seventh summit of the Non-aligned Movement was held in New Delhi, India in 1983 and was attended by representatives from 101 member states. Since then other meetings have been held at various capitals.

Reasons for formation

- (i) After the Second World War, the USA and the USSR emerged as the two most powerful nations in the world, economically, militarily and politically. They began to rival each other for predominance in world affairs. Their rivalry was expressed in ideological terms, that is capitalism versus socialism. They also began to seek ways of enlisting the support of other nations. The newly independent nations of Africa, Asia and the Middle East were concerned about the strategy to adopt in the context of the power rivalry between the super powers. Participants at the Bandung Conference thus resolved that the newly independent states would adopt a strategy in which they would avoid being under the control of either of the power blocs. They resolved that in their relations with the super powers and any other state, they would not automatically and permanently support any of the states in all issues. The strategy was therefore adopted in response to the Cold War and attempts by the super powers to control the newly independent states.
- (ii) They adopted the non-aligned strategy to influence the behaviour and attitudes of the super powers and make them realise the dangers they were posing to international peace and security. Non-aligned countries were, for example, opposed to the arms race.
- (iii) The newly independent states wished to establish their own distinct identities in world politics to avoid control by Europe. They wished to act as equal members of the international community.

- (iv) They wanted to safeguard their independence and show their citizens that they were truly independent. They also wanted to use their strength of independence from the super power and their unity of purpose to pressurise for the independence of countries that were still under the colonial yoke.
- (v) The developing countries wanted to use their unity to fight further economic exploitation by the west. While their interest was to develop their economies which had been shattered by colonialism, the developed countries wanted to further exploit the economies and natural resources of the developing countries.
- (vi) The developing countries were convinced that by being non aligned they would benefit from aid from both blocs to finance their development projects.

Performance

Since the Bandung Conference of 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement has held several other conferences where issues concerning member states are discussed. The conferences are held on a rotational basis every four years in the capitals of member states. They are attended by the heads of states and governments of member states.

The Non-Aligned Movement has, over the years, increased its influence in world affairs through membership to the UN. The Non-aligned countries form a majority in the UN General Assembly.

Non-alignment has been regarded as an important diplomatic weapon for influencing the super powers and securing maximum assistance from the rest of the developed world. It has enabled member countries to formulate policies freely and according to their needs and situations.

Challenges

- (a) Disagreements, conflicts and at times wars between member states have affected the performance of the movement. In Africa such conflicts/wars arose as a result of Somalia's border claims against Kenya and Ethiopia. In Asia, the conflicts occurred between Cambodia and Thailand over their borders, India and Sri Lanka over the Tamils, India and Pakistan over Kashmir.
- (b) The movement has been affected by political instability due to civil wars and military coup d'états in some member states.

- (c) Most member countries are poor. They are therefore not able to remain economically independent because they require aid from both the east and the west. This makes it impossible for them to pursue independent policies.
- (d) The movement lacks funds due to the poverty of some of its member states who are not able to remit their dues on time or at all.
- (e) Lack of a secretariat makes the co-ordination of its activities difficult.
- (f) Personality conflicts between some heads of states have undermined the holding of fruitful discussions.
- (g) Member states are also loyal to other organisations such as the OAU, the European Union and the Commonwealth. This has affected their commitment and active participation.
- (h) The break up of the USSR and the subsequent end of the Cold War has destabilised the movement.



Class work

1. Hold a class debate on the topic: “The UN is a toothless bulldog”.
2. Dramatise a session of the UN Security Council. Select one of the following headings:
 - (a) The Palestinian-Israeli conflict.
 - (b) Gulf war II.
 - (c) Civil war in the Sudan.

New Words

- Aggression** – A hostile or violent behaviour.
- Astronaut** – A person trained to travel in a space craft.
- Atomic bomb** – A bomb which derives its destructive power from the rapid release of energy by fission or heavy atomic nuclei.
- Capitalist** – An economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit.
- Cold war** – A state of political hostility existing between the soviet bloc countries and the western powers after the Second World War.
- Colony** – A country under the political control of another country and occupied by settlers from that country.
- Communist** – A system of social organisation in which all property is vested in the community and each person contributes and receives according to their ability and needs.
- Doctrine** – A set of beliefs held and taught by a church or a political party.
- Ideology** – A system of ideas and ideals forming the basis of economic or political theory.
- Missile** – A weapon that is directed by remote control.
- Predominant** – Exerting the greatest control or power.
- Rivalry** – It is a person or thing competing with one another for superiority or the same objective.
- Spy** – A person employed by the government or other organisation to collect and report secret information on an enemy or competitor.
- Summit** – A meeting between heads of government.

End of unit questions

1. What impact did the Korean war have on American foreign policy?
2. The reunification of Germany was a major indicator that the cold war was over. Write an essay describing the events around the destruction of the Berlin Wall.
3. Why was the Cold War such as a driving factor behind the space race? Explain.
4. How did the actions of Russian policy makers cause United States officials to feel threatened?

Source 1

Read the poem below

Do not fear the past,
It is ugly but it is ours,
Do not hold on to lies,
That you were fed when you were young,
Learn the history of your people,
Find the truth to free your soul from evil,
Learn the Qur-an,
Learn the bible,
Find the meaning of life and religion,
Do not fear the past,
It is painful but it is real,
Blood was spilt and people died,
but love and unity had survived,
Learn the tongue of your ancestors,
Reconnect with the roots of your blood,
Find the knowledge that was stolen,
Find the life that was robbed from us,
Do not fear the past,
Embrace it,
Let it teach you the wisdom of your race,
Take its lessons and live by them,
Own the identity that was erased.

BY ZUHURA SENG'ENGE

Source 1

Discuss the poem with your partner. List the key message in the poem. How do you feel about the poem? Why?

Activity 1: Development of African Countries in the Post Colonial period



Class work

Would Africa's economic development have been different without colonialism? Would it have been richer today? Debate.



Fig. 7.1: Inauguration of South Sudanese President Salva Kiir

Post colonial is the period that comes after colonialism. It is that period where the blacks were, at least in theory, treated equally by the whites.

Source 2

A study of postcolonial literature must begin with the **historical contexts** of colonialism, contexts that are unremittingly and frighteningly shot through **violence**. The violence of colonialism – **epistemic, cultural, economic, political and military** - is so integral to the history of the **'Third World' nations** that no literature or critical approach has been able to ignore it.

Postcolonial literature seeks to address the ways in which **non-European** (Asian, African, South American and Settler colonies) literatures and cultures have been marginalized as an effect of colonial rule, and to find if possible, modes of resistance, retrieval, and reversal of their 'own' pre colonial pasts.

It is a literature of resistance, anger, protest and hope. It seeks to understand history so as to plan for the future.

Pramod K Nayar: Postcolonial Literature: An Introduction,

Key terms : colony, colonialism, imperialism, neocolonialism, decolonization, postcolonialism,

According to this writing, what does post colonial seem to address?

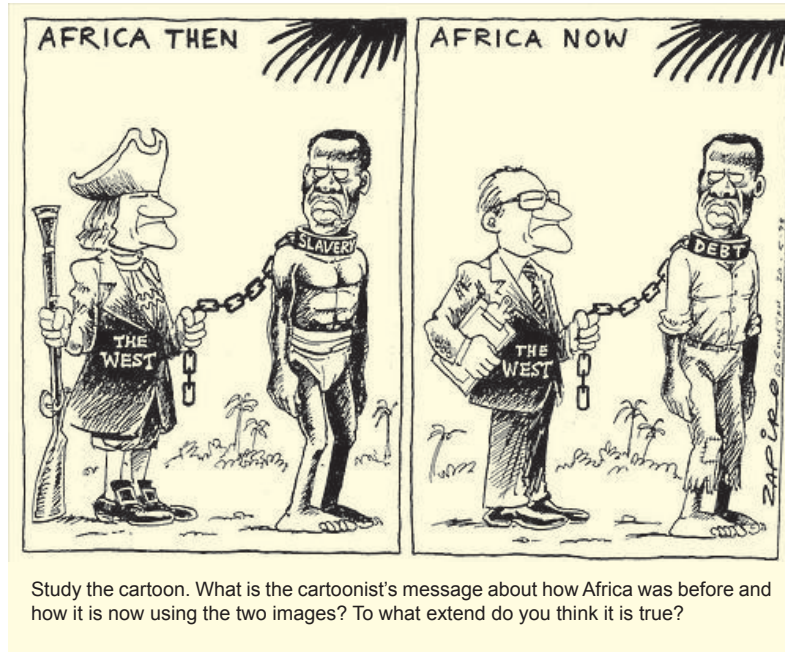
African Countries development has experienced growth and decline. Some cases of good performance include Botswana, Tunisia and Mauritius. There was a dramatic post conflict recovery in Uganda, Rwanda and Mozambique. Many countries which experienced credible growth included countries such as Ghana which has succeeded in reducing poverty and it is on its way to middle income status.

African Countries development did not develop with the same pattern. This is because in terms of growth in entrepreneurship and markets, the determinant factor was on a large extend determined by appropriateness of Land for the use by the Europeans, whether they were individual settlers or corporations. Natural resources rich countries also developed faster in industry due to lower cases of entry and less risks. Poorly endowed Countries are not quite as competitive on investment. In terms of choice of products and means of production in various markets, west Africa was more market oriented than other sub Saharan African regions. Africa also has very diverse heterogeneous regions Countries with similar endowments have offered considerably.

After independence the post colonial African states changed military systems with democracy. The desire was to maintain sovereignty and security to avoid disintegration of people and maintain peace and security. This post colonial governments also desired to build national unity among its people who were divided by colonialists based on ethnicity, language and religious differences. Development was meant to eradicate poverty, diseases and ignorance. In 1960's and 1970's there was growth in African economies. In the late 1970's and 1980's it slowed down due to aftermath of oil prices shock and perverse state intervention.

There followed about two decades of painful but necessary reforms and adjustments commonly referred to as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS). European nations put in place certain conditions for example calling on African Countries to have multiparty democracies for transparency and accountability. Most African nations had adapted single party systems in the hope that it would unite the diverse ethnic groups found in countries. Structural Adjustment Programmes also called for less expenditure by governments through cost sharing of basic social services such as health and Education. These measures hampered development and growth in these areas.

Source 3



After colonialism, African countries maintained more or less economic models based on the colonial masters. The European countries and increasingly the United States of America dominated economies of African countries. They continued to export raw materials leading to western industries thriving and African economies not developing. Inability of African countries' economies to thrive led to these countries enlisting for aid. Loans for Africa became the link between African countries and their exploitative colonial masters. The loans bore high interests and repaying these loans led to underdevelopment and impoverishing African peoples. These loans have also created a dependency syndrome.

1980's marked a shift from administrative to market means and resources allocation. Growth was rapid in former French colonies due to their convertible currency that helped to avoid supplementary and quality controls witnessed in former British colonies. Internal and External factors such as peace and stability improved governance, economic reforms and stronger donor support especially in debt relief have inspired confidence and stimulated investment flows. Diaspora remittances have also been increasing steadily. Countries like Tunisia, Mauritius, Cape Verde and Botswana are good examples of rapid growth accompanied by rapid decline in poverty and inequality. Early attention to Education, gender equality and good governance played a great role to this scenario.

Development of African countries has also been through creation of economic communities and partnerships. The Organisation of African unity (OAU) for example created the African Economic community to create regional partnerships in 1997. In 2001, the African Union(AU) was formed further advancing the idea of regional economic partnerships. These partnerships include for example, the East African community where South Sudan is currently a member. Other members are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. Latin American countries on the other hand have made considerable progress. These led to five countries in this region being classified as upper middle economies by the world bank. Though progress has been slow compared to countries in East Asia for example China.

These countries include Chile, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela and Colombo. They sustained growth because after independence these countries entered a period of political control of internal affairs, enacted liberalisation reforms and benefited from favourable external conditions. Some Latin American countries for example Chile and Argentina managed to keep pace with advanced economies.

As noted above, Africa has made some comerable progress in development after long periods of colonialism. However there is still notable overreliance on developed countries. Many multinational corporations invest in Africa due to cheap labour and to extract her natural resources and take their profile home leaving Africa underdeveloped. Aid from European countries normally send as humanitarian assistance is invested in water and so on with little investment in education and labour force. Where as Africa has been able to provide education to her citizens, unavailability of work leads to mass exodus from their homes and countries altogether Education thus seems to lose value.

Source 4

Contrary to popular belief, Africa's civil wars are not due to its ethnic and religious diversity. Using recently developed models of the overall incidence of civil wars in 161 countries between 1960 and 1999, we draw lessons with special reference to Africa, showing that the relatively higher incidence of war in Africa is not due to the ethno-linguistic fragmentation of its countries, but rather to high levels of poverty, failed political institutions and economic dependence on natural resources. We argue that the best and fastest strategy to reduce the incidence of civil war in Africa and prevent future civil wars is

to institute democratic reforms that effectively manage the challenges facing Africa's diverse societies. To promote inter-group cooperation in Africa, specially tailored political governance and economic management institutions are needed, and we advance some hypotheses on the nature of such institutions. We suggest that Africa's ethnic diversity in fact helps - rather than impedes - the emergence of stable development as it necessitates inter-group bargaining processes. These processes can be peaceful if ethnic groups feel adequately represented by their national political institutions and if the economy provides opportunity for productive activity.

A journal by Elbadawi N Sambanis, 1 October 2000

Read this journal and in groups discuss what are the key messages in the article.



Group work

Discuss why were civil wars common in post-colonial Africa. Thereafter, present your findings to the teacher for assessment.

Activity 2: Causes of conflicts in Africa

1. Borders which were arbitrarily created by colonial masters

The biggest cause of conflict in Africa is the borders which were arbitrarily created by colonial masters. Boundaries were formed by the colonialists for effective colonial administration. Boundaries brought together many different ethnic people within a nation that did not reflect nor have ability to accommodate or provide for cultural and ethnic diversity. Boundaries left tensions between the different ethnicities and religions. Boundaries have led to so many conflicts among African countries.

2. Tribalism and favouritism by colonial masters

Tribalism and favouritism by colonial masters also led to conflicts in African. In Rwanda for example the Belgians who took control of the country favoured Tutsi even though the Hutu were the majority. They favoured them by simple categories of appearance and interlect. This made Tutsis have several advantage over the Hutu giving them higher social status. Belgians perceived Hutus as "passive". Hutu's discomfort contributed to the famous Rwanda genocide of 1994.

3. Terrorism

Terrorism has contributed to conflicts in Africa. In Kenya for example terrorism has lead to violence due to its proximity to Somalia which has been known to have links with extremist groups such as Al Qaeda and Al shabaab. Lack of beneficial leaders in Africa after independence has also contributed to out break of conflicts. African leaders are selfish and have no desire to share power. This has contributed to outbreak of revolutions as people struggle to out such leaders for example in Egypt.

Source 5

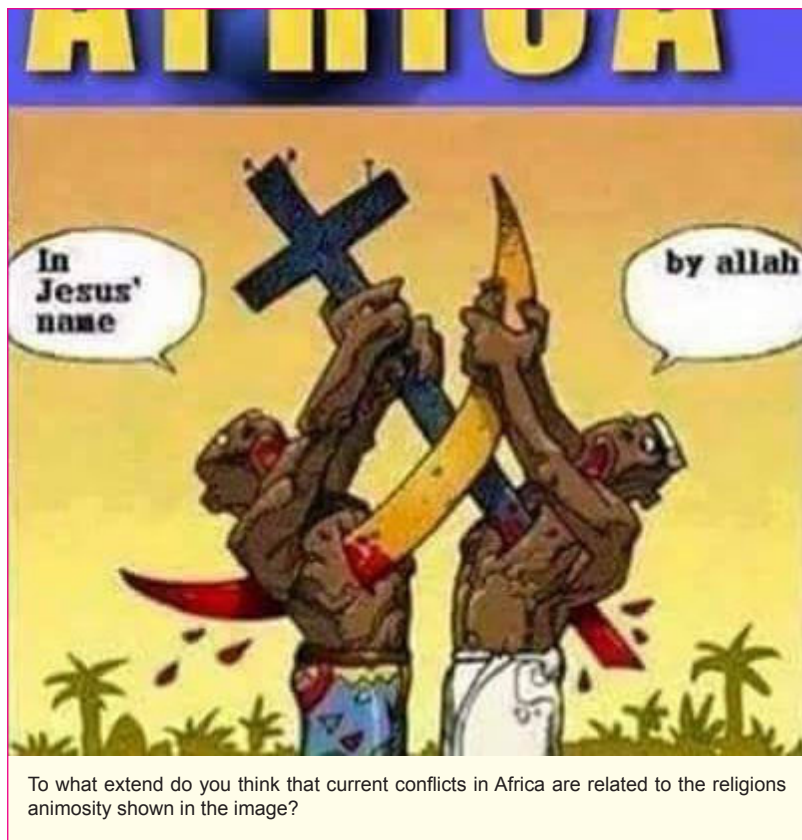




Fig. 7.2: An Al Shabaab troupe

4. Lack of support for basic rights in the region

Lack of support for basic rights in the region coupled with lack of supporting institutions and the International community's political will too help in building peace and stability causes conflicts. If the scale of destruction and fighting was in Europe, people would be calling it World War III and the whole world would move in to mediate. It is important for Africans to realize that there must be solutions to their problems.

5. Poor governance

Poor governance, corruption and mismanagement in Africa has led to conflicts. African states have failed to deliver services and provide reasonable economic conditions for example employment and income. This leads to economic stagnation and conflicts due to poverty, political, social and economic problems.

6. Natural resources have greatly contributed to conflicts in Africa.

Most countries endowed with resources are mostly in conflict. Resources in Africa are considered "a curse" and not a blessing. For years, Nigerian's oil rich South Delta Region has been the scene of repeated clashes. People felt that the government, military and foreign companies were accruing more at the expense of the people who believed that they must fight to enjoy the benefits of their oil. Sierra Leone's decade long civil war was Congo is due to a number of complex reasons including conflicts over basic resources such as water access and control over resources and various political agenda. This has been fuelled by various National and International corporations and other regimes which have an interest in the outcome of the conflicts. Sudan and South Sudan were involved in conflicts over the oil rich region of Abyei in 2012.

7. The cold war

The cold war also led to conflicts. It resulted in a system of client states where corrupt leaders were maintained in exchange for allegiance with one of the super powers. This increased arms flow ,military expenditure and training. The large armies created were not demobilised when the cold war ended. This threatened domestic insecurity. The new world order in the 1990's weakened state authority, increased internal conflicts and fragmentation leading to warring splinter groups. Conflicts became regional as collapsed states threatened the security of their neighbours.



Group work

“Sudan’s oil is more of a curse than a blessing.” Debate.

Activity 3: Development in Sudan since 1965 to date

Sudan is a country in Northern Africa. It is bordered by Egypt to the North, the Red sea, Eritrea, Ethiopia to the East, South Sudan to the South, Central Africa Republic to the South West and Libya to the North West. It is the third largest country in Africa. River Nile divides the country into Eastern and western halves.

Political developments

After independence, Sudan was ruled by a series of unstable parliamentary governments and military regimes. Sudan ruler Gaafar Nimeiry instituted fundamentalist Islamic law in 1983, leading to a rift between the Arab North (the seat of government) and the black African Christians of the South.



Fig. 7.3: Gaafar Nimeiry

Gaafar Nimeiry's government suspended political parties and introduced Islamic legal code at the national level. Al Bashir after getting to power carried out purges and the executions in the upper ranks of the army. He banned associations and political parties and imprisoned leading political figures and journalists. Differences in language, religion, ethnicity and political power led to civil war raging to about twenty years: In 1995, the United Nations imposed sanctions in Sudan due to human rights violations, religious persecutions and allegations about Sudan being a safe haven for terrorists. This was after an Islamic fundamentalist group welcomed Osama Bin Laden in the country.

Year	Event
1990	Sudan became a one party state under the National Congress party (NCP).
2000	The presidential elections at Turabi introduced a bill to reduce the president's power prompting Al Bashir to order a dissolution and declare a state of emergency.
2003	The Sudan Liberation Movement (SLMA) or Army and Justice and Equality movement groups in Darfur took up arms accusing the Sudanese government of oppressing non-Arab Sudanese in favour of Arab Sudanese precipitating war in Sudan. This conflict was described as genocide and the international criminal court (ICC) in the Hague issued two arrest warrants for Sudanese president Al Bashir.
2005	The government signed the Nairobi Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) with the objective of ending the war. This led to the establishment of the United Nations mission in Sudan (UNMIS) by the United Nations Security Council pledging to support its implementation.
2011	There was a referendum and the result was a unanimous vote in favour of secession of South Sudan.

2017 In January president Barrack Obama of the United States signed the Executive Order that lifted many sanctions placed against Sudan and assets of the government held abroad. In October, of the same year president Donald Trump who took over Barrack Obama lifted most of the remaining sanctions against petroleum export, import and property industries.



Fig. 7.4: Barack Obama



Class work

Compare the modern development of Sudan and South Sudan since the end of the war and independence. Present your findings to the teacher for assessment.

Economic and Social developments

Economic developments

In 2010, Sudan was considered the 17th fastest growing economy in the world. Rapid development of the country was largely from the oil profits. After secession of South Sudan which contained eighty percent of the oil fields, Sudan entered a face of stagnation. Sudan's economy has been steadily growing since 2005. The economy was sustained even during the long period of civil wars. Oil is Sudan's main export and contributes to eighty percent of the country's wealth. The People's

Republic of China is one of Sudanese major trading partners. The country sells to Sudan arms which have been used in military operations such as conflicts in Darfur and South Kordofan.

Agriculture remains the main source of income and employment at household level. It makes up a third of the economic sector. Though agricultural production is sometimes hampered by drought, political instability diverse weather and weak world agricultural prices. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has been working hand in hand with the Khartoum government to implement sound macro economic policies. This followed a turbulent period in the 1980's when the debt ridden Sudan's relation with the IMF and the World Bank soured culminating to its eventual suspension from the IMF. Merowe Dam also known as Merowe Multi Purpose Hydro project is a large construction project situated on the river Nile. It generates ninety percent of the country's electricity.

Social developments

In sports Sudan has been mainly involved in athletics and football to high levels. In 1972 Sudan's national football team participated in the Olympic games in Munich. Sudan's major football teams are Al Hilall and El merreikh In 1956, Sudan hosted the first African Cup of Nations football competition and won the African cup of Nations once in 1972.

Education in Sudan is free and compulsory to children aged between 6 to 13 years. Arabic is the primary language at all levels. Most schools are concentrated in urban areas. Sudan have nineteen universities. Education at secondary and university levels has been seriously hampered by the requirement that most males should perform military service before completing their education.

The health sector though faced with numerous challenges has greatly improved. In 1995, Sudan's government put in place the social health insurance sector to improve healthcare. In 2006, free emergency care for the first 24 hours was announced for free.. Free finance policy for children below five years and pregnant women was adopted in 2008. The government embarked on developing detailed road maps to provide universal health coverage to its population.

Activity 4: Development in South Sudan since 2011 to date



Group work

Discuss some of the challenges of oil industry in South Sudan. What hope do you see for the future? Present your thoughts to the class.

The Republic of South Sudan became the newest nation and Africa's 54th country on July 9th 2011 following a peaceful secession from the Sudan through a referendum in January 2011. South Sudan is made up of ten southern most states of Sudan. South Sudan is one of the most diverse countries in Africa with 60 different ethnic groups. As a new nation, it had the challenge with dealing with the legacy of more than 50 years of conflict and continued stability along with huge development needs. Formal institutions were built from a very low base and the capacity to formulate policies and implement programmes was limited. However, South Sudan is endowed with significant oil wealth which if properly used can drive development and provide basis for progress.

Political Development

In July 2011, South Sudan became independent and Mr. Salva Kiir became its president. In 2013, two years later the country was engulfed in civil war when Mr. Kiir sacked his entire cabinet and accused vice president Riek Machar of instigating a failed coup. In 2014, the government and rebels agreed to attend peace talks in Ethiopia and a deal was signed under the threats of the United Nations sanctions for both sides. In August 2015, Mr Riek Machar returned from exile to be sworn in as vice president of the new unity government. However, in 2016 he was sacked sparking renewed conflicts. Media freedom is fragile in South Sudan. There is existence of armed groups, weak legal institutions and political pressure which undermine free reporting.



Fig. 7.5: Salva Kiir the president

Key dates in South Sudan's history

Year	Event
1956	Sudan becomes independent but Southern states are unhappy with their lack of autonomy. Tension leads to fighting that lasts up to 1972, when the South is promised some degree of self government.
1983	Fighting begins again after the Sudan government cancels the autonomy arrangement.
2011	South Sudan becomes an independent country after over 20 years of guerilla warfare which claimed the lives of at least 1.5 million people and close to 4 million displaced.
2012	Disagreements with Sudan over the oil rich region of Abyei erupt into fighting known as the Hegling crisis. A peace deal is reached in June 2012 that created a 10km demilitarised zone along the border.
2013	Civil war breaks out after the President Salva Kiir sacks the cabinet and accuses Vice President Riek Machar of planning a failed coup. Over 2.2 million people were displaced and severe famine broke out putting the lives of many others at risk.
2015	Warring sides sign a peace deal to end the civil war even though the conflict continued.
2016	President Salva Kiir announces the launch of a National Dialogue Initiative with the aim of protecting and preserving the unity of the people of the South Sudan. This assisted to reduce the people's suffering, restore the economy and focus on state and nation building.

Economic and Social Development

South Sudan's major export is oil. Oil accounts for almost all the totality of exports and around sixty percent of her wealth. South Sudan being land locked, relies on a pipeline to Port Sudan on Sudan's Red Sea coast. An agreement was signed between the two countries in 2012.

South Sudan has vast and largely untapped natural resources and a subsistence economy. Agriculture and pastrolism are also major economic activities. Economic performance though, has continued to deteriorate due to civil war, sharp fall in oil production, and collapse of global oil prices. These factors lead to budgetary deficits which in turn lead to huge domestic and international debts. South Sudan exports timber to the international market from western and central Equatoria, River Nile is another major natural feature of South Sudan. The South Sudan region contains many natural resources such as petroleum, iron, ore, copper, zinc, chromium, silver, gold and hydropower. In 2012, the world bank gave the government of South Sudan an investment loan to build rural and inter-urban roads and highways.

The South Sudanese government is keen to attract investors to develop production. South Sudan has more than eighteen national game parks, game reserves, bird sanctuaries and other protected areas to attract potential investment in tourism. However, South Sudan economy is still one of the world's weakest and most underdeveloped. Most villages have no electricity, running water and its overall infrastructure lacking, with few paved roads.

Socially South Sudan has made tremendous growth to improve health and primary education especially in the years following the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The 2010 census estimated that 27% of the 15 years and above population in South Sudan was literate. The literacy rate for males standing at 40% compared to 16% to females.

New Words

Agriculture	-	The practice of farming, including rearing of crops and animals.
Autonomy	-	Freedom of action.
Civil war	-	A war between citizens of the same country.
Gender	-	The state of being male or female.
Genocide	-	The deliberate killing of a very large number of people from a particular ethnic group.
Liberalisation	-	It is to loosen restrictions on something.
Loan	-	A thing that is borrowed, especially a sum of money that is expected to be paid back with interest.
Massacre	-	A brutal slaughter of people.
Purge	-	to remove a group of people considered undesirable from an organisation or place.
Referendum	-	A general vote by the electorate on a single political question which has been referred to them for a direct decision.
Sworn	-	Given under an oath.
Tourism	-	The commercial organisation and operation of holidays and visits to places of interest.

End of unit questions

1. South Sudan has only been independent since 2011, yet it is on the brink of collapse. Why is this happening? Explain.
2. How does the legacy of colonialism affect contemporary African International relations.
3. What are the differences between colonialism and post colonialism.



South Sudan

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