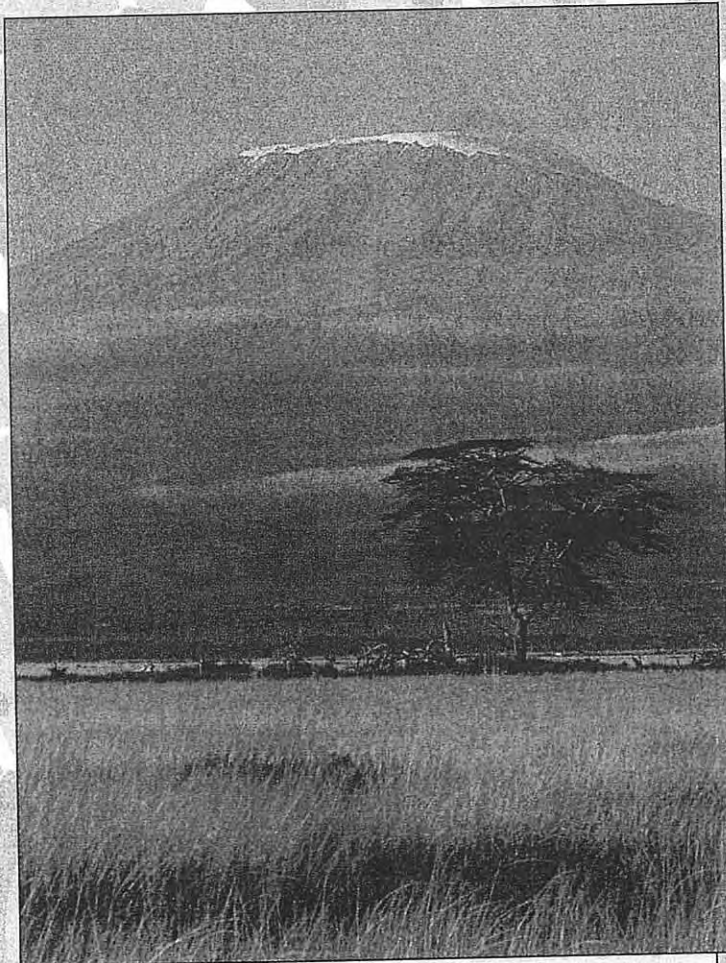


# GEOGRAPHY AND EARLY HISTORY OF AFRICA



**Mount Kilimanjaro** The vast continent of Africa includes a wide variety of landforms, including mountains. The snow-covered summit of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania, seen here, provides a sharp contrast with the plains at the base of the mountain. **Diversity** How do varied landforms and climate contribute to cultural diversity?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 The Shape of the Land
- 2 Climate and Diversity
- 3 Early Civilizations of Africa

“**T**here was wind and rain. And there was also thunder and terrible lightning.” So begins a story of creation as told by the Kikuyu people of Kenya. While the land was in darkness, the Creator put up a holy tree. At the foot of the tree, the Creator set the first people—the man Kikuyu and the woman Mumbi. Immediately, the sun rose.

The Creator then took Kikuyu and Mumbi from his holy mountain to the “country of ridges.” There the Creator showed them all the land. He told them,

“This land I hand over to you. O man and woman  
It's yours to rule and farm  
in peace, sacrificing  
Only to me, your God,  
under my sacred tree.”

Through stories like this one the peoples of Africa explain their roots. The stories differ across the continent because Africans belong to many distinct groups. In this

unit on Africa, you will learn about the forces from within and from without that have shaped Africa's many cultures.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

In Africa, as elsewhere in the world, people have adapted to many different environments. The story of Kikuyu and Mumbi, for example, describes mountains and ridges that are found in East Africa. In other parts of Africa, stories tell of mighty rivers, flat grasslands, and wide deserts. Such stories show how differences in climate and topography shape cultures.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Geographic features have influenced where people live in Africa and contributed to the cultural diversity of the continent.
- ▶ Since earliest times, people, goods, and ideas have crossed the physical barriers that divide Africa and separate it from other regions.
- ▶ Recent evidence suggests that the first humans lived in Africa.
- ▶ The fertile Nile Valley supported one of the world's first great civilizations.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

"Creation Story," Kikuyu tale

"A Hymn to the Nile," from the Papyrus Scrolls

For other literature suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

## THE SHAPE OF THE LAND

### FIND OUT

What is Africa's relative location in the world?

How have landforms influenced movement across Africa?

What natural resources are important to African nations?

**Vocabulary** escarpment, cataract, hydroelectric power

Thousands of years ago, hot ash and melted rock spewed out of the earth, creating a giant mountain. Today, Mount Kilimanjaro towers 19,340 feet (5,895 m) over northeastern Tanzania. Kilimanjaro stands almost on the Equator. Yet, because of the mountain's great height, its summit is covered with snow all year round.

Mount Kilimanjaro is a spectacular sight. It is just one of the wide variety of landforms that make up the African continent.

### A Vast Continent

Africa is the world's second-largest continent, the biggest after Asia. It is more than three times the size of the United States. It also contains more independent nations than any other continent on Earth—55 in all.

**Location.** Africa is centrally located on the Earth's surface. It straddles the Equator, extending for thousands of miles north and south of that line. The continent stands between two major oceans. To the west is the Atlantic Ocean and to the east lies the Indian Ocean. The Mediterranean Sea in the north and the Red Sea in the northeast also border Africa.

Although oceans set Africa apart from other regions, they also link it with the rest of

the world. In ancient times, ships sailed along the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts. These ships carried people, goods, and ideas between Africa and Europe and the Middle East. As you will read in Chapter 4, seasonal winds also allowed traders to sail from Africa across the Indian Ocean to South Asia. Today, Africa's location places it squarely in the center of world transportation routes.

**Regions.** Africa, like other continents, has many distinct regions. The main regions are North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa, and Southern Africa. Geographic features give each region its own identity, although great variety also exists within each region. Regional differences contribute to the diversity of African peoples.

North Africa stretches from Morocco in the west to Egypt in the east. Because of its location, it has always had close contact with Europe and the Middle East. At the same time, North Africa is closely linked to the regions south of the Sahara. These regions are sometimes referred to as sub-Saharan Africa.

South of the Sahara, West Africa bulges into the Atlantic. It includes many nations, from Mauritania to Nigeria. Central Africa includes the large nation of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, on the Equator. In East Africa, the largest nations are Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. The region of Southern Africa stretches from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and includes Zimbabwe, Zambia, and South Africa. (See the map on page 62.)

### Landforms

Most of Africa is a vast plateau. Toward the edges of the continent are mountain ranges, such as the Atlas Mountains in the northwest and the Drakensberg Mountains in the southeast. Narrow plains fringe the coasts.

**Plateaus.** The plateaus of Africa lie at different elevations. The highest plateaus are in the east and south. The continent then tilts gradually downward toward the west and north. Large basins, swamps, and lakes are scattered across the plateaus.

As you move from the plateaus toward the coast, the land drops sharply. In places,

escarpments, or steep cliffs, divide the plateau from the coastal plain. These changes in elevation affect the course of Africa's rivers. As rivers flow from the plateau to the coast, they tumble over a series of cataracts, or large waterfalls, and rapids.

Over thousands of years, Africans have migrated across the plateaus. Traders followed well-traveled routes through parts of the continent. The land, however, discouraged early Europeans who tried to explore the continent. When they tried to sail up rivers, they found the way blocked by cataracts.

**Great Rift Valley.** The Great Rift Valley slices through the eastern part of the continent. This giant fault, or break, in the Earth's crust runs from the Red Sea to the Zambezi River. The valley—actually a series of mountains and valleys—was formed millions of years ago. (See the feature at right.)

Flanking the Rift Valley are high, clifflike walls. Over centuries, rich soils from the highlands have washed down into the valley. As a result, the region contains some of Africa's most fertile farmland. The Rift Valley is rich in minerals and metals, but mining and transportation are difficult. The sheer cliffs, high mountains, and deep valleys make building roads and railroads costly and dangerous.

### Rivers

The rivers of Africa provide fish, water for irrigation, and a means of transportation. They are also a source of hydroelectric power, energy produced by moving water. Today, African nations are constructing dams across rivers to supply cities and industries with electricity.

**The Nile.** Flowing for 4,160 miles (6,695 km) northward across Africa, the Nile River is the longest in the world. The Nile has played a key role in human development. As you will read, one of the earliest civilizations developed in the fertile Nile Valley of northeastern Africa.

Until recently, the Nile flooded each year. The flood waters deposited silt in the river valley, adding nutrients to the soil. The rich farmlands along the Nile supported a large population.



# The Great Rift Valley

After sailing over the Great Rift Valley in a hot-air balloon, a visitor commented:

“ The view of the Rift made a tremendous impression on me, partly because I was terrified. . . . Mountains often have cliffs, but not, in general, a succession of steep descents. The ground fell away dramatically, as if giant steps had been carved in the rock. ”

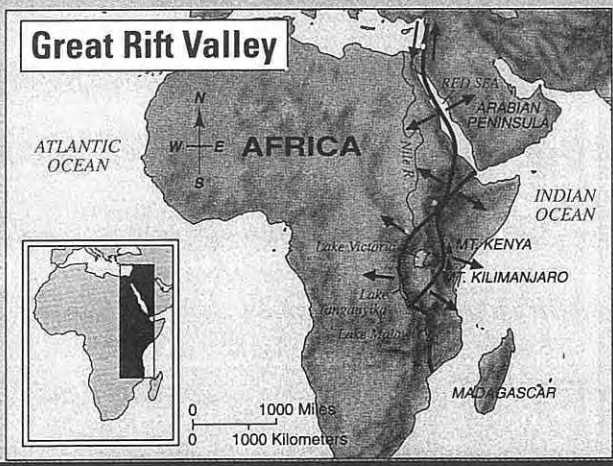
The Rift is a split in the African continent. It extends 4,000 miles (6,437 km) from the Middle East southward along East Africa to Mozambique.

Several natural forces have formed the Great Rift Valley. According to scientists, the plates that make up the Earth's crust have moved apart over millions of years, creating the deep gap. (The island of Madagascar may have split off from Africa in the same way.) Erosion has deposited rich soil in the base of the valley. Volcanic activity has created mountains, such as Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Kenya.

The rift zone supports a wide variety of economic activities. The volcanic soil provides fertile farmland. Two of the Earth's deepest lakes—Lake Tanganyika and Lake Malawi—cover the western branch of the rift along the borders of D.R. Congo and Malawi. The lakes are sources of salt and soda ash. Steam and hot springs lie below the surface of the valley. Scientists hope to harness these sources of clean energy.

Other scientists are interested in the region for a totally different reason. The rich volcanic ash is a good agent for preserving bones. Archaeologists have dug up the world's oldest human fossils in the Great Rift Valley, leading to the theory that this may be the site of the origin of all humans.

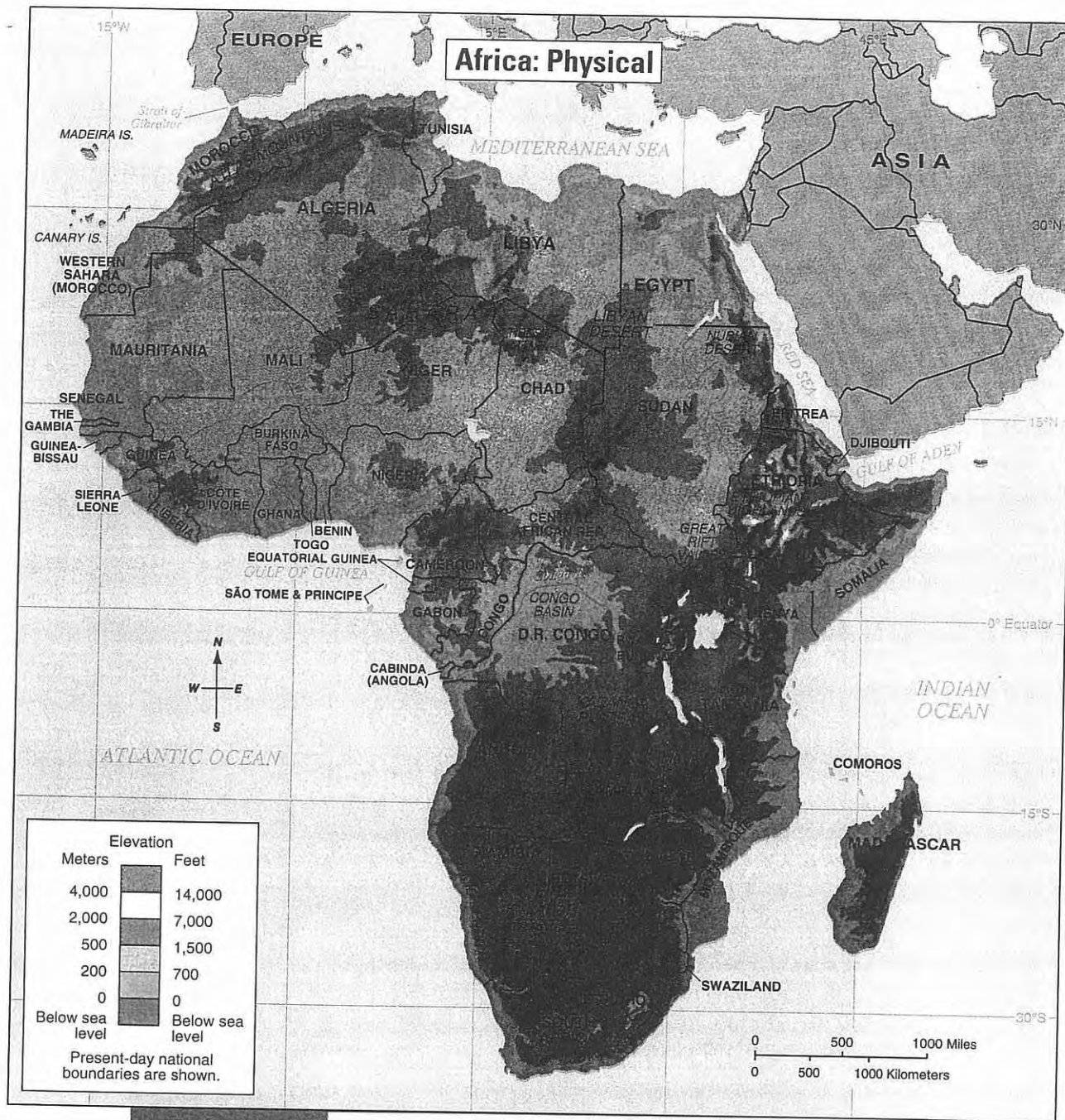
1. What natural forces have helped create the Great Rift Valley?
2. **Forecasting** If shifting continues in the Great Rift Valley, how might the map of Africa look in 40 million years?



Technology has changed the yearly flooding of the Nile. In 1970, Egyptians completed the massive Aswan Dam, located on the upper Nile. The dam supplies hydroelectric power. It also created a vast lake that stores water for irrigation. The dam, however, has been a mixed blessing. It traps the rich

silt that once renewed Egyptian soil, so farmers in the lower Nile Valley now must buy fertilizer.

In the 1800s, European explorers became fascinated with the idea of finding the source of the Nile. In daring expeditions, they competed to reach the headwaters of the great



### MAP STUDY

Africa is the second-largest continent in the world. Most of its land is a plateau.

- 1. Location** What two rivers come together to form Africa's longest river?
- 2. Region** (a) Which parts of Africa have the highest elevation? (b) Which parts have the lowest elevation?
- 3. Drawing Conclusions** In what parts of Africa do you think most people live today? Check your answer by referring to the map on page 782.

river. In time, they traced the river's various sources in the highlands of East Africa.

**Other key rivers.** The Congo River drains a huge area in Central Africa. The river is fed by many tributaries on both sides of the Equator before emptying into the Atlantic Ocean. The Congo carries an enormous volume of water, and it provides hydroelectric power. Only part of the river, however, can be used for transportation. Waterfalls and rapids prevent boats from traveling all the way down the river to the ocean.

The Niger River rises in the West African nations of Sierra Leone and Guinea. It first flows north toward the Sahara, where it forms a large inland swamp. Then it turns southeast and plunges from the plateau toward the sea. Along the Niger, farmers pump water to irrigate crops of rice and millet. Local residents pole long, pointed boats through the waters and use nets to catch fish. Large riverboats carry passengers and cargo along the deeper sections of the Niger.

The Zambezi River in Southern Africa is fed by sources in Angola and Zambia. As it de-

scends to the sea, the Zambezi rushes over Victoria Falls. The Zambezi forms the border between Zimbabwe and Zambia, where Lake Kariba and the huge Kariba Dam are found. The dam provides hydroelectric power to both nations.

## Natural Resources

Africa's rivers are a source of precious metals. For more than 2,000 years, people in Africa have sifted through riverbeds to uncover gold and diamonds. They have also mined gold from pits deep below the surface. For centuries, West Africa served as a major source of gold for Europe. The desire to discover gold was one cause of European interest in Africa.

**Mineral exports.** Today, African nations sell many other valuable resources to the industrial world. D.R. Congo and Zambia have huge deposits of copper. South Africa, D.R. Congo, and Botswana are among the world's leading suppliers of diamonds and cobalt. Nigeria and Angola have built offshore oil platforms to

**Mining Mineral Wealth** Many African nations depend on the export of natural resources for income. Pictured here is a mining operation in Mauritania, a nation of West Africa. Mauritania earns three fourths of its national income from its export of iron ore.

**Interdependence** How do Mauritania's natural resources link it to other nations?



pump oil from underwater sources. Libya, Algeria, and Gabon also have oil deposits.

Some African countries lack the money to develop their mineral resources. As you will read in Chapter 5, they have allowed foreign companies to invest in mining and other ventures. As a result, much of the profits from these resources flow out of Africa.

**Uneven distribution.** Although Africa is rich in natural resources, those resources are unevenly distributed. Only a few African nations, for example, have oil to export. The rest must rely on expensive imported oil.

Some countries, like Uganda, have relatively few mineral resources but have rich soils and abundant water. The fertile soils of the Great Rift Valley allow Ugandan farmers to produce a variety of crops. Much of Africa, however, is not very fertile. In addition, uncertain rainfall often makes farming difficult.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Atlas Mountains, (b) Great Rift Valley, (c) Nile River, (d) Congo River, (e) Niger River, (f) Zambezi River.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Aswan Dam, (b) Kariba Dam.
- 3. Define:** (a) escarpment, (b) cataract, (c) hydroelectric power.
- 4.** (a) Describe the relative location of Africa. (b) How has Africa's location both set it apart and linked it to the rest of the world?
- 5.** (a) How have the landforms of Africa encouraged movement of people and goods? (b) How have they discouraged movement?
- 6.** What resources do African nations export to the world?
- 7. Defending a Position** Some people believe the Aswan Dam is a major achievement. Others consider it a sad mistake. What evidence would you give to support each argument?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Look at physical maps of Africa and the United States. Make a list of all the African countries that have the same landforms as your state.

## CLIMATE AND DIVERSITY

### FIND OUT

- How do climates differ across Africa?
- What ways of life did Africans develop?
- How do Africa's languages reflect its cultural diversity?

**Vocabulary** tropics, leaching, drought, desertification

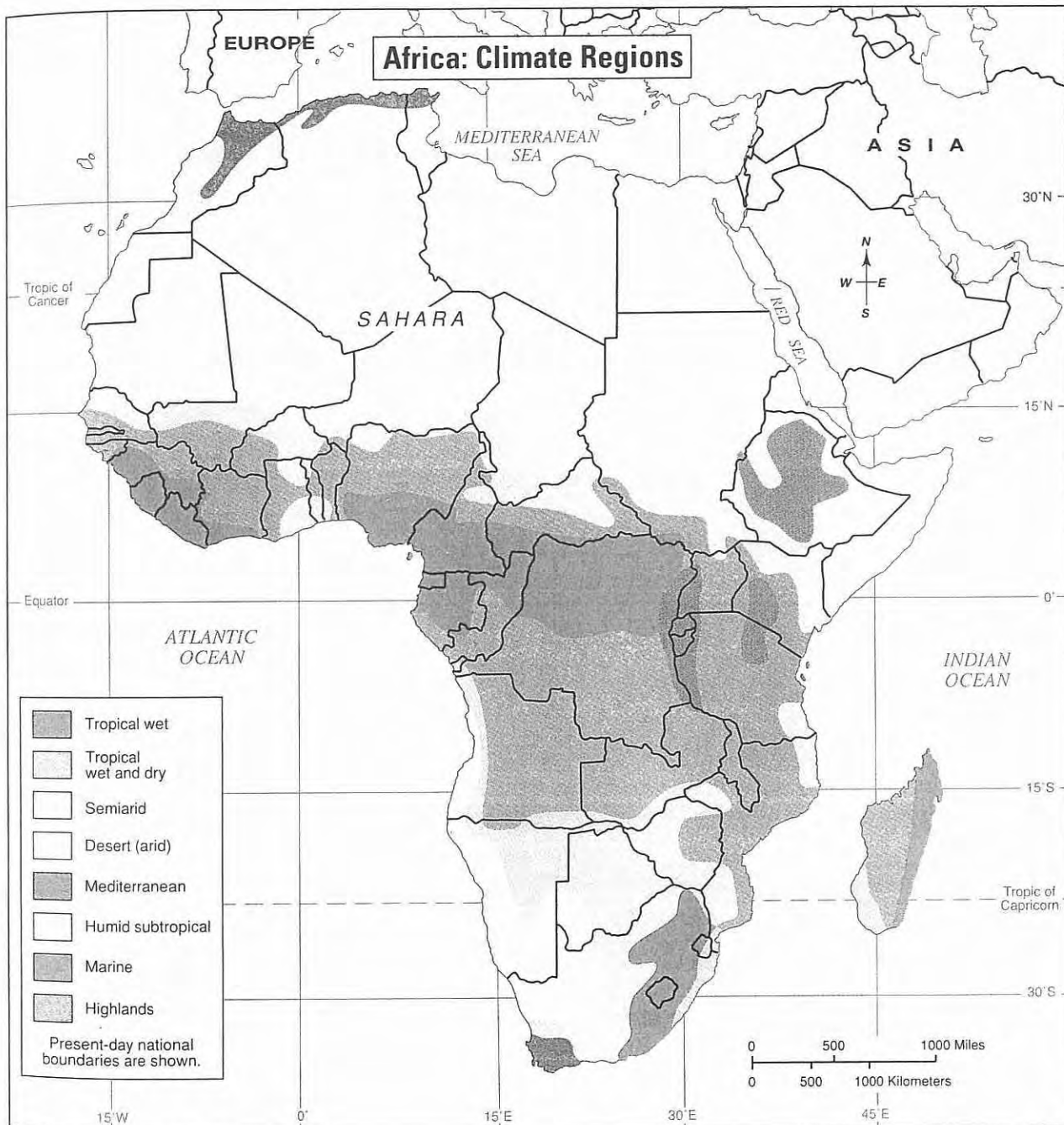
If you visit Africa, you can probably leave your winter coat home. Africa is the most tropical of all the continents. Temperatures in most parts of Africa are generally warm or hot.

Rainfall, however, varies greatly from one part of Africa to another. To a large degree, it is rainfall—or lack of it—that determines climate on the continent. Indeed, the people of Botswana consider rainfall so important that they call their money *pula*, which means “rain.”

### The Roles of Latitude and Elevation

The Equator runs nearly through the middle of Africa. As a result, 80 percent of the continent is in the tropics, the area between the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. Because of this tropical location, African climates are generally warm throughout the year.

The coolest regions of Africa are found in the highlands. Because temperature drops as elevation increases, temperatures in the highlands are considerably lower than in low-lying regions. For example, Accra, Ghana, on the West African coast, has hot, humid weather. Temperatures reach the 80s F. On the other hand, Nairobi, Kenya, lies at about the same latitude as Accra but is 5,300 feet (1,615 m)



### MAP STUDY

Africa is a vast continent with varied climates as this map shows. In most parts of Africa, however, the temperatures are warm all year round.

- 1. Place** Why is the climate of most of Africa warm throughout the year?
- 2. Region** (a) Which climate region extends across the largest part of Africa?  
(b) Which climate region covers the smallest area of Africa?
- 3. Drawing Conclusions** Why does the amount of rainfall determine climate zones in Africa?



above sea level. Its pleasant daytime temperatures are in the 60s and 70s F. At night, Nairobi is quite chilly.

## Rainfall

A major feature of African climates is a pattern of alternating wet and dry seasons. The seasons vary north and south of the Equator. When rains fall on areas south of the Equator, areas to the north experience a dry season. The pattern is reversed later in the year. In general, the farther north or south one gets from the Equator, the shorter the rainy period is and the longer the dry season is.

Rainfall is distributed very unevenly in Africa. Average annual rainfall varies from less than an inch (2.5 cm) in desert regions to more than 80 inches (203 cm) near the Equator. In addition, the rains may vary greatly from one year to the next. These variations in rainfall cause problems for farmers and herders, as you will read.

## Four Major Climate Zones

Because of its size, almost every type of climate and vegetation can be found in Africa. For purposes of study, the continent can be divided into four major climate zones. In general, differences in the amount of rainfall distinguish these zones.

Because Africa sits astride the Equator, the climate zones of its northern and southern halves are mirror images of each other. Setting out from the Equator and moving north or south, a traveler would encounter similar bands of climate and vegetation. In turn, these are tropical wet, tropical wet and dry, desert, and moderate Mediterranean climates. (See the map on page 65.)

### Tropical Wet Climate Region

Rain forests thrive in the wet tropical climate region. This climate zone occupies a narrow belt along the Equator, covering only 8 percent of Africa. It extends from Guinea on the west coast to the Great Rift Valley in the east.

The tropical rain forest is hot and humid all year round. Temperatures average around 80°F (27°C), and annual rainfall from 60 to 120 inches (152 to 304 cm) is common. The abundant rainfall and warm temperatures help to produce lush plant growth. Thousands of species of birds and animals make their home in the rain forest.

With all its plentiful plant life, you would think that soil of the rain forest would be deep and rich. In fact, the soil is poor. Constant heavy rains dissolve and wash away its nutrients. This process, known as *leaching*, leaves the soil unsuitable for farming.

The tropical climate of the rain forest poses many problems for settlement. Disease-carrying insects breed in standing pools of water left by heavy rains. Other insects, such as termites, attack wooden buildings and furniture. In addition, dampness causes even everyday items such as clothing to become moldy or rot. Today, builders can solve some of these problems by using concrete and steel in the rain forest, but these materials are costly.

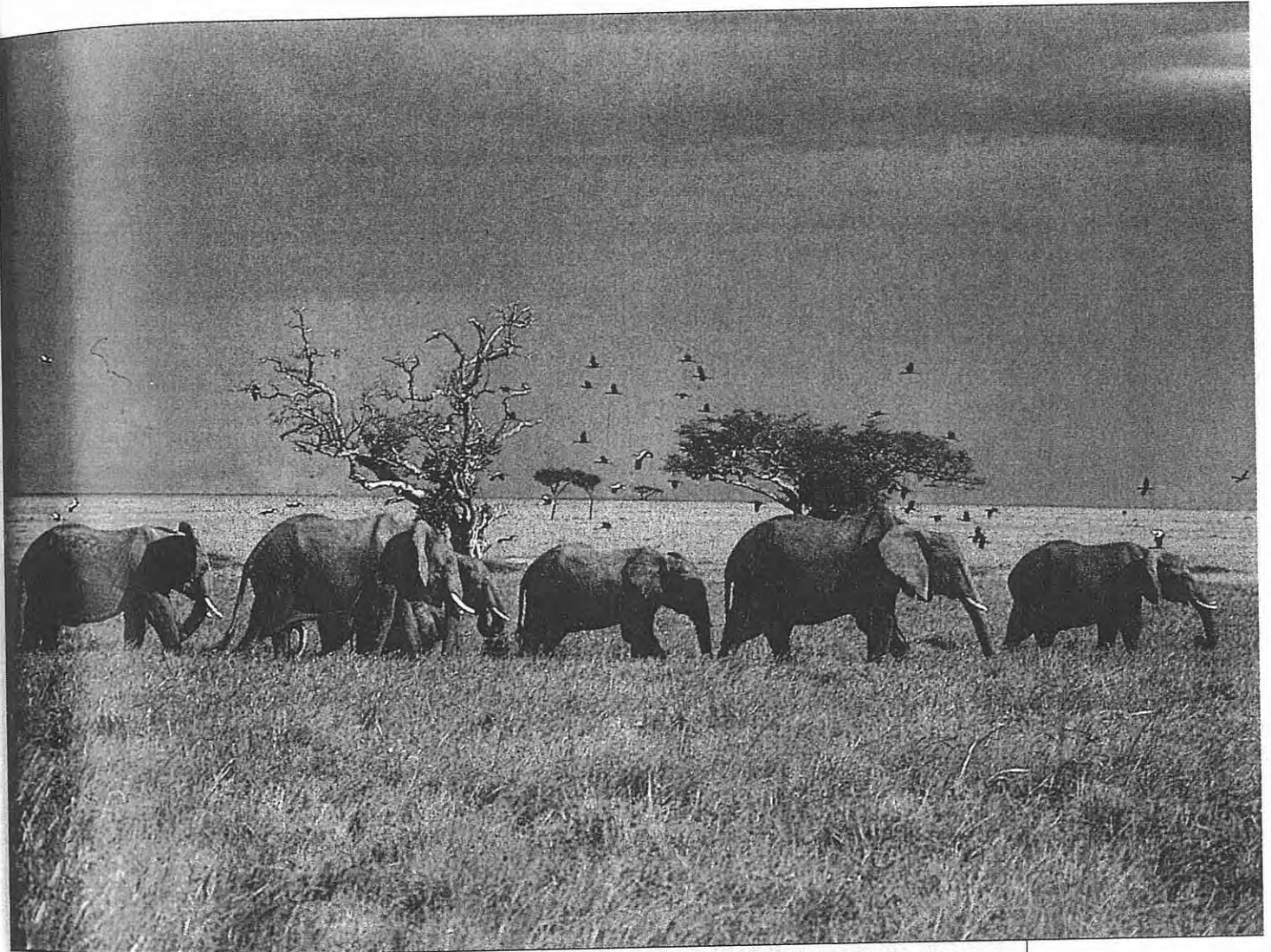
### Tropical Wet and Dry Climate Region

The largest climate zone in Africa is the tropical climate with a wet and dry season. The savanna, a grassland, occupies this region, which covers almost half the continent. It is home to most Africans.

Like the tropical rain forest, the tropical savanna region is warm all year. In the summer, or rainy season, the climate is hot and wet. But in the winter, or dry season, it is warm, with little or no rainfall.

Rainfall in the savanna varies from 20 to 80 inches (51 to 203 cm) a year, depending on distance from the Equator. Close to the Equator, the wetter parts of the savanna support many trees and grasses. On the outer edges of the savanna, the semiarid climate is very dry with only a short rainy season. Here, only scattered grasses and small trees grow.

**Unpredictable rainfall.** Each year, millions of people living on the savanna anxiously



**The Savanna** Kenya, in East Africa, lies in the wet and dry tropical climate zone. The grasses and shrubs that grow in the savanna support many species of wildlife. Herds of elephants and flocks of birds like those in this photograph live there.

**Environment** Why is unpredictable rainfall a serious concern for all life in the savanna?

ask the same questions: When will the rains come? Will they bring enough moisture?

Rainfall on the savanna is unreliable and hard to predict. Rains may be heavy or light. The rainy season may come weeks early or weeks late. Some years, it may not come at all.

or prolonged periods of little or no rainfall, is common.

Rainfall has great impact on the people's lives. Heavy downpours wash away the soil

and cause flooding. If the rains fail to arrive or last for only a short time, few grasses grow. Herders must slaughter their livestock or let them starve. Farmers watch crops die from lack of moisture.

**Desertification.** Population growth has created serious problems in the drier parts of the savanna. During periods of plentiful rainfall, people seeking land move into these semiarid areas. They chop down trees to clear

farmland and to use as fuel for cooking and heating. Herders graze their cattle on the shrubs and grasses.

Natural forces and human action put the land at risk. When droughts occur, crops wither. In addition, the grazing herds have destroyed the roots of the grasses, so the thin layer of topsoil turns to dust. The result is desertification, the turning of semidesert land into desert.

Desertification is especially widespread in the region known as the Sahel. It separates the savanna from the Sahara to the north. Because the Sahel receives so little rain, its growing population is causing serious destruction. Some nations in the Sahel are taking steps to control the problem by planting trees and limiting grazing.

## Deserts

Deserts cover about 40 percent of Africa. They include the Sahara in the north and the

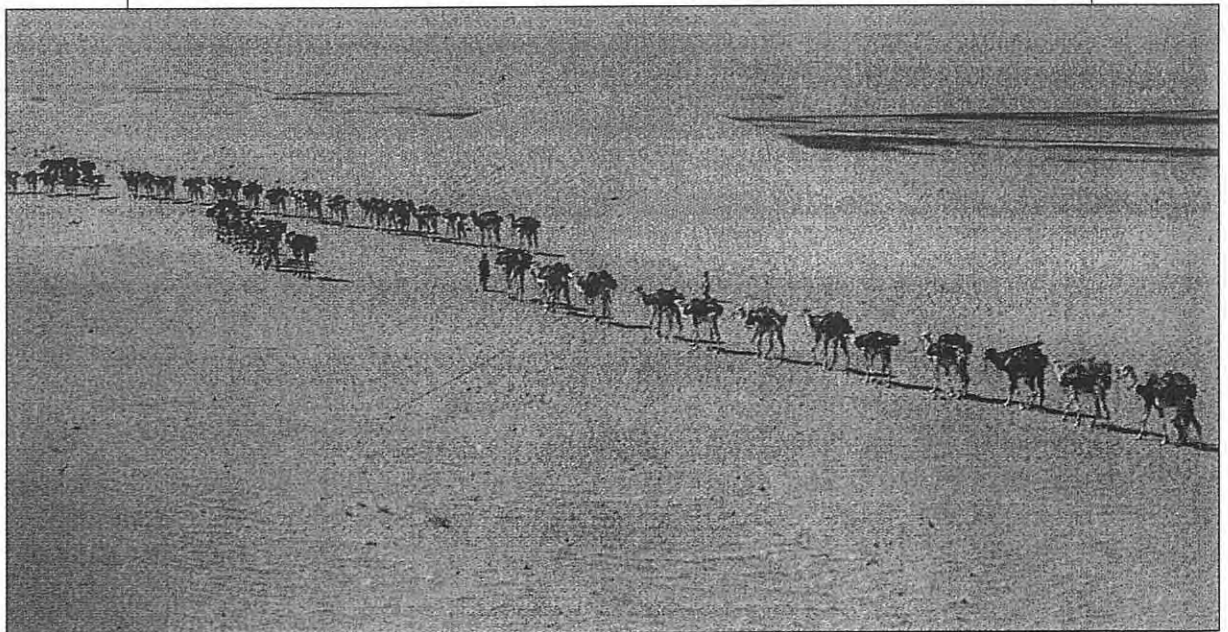
Kalahari and Namib deserts in the south. In fact, the word *Sahara* means "desert" in Arabic.

**The Sahara.** The vast Sahara is larger than the continental United States. It extends across northern Africa from the Atlantic to the Red Sea. The Sahara is a region of windswept rock, gravel, and shifting sand dunes. Parts of the Sahara are very harsh. Temperatures can reach as high as 130°F (54°C). Ten years can pass without rainfall.

A few areas have grasses that can support grazing animals. Rainfall in the Sahara averages less than 10 inches a year. After a short rainstorm, grasses will sprout. Streams fill, and people can plant crops.

From ancient times, the Sahara has been as much a highway as a barrier. For thousands of years, traders traveled back and forth across the Sahara. They carried goods and ideas between the peoples of North Africa and the peoples of the savanna. This back-and-forth movement played a role in the

**The Sahara** The largest desert in the world is the Sahara in northern Africa. For hundreds of years, caravans of camels such as the one below in Niger carried salt and other goods across the Sahara. Today, airplanes and truck convoys are replacing camels. **Environment** How does technology change the ways people adapt to their environment?



further development of Africa's diverse societies and cultures.

**The Kalahari and Namib.** The Kalahari, in Southern Africa, is not quite as dry as the Sahara. Grasses and wild melons grow in a few places, and animals such as antelopes graze. The Namib Desert, however, is one of the driest places on Earth. Small trees get water largely from mists that drift in from the nearby Atlantic Ocean.

### **Mediterranean Climate Zones**

At the southern tip and along the northern coast of Africa, small areas enjoy a mild Mediterranean climate. The climate is similar to that of Los Angeles, California. Summers are hot and dry. Winters are cooler and moist.

The mild climate and fertile soils of these areas support many kinds of crops as well as herding. The pleasant conditions also attracted European settlers. French, Italian, and Spanish colonists carved out farms along the North African fringe. Dutch and British settlers claimed lands in Southern Africa.

### **Climate and Health**

Many disease-carrying insects breed in tropical climates. Throughout tropical Africa, the effect of this on the people's health is enormous. For example, malaria spread by mosquitoes kills up to 1 million children each year. Those who survive the disease suffer from its weakening effects all their lives.

Sleeping sickness is widespread in the savanna. The disease is carried by the tsetse fly, which infects both people and their livestock. Because the disease kills cattle, many Africans have little meat in their diet. Without this source of protein, they are more likely to develop other diseases.

In savanna nations from Senegal to Kenya, other flies transmit river blindness. Before a cure was found recently, this disease caused many people to lose their sight. Millions of Africans suffer from bilharzia (bihr HAHR zee uh). This disease is transmitted by snails

that carry parasitic worms. People become infected when they wash or swim in streams where the snails live. As you will read in Chapter 6, scientists are working with some success to combat the diseases that affect large numbers of Africans.

### **Population Patterns**

Today, the population of Africa is about 763 million and is growing rapidly. The African continent, however, is not densely populated.

As elsewhere around the world, climate, water resources, and soil influence where people live in Africa. Many areas have few people because the land and climate discourage human settlement. Among the most heavily populated areas are the southern part of West Africa, the nations of Morocco and Algeria, the Nile Valley, the region around Lake Victoria, and the eastern part of Southern Africa.

### **Adapting to the Land**

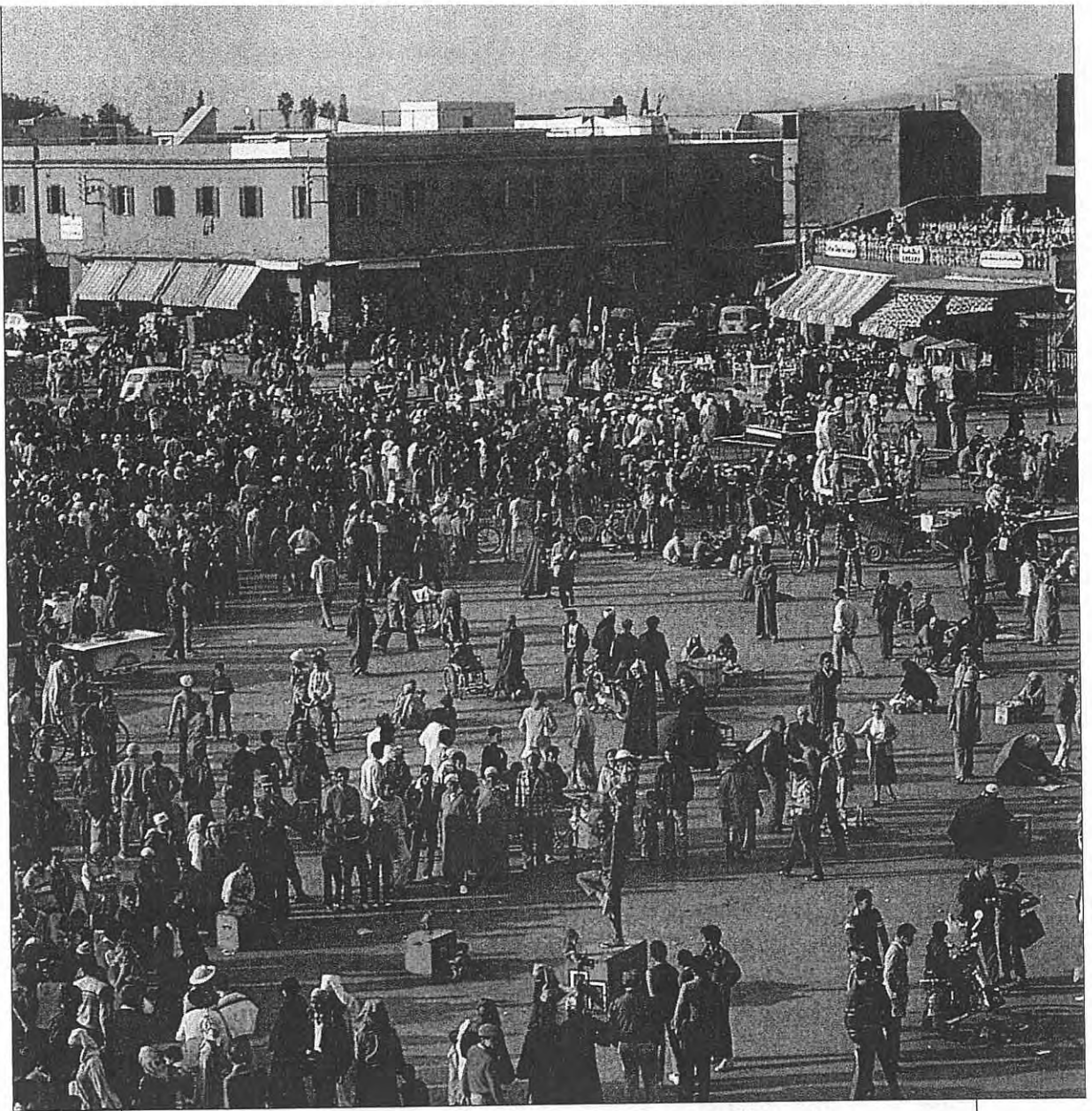
Africa is home to an immense variety of cultures. These cultures have different histories, religious beliefs, values, and traditions. The varied lands and climates of Africa have contributed to this diversity.

Thousands of years ago, people in Africa began migrating across the continent. Depending on where they settled, they developed one of five basic types of societies: farming, herding, fishing, hunting and food gathering, and urban. Most of these ways of life continue in Africa today.

Today, the majority of Africans live in the savanna. Most of them are farmers. Those parts of the savanna that are free from the tsetse fly also support cattle-herding societies.

As in ancient times, people living near lakes and rivers or along the coasts support themselves by fishing. Very few hunting and food-gathering societies remain in modern Africa.

Cities have long flourished along the Mediterranean coast of North Africa, in the savanna of West Africa, and on the coast of East



**A Market in Marrakesh** The mild Mediterranean climate in northern Africa encouraged the growth of cities. For centuries, Marrakesh was the capital of a vast North African empire. Today, people of different cultures still flock to this city in Morocco to trade in its busy marketplace. **Culture** How does trade promote cultural diffusion?

Africa. Today, African cities throughout the continent are growing rapidly.

### Languages

Africa's cultural diversity is reflected in its many languages. Africans speak more than 1,000 different languages. Often, groups living within a few miles of one another speak

different languages. Some areas also have common languages that are used for trading and business purposes.

Scholars divide the languages of Africa into several language families. All languages within the same family share a common root. For example, people living in a wide belt extending from West Africa across Central and

Southern Africa speak languages of the Niger-Congo family. But even though they are part of the same family, those languages may be as different from one another as English is from Swedish.

By studying language families, we can learn about the early movement of African peoples. For thousands of years, small groups of people migrated across the continent. When they came into prolonged contact with each other, their languages slowly changed. They added new words or pronounced words differently.

In East Africa, for example, Arabs from the Middle East traded with local African people. Over time, some Arabic words blended into the basic Bantu languages of East Africa. The result was a new language called Swahili (swah HEE lee). Swahili is still spoken by many people in East Africa today. In the last 150 years, European languages such as Portuguese, French, and English joined the list of languages spoken in Africa.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Tropic of Cancer, (b) Tropic of Capricorn, (c) Sahara, (d) Kalahari Desert.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Sahel, (b) sleeping sickness, (c) Swahili.
- 3. Define:** (a) tropics, (b) leaching, (c) drought, (d) desertification.
- 4.** (a) What are four major climate zones of Africa? (b) Why is rainfall a key to Africa's climate?
- 5.** (a) What were the five basic kinds of societies in Africa? (b) How has the land affected the location of these societies?
- 6. Analyzing Information** How might the many languages of Africa be a problem in building unified nations?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Choose one of Africa's four climate zones. Write a paragraph comparing it to the climate zone where you live.

## 3

# EARLY CIVILIZATIONS OF AFRICA

### FIND OUT

What kinds of evidence help us learn about the past?

How did climate changes affect ancient Africa?

What were some achievements of early African civilizations?

**Vocabulary** pharaoh, hieroglyphics

**E**gypt's ruler Hatshepsut wanted to be remembered. She had a record of her deeds carved on the walls of a great temple. One of Hatshepsut's greatest triumphs was a highly successful trade expedition to Punt,\* a land to the south of Egypt. According to the temple carvings,

“A command was heard from the great . . . god [Amon-Re], that the ways to Punt should be searched out. . . [I Hatshepsut commanded] to send to [Punt] . . . according to the command of my father, Amon.”

Thanks to the carvings on Hatshepsut's temple, we know about this early contact between the peoples of Africa. Often, however, early people did not leave such clear records. Scholars must piece together bits of evidence to learn about the past.

### Tracking the Evidence

Olduvai Gorge is located on the edge of the Great Rift Valley in Tanzania. There, in the late 1950s, a team of scientists, headed by

\* Scholars think that Punt was located at the southern end of the Red Sea in what is today Somalia.

Mary and Louis Leakey, uncovered exciting evidence. They found pieces of bone embedded in ancient rock. After careful study, they determined that the bone, which was almost 2 million years old, belonged to one of the ancestors of modern people. The discoveries at Olduvai have led some scientists to suggest that Africa was home to the first people.

Archaeologists study objects left by early people. From pieces of bone, a few seeds, or charcoal from an ancient fire, they try to create a picture of the past. Scientists in many fields help in the task. If ancient grain is found buried in rock, geologists study the rock to learn when it was formed. Botanists analyze the type of plant and the climate it would have needed to grow.

Despite scientific advances, we still know little about the earliest people. Archaeologists continue to hunt for evidence linking the earliest people in Africa to later cultures that emerged there. Africa's climate often works against our learning more. Heat and humidity, for example, destroy wood and bone, which often provide scientists with valuable information.

### Records on Stone

Some records of early people have survived, especially pictures on stone. From Southern Africa to the Sahara, archaeologists have studied paintings on rock cliffs and cave walls. The paintings show the tools, weapons,

**African Rock Art** Early peoples in several regions painted scenes on the rock walls of cliffs or in caves. These paintings on a rock cliff in the Algerian desert are among the largest and best-preserved examples of such art. **Fine Art** Based on the painting, what conclusion can you draw about how early people lived in northern Africa?



and hunting and food-gathering methods of early African peoples.

**Rock art.** The rock art of the Sahara lets us look at the lives of people who once lived there. In one scene, a woman uses a digging stick to pry edible roots from the ground. In another, figures move in graceful patterns, perhaps as part of a religious ceremony. In yet another, a hunter stalks a giraffe.

These rock paintings reveal that herds of animals once roamed the Sahara. Based on this evidence, scientists now think that the Sahara was once much wetter than it is today. Thousands of years ago, the region had lakes, rivers, and green grasses. Arrowheads, fish hooks, and cattle bones show that people hunted, fished, and herded cattle there.

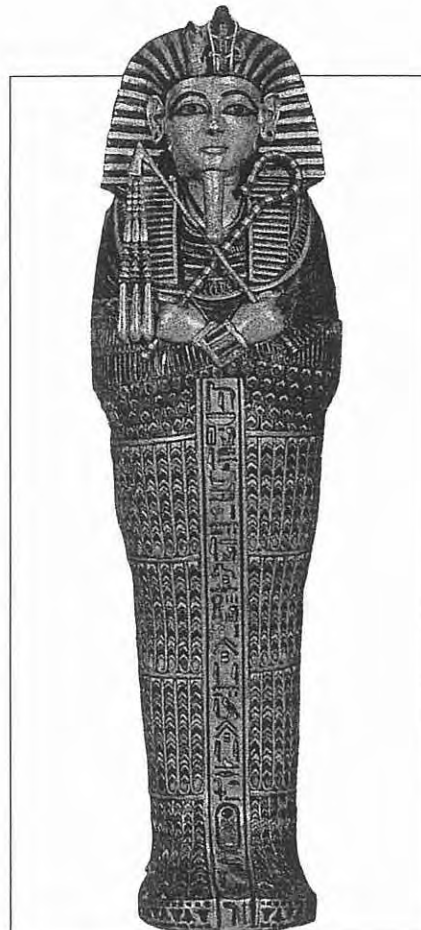
**A changing environment.** About 4,000 years ago, the climate of the Sahara was changing. Less rain fell. Lakes and rivers dried up. Without water, grasses no longer grew. Animal herds migrated to other parts of Africa to find food. The people who hunted those animals also moved. Some people probably migrated to the Nile Valley.

## Nile Valley Civilization

Even before the Sahara dried up, people in various parts of the world had learned to raise crops. As you have read, the agricultural revolution had far-reaching effects. (See page 28.) Some people gave up the nomadic life of hunting and food gathering. They settled into farming communities. These communities became the basis for advanced civilizations.

The earliest civilization in Africa developed in the Nile Valley of Egypt about 7,000 years ago. Fertile soils and plentiful wildlife allowed people to farm and hunt. As the people perfected their farming skills, they produced more food, allowing the population to grow.

By about 3,000 B.C., powerful rulers had emerged and united the villages along the Nile. The rulers of ancient Egypt were called **pharaohs** (FAIR ohz). In time, pharaohs expanded their power and built a large empire. Through trade and conquest, Egyptians exchanged knowledge and ideas with distant cultures.



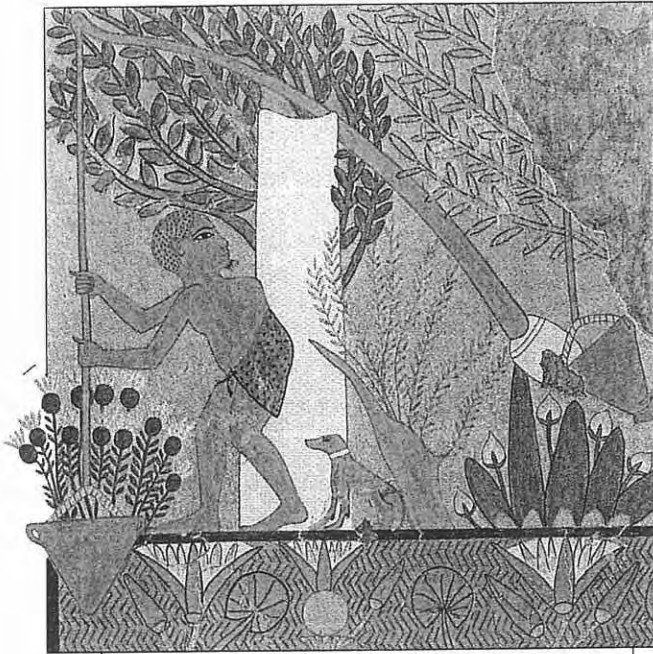
**A Pharaoh's Coffin** Richly decorated coffins showed the great wealth and power of Egypt's rulers. This coffin of the young pharaoh Tutankhamen, who ruled in the 1300s B.C., was found in 1922. Furniture, weapons, clothing, and a chariot, all trimmed with gold and jewels, filled the burial tomb. **Fine Art** What can you learn about Egypt's civilization from this work?

## Religion and Government

The Egyptians were polytheistic. They believed that different gods controlled the forces of nature. The chief god was Amon-Re (AH muhn RAY), the sun god. Other important gods and goddesses included Osiris (oh si rihs), god of the underworld and of the Nile, and his wife, Isis (i sihs).

A belief in life after death was central to Egyptian religion. Pharaohs and rich nobles prepared carefully for the journey through the underworld to the "Happy Field of Food."





**Ancient Egyptian Art** Paintings on the walls of Egyptian tombs provide evidence about civilization in the Nile Valley. In this painting from about 1250 B.C., a worker uses a shaduf, or water hoist, to draw water from the Nile. Farmers still use this method of irrigation. **Technology** Why are some ancient methods of farming still in use today?

They built huge pyramids, or tombs, and filled them with food, clothing, and jewels that they would need in the afterlife.

To the Egyptians, the pharaoh was a god, descended from Amon-Re. The pharaoh had total power over the lives of the people. Priests and nobles helped the pharaoh run the government. Priests conducted the ceremonies needed to please the gods. Other officials collected taxes in the form of grain and other goods to pay the costs of government.



### The Gift of the Nile

As far as the eye can see, flood waters cover the land. Here and there, villages stand on slight rises above the swirling river. In one such village—let us call it Perhaa—live

a man called Heti and his wife, Senen, with their children. The family is an imaginary one. But from paintings on temple walls and other records of ancient Egypt, we know how ancient Egyptians lived.

**Season of the Flood.** An ancient historian called Egypt the “gift of the Nile.” Each year, the river flooded and spread rich Nile mud over nearby farmlands. Farmers like Heti and Senen welcomed the Season of the Flood with hymns like this one:

“ Praise to thee, O Nile, that flows out of the Earth and comes to nourish the dwellers of Egypt. . . . If the Nile is sluggish, the nostrils are stopped up, and the people are brought low; The offerings of the gods are reduced, and millions die. When the Nile rises, the Earth is joyous and everyone is glad; every jaw laughs and every tooth is uncovered. ”

During the 100 days their fields are under water, Heti and other men from Perhaa must work for the pharaoh. They wrestle huge chunks of stone from the cliffs that line the river and load them onto wooden rafts. In cities far from Perhaa, other workers will use the stone to build a temple to Amon-Re. The pharaoh’s overseer pays Heti and the others with grain from the royal storehouses. The food is welcome because the villagers have little left from last year’s harvest. ( See Connections With Literature, page 804, “The Story of the Flood.”)

**Season of Going Out.** When the flood waters retreat, the Season of Going Out begins. Heti and Senen guide a pair of cows that pull a wooden plow through the muddy soil. Along with other villagers, they plant fields of wheat and barley. Near their mud-brick home, they tend a small garden, weeding rows of onions, beans, carrots, radishes, turnips, cucumbers, melons, and gourds.

When desert sun dries the fields, the people of Perhaa use a shaduf, a simple water

hoist, to spread water from ditches and ponds onto their crops. As the crops ripen, the people perform the ceremonies that the priest of Osiris orders. New life will rise from the fields only if the god of the underworld gives his permission.

**Season of the Harvest.** Four months after planting, the crops are ready for harvesting. At sunrise, Heti and his sons go to the fields to cut the grain. Senen and her daughters gather the grain into baskets. Later, they put the harvest into large storage jars. They dry the vegetables from their garden and brew beer from barley or grapes.

The people of Perhaa keep only about half the harvest. The rest goes to the pharaoh's tax collectors. Before the grain is cut, the tax collector arrives to measure the village grain fields. Based on those measurements, he decides how much tax the village must pay. The grain feeds the pharaoh's court and officials. In years when the harvest is bad, however, the pharaoh might send grain to areas hit by famine. ■

## Achievements of Egyptian Civilization

The Egyptians left remarkable monuments to their civilization. Only a wealthy and well-organized society could have built the huge temples and pyramid tombs that still stand along the Nile. The Egyptians also developed a form of writing, called **hieroglyphics**, that used pictures and symbols. Hieroglyphics and paintings on temple walls tell us about the knowledge, beliefs, and everyday lives of early Egyptians.

Egyptian priests used their knowledge of the stars and planets to produce a calendar with a 365-day year. Officials used their mathematical skills to survey the land each year after the Nile floods washed away boundary markers. Egyptian doctors studied the human body. They set fractured bones, treated spinal injuries, and successfully performed some types of surgery.

Egyptian civilization survived for thousands of years. Gradually, Egyptians passed on

much of their knowledge to other peoples of Africa and to peoples of the Mediterranean region.

## The Kingdom of Kush

Trade flowed along the Nile between Egypt and neighboring peoples in Nubia and Kush to the south. At times during Egypt's long history, powerful pharaohs sent armies to conquer these lands. Traders and conquering armies spread Egyptian culture southward.

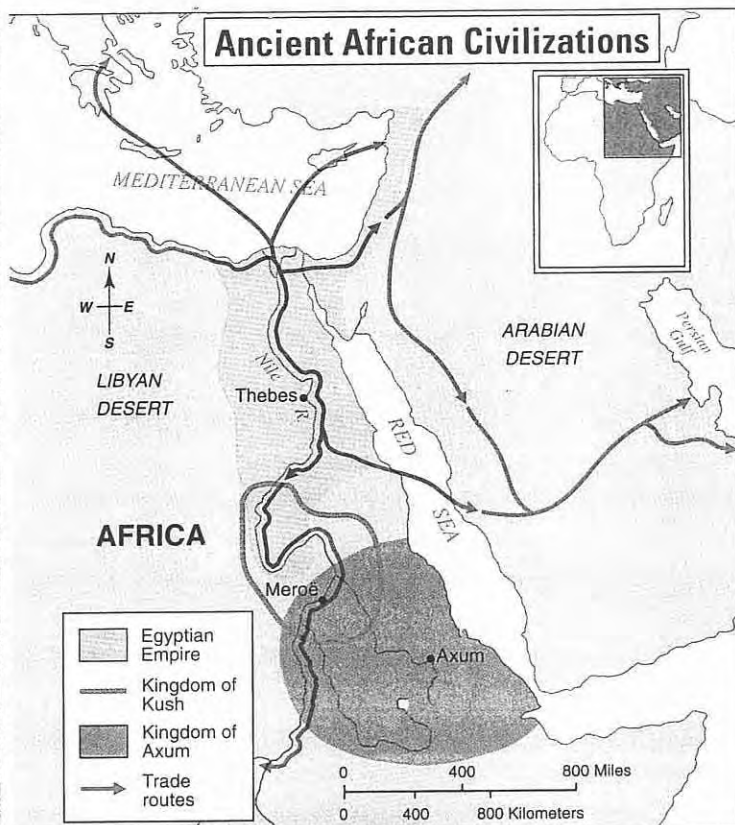
By 750 B.C., Egyptian power had weakened. King Kastha of Kush led his forces north and conquered the Nile Valley. Kushite rule over Egypt was short-lived. It ended when the Assyrians, armed with iron weapons, invaded Egypt from the Middle East, forcing the Kushites to retreat.

Despite the defeat by the Assyrians, Kush continued to flourish. The rulers of Kush built a new capital at Meroë (MEHR uh wee), on the banks of the Nile. At first, Egyptian influences remained strong. The people worshipped the sun god Amon-Re. Kings and priests built temples and pyramids like those in Egypt. However, over time, the gods of Meroë replaced Egyptian gods. The Kushites adapted Egyptian hieroglyphics and in time developed their own alphabet.

Near Meroë were deposits of iron ore. After their contact with the Assyrians, the Kushites learned to make iron tools and weapons. Using wood from nearby forests, ironworkers heated their ovens and melted the iron ore. Despite their contact with Kushites, the Egyptians did not adopt this technology but continued to use bronze. Today, mounds of waste material from the Kushite iron industry can still be seen in the ruins of Meroë.

Kush also profited from trade. Kushite merchants exchanged goods with Egypt and the Mediterranean world. From ports on the Red Sea, they shipped cargoes to Arabia, East Africa, and India. Traders pushed southward and westward, perhaps as far as Lake Chad.

By A.D. 200, invasions and internal rivalries had weakened Kush. After 1,000 years, the once powerful kingdom of Kush collapsed.



### MAP STUDY

Several ancient civilizations developed in Africa, including Egypt, Kush, and Axum.

- 1. Place** Which early African civilizations bordered the Red Sea?
- 2. Location** Describe the relative location of the kingdom of Kush.
- 3. Applying Information** How did trade routes help Egypt to become a powerful empire?

### The Kingdom of Axum

Even before the last king of Kush died, another African kingdom was emerging farther to the south. The kingdom of Axum developed on the high plateaus of what is today Ethiopia. Like Kush, Axum was an important center of trade. Its merchants sent spices, gems, and ivory north into Egypt, across the Red Sea to Arabia, and across the Indian Ocean to South Asia.

About A.D. 350, King Ezana of Axum conquered Kush. He boasted of his success:

“ I burnt their towns, both those built of brick and those built of reeds, and my army . . . destroyed the statues in their temples, their granaries, and cotton trees and cast them into the Nile. ”

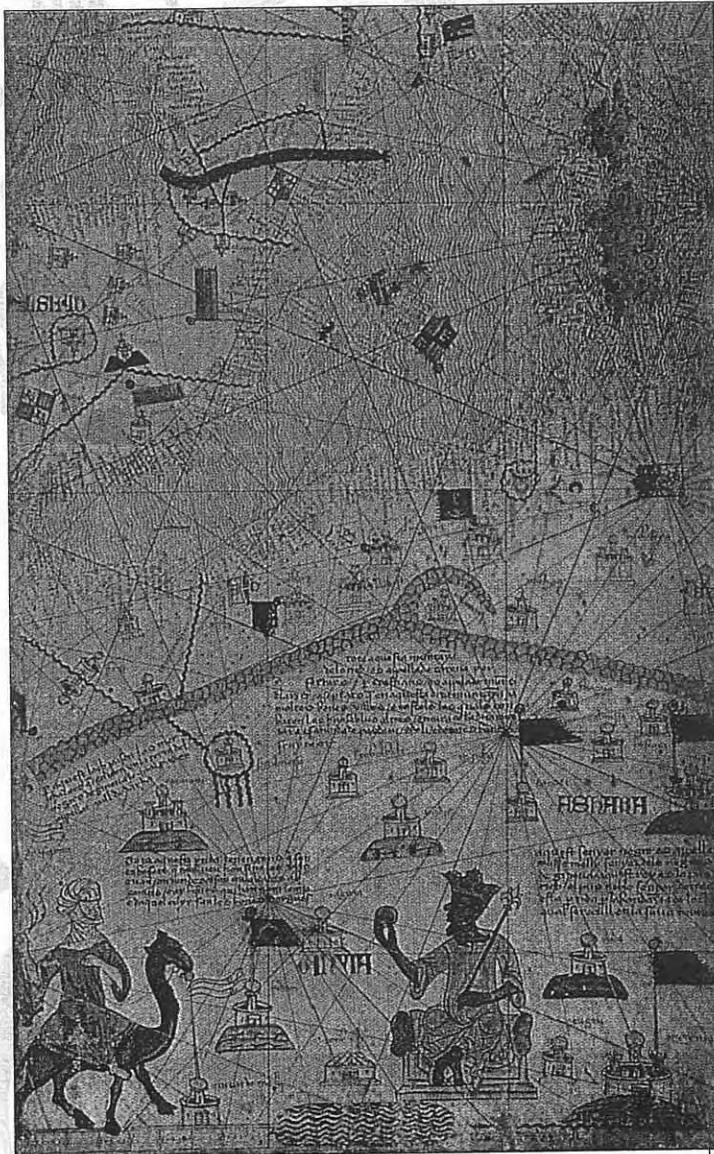
Earlier, King Ezana had converted to Christianity. As you will read, Christianity began in the Middle East and spread across the Mediterranean world. (See pages 565–566.) Early Christians carried their beliefs across North Africa and up the Nile into Axum.

Christian beliefs took firm root in Axum. Later, the religion of Islam spread across North Africa. As a result, Christian communities in Axum were cut off from the rest of the Christian world. Yet the Ethiopian Christian Church survived. Today, it is among the oldest forms of Christianity. Ethiopians have their own sacred written language, called Geëz (gee EHZ), as well as strong traditions of religious art.

### SECTION 3 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Egypt, (b) Kush, (c) Meroë, (d) Red Sea, (e) Axum.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Olduvai Gorge, (b) Kasha, (c) Ezana.
- 3. Define:** (a) pharaoh, (b) hieroglyphics.
- (a) How do different scientists help us learn about the ancient past? (b) What do ancient rock paintings reveal about the Sahara?
- Describe three achievements of Egyptian civilization.
- How was the culture of Kush affected by trade and warfare?
- 7. Analyzing Ideas** According to an archaeologist, “In this field, a person kicks over a stone in Africa, and we have to rewrite our textbooks.” What does the archaeologist mean?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph comparing the importance of the Nile to ancient Egyptian civilization with the importance of rivers in the United States today.

# HERITAGE OF AFRICA



**Mansa Musa** In the 1300s, the West African empire of Mali reached its height of power by controlling the gold trade between West Africa and North Africa. This map of Mali features its most powerful ruler, Mansa Musa. Here, Mansa Musa is seated on his throne, holding a gold orb in his hand. **Fine Art** What impression of Mali might this map have given to those who saw it? Why?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Trading States and Kingdoms
- 2 Patterns of Life
- 3 The Slave Trade
- 4 Age of European Imperialism
- 5 Effects of European Rule

**T**he people of Cairo, Egypt, gazed in awe at the procession. Before their eyes marched hundreds of servants, carrying golden staffs and wearing gold jewelry. Hundreds of camels plodded by loaded with gold. At the head of the caravan rode the owner of all this wealth—Mansa Musa of Mali.

Mali was a powerful empire in West Africa. In 1324, its emperor, or *mansa*, crossed the Sahara. He traveled almost 3,000 miles to Mecca, the holy city of Islam. As a Muslim, he was fulfilling his duty to make a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Mansa Musa's visit deeply impressed the people of Cairo. "This man," wrote an Egyptian, "spread upon Cairo the flood of his generosity. There was no person or holder of any office who did not receive a sum of gold from him. Musa was the most feared by his enemies and the most able to do good to those around him."

Mali was one of the rich trading states in West Africa. Trade was important in many African societies. However, the slave trade and later European conquest would bring vast changes to Africa.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

Across Africa, people developed many different ways of organizing their lives. Sometimes, strong rulers organized villages into large, centralized states. Other self-sufficient villages stayed independent.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ In parts of Africa, trade helped to support large states and empires.
- ▶ The peoples of Africa developed many different societies.
- ▶ The slave trade disrupted traditional patterns of life in parts of Africa.
- ▶ European imperialism, helped by advanced technology and economic power, led to great changes in Africa.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

Yoruba proverbs, *Wit and Wisdom from West Africa*, Richard F. Burton

*Soweto, My Love!*, Molapatene Collins Ramusi and Ruth S. Turner

*The Interesting Narrative of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vasa, Written by Himself*, Gustavus Vasa

"The nations, Shaka, have condemned you," B. W. Vilakazi

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

1

## TRADING STATES AND KINGDOMS

### FIND OUT

Why did powerful kingdoms emerge in West Africa?

How did trade affect the peoples of East Africa?

How did trade encourage cultural diffusion in Africa?

**Vocabulary** mosque, city-state

The streets of Timbuktu echoed with the sounds of arriving and departing caravans. Traders and their pack animals crowded the streets. Salt and gold were the chief objects of this lively trade. Ideas, too, traveled along the trade routes. As a result, Timbuktu flourished as a wealthy center of trade and learning. The university at Timbuktu was a great center for Muslim scholars. According to a traditional saying,

“Salt comes from the north, gold from the south, and silver from the city of white men. But the word of God and the treasures of wisdom are only to be found in Timbuktu.”

### The Gold-Salt Trade

From early times, people in Africa traded across a long route that stretched from the Middle East and North Africa to the savanna lands of West Africa. This route crossed through the vast Sahara. Caravan leaders developed the skills and knowledge to survive this difficult journey. Travelers rested by day to escape the desert heat. Moving on at night, they used their knowledge of stars and the land to reach oases, where they could find water. Death from lack of water or blinding sandstorms was a real threat.

Why did people cross the desert? They stood to profit from the exchange of scarce goods. The savanna lands of West Africa lacked salt, which is essential to human survival. In parts of the Sahara, however, salt was plentiful. At Taghaza, people even used blocks of salt to build their houses.

The savanna had its own resources, especially gold. Traders journeyed to Taghaza, where they exchanged gold for salt. They then loaded camels with blocks of salt for the return trip south. In West Africa, salt was more valuable than gold or silver.

Trade contributed to the rise of strong kingdoms in West Africa. As trade grew, some towns along the trade routes expanded into cities. The ruler of a wealthy city would conquer neighboring areas to control the sources of gold. In time, the city would become the center of a large empire.

### The Empire of Ghana

The first powerful West African kingdom developed in the open plains between the Senegal and Niger rivers. Its ruler was known as "king of the gold." He also bore the title *ghana*, meaning "war chief." In time, the land became known as Ghana.\*

**Government and trade.** The founders of Ghana were probably the Soninke (soh NIHN kuh) people. By A.D. 500, the rulers of the Soninke had begun to extend their control over a large area. They governed their lands through princes and officials chosen by the emperor. For a time, the city of Kumbi Saleh was the capital of Ghana. As many as 15,000 people may have lived there.

The emperor's power rested on his control of the gold trade. He alone owned all gold mined in his empire. Wealth from gold allowed the emperor to build a large army. Carrying iron-tipped spears, his soldiers had an advantage over neighboring people who were less well armed.

As Ghana grew, its rulers created a lavish court. The Arab writer Al-Bakri (ahl bahk REE),

\* Ancient Ghana lay far to the north and west of the present-day nation of Ghana.

who visited Ghana in about 1065, described its riches.

“When the king gives audience to his people, to listen to their complaints and to set them to rights, he sits in a pavilion around which stand ten pages holding shields and gold-mounted swords.”

People in the towns of Ghana welcomed trade, especially with the Berbers. These merchants from the northern edge of the desert brought salt, cloth, and horses to the savanna settlements. They carried gold, precious woods, and kola nuts back across the sands. Each caravan that entered or left Ghana had to pay a tax.

**Invasions.** In the eleventh century, conflicts far to the north began to affect Ghana. A group of Berbers, called Almoravids (ahl moh rah vihdz), attacked the rich empire. In 1076, they seized the capital of Ghana. Almoravid control did not last long, but the empire of Ghana broke into a number of smaller states.

### The Empire of Mali

After the breakup of Ghana, other peoples competed for power. One group was the Mandingos, farmers who had lived under Ghana's rule. A series of strong Mandingo leaders conquered neighboring lands. By seizing some gold-producing areas, they were able to set up the empire of Mali. (See the map on page 82.)

**Mansa Musa.** An outstanding ruler of Mali was Mansa Musa. (See page 78.) He ruled from about 1312 until his death in 1337. Mansa Musa pushed out the borders of his empire in every direction. His armies captured Taghaza and its salt mines, increasing Musa's power.

The emperor used his power to ensure peace and order. "There is complete security in their country," wrote Ibn Battuta (ihb uhv bah roo tah), a visitor from North Africa. He traveled through Mali just after Mansa Musa's death. "Neither traveler, nor inhabitant in it,

has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence.”

**Influence of Islam.** By the time of Mansa Musa, the religion of Islam had spread across West Africa. Over hundreds of years, Muslim traders carried their religion into many parts of Africa. The rulers of Ghana had allowed Muslims to trade in their lands, but most rulers kept their traditional religious beliefs.

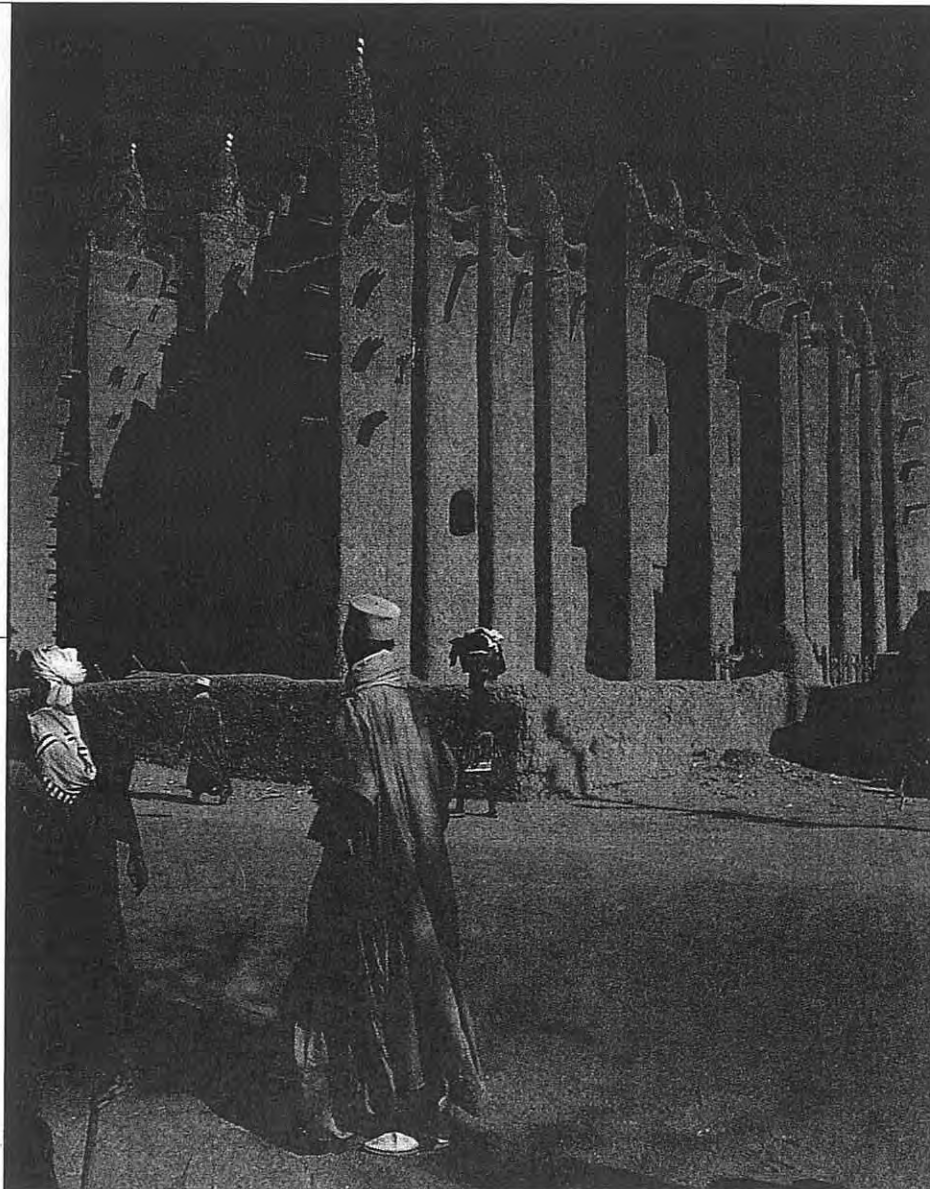
Mansa Musa adopted the new faith. Many officials and other Mandingos also converted to Islam, although large numbers of people continued to follow their old beliefs.

Under Mansa Musa, the influence of Islam increased. The emperor based his system of

justice on the Koran, the Muslim holy book. As a faithful Muslim, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca. The journey earned him worldwide fame and respect. It also led to increased contacts between West Africa and the Muslim world of North Africa and the Middle East. Mansa Musa sent ambassadors abroad and invited Muslim scholars to his lands. From Spain came the architect As-Sahili. He built many mosques, or Muslim houses of worship, in Mali. A wall of one of these mosques still stands in Timbuktu.

**Decline.** Mansa Musa’s successors were less skillful rulers. By the early 1400s, power struggles had weakened the empire. Towns

**The Great Mosque in Mali** Islam spread to West Africa from the Arab world as early as A.D. 800. Some rulers of Mali and other African societies accepted the Muslim faith. They built mosques such as the Great Mosque at Mopti in Mali, shown here. **Diversity** (a) What part did Arab traders play in spreading Islam to West Africa? (b) How is the spread of Islam an example of cultural diffusion?



and cities broke away from Mali's control. Although Mali existed as a state for another 200 years, it covered a much smaller area.

### Rise of Songhai

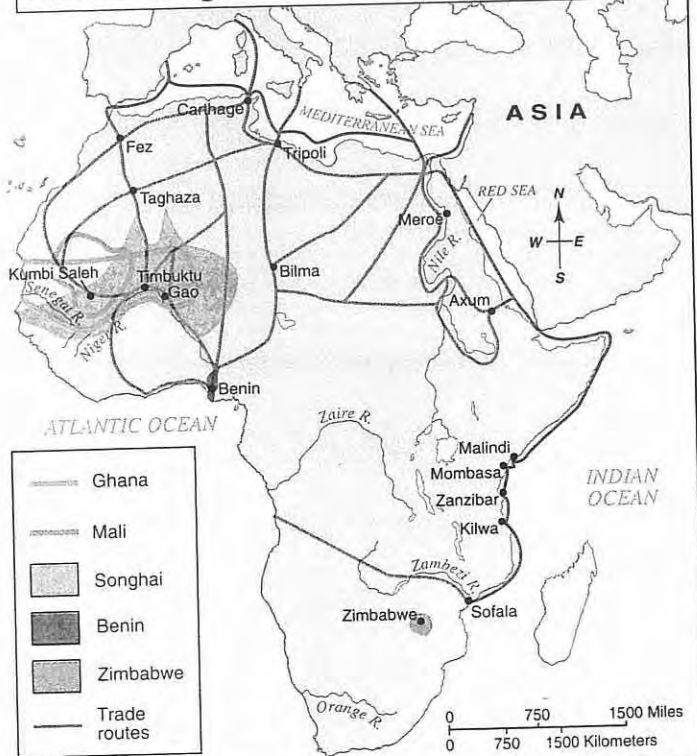
As Mali declined, a new empire arose in West Africa. Songhai (SAWNG hī) followed the pattern of earlier states. From the trading city of Gao (gaw), powerful rulers extended their

#### MAP STUDY

Strong kingdoms led by powerful rulers rose in several parts of Africa in the years after A.D. 400.

- Place** (a) Name three kingdoms that developed in West Africa. (b) Which kingdom was located in the Niger River delta?
- Location** (a) Which African kingdom was located southwest of a group of independent city-states? (b) In what region of Africa were all of these city-states?
- Analyzing Information** Why did many powerful African kingdoms grow up around trading cities?

#### African Kingdoms and Trading States



control over other lands. By 1464, Sunni Ali, an able leader, had gained power in Gao. Because of the weakness of Mali, traders could no longer travel safely. Sunni Ali set out to restore order. For 28 years, he led his armies across West Africa. He captured Timbuktu and other centers of trade. Although he spent a lifetime at war, he also worked hard to govern his empire well.

Not long after the death of Sunni Ali, a new ruler, Askia Muhammad, helped Songhai to reach its peak of power. Like Mansa Musa of Mali, Askia Muhammad followed the teachings of Islam. He, too, made a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return to Songhai, he encouraged Islamic teachers and writers to settle in Timbuktu. As a result, Timbuktu became the center of learning described at the beginning of this section.

Songhai fell in 1591 to invaders from Morocco. The ruler of Morocco had heard of Mali's wealth, so he sent an army across the Sahara. Exhausted by the long march, the invaders faced a much larger army from Songhai.

In the battles that followed, however, the Moroccan soldiers won because they had guns and cannons. With the new technology, they overpowered the soldiers of Songhai, who fought with spears and arrows.

### The Forest Kingdom of Benin

Other states arose in the thickly forested areas near the Equator. Among these forest kingdoms was Benin. It developed in the delta region of the Niger River. From this location, Benin controlled trade over a large area.

As in many African societies, the people of Benin preserved their history through their oral traditions. Many oral histories of Benin tell of its most glorious *oba*, or ruler. Ewuare (ay WHAR ay) "captured 201 towns and villages in Ekiti, Ikara, Kukuruku, Eka, and Ibo country. He took their rulers captive, and he caused the people to pay tribute to him." Ewuare then set up a central government to rule his lands.

Benin City, the capital, was a center of industry with broad avenues and intersecting streets. Benin craftworkers produced fine woven goods as well as elegant brass, wood, and





**Ancient Bronze Art** Unlike much African art made of wood, Benin bronzes have survived the centuries. Benin sculptors used advanced methods of casting metal. The largest figure on the panel is the *oba*, or king. Here, he holds the head of an animal, perhaps used in a religious ceremony. **Fine Art**  
 What does the existence of this bronze panel reveal about Benin society?

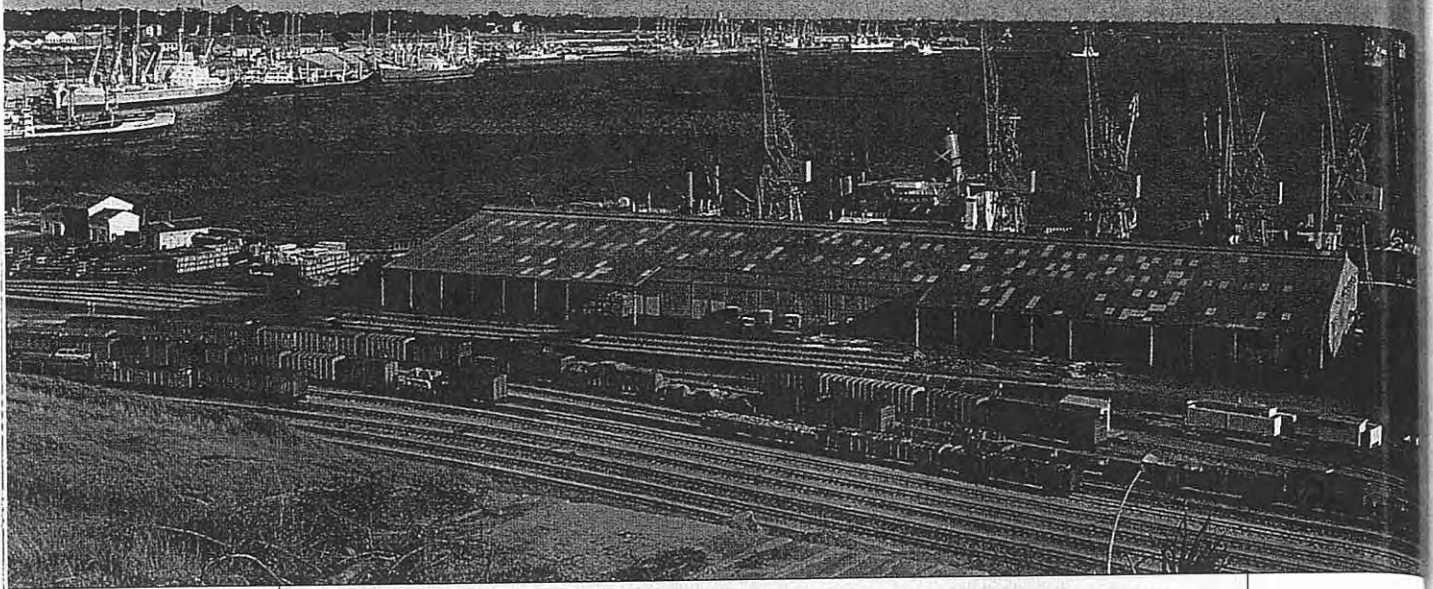
ivory objects. Artists also learned to work with bronze. They probably learned this art from the Ife (EE fee), a neighboring people. In time, Benin bronze workers developed their own style.

### Cities of East Africa

Since ancient times, trade had linked the coastal peoples of East Africa to other parts of the world. As you read in Chapter 3, the Egyptian pharaoh Hatshepsut sent trading voyages to Punt. At sites where the East African coast offered good harbors, small villages expanded into busy cities.

Many of these trading centers grew into independent city-states. A *city-state* is a large town that has its own government and usually controls the surrounding countryside. East African city-states such as Malindi, Mombasa, Kilwa, and Sofala were busy marketplaces. Traders brought slaves, ivory, gold, and animal skins from the interior of Africa to the coast. Arab traders bought these slaves and goods and carried them north.

Some traders sailed across the Indian Ocean. They took advantage of the seasonal monsoon winds. For several months each year, the winds blew northeast, carrying ships toward India. Later in the year, the winds



**Mombasa** Coastal cities of East Africa have long been important trading centers. Mombasa, shown here, was founded by Arab traders in the 1000s. Controlled in turn by Arabs, Persians, Portuguese, Turks, and the British, Mombasa is now Kenya's major port. **Diversity** Why are multicultural influences often present in port cities?

reversed direction, allowing ships to return to Africa.

Trade shaped the city-states of East Africa in other ways. Arab traders brought their culture to the region. As a result, Islam took root in parts of East Africa. On the East African coast, the contact among Arab and African peoples led to the use of Swahili. As you read in Chapter 3, this language blended Arab words with local African languages.

The East African city-states thrived for hundreds of years. In the early 1500s, however, the Portuguese attacked and occupied many of them. The newcomers wanted to build their own trading empire, but trade soon fell off. The cities declined as many people left rather than submit to Portuguese control.

## Zimbabwe

Much of the gold that reached Sofala came from Zimbabwe (zihm BAH bweh) in the interior. Various migrating peoples had settled in this region of Southern Africa between the

Zambezi and Limpopo rivers. By 1300, the rulers of Zimbabwe had organized a large kingdom. Control of the gold mines gave the rulers of Zimbabwe their power. With that power, they imposed a degree of unity on the diverse peoples of the region.

Zimbabwe means "great stone house." Today, the region is dotted with the remains of palaces and other buildings made of stone. Expert builders made these structures without mortar. The stones were laid so skillfully that they held together by themselves. Some of the stone walls measure up to 16 feet (4.8 m) thick and more than 30 feet (9 m) high. They have withstood the weathering of centuries.

Most of the people of Zimbabwe were farmers and herders. However, they probably also benefited from the gold trade that made their rulers wealthy. Among the stone ruins of Zimbabwe, archaeologists have found trade items such as porcelain from China and beads from India.

Power struggles weakened Zimbabwe in the 1500s. Soon, the kingdom broke apart.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) Timbuktu, (b) Ghana, (c) Mali, (d) Songhai, (e) Benin, (f) Sofala, (g) Zimbabwe.
2. **Identify:** (a) Mansa Musa, (b) Sunni Ali, (c) Askia Muhammad.
3. **Define:** (a) mosque, (b) city-state.
4. How did trade help shape the city-states of East Africa?
5. How did Islam influence African societies?
6. **Understanding Causes and Effects** How did trade contribute to the rise of strong states in Africa?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Many African traditions have been passed on through oral histories. List ways American traditions have been passed on to you.

## 2

### PATTERNS OF LIFE

#### FIND OUT

- What cultural ties united people in African societies?
- How did the role of women vary in different African cultures?
- How did religion reflect the cultural diversity of Africa?

**Vocabulary** lineage, consensus, subsistence farmer, polygamy, age grade

“When the day dawns, the trader  
takes himself to his trade;  
The spinner takes her spindle, the  
warrior takes his shield;  
The weaver bends over his sley  
[a weaving reed];  
The farmer awakes, he and his  
hoe-handle;  
The hunter awakes with his quiver  
and bow. ♪♪

This proverb described the daily activities of the Yoruba (YOH roo buh) people of Nigeria and Benin. It also reveals something about their values. Clearly, the Yoruba felt that everyone had a job to do.

The Yoruba were one of the many peoples who developed their own culture in Africa. Because cultures varied so greatly across the continent, we have to be very careful when making general statements about how people in Africa lived.

Africans had to adapt to a variety of climates and landforms, and they developed many different arts and sciences. Although patterns of life differed, many societies shared similar basic values. They found strength in their family structure, communities, and religious beliefs.

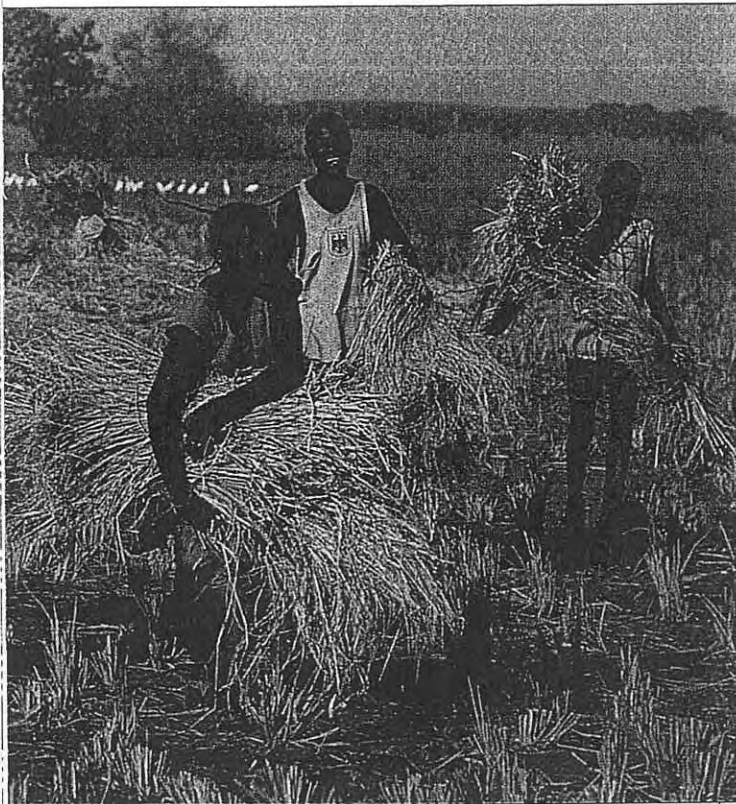
### Family Ties

In Africa, as elsewhere around the world, family loyalty was a bond that held a society together. Family patterns varied, however. Areas where food was scarce could support only small numbers of people. Therefore, members of hunting and gathering societies usually lived in small groups. Most hunting bands consisted of a few nuclear families. (See page 14.)

**Extended families.** In farming and herding societies, people were more likely to live in extended families. Members of the extended family included parents, unmarried children, married children and their spouses, and other relatives. In a farming village, several families pooled their labor. They worked together on projects such as clearing land, building homes, and harvesting crops, which demanded a large labor force.

In villages, extended families often shared a common living area, or compound, that contained separate homes for different family members. The eldest male led the family. From an early age, children learned that their work was needed by the family. ( See Connections With Literature, page 804, “Forefathers.”)

**Lineage and clan.** Ties of kinship united people even beyond the extended family.



**Farming Societies** Mutual need helps forge strong ties among members of extended families in herding and farming societies. Here, family members work together in Burkina Faso. In the proven and inexpensive way of traditional farming, they harvest grain by cutting and bundling dry stalks by hand. **Culture** What other tasks might members of this family share?

In many societies, a group of distant kin would trace their descent back to a common ancestor. Such a **lineage** might link several different families. Sharing a common lineage created bonds of loyalty and responsibility.

Several lineages formed a clan, which traced its roots to an even earlier ancestor. Members of a clan also shared duties and obligations toward one another. Each clan had its own leaders who made important decisions for the community.

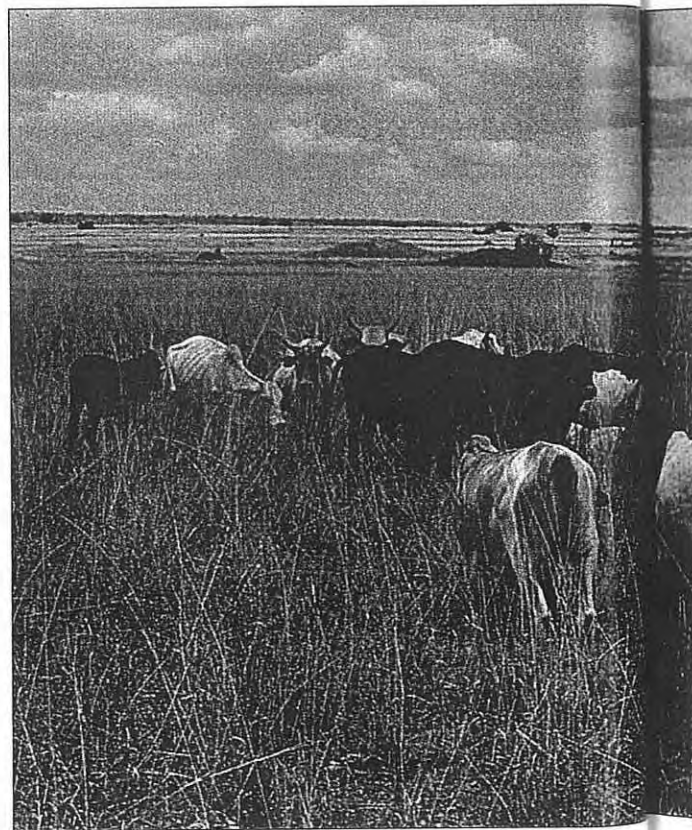
The system of lineages and clans varied across Africa and often grew very complex. The important general feature of these

groupings was the sense of linkage that they created. Kinship ties encouraged a strong sense of community and cooperation. By tracing kinship, people understood that they could depend on one another. As you will read in Chapter 5, these values continue to shape African societies today.

## Patterns of Government

African societies developed a variety of government patterns. Most people lived in small villages. Sometimes these villages were linked together as parts of larger governments. In empires such as those of Mali or Songhai, a powerful leader ruled a large area. Often, though, the ruler was a distant figure. Village leaders made the decisions that affected the daily life of most Africans.

In many areas, decisions at the village level required full public discussion. Village leaders would state their views and listen to what others had to say. When members of the



community disagreed, they worked out the issue through further discussion. Their goal was to reach a **consensus**, or common agreement. Sometimes, reaching a consensus took many days since it often called for compromises on all sides. Leaders stressed the good of the community rather than individual desires or interests.

On issues of justice, especially, the community took care to reach a consensus. Among the Ibo of West Africa, the village leader and his council of elders listened to both sides in a dispute. If, for example, two families disagreed over a boundary between areas where they farmed, the elders held a public hearing. Members of both families would speak. (📖 See Connections With Literature, page 804, "The Cow Tail Switch.")

Before reaching a consensus, the elders would weigh many issues. How was the boundary set? Did one man have too little land to support his family? The elders might decide that the current boundary was unfair.

They would then plant a row of trees to mark the new boundary. Both sides were expected to accept the verdict. Sometimes they exchanged gifts to show that trust and harmony had been restored.

## Economic Organization

Many Africans lived in either farming or herding societies. Farming was common in river valleys and in the savanna. In these places, rainfall and fertile soil often allowed good harvests. Most villagers were **subsistence farmers**. They produced enough for their own needs with little or no surplus.

Methods of farming varied according to the environment. In forested areas, farmers had to clear the land. They created an opening in the dense forest by burning and cutting down bushes and small trees. They left larger trees standing. Using digging sticks and iron-bladed hoes, farmers cleared roots and prepared the soil for planting.

**Herding Societies** For centuries, the cattle herders of the African savanna have been nomadic because grasses are generally sparse and cattle must graze over a wide area. In herding societies, women garden and build the homes while men travel with the herds. **Environment** How does the environment influence how people live on the savanna?

After three or four crops, the soil was worn out. Then, people had to move on to clear other land. Sometimes they returned to their first plot after letting it lie fallow, or unused, for a time to regain its fertility.

In most farming societies, people saw the land as community property. Individuals did not own the land. Each family, however, had a right to use a fair share of the available land.

In drier parts of the savanna, farming was difficult. In areas free from the tsetse fly, many people were herders. Among the cattle herders of Africa were the Masai, who lived in East Africa. Cattle provided the Masai with almost everything they needed, including food and clothing. Owning many cattle gave a family high status in the community. Today, the Masai and other herding societies throughout Africa still depend on cattle or other animals to support their way of life.

### Lives of Women

African women contributed to the economic well-being of the family. In farming societies, women did the planting, weeding, and harvesting. In parts of West Africa, women took any surplus crops to market.

As elsewhere, women were central to family life. They were respected because they bore the children. Moreover, they were responsible for educating young boys and girls. They also prepared their daughters for their future roles as wives and mothers.

**Status.** Attitudes toward women varied widely. In some areas, women held positions of power. The Wolof people sometimes chose women to serve as their leaders. The Ashanti believed that women caused the land to be fertile. As a result, Ashanti women owned the land and ruled the home. In many other places, women had little power or prestige. In patriarchal societies, men dominated the family. At marriage, a woman became the property of her husband or his family.

In some African societies, men married more than one woman. The practice of having more than one spouse is called **polygamy**. Islamic law allows a man to have as many as

four wives. In some parts of Africa, having several wives showed a man's high status.

In a polygamous family, each wife had her own household within the family compound. The first wife usually held an honored position. Ideally, a man's wives lived in friendship and harmony. Sometimes, though, a man would marry a younger wife and older wives would feel angry at being pushed aside.

**Bride wealth.** In much of Africa, women married at the age of 14 or 15. Men tended to marry when they were older. The young man was expected to offer a valuable gift to the bride's family. Sometimes men were 30 years old before they could afford such a gift, known as bride wealth. In a cattle-herding society, bride wealth consisted of a number of cattle. Elsewhere, it might be a quantity of cloth, tools, or goats.

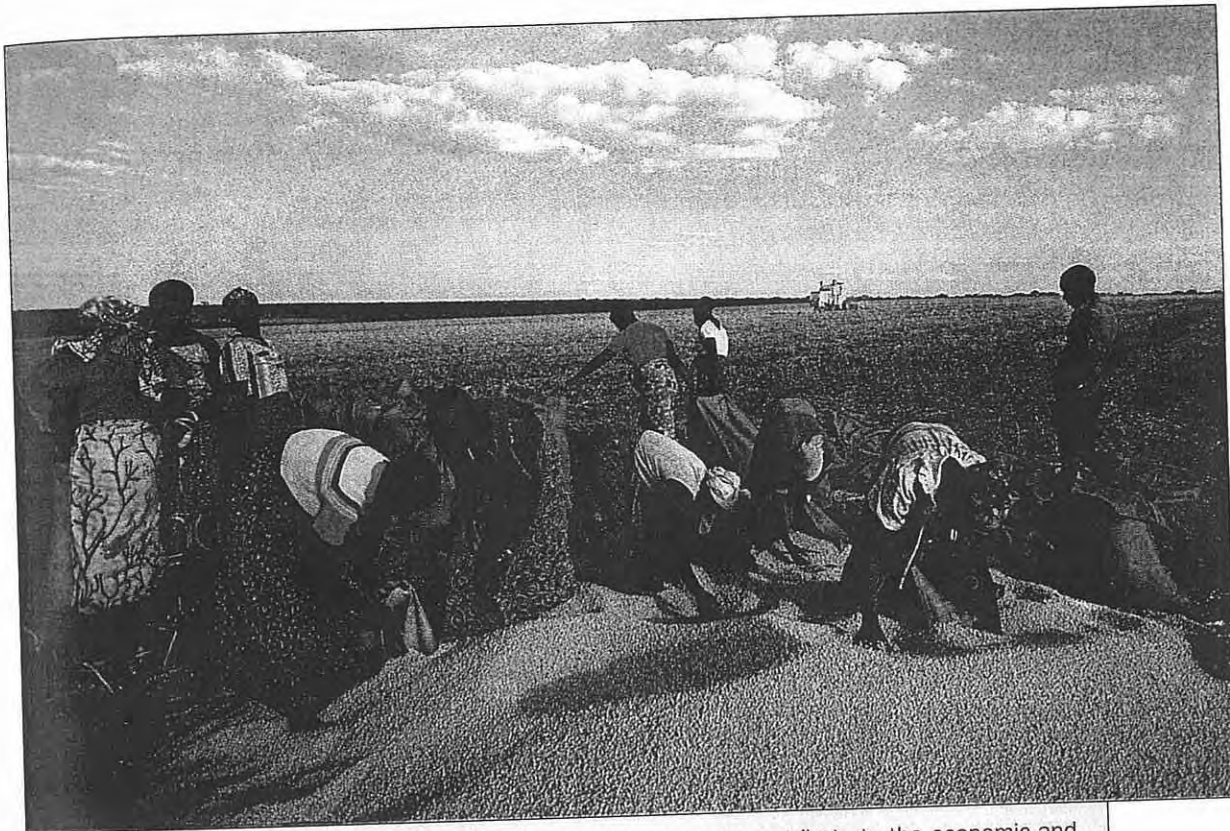
Giving bride wealth was a way of recognizing a woman's importance. At the time of marriage, the bride's family lost its daughter's valuable labor. The two sides had to respect each other. By giving bride wealth, a man was honoring the bride's family. He was also promising not to mistreat his future wife. By accepting bride wealth, a woman's family acknowledged the bond that marriage created.

### Inheritance and Descent

A variety of traditions governed inheritance and descent in African societies. Some West African peoples, such as the Ashanti, were matrilineal. Members of matrilineal societies traced their lineage through the female line.

The Ashanti believed that a child's blood came entirely from the mother. Therefore, the mother's brother—the child's uncle—had a closer blood relationship to the child than the father had. An Ashanti boy would inherit property from his uncle. He also lived with his uncle and took his name. If necessary, the boy's uncle defended him against his father. In the same way, the father would be responsible for his sister's children.

Many other societies were patrilineal, tracing their lineage through the male line. The



**African Women** As in other societies, African women contribute to the economic and social well-being of the community. Throughout Africa, women such as these in Zambia produce most of the food for consumption. They also educate children about their place in society. **Culture** How has the value of the contributions of women been acknowledged in some African societies?

oldest male headed the family. He would decide such questions as when to clear new land or plant seeds. When he died, his eldest son inherited his property and his responsibilities toward the family.

### The Age-Grade System

Outside the family, some African societies developed ties of loyalty through a system of age grades. An *age grade* included all boys or girls born in the same year. Young people passed through different stages of life with other members of their age grade. Together they took part in the special ceremonies that marked each step on their way to adulthood.

Early on, children in an age grade learned the values of their society. They learned to support each other and to cooperate. As the

members of an age grade grew older, their duties to one another changed. Sometimes they helped each other's children. As mature adults, some shared in the political leadership of their community.

### Up Close

#### Old Ways of Learning Together

The age-grade system was most important as a means of educating the young. The elders of a community served as teachers.

Molapatene (moh lah PAH tuh nee) grew up among the Batlokwa people of Southern Africa, where the age-grade system was strong. When he was 12, the older men of his

clan led him and other boys his age away from their village. For 30 days, the boys received intense instruction in the ways of their people.

“ Beliefs and philosophies were transmitted through singing, chanting and the talking drums. I was taught respect, honor, praise, veneration, and worship of my ancestors. I have not forgotten the commandments of my ancestors. I must never forget. ”

Two years later, the boys in Molapatene's age grade underwent additional instruction. They learned songs and sacred knowledge to prepare for their role as adult members of the community.

“ Every morning we were aroused to sing and chant the Bodika hymn 'Tlou Wetzee,' which was followed by instruction in wisdom and life by our elders. We chanted day and night while we underwent the tests of manhood. By midnight we fell exhausted on the cold ground to sleep a few hours before being aroused at dawn each day to undergo more rituals and to learn the chants, taboos, and values that related to actions of past rulers and heroes. ”

Molapatene's sister went through other rituals with the girls in her age grade. Like the boys, the girls learned the special knowledge

**Age-Grade System** As the age-grade system of educating young people disappears in Africa, other ways of passing on knowledge and traditions are replacing it. For example, in this farmers' club, experienced farmers give instruction on how to raise crops successfully. **Interdependence** Why is education an important link among people?





of the Batlokwa people. The girls' teachers were older Batlokwa women. After three months of instruction, the girls understood the responsibilities of marrying and caring for their families.

**Koranic schools.** Ways of educating children varied. In Islamic societies, boys attended Koranic schools. There, they learned to read and write Arabic, the language of Islam. They also memorized parts of the Koran. ■

## African Religions

Religious beliefs and practices reflect the great variety of cultures in Africa. As elsewhere, religion helped to unite a society. Through religion, people came to understand their origins. Oral traditions and myths taught important moral truths about right and wrong. Dancing, singing, and playing musical instruments have also been part of religious celebrations. Although beliefs and ceremonies varied, African religions have had some common threads.

**Traditional beliefs.** Most African religions were monotheistic. People believed in a Supreme Being who created the world and its inhabitants. They saw the Supreme Being as a distant figure, however, remote from their daily lives. As a result, many people turned to lesser gods and spirits. These divine figures played a role somewhat similar to that of Christian saints. Africans appealed to them through prayers and other religious rituals. They might request good health, steady rain, or a rich harvest.

Many Africans believed that their ancestors could help or harm them. To honor and please their ancestors, people said prayers and performed certain rituals. Often, the clan leader was responsible for these ceremonies. Some people believed in direct links between the living and the dead. The Baganda of East Africa, for instance, believed that their ancestors' souls were reborn in children.

Like followers of traditional religions in other parts of the world, many African peoples believed that every object on Earth is filled with a living spirit. They respected

nature because they believed that the Supreme Being had created all things. If a hunter killed an animal, for example, he first explained his intentions and asked the creature's forgiveness. The animal, after all, was part of the natural world that the Supreme Being had created.

**Diviners and healers.** In some African societies, diviners and healers held places of honor. These men and women were well educated in the traditions of their society.

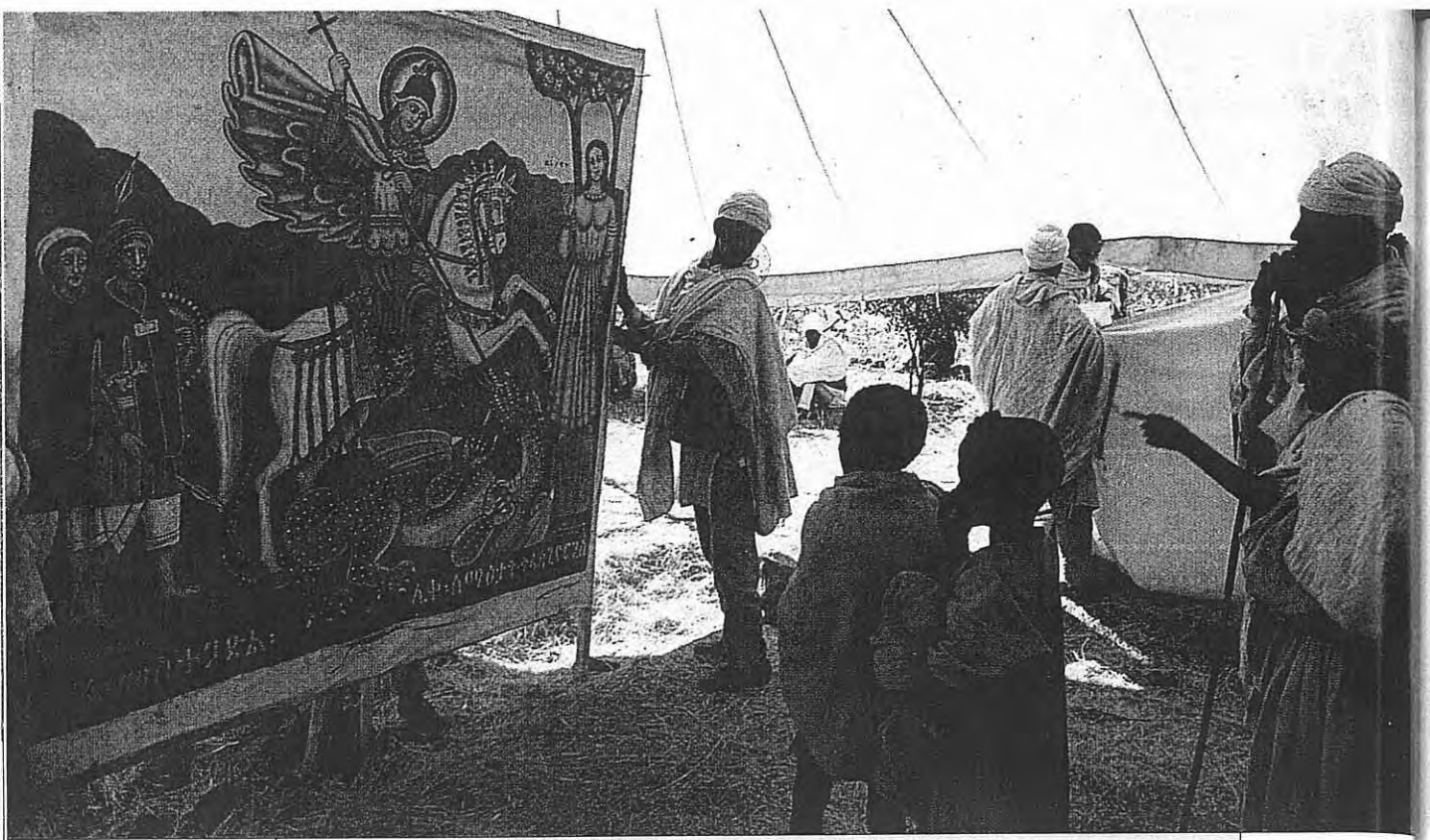
Diviners served as interpreters between people and the divine world. Their most important task was to explain the cause of misfortune. If someone fell ill, a healer would seek the cause. He or she studied how members of the sick person's family got along. Perhaps greed or selfishness was at the root of the illness. The healer would help the family become aware of the problem and find a solution.

Diviners and healers also had expert knowledge of herbal medicines. Today, African and western doctors are studying the roots and herbs used in traditional African healing.

**Christianity and Judaism.** Both Christianity and Judaism reached Africa in ancient times. As you will recall, Christianity spread to North Africa and up the Nile to Axum and Kush. Judaism arrived in Ethiopia from Jewish settlements across the narrow Red Sea. A large community of Ethiopian Jews was established that lasted for hundreds of years. In 1991, most members of that community moved to Israel.

Ethiopian Christians have also survived as a strong community. Christianity has been in Ethiopia for more than 1,500 years. In fact, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church claims roots dating to the time of Solomon in the Old Testament.

In the 1800s, when Europeans pushed into Africa, Christian missionaries set out to replace traditional African religions. Christianity took root in many parts of Africa. Over time, however, African Christians formed their own churches. These churches blended African beliefs, music, and dancing with western Christian beliefs.



**Christianity in Africa** Christianity spread into what is now Ethiopia in early times. Axum became a Christian kingdom in the A.D. 300s, and the Christian religion remained strong in the area. Members of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, shown above, view a picture of St. George. **Diversity** How have religions contributed to the cultural diversity of Africa?

**Islam.** Earlier in this chapter, you learned that Muslim traders spread the teachings of Islam to parts of Africa. As early as A.D. 800, wealthy leaders in some African societies converted to Islam. Sometimes, they fit certain features of Islamic culture into their own cultures. In northern Nigeria, for example, some people used a form of Arabic writing for their languages. (See page 570.)

Islam spread gradually. Sometimes its influence was great, sometimes limited. In the early 1800s, Muslim leaders in West Africa felt that Islamic teachings had become corrupted. They called for a *jihad*, or holy war, to purify Islam. In what is today Nigeria, Usman dan Fodio launched a revival of Islam. He united the nomadic Fulani herders, conquered the neighboring Hausa, and created the powerful Hausa-Fulani Empire. The revival created other strong Islamic states across the savanna.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Define:** (a) lineage, (b) consensus, (c) subsistence farmer, (d) polygamy, (e) age grade.
- How did the extended family help to unite a society?
- How were villages governed?
- What did bride wealth show about African attitudes toward women?
- How has cultural diffusion influenced religious life in Africa?
- 6. Analyzing Ideas** "The ruin of a nation begins in the homes of its people." How does this proverb from Ghana reflect African attitudes toward family?
- 7. Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph comparing traditional African government, based on consensus, with American government, based on majority rule.

### 3

## THE SLAVE TRADE

### FIND OUT

Why did Europeans become interested in Africa?

Why were millions of Africans sent as slaves to the Americas?

How did the Atlantic slave trade affect Africa?

**Vocabulary** abolition, diaspora

In the mid-1700s, 11-year-old Olaudah Equiano was kidnapped from his home in Nigeria and sold to slave traders. Bound in chains, he and hundreds of others like him were marched to the coast. There, a slave ship waited at anchor, ready to carry its human cargo to the Americas.

Olaudah Equiano lived many years as a slave in the Americas before he was able to buy his freedom. Later, he wrote a book describing the terrors of his voyage into slavery.

“I was immediately handled, and tossed up to see if I were sound, by some of the crew, and I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me. Their complexions, too, differing so much from ours, their long hair, and the language they spoke . . . united to confirm me in this belief. . . .

The closeness of the place and the heat of the climate, added to the number in the ship, which was so crowded that each had scarcely room to turn himself, almost suffocated us. 99

From the 1500s to the 1800s, slave traders sent an estimated 10 to 15 million Africans

across the Atlantic to the Americas. In some areas, the slave trade had an unsettling impact. This deadly commerce in human beings came to dominate relations among Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

### Exploring the Coast of Africa

The first direct contacts between Europeans and the peoples of West Africa occurred in the early 1400s. By then, Portugal's Prince Henry was looking for a sea route around Africa to India. He sent explorers to map the coast of West Africa. Prince Henry also hoped to find the kingdoms of West Africa, which had large resources of gold.

Gradually, Portuguese sailors explored the African coast. In 1488, Bartholomeu Dias rounded the southern tip of Africa. Ten years later, Vasco da Gama followed Dias's route and reached India by sea.

The Portuguese and other Europeans built small trading stations on the coast. They traded with the peoples of West Africa, exchanging iron and copper for fish, sugar, ivory, gold, and pepper. The Europeans also brought Christian missionaries, who set out to convert Africans to Christianity.

### Trade in Human Beings

During the 1400s, Europeans bought a few Africans as slaves and carried them to Europe. The demand for slaves was limited, however, until Europeans began to settle the Americas. European rulers required a large labor force to make their American colonies profitable. At first, they used Native Americans to mine gold and silver and to work their plantations, but many died. (See page 460.) Europeans then looked to Africa. They thought that Africans would be able to survive in the tropical climates of the Caribbean and Central America.

**Slavery in Africa.** Forcing people into slavery did not begin in the 1500s. In Africa, as elsewhere around the world, slavery had existed since ancient times. Most slaves in Africa were people who had been captured in war. Others had sold themselves into slavery during times of famine.

In many African societies, slaves were part of the community. They were treated as servants rather than property. According to an Ashanti saying, "A slave who knows how to serve inherits his master's property." In time, slaves or their children might become full members of the society.

**The Atlantic slave trade.** Europeans, however, introduced slavery on a massive scale. At the height of the slave trade in the 1700s, up to 60,000 Africans a year were packed into the airless holds of slave ships. Many did not live through the "middle passage" across the Atlantic. This vast, forced migration moved the surviving Africans thousands of miles from their homes.

As the demand for slaves grew, so did the profits to be made from the slave trade. By the 1600s, a trade network, with people as cargo, linked Africa, Europe, and the Americas.

Racism quickly took root. Many whites in Europe and the Americas came to look on Africans as inferior humans. Some even tried to back up their bias with so-called "scientific proof" of racial differences. Racism was used to justify treating Africans as property.

**Slaves for guns.** European slave traders relied on local African rulers to supply them with slaves. They paid for slaves with guns and other manufactured goods. Armed with guns,

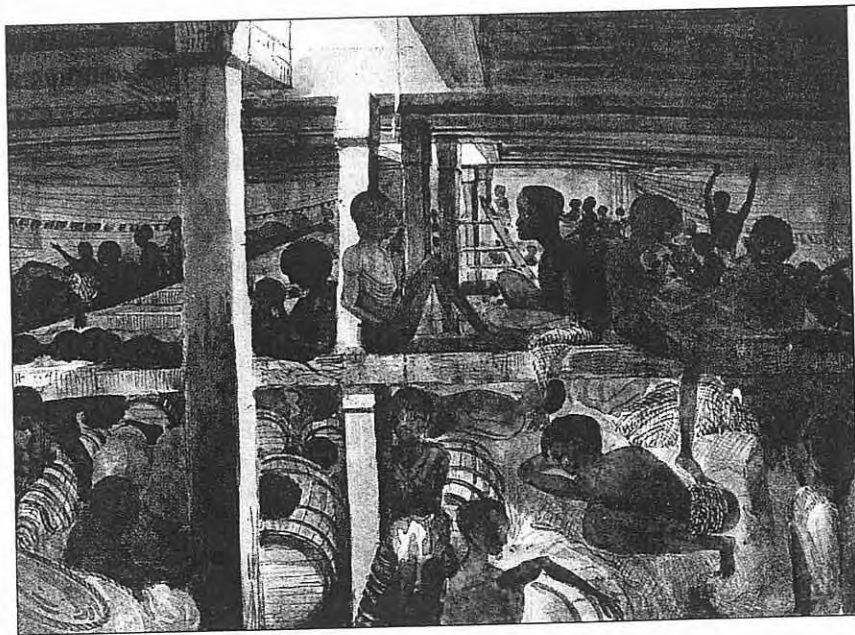
African slave traders attacked villages, taking many prisoners.

Many captives resisted, but only a few escaped. Once on board ship, some Africans tried to organize rebellions. Others jumped overboard to avoid a life of slavery. Many died of diseases that spread rapidly in the filthy, crowded conditions of a ship's hold. The Atlantic slave trade lasted about 400 years. During that time, it may have caused the deaths of as many as 2 or 3 million Africans.

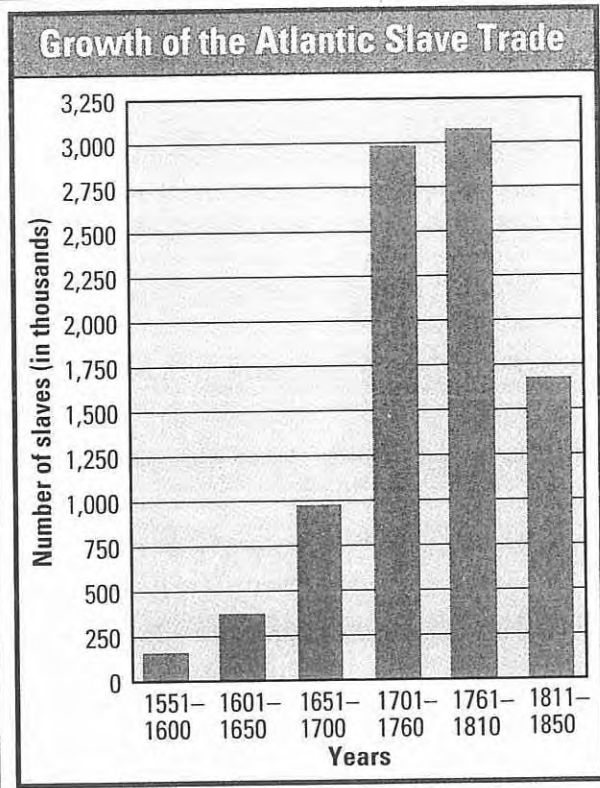
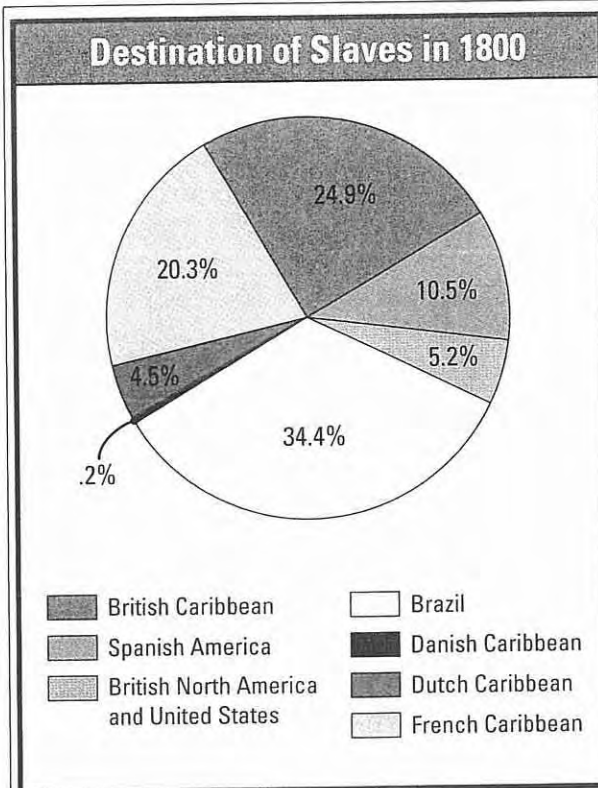
## Ending the Slave Trade

"It is our will that in these kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves nor outlet for them." King Affonso, a Christian African ruler, made this proclamation in 1526 to the Portuguese government. Affonso had seen the misery of the slave trade, but his efforts to stop it failed.

Some people in Europe spoke out against slavery. However, their voices also went unheeded. In the 1700s, a few important European thinkers began to talk about human rights and to oppose slavery. **Abolition**, or the movement to end slavery, slowly gained force. The Quakers, a religious group, were strong supporters of abolition. Later, in Britain and the United States, many free blacks such as



**The Middle Passage** This painting by an English officer on a slave ship shows how Africans were crammed into the ship's hold, where they suffered horribly. In desperate attempts to escape, some Africans organized revolts while others jumped overboard. **Human Rights** What human rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution were denied to those who were enslaved?



Source: *The Atlantic Slave Trade, A Census* by Philip D. Curtin, 1969.

**Graph Skills** Statistics about the number of enslaved Africans who were brought to the Americas are very rough estimates. Historians have worked with sketchy records to recreate a picture of the Atlantic slave trade.

► To which three areas were the largest number of slaves sent in 1800? Approximately how many enslaved Africans were brought to the Americas between 1761 and 1810?

of people, called a diaspora (dī as puh ruh), brought great suffering to those who were taken captive. The survivors, however, struggled to hold on to their culture. The African diaspora spread the ideas, customs, and beliefs of African peoples to other regions of the world. African musical traditions, proverbs, foods, religious beliefs, and artistic styles all enriched the cultures of these regions. (See Global Connections on page 154.)

**Sierra Leone and Liberia.** As slavery was abolished, some Africans returned to the continent where they or their ancestors had been born. In 1787, the British set up a colony in West Africa for freed slaves. The colony was called Sierra Leone. Later, free blacks from the United States organized Liberia. Liberia became independent in 1847, despite many

obstacles. At this time, Europeans were expanding their influence all across Africa.

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. **Identify:** (a) Mirambo, (b) Tippu Tib.
2. **Define:** (a) abolition, (b) diaspora.
3. What motives led Europeans to explore the coast of Africa in the 1400s?
4. **Understanding Causes and Effects** (a) How did scarcity of labor in the Americas encourage the Atlantic slave trade? (b) Explain one other cause of the slave trade.
5. **Writing Across Cultures** List two ways in which slavery and the slave trade affected Africa. List two ways in which they affected the United States.

# 4

## AGE OF EUROPEAN IMPERIALISM

### FIND OUT

- Why did Europeans carve up Africa into colonies?
- How did technology help Europeans divide Africa?
- How did Africans resist European imperialism?
- What groups fought for control of Southern Africa?

“We wish for peace,” declared a Xhosa (KOH seh) leader to British soldiers in 1819.

“We wish to rest in our homes; we wish to get milk for our children; our wives want to farm the land. But your troops cover the plains and swarm in the forests, where they cannot distinguish the men from the women and shoot all.”

The British would not make peace, and the fighting continued.

### Europeans Explore Africa

Before the 1800s, Europeans knew very little about Africa. They built trading posts along the coasts, but they relied on Africans to bring slaves and trade goods such as ivory and gold from the interior. European interest in Africa increased, however, during the Age of Imperialism.

Spurred on by trading companies and a desire for adventure, Europeans explored the rivers of Africa. In 1795, Mungo Park, a young Scotsman, set out to trace the Niger River to its source. He endured incredible hardships on a long trek inland from the West African coast. His book about his travels made him a hero in Europe.

Richard Burton and John Speke devoted years to hunting for the source of the Nile. The French explorer René Caillié searched for the famous city of Timbuktu. In books and lectures, these explorers painted vivid pictures of Africa for European audiences. Their views of Africa, however, reflected European attitudes. They made little effort to understand African cultures.

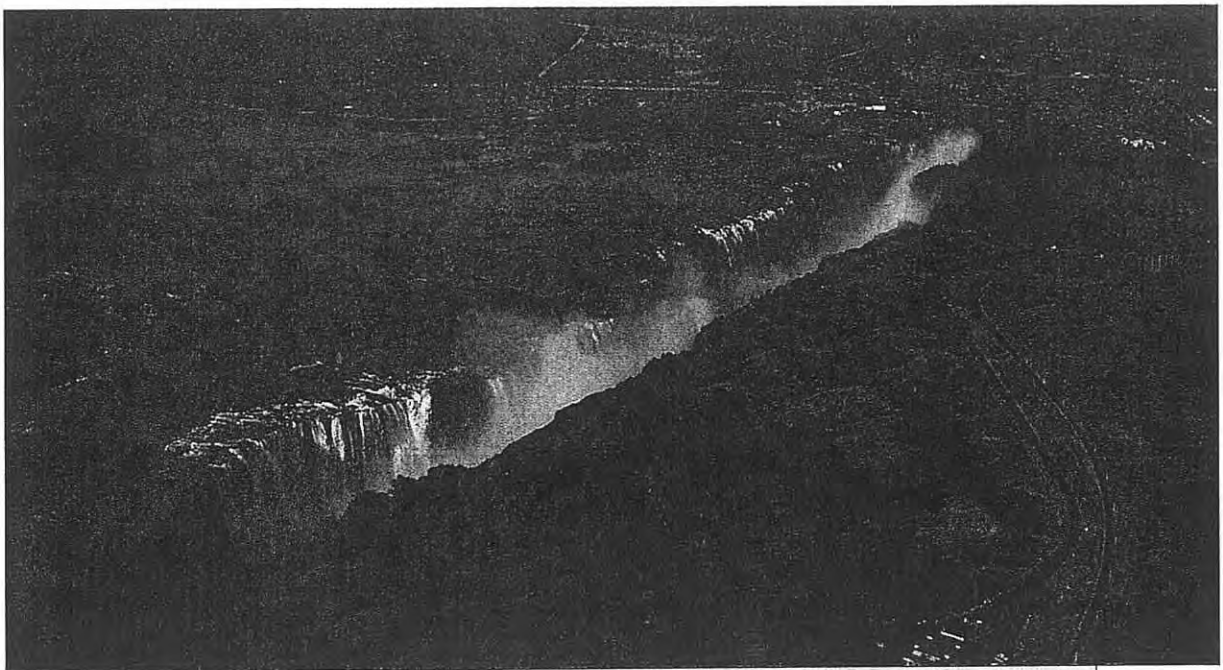
More than anyone else, David Livingstone, a British doctor and missionary, captured the imaginations of Europeans. Livingstone spent much of his life in Africa. He wanted “to open up highways for commerce and Christianity to pass into the vast interior of Africa.” Europeans credited Livingstone with “discovering” the huge waterfalls on the Zambezi River. He named them Victoria Falls, after Britain’s Queen Victoria. The Africans who lived nearby, however, had long known the falls as Mosi oa Tunya, “the smoke that thunders.”

### European Motives

Following the paths of these explorers, Europeans extended their influence in Africa. By the outbreak of World War I in 1914, European nations claimed all of Africa except Liberia and Ethiopia. Britain controlled most of the continent. Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and Spain were also represented.

**Economic motives.** Europeans took over lands in Africa for a number of reasons. Economic competition was a major motive. By the late 1800s, the nations of Western Europe had industrialized. They competed for control of raw materials for their factories. Africa was a source of palm oil for soaps, cotton for textiles, and gum for paper and fabrics. The rain forests provided rubber, ivory, and rare hardwoods. In addition, Europeans looked on African societies as possible markets for the goods produced by European factories.

**Political motives.** Economic competition went hand in hand with political rivalries. Nationalism was sweeping through Europe in the late 1800s. European powers built vast empires to boost their place in the world. Rivalries fueled the scramble for colonies. Britain, for example, claimed lands in Africa to prevent German or French expansion.



**“The Smoke That Thunders”** The British explorer David Livingstone marveled at the beauty of this waterfall on the Zambezi River. He called it Victoria Falls, but Africans called it Mosi oa Tunya. Today, the river provides hydroelectric power to two bordering countries, Zambia and Zimbabwe. **Culture** What do the two names for the falls tell you about the different cultures?

**Religious motives.** Some people went to Africa for religious reasons. Christians believed that it was their duty to spread the benefits of western civilization. They thought their religion and civilization were superior, so they expected Africans to adopt European ways. Many Christian missionaries supported the colonial governments by introducing western values among the people, but some, such as David Livingstone, also campaigned against the slave trade. Livingstone and others worked to improve health care and set up schools.

### The Scramble for Colonies

Two innovations helped Europeans advance into Africa. New medical knowledge improved treatment for diseases such as malaria and yellow fever, which let Europeans survive in Africa. In addition, the British had developed the Maxim gun. This early machine gun gave them an advantage over Africans armed with muskets or spears.

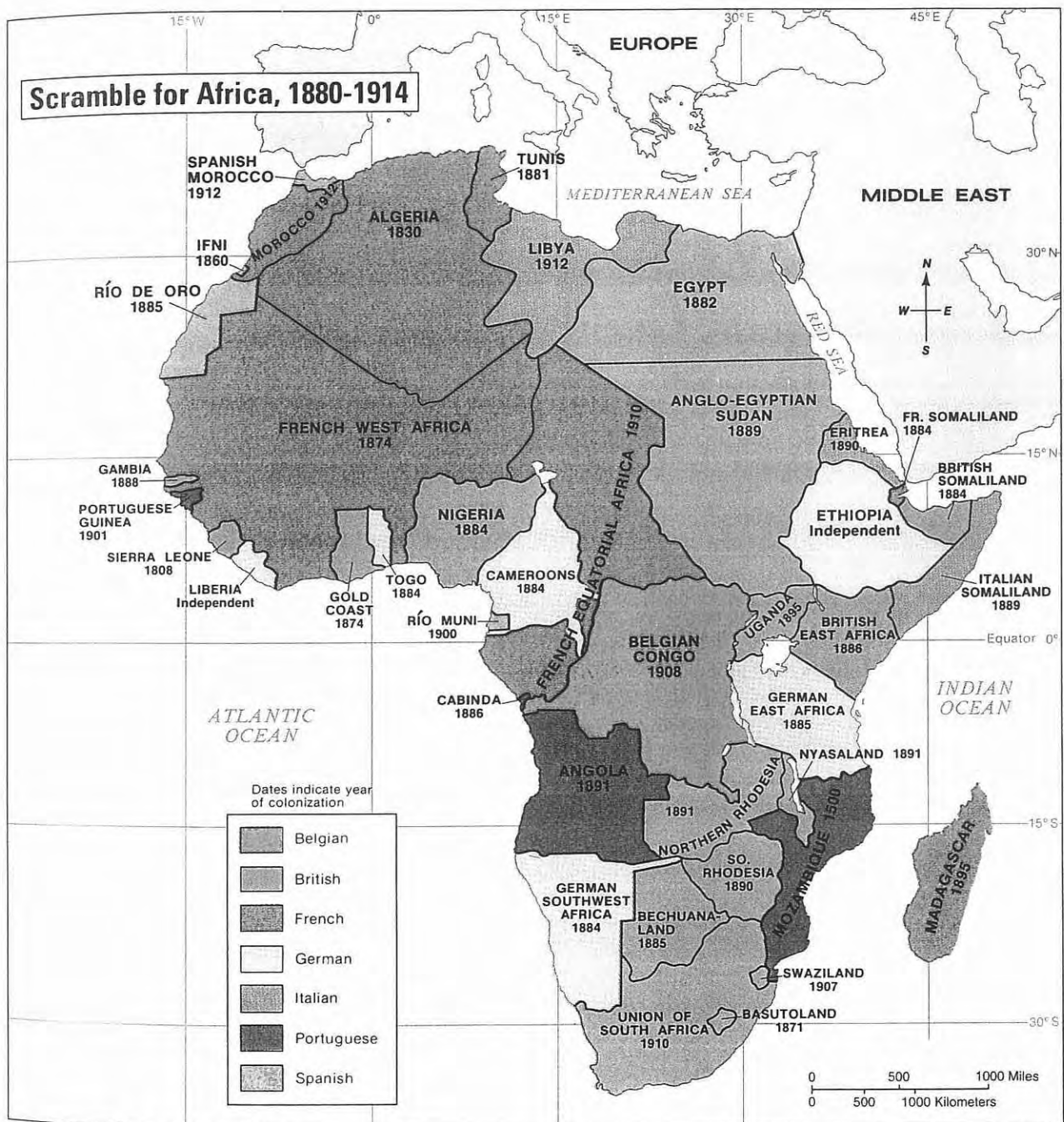
Europeans pushed their claims in all parts of Africa. France and Britain competed for

power in Egypt. A French company completed the Suez Canal in 1869. Soon after, the British gained control of the canal. They regarded it as a key link to the empire they had established in India. Elsewhere in North Africa, France and Italy gained influence. (See the map at right.)

The scramble for colonies in Central and West Africa began when King Leopold II of Belgium gained control of the Congo basin (present-day D.R. Congo). Britain and Germany supported his claims in order to stop French expansion in the region. Tensions mounted quickly as European rivals sent agents to negotiate treaties with African leaders. To ease the crisis, 14 European nations met in Berlin, Germany, in 1884.

**Berlin Conference.** At the Berlin Conference, Europeans made decisions about dividing Africa. No Africans were invited to the meeting. The European powers recognized Leopold’s personal claim to the Congo Free State. They accepted boundaries already set up by the French, German, and Portuguese in other parts of Africa.

## Scramble for Africa, 1880-1914



### MAP STUDY

In the late 1800s, European nations scrambled to claim territory in Africa. By 1914, almost the entire continent had been partitioned.

- 1. Movement** (a) Which African land became the first European colony? (b) Which European nation controlled it?
- 2. Region** Name the European powers that controlled most of North Africa.
- 3. Comparing** How were the boundaries of Europe's African colonies different from those of earlier African kingdoms?



After the Berlin Conference, European nations began solidifying their claims. They sent out surveyors to map routes for roads and railroads. They appointed officials to govern their colonies. When necessary, they shipped troops to Africa to enforce their claims.

**Congo Free State.** With his claim recognized, Leopold exploited the human and mineral resources of the Congo Free State. His agents forced each African community to produce a set amount of rubber or ivory without paying them. When people resisted this forced labor, the Belgians cut off their hands or ears. Word of such horrors eventually reached Europe. Under pressure, Leopold turned over his private domain to the Belgian government.

### African Resistance

Many Africans resisted European imperialism with military force. In North Africa, the Algerians fought the French expansion with great loss of life. In West Africa, the Ibo and Fulani struggled for years against the British advance. For 10 years, Mkwawa, leader of the Hehe, opposed the German advance across his lands in East Africa.

Millions of Africans died as a result of the wars of resistance. During 20 years of fighting in the Congo Free State, the population fell from an estimated 20 million to about 8 million. In southwest Africa, the Germans nearly wiped out the Herero people, who opposed the takeover of their land.

Despite stiff resistance, Africans were unable to withstand the advanced weapons and other technology of the Europeans. Only in Ethiopia did resistance succeed. To acquire European technology, the Ethiopian emperor Menelik II hired Europeans to train and arm his forces. The policy worked. At the Battle of Adowa in 1896, he defeated an Italian army and preserved Ethiopia's independence.

Natural disasters such as disease sometimes helped the Europeans. Matabele armies in present-day Zimbabwe suffered from a smallpox epidemic at a crucial moment in their struggle against the British. In the late 1880s, Europeans accidentally introduced rinderpest, a cattle disease, into East Africa.

The disease killed so many cattle that thousands of people died of starvation. Many more were too weak to fight.

### Struggle for Southern Africa

In Southern Africa, a bitter power struggle developed among local African groups, Dutch settlers known as Boers, and the British.

**Migrating peoples.** For many hundreds of years, groups of Africans had been migrating into Southern Africa. Their cultures differed, although some of their languages were related to a root language called Bantu.\*

The newcomers were farmers. Because they were better armed with iron weapons, they seized the lands of the people already living in Southern Africa. The defeated people retreated into less desirable lands.

Among the migrating peoples were the Zulus. By the early 1800s, they had reached Southern Africa. Under Shaka, the Zulus built a powerful empire northeast of the Orange River. The Zulu migration disrupted traditional patterns of life. Groups defeated by the Zulus fled to safety, forcing others in their path to move on.

**Boers.** While the Zulus were moving southward, the Boers were moving north from the tip of South Africa. The Dutch had settled at what is now Cape Town in 1652. They looked on the local people, the Khoi Khoi and San, as inferior and forced them to work as slaves on their farms.

In the early 1800s, the British won control of the Cape Colony from the Boers. When the British tried to end slavery and interfered in other ways, the Boers retreated on a "Great Trek" northward.

The Boers set up two independent republics in the 1850s, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, in lands which the Zulus had recently conquered. Battles between Boers and Zulus continued for decades. Finally, the British joined the struggle and defeated the Zulus. As elsewhere in Africa, the

\* Just as many languages in Europe, Iran, and India can be traced to a common root called Indo-European (see page 643), many languages of Africa have Bantu as a common root.



## Shaka: King of the Zulu Nation

“ The nations, Shaka, have condemned you,  
Yet still today, they speak of you,  
Still today their books discuss you,  
But we defy them to explain you. ”

With these words, Zulu poet B. W. Vilakazi expressed his pride in the achievements of Shaka. To Zulus, Shaka is as much a hero today as he was 140 years ago. As the leader of one small clan, he rose to conquer a huge empire in Southern Africa.

Shaka was born around 1787, the son of the Zulu chief Senzangakona and his wife Nandi. As a boy, Shaka was rebellious. He angered his father by refusing Senzangakona's

gift of a warrior's lion skin. Then Shaka learned the arts of war from Dingiswayo, king of the more powerful Mtetwa people.

When Senzangakona died in 1816, Dingiswayo helped Shaka become king of the Zulus. The two kings remained allies and friends. After Dingiswayo's death, the Mtetwa placed themselves under Shaka's command.

Shaka introduced new methods and techniques of fighting. He reorganized the Zulu army into regiments called *impi* and replaced their throwing spears with assegais, short-handled stabbing weapons. He also developed a form of attack that allowed his forces to surround and crush any enemy. Under Shaka's brilliant leadership, the Zulu army became an outstanding fighting force. Within four years, he conquered dozens of smaller kingdoms and united them into a single powerful nation. The Zulu empire helped slow down British advances into South Africa.

Shaka's triumphs came at a great price. Millions of people died as a result of his conquests. In 1828, his two half brothers killed him. Although Shaka has been called a tyrant, generations of Zulus have honored his name. One *izibongo*, or poem of praise, refers to the king as "he who beats but is not beaten."

1. What changes did Shaka make in the Zulu army?
2. **Making Inferences** Why do you think later Zulus have honored Shaka despite his reputation as a harsh ruler?

Maxim gun and other weapons enabled Europeans to win key battles.

**Diamonds and gold.** The discovery of diamonds in 1867 and gold in 1884 sent Europeans into the Boer republics. Eager to expand their empire, the British fought to control the rich area. By 1902, the British had defeated the Dutch settlers in the Boer War.

Eight years later, the British created the Union of South Africa out of various colonies in the region. They granted self-government to the new nation. Under the constitution, however, only white men had the right to vote. Because the Boers made up a majority of the white population, they gained control of the South African government.

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) Cape Town, (b) Union of South Africa.
2. **Identify:** (a) David Livingstone, (b) Leopold II, (c) Menelik II, (d) Shaka, (e) Boer War.
3. (a) Why did European explorers take an interest in Africa in the 1800s? (b) Why did Europeans want colonies in Africa?
4. How did the Berlin Conference change the map of Africa?
5. Why did African efforts to resist European imperialism fail?
6. **Making Inferences** "When you first came, you had the Bible and we had the land," noted a Zimbabwean during the Age of Imperialism. "Now we have the Bible and you have the land." What does this imply about the impact of missionaries?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a dialogue between a Native American and an African in which they discuss the arrival of Europeans in their land.

## 5

### EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN RULE

#### FIND OUT

- What methods did Europeans use to rule their colonies?
- What economic changes did European rule bring to Africa?
- How did European rule affect African cultures?
- What material improvements did Europeans introduce?

**Vocabulary** elite

“If you woke up one morning and found that somebody had come to your house, and had declared that the

house belonged to him, you would naturally be surprised, and you would like to know by what arrangement. ”

Jomo Kenyatta posed the question above, one that many people in Africa asked. What right did Europeans have to walk in and take over African lands?

Kenyatta was born in Kenya several years after the British took control in 1886. He lived to become the first president of Kenya in 1963. Although colonial rule was relatively brief, its effects are still felt today. ( See World Literature, "The Gentleman of the Jungle," by Jomo Kenyatta, page 152.)

### New Political and Economic Systems

In their African colonies, European nations set up governments that reflected their own traditions. They introduced European legal systems that differed greatly from those of the people they ruled. European law codes were impersonal. Unlike African forms of justice that emphasized discussion and consensus, European justice relied on abstract principles of right and wrong. Africans saw these principles as unjust, especially when Europeans used those laws to take African lands.

**Colonial governments.** European nations developed two methods of ruling their colonies—direct and indirect rule. Direct rule meant that the colonial power controlled the government at every level. It appointed officials from colonial governor to village leader. France, Portugal, Germany, and Belgium practiced direct rule.

Britain had a huge worldwide empire to govern. It did not have enough officials to send to every colony, so the British relied on indirect rule. They left traditional rulers in place. British officials made the decisions but expected local rulers to enforce them.

Under both types of government, the result was the same. Traditional African rulers no longer had power or influence.

**New economic patterns.** The Europeans expected their colonies to be profitable. European companies exploited the mineral

resources of Africa, sending raw materials to feed European factories. White settlers also sought to make the land profitable. They set up plantations to produce cash crops such as cocoa, cotton, peanuts, and coffee.

The new ways upset traditional patterns of life. African communities had been largely self-sufficient. Villagers bartered, or traded, for goods they needed. Europeans introduced a money economy. They required Africans to pay taxes in cash instead of goods.

**Money economy.** To make money, Africans sold their labor. Men had to leave home to take jobs as farm workers and miners. Because they were away for long periods, the close-knit life of villages changed. In South Africa, men who worked in mines lived in large dormitories with other workers. Such arrangements undermined family life. Others became migrant workers, leaving their homes to work in faraway places 11 months of the year.

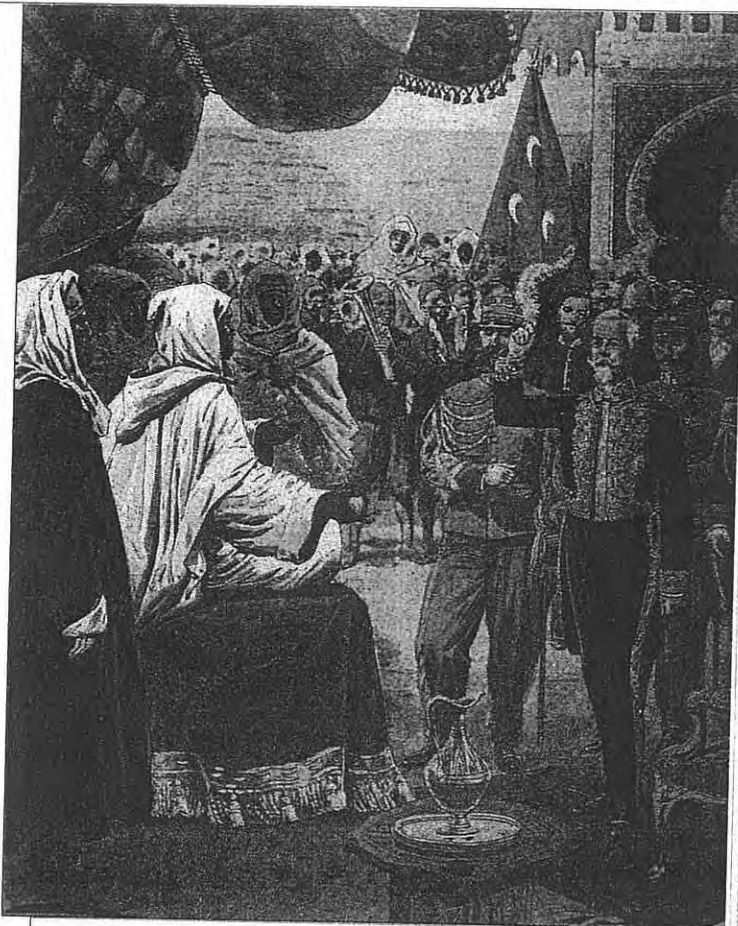
The money economy created differences in wealth as some people accumulated capital and property. It also changed attitudes toward the land. In the past, land belonged to the community. European rulers encouraged individual ownership of land, especially by Europeans.

As you read in Chapter 2, the export of cash crops and raw materials made the less-developed world dependent on the markets in the industrial world. The new money economy also encouraged many farmers to grow cash crops instead of food. In some areas, Africans even had to import food. In other areas, however, new seeds and the use of fertilizers led to greater output of food.

### Material Improvements

Colonial rule brought new systems of transportation and communication. The Europeans invested money to build roads and railroads and to set up telegraphs. These improvements had advantages and disadvantages. They made travel easier. Many Africans, however, were forced to work on building projects for very low wages.

Roads and railroads were built to connect plantations or mines to the coast. They also



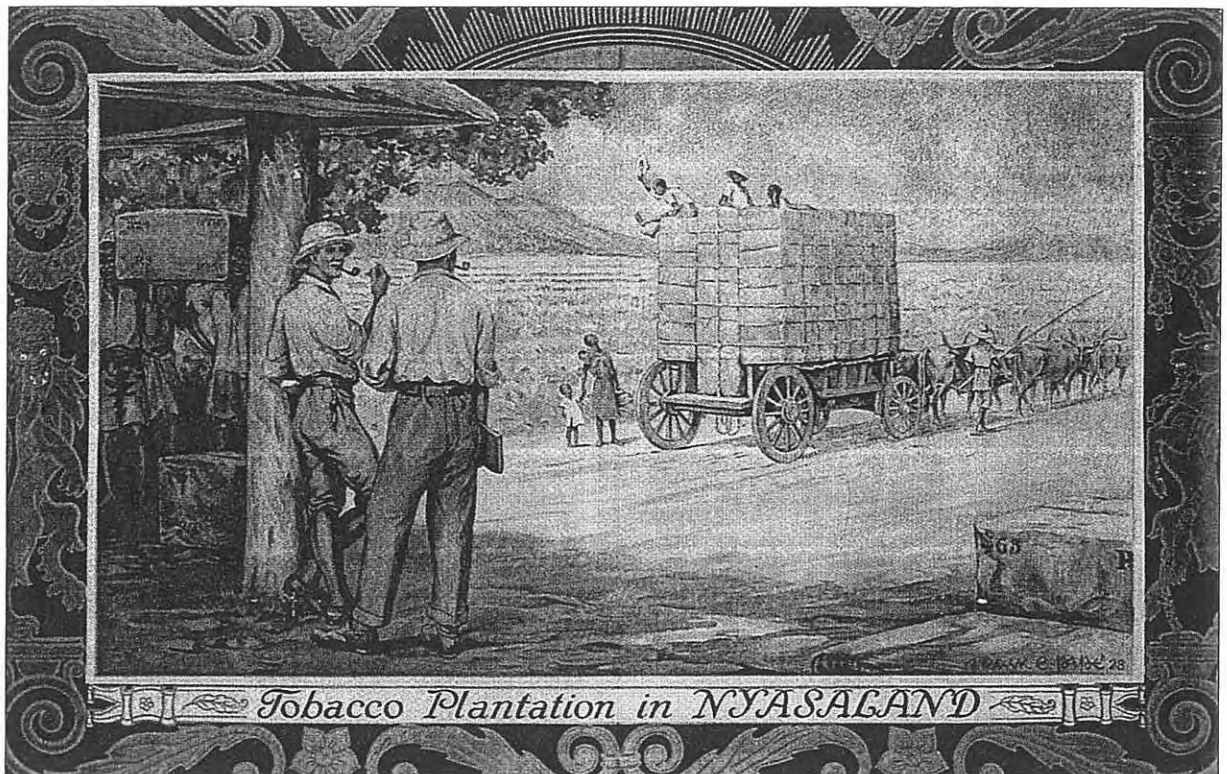
**French Colonial Rule** In North Africa, the French extended their rule over Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. Here, a French official greets the sultan of Morocco. Although the sultan headed the government, the French were the real rulers. **Power** Why might some European countries have chosen to leave local African rulers in place?

allowed colonial governments to extend their control. The new transportation systems encouraged the migration of workers, further weakening family and village ties.

Other improvements contributed to population growth. Missionaries set up hospitals, and doctors introduced better medical care. In towns and cities, improved sanitation and water systems helped people live healthier lives. Colonial governments also battled diseases that had killed many people in the past.

### Currents of Change

Europeans set up elementary schools for Africans. In colonial schools, African students



**British Colonial Rule** During the Age of Imperialism, a British tobacco company used this advertisement to sell tobacco from Nyasaland (present-day Malawi). British companies set up plantations in Africa to grow cash crops, including tobacco, coffee, and cotton. **Change** How did colonial rule affect African societies and disrupt their economies?

learned European history and culture along with basic skills. A few Africans had the opportunity to attend secondary schools. They formed an educated **elite** in the colonies. An elite is a small group of people with high social status. Some young men went to schools in Europe. On their return home, however, they often found that higher-level jobs were closed to Africans.

Some western-educated Africans rejected their traditional cultures. They discovered that the only way to get ahead was to become like their rulers. Others saw serious flaws in European culture. Africans read the works of John Locke. His ideas about equality had encouraged democratic revolutions in Europe. How could Europeans praise Locke, they asked, and refuse Africans their basic rights?

By the early 1900s, new African leaders were emerging. They called for Africans to

reexamine their heritage and to take pride in their past. They were laying the basis for independence movements that would follow.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

1. **Define:** elite.
2. What was the difference between direct and indirect rule?
3. How did a money economy affect Africans?
4. How did colonial rule affect agriculture?
5. Why did European rule lead to economic dependence in Africa?
6. **Applying Information** How did colonial rule influence traditional African cultures?
7. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph comparing the 13 British colonies in the Americas and Britain's colonies in Africa.

# AFRICA IN TRANSITION



**Independence Day in Namibia** When Namibia became independent in 1990, its people celebrated their freedom from colonial rule. After a century of domination by Germany and then by South Africa, Namibians now control their nation and its government. **Change** What are some challenges that Namibia faces as a newly independent nation?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Winning Independence
- 2 Steps Toward Development
- 3 Changing Patterns of Life
- 4 Nigeria
- 5 Zimbabwe

**W**ith a flourish, the bandmaster raised his hand. The crowd rose to its feet. Trumpets and drums began to play “N’Kosi Sikelel’I Afrika” (“God Bless Africa”).

“God bless Africa,  
Let her fame spread far and wide;  
Hear our prayer,  
May God bless us.  
Come, Spirit, come,  
Come, Holy Spirit,  
Come and bless us, her children.”

As the stirring anthem drew to a close, thousands cheered. After years of struggle, Namibia finally won independence in 1990.

Mankayi Sontanga wrote “N’Kosi Sikelel’I Afrika” in 1897, when Europeans were extending their rule across Africa. Nationalists in Southern Africa soon adopted the song as their unofficial anthem. After independence, countries such

as Tanzania, Zambia, and Namibia made it their national anthem. In 1994, South Africa, too, adopted this anthem as its own. The words differ from nation to nation, but each version echoes a deep love for Africa.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

In the 1950s, African nations began to cast off colonial rule and take charge of their own destinies. Like emerging nations everywhere, they have faced many challenges.

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Since winning independence, African nations have taken different routes toward modernization.
- ▶ Patterns of colonial rule and the diversity of people on the continent have shaped developments there.
- ▶ Natural forces such as drought as well as rapid population growth pose problems for the developing nations of Africa.
- ▶ Urbanization and modern technology are changing African societies.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

“God Bless Africa,” Mankayi Sontanga  
“Black Woman,” Léopold Sédar Senghor  
“My People,” Christy Essien-Igbokwe  
“Take Up Arms and Liberate Yourselves,” Zimbabwean folk song

For other selections, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

# 1

## WINNING INDEPENDENCE

### FIND OUT

- How did nationalism help shape modern Africa?
- How did African nations win independence?
- How does the colonial past affect modern African nations?

**Vocabulary** boycott, guerrilla warfare

“Freedom for the Gold Coast will be the fountain of inspiration from which other African colonial territories can draw when the time comes for them to strike for their freedom. 99

Kwame Nkrumah’s prediction came true. In 1957, Nkrumah (en KROO muh) led the Gold Coast to independence. The nation then changed its name to Ghana. With Nkrumah as prime minister, Ghana served as a model for many other African nations that wanted to shake off colonial rule.

### African Nationalism

By the early 1900s, nationalism had taken root in Africa. Nationalism, as you will recall, is a sense of pride in and devotion to one’s country. Gradually, it became a powerful force.

Nationalism grew out of European rule. Colonial powers had drawn boundaries that included diverse ethnic groups. In the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana), the British created a colony that put longtime rivals such as the Ashanti and Fante under the same government. The colony also included other groups, such as the Ewe, Dagomba, and Tallensi. African nationalists realized that they

had to create a sense of unity among diverse groups if they were to win independence.

**Pan-Africanism.** Many nationalists embraced the idea of Pan-Africanism, which called for unifying all of Africa. Pan-Africanism began in the early 1900s with the slogan "Africa for the Africans."

Prominent African Americans supported the movement. Leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois and Marcus Garvey called for a sense of unity among all people of African descent.

**Léopold Sédar Senghor.** During the 1930s, a Senegalese poet, Léopold Sédar Senghor, took the lead in the *négritude* movement. The movement encouraged Africans to value their heritage, and it strengthened Pan-Africanism. Senghor rejected the negative view that colonial powers held about African cultures. Instead, he urged both Africans and Europeans to take a new look at African traditions. In poems such as "Black Woman," he praised the beauty and vitality of African culture:

“ . . . black woman,  
Clothed in your color which is life,  
your form which is beauty!  
I grew in your shadow, the sweetness  
of your hands bandaged my eyes,  
And here in the heart of summer and  
of noon, I discover you, promised  
land from the height of a burnt  
mountain,  
And your beauty strikes my heart, like  
the lightning of an eagle. ”

Like many nationalists, Senghor had completed his education in Europe. There he saw European strengths and weaknesses. He was horrified by the racism of German dictator Adolf Hitler, who attacked Jews and other minorities. Returning to Africa, Senghor became politically active. He served as Senegal's representative to the French National Assembly. After Senegal became independent in 1960, he served for 20 years as its president. Today Senghor ranks among the greatest leaders of Pan-Africanism.

## New Nations Emerge

As World War II ended, independence movements gained strength in both Africa and Asia. The war weakened colonial powers such as Britain and France. The Cold War also helped nationalists. The Soviet Union condemned imperialism and aided some nationalist movements. At the same time, the United States spoke out against colonialism. Slowly, some European nations saw that they must give up their colonial empires.

In 1950, Africa contained only four independent nations—Liberia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and South Africa. (In South Africa, a small white minority ruled over the black majority, who were denied the right to vote.) During the 1950s and 1960s, African demands for freedom led to the birth of many new nations.

**Ghana.** Most African nations won independence through largely peaceful means. In the Gold Coast, for example, Kwame Nkrumah organized strikes and boycotts to protest British rule. A *boycott* is a refusal to buy certain goods or services. Although the British jailed him for his actions, he achieved his goal. In 1957, Ghana became the first black African nation to win independence. Over the next decade, many former British and French colonies gained freedom. (See the map on page 110.)

**North Africa.** During the 1950s, the nations of Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco also won independence in a generally peaceful manner. By contrast, in 1954 a bitter war broke out in Algeria. Many French people had settled in Algeria. They considered Algeria to be a part of France. Algerian nationalists rejected this idea and fought hard for freedom. More than 100,000 Algerians and 10,000 French died in the eight-year struggle. In 1962, Algerians forced the French to withdraw.

**Kenya.** Fighting also broke out in other areas where large numbers of whites had settled. In Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta demanded political and economic reforms from the British. White settlers, however, wanted to protect their own rights. They opposed giving rights to blacks. Slowly, some Africans moved toward armed resistance, known as Mau Mau.





**A Presidential Visit** As the first president of Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor was one of the strongest supporters of African nationalism and independence. Here, citizens in the city of Abidjan, in Côte d'Ivoire, are welcoming President Senghor on a state visit. **Interdependence** Why are international relations important in Africa today?

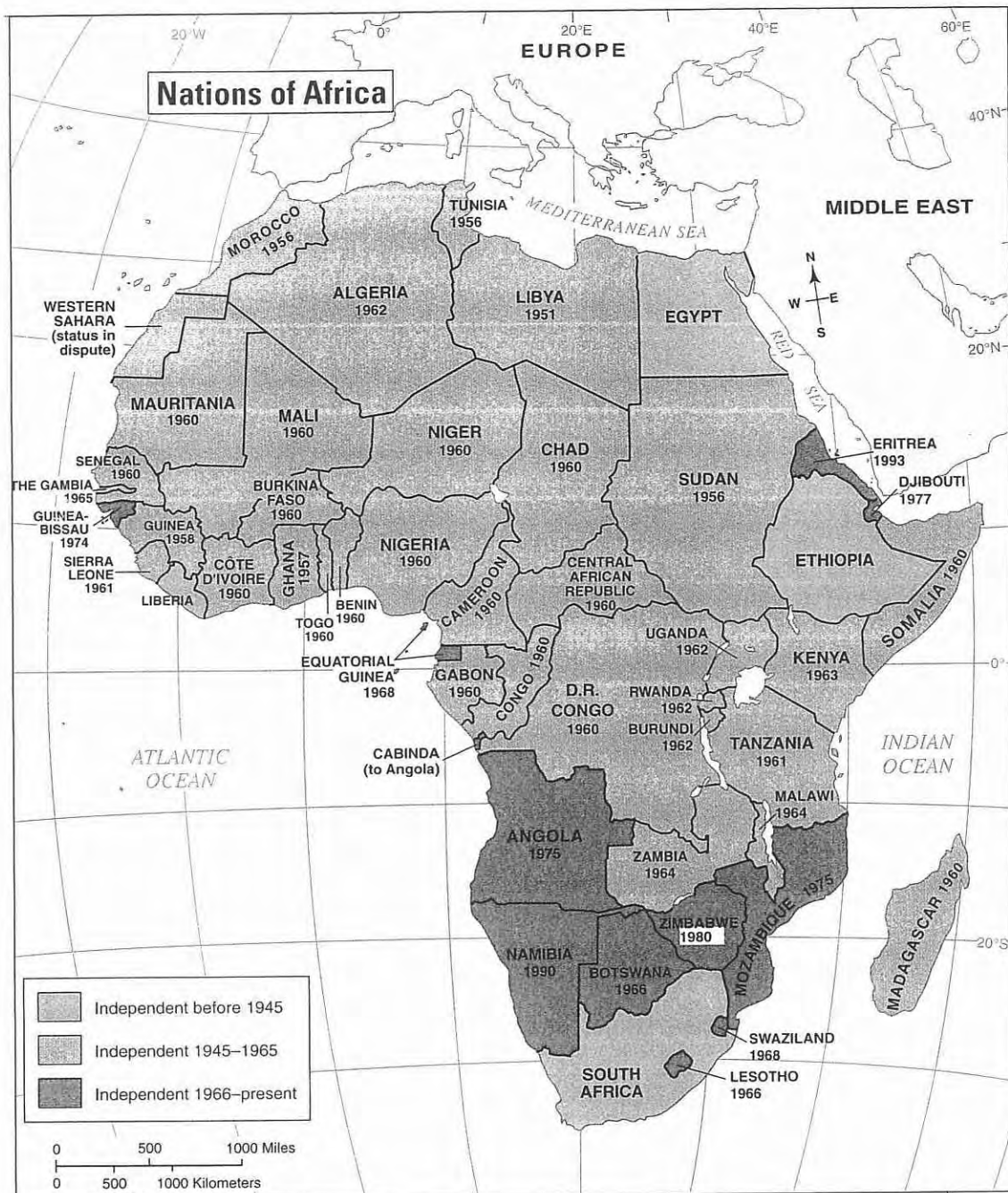
The British accused Kenyatta of leading secret Mau Mau groups that attacked white settlers. Kenyatta was imprisoned, but bloody fighting continued. Both sides committed acts of brutal violence. Most of the 1,300 people killed were Kikuyu, whose ancestors had migrated to the region in the 1400s. In 1964, the British finally agreed to withdraw. Kenyatta became the first president of Kenya.

**Southern Africa.** In Southern Africa, Portugal refused to give up its colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Nationalist groups in both colonies waged guerrilla wars against the Portuguese. In *guerrilla warfare*, small bands of fighters stage hit-and-run attacks against a

larger power. Angola and Mozambique finally won independence in 1975. In Chapter 6, you will read how blacks struggled for freedom in white-ruled South Africa.

### The Colonial Legacy

The effects of colonial rule lasted long after African nations won independence. Europeans left behind a legacy of anti-colonialism. They had ruled their colonies in the belief that European cultures were superior. Colonial rule also created in Africans the desire for modern technology and the same standard of living that Europeans enjoyed.



**MAP STUDY**

Today, Africa is a continent of 55 independent nations, most of which gained their independence in 1960 or soon thereafter.

- Place** Which nation was the first to win its independence after 1945?
- Region** In which region of Africa did most nations become independent after 1965?
- Drawing Conclusions** What changes transformed Africa into a continent of free and independent nations?

While creating high expectations, colonial rulers did little to prepare Africans for independence. They had replaced or weakened local leaders and disrupted the traditional economy. Although colonial rulers helped Africans set up the outward forms of democratic government, most new African nations had few experienced leaders.

As you have read, the new national boundaries were artificial creations of colonial powers. They included many rival ethnic groups. Sometimes borders divided people belonging to the same ethnic group. The Ewe people, for example, were split between Ghana and Togo. In addition, many new nations were small, with fewer than 10 million people. These nations would have difficulty meeting the economic needs of their people.

Colonial rulers had made some positive changes. As you have read, they built roads, bridges, and railroads, and they dredged harbors for seagoing ships. They set up schools and introduced new crops and farming methods. Although these changes were made for the benefit of the colonial powers, they did give the new nations a framework on which to build.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Locate:** (a) Ghana, (b) Algeria, (c) Kenya, (d) Angola, (e) Mozambique.
- 2. Identify:** (a) Pan-Africanism, (b) Léopold Sédar Senghor, (c) négritude movement, (d) Kwame Nkrumah, (e) Jomo Kenyatta.
- 3. Define:** (a) boycott, (b) guerrilla warfare.
- 4.** What were the goals of African nationalist leaders?
- 5.** Why were many African nations able to win independence after World War II?
- 6.** Describe three effects of colonial rule on African nations.
- 7. Understanding Causes and Effects** How did the négritude movement encourage African independence?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Imagine that you are W.E.B. Du Bois, an African American fighting for civil rights. Write an editorial explaining your support for Pan-Africanism.

## 2

# STEPS TOWARD DEVELOPMENT

### FIND OUT

What political challenges do African nations face?

How have African nations tried to solve their economic problems?

How has the population explosion strained Africa's resources?

**Vocabulary** secede, democratization, socialism, multinational corporation

“While the United States is trying to reach the moon, Tanzania is trying to reach its villages,” observed Julius Nyerere (nyuh RAIR ay) in the 1960s. Nyerere was Tanzania's first president. Like other African leaders, he wanted to unite the people of his nation, provide basic services, and end foreign influence.

At independence, Africans looked forward to a bright future. In cities, workers expected wages to rise. They wanted to be able to buy the goods that westerners enjoyed. In farming villages, people hoped that freedom would mean lower taxes and the chance to improve their lives. In the next decades, however, a number of forces created major stumbling blocks to progress. Yet, African nations remained determined to make good on the promises made at independence.

## Building Governments

After independence, African governments faced the challenge of building national unity. By tradition, Africans valued ties to families, villages, and ethnic groups. They felt little loyalty to distant national governments. Economic differences created further divisions. Some Africans lived in areas rich in resources. Others struggled to survive in poor farming or

herding regions. Such ethnic and economic divisions led to war in the Congo.

**Civil war.** In 1960, the Congo won independence from Belgium. The new nation included 14 million people from more than 200 separate groups. Under a hastily written constitution, six provinces of the former Belgian Congo were joined together. Each had its own economic interests, political parties, and leaders.

Regional and ethnic rivalries plunged the nation into civil war. Copper-rich Katanga province chose to *secede*, or break away, from the Congo. In 1965, military strongman Mobutu Sese Seko (moh BOO TOO SAY SAY SAY koh) seized power. He gave the country an African name, Zaire. In 1997, forces led by nationalist Laurent Kabila (luh RONH kah BEE lah) overthrew Mobutu's government. Kabila changed the nation's name to the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Other African nations have suffered the effects of civil war. In Ethiopia and Somalia, fighting disrupted farming in the late 1980s and early 1990s. This in turn contributed to famine in both nations. When tensions between ethnic groups turned deadly in Rwanda in 1994, more than two million refugees fled to neighboring countries. Civil wars that continued through the early 1990s also destroyed most of Liberia's economy.

**One-party rule.** The need to build national unity led some African leaders to set up one-party rule. They felt that having many parties encouraged divisions and wastefulness. One-party rule also reflected traditional African values of discussion and consensus within a community. In Tanzania, for example, Julius Nyerere argued that one-party rule could achieve democracy. Nyerere set up a system of choice within a single party. In each election district, voters could choose between two or more very different candidates from the same party.

**Military rule.** In a number of African nations, the military has stepped in to restore order and get rid of corrupt civilian leaders. Such military rulers often silence dissent and use harsh measures to stay in power.

Many Africans have welcomed military rule. To them, the test of government is not its support for democracy. Rather, the test is the government's success in developing the nation's economy. Does the government help workers earn more? Has it improved health care, set up schools, and provided seeds on time to farmers?

**Stability and progress.** Countries that have made the most economic progress since independence are those with stable governments. Since 1960, President Félix Houphouët-Boigny (fay LEEKS OO FWAY bwah NYEE) has ruled the Côte d'Ivoire (KOHT dee VWAH) with a strong hand. During much of that time, the economy grew. Under tight political control, Gabon, Cameroon, and Kenya also made economic gains.

Beginning in the late 1980s, many African nations joined the worldwide trend toward *democratization*, or the move toward multi-party systems. Several nations held multiparty elections. In Benin, a civilian candidate defeated the general who had ruled for 19 years. Elsewhere, voters returned longtime leaders to power.

## Economic Systems

As they experimented with various forms of government, independent nations of Africa also experimented with various economic systems. One key issue has been how much control the government should have over the economy.

**African socialism.** Some African nations, such as Tanzania, set up socialist governments. Under *socialism*, the government owns and operates major businesses and controls other parts of the economy. Many Africans felt that the state could direct the economy to meet the basic needs of food, housing, and health care. They also saw socialism as a way to end special privileges and bring about equality. Just as important, socialism rejected colonialism.

The socialist experiment had few successes. In the 1970s, Nyerere set up a socialist system in Tanzania. He tried to achieve equality

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**Building New Nations**

After independence, African countries had to establish national governments and set up schools, hospitals, and other services for their people. Villagers in Zambia (above) learn about nutrition. Voters in Namibia (right) take part in electing government leaders. **Choice** Why do political systems differ among the many nations of Africa?



and self-reliance through strict government control of the economy. Although Tanzania did avoid the corruption that plagued other nations, its economy suffered because world market prices for its exports dropped.

**Mixed economies.** Today, most African nations have mixed economies. The governments exercise control over many aspects of

business, but they also encourage private investment.

A major goal of African nations is to build factories and produce goods for their own use. In this way, they hope to reduce dependence on foreign imports. To obtain capital, they have turned to multinational corporations, huge enterprises with branches

in many countries. Multinational corporations have invested in mining and large agricultural operations. Some people see them as simply replacing colonial powers in the economic system. They make profits from exporting African crops and commodities.

Most of those profits, however, flow out of Africa. Government leaders want to limit the amount of money leaving their countries. Therefore, some nations keep at least 51 percent of control over key industries.

## Economic Choices and Challenges

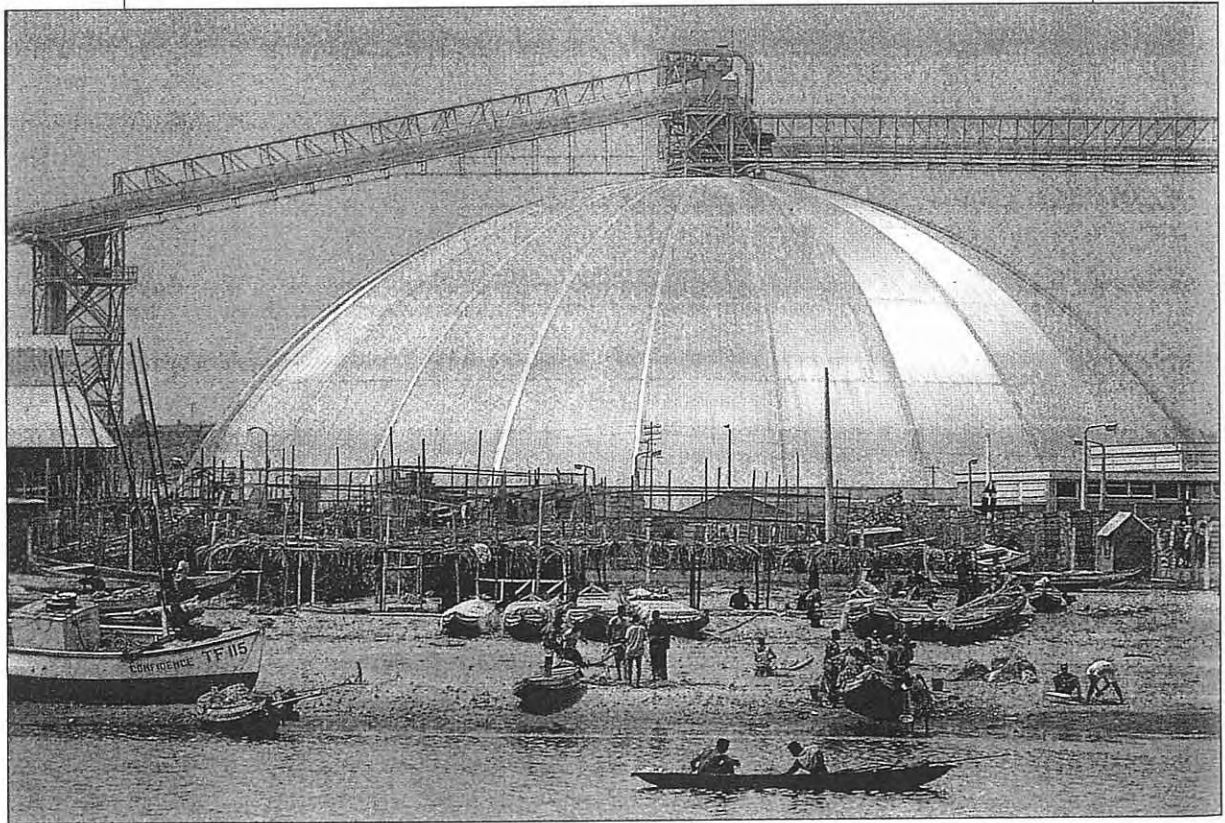
As you read in Chapter 2, developing nations everywhere share similar economic goals. They want to improve agriculture and build modern industrial economies. They also

want to become economically self-sufficient and to end foreign domination.

**Developing agriculture.** Although most Africans are subsistence farmers, government programs often neglect their needs. Instead, most programs focus on cash crops for export. As a result, farmers have stopped planting food crops and have grown crops for export. Governments also have kept prices for food crops low. This policy helps poorly paid city workers to buy food. Farmers, however, suffer from low prices. Many have left the land to join swelling city populations.

Rapid population growth and unpredictable rainfall also cause problems for farmers. In the past, farmers cleared and planted the same land for a number of years. They then moved on to other land, leaving the soil to renew itself. With a growing population, pressure on the land is constant. Land is

**Industrial Development** The developing nations of Africa have worked steadily to industrialize. Ghana built the huge Volta River Dam project to generate electricity. With that energy source, it could then develop industries like the aluminum-producing complex shown here. **Choice** How does a nation benefit by developing its industries?



quickly exhausted and there are fewer areas to plant.

After years of good rainfall, much of Africa was hit by a series of severe droughts beginning in the 1970s. Crops withered and herds died or were killed because there was no food for them. Millions of people faced starvation. In drought-stricken countries such as Ethiopia and Somalia, civil war further disrupted life.

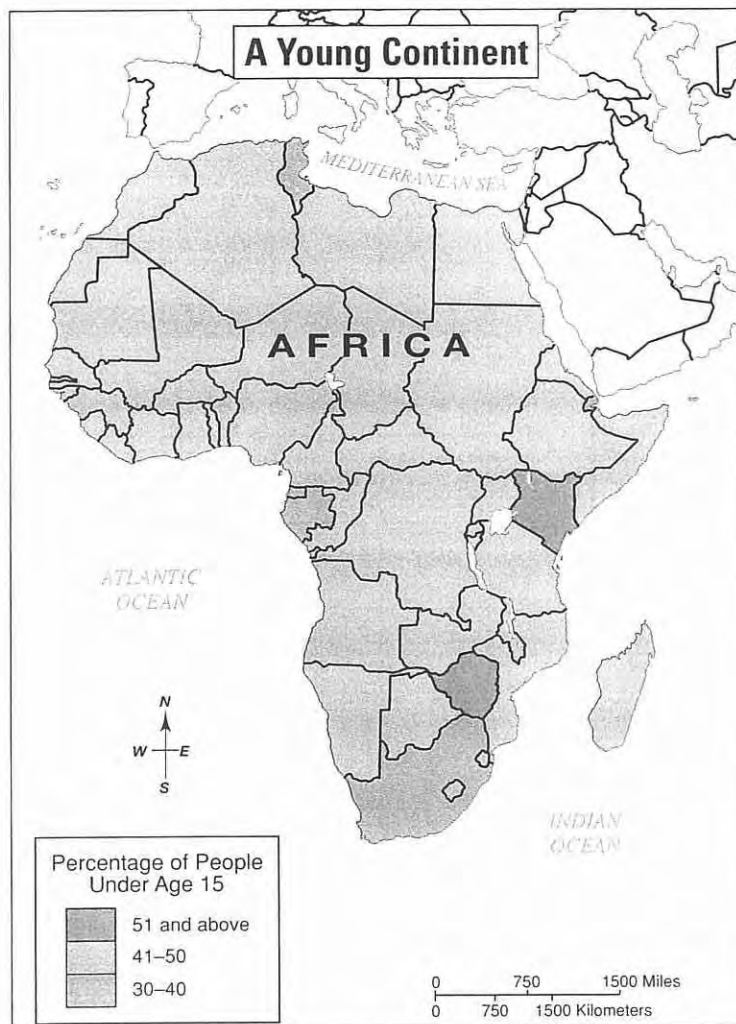
**Economic dependence.** A major goal of African nations is reducing economic dependence. Because they rely heavily on the export of a single crop or commodity, they are at the mercy of world market prices. African nations, such as Egypt and Kenya, have tried to diversify their exports, but they face stiff competition from developing nations in Asia and Latin America.

African nations have tried to limit costly imports, which cut into their national earnings. Only a few African nations produce enough oil for their factories and transportation systems. The other nations must spend large sums on imported oil. When world oil prices soared in the 1970s, most African nations had to pay huge sums for imported oil. At the same time, prices fell for many African exports. To make up the difference, African nations borrowed heavily. They expected to repay their debts once prices for their exports recovered, but prices remained low. Then in the 1980s interest rates rose, leading to a severe debt crisis. (See page 40.)

African consumers want western-made goods such as cars and televisions. Factories, too, need parts and machines made in industrial countries. In the 1990s, some African nations took steps to limit foreign imports and support local industries.

### The Population Explosion

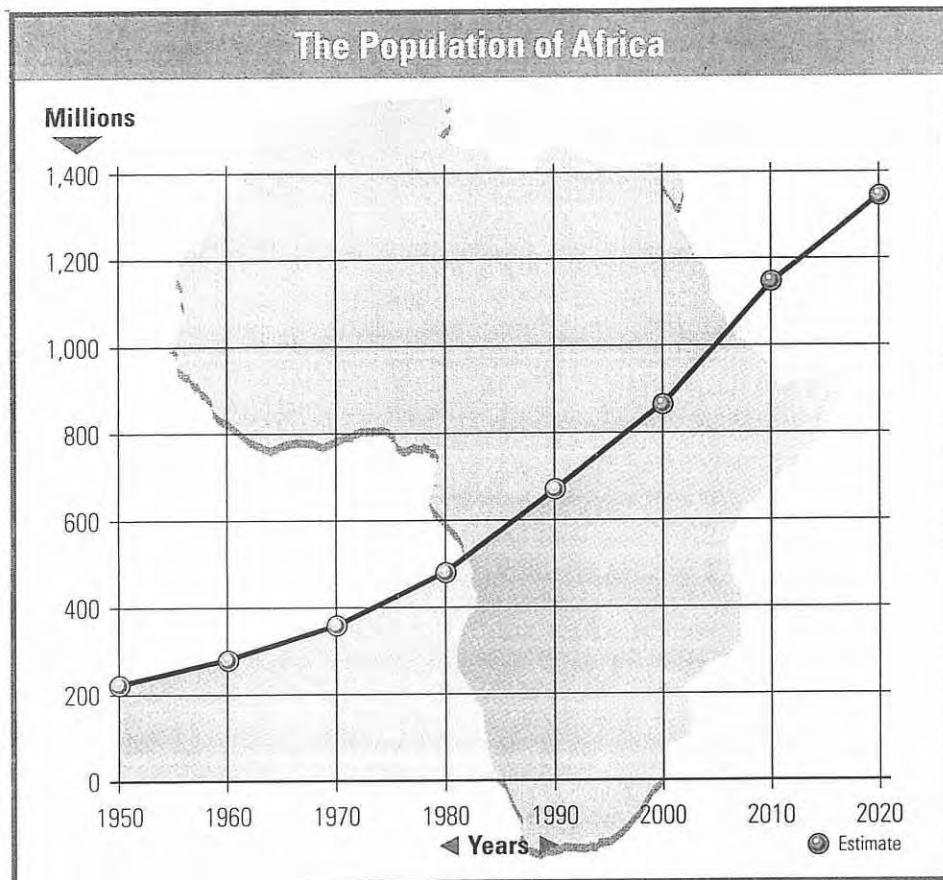
Since independence, birth rates in Africa have risen. At the same time, better health care has slowed the death rate. The result is soaring populations in some countries. By the late 1990s, the population of Africa was about 763 million. At the current growth rate, it will double by the year 2025.



### MAP STUDY

The population of Africa numbers about 763 million and is expected to double in less than 30 years. Today, nearly half the people of Africa are under the age of 15.

- 1. Location** (a) What percentage of people are under the age of 15 in most of Africa? (b) In what regions of Africa are people generally older?
- 2. Place** (a) Using the map on page 57, in what two countries are more than 50 percent of the people under 15? (b) In what countries are 30-40 percent of the people under the age of 15?
- 3. Forecasting** (a) What challenges may face African nations because of the population explosion? (b) How do you think these nations might meet those challenges?



**Graph Skills** Africa's population is increasing rapidly and now has one of the fastest growth rates in the world. ▶ Study the graph and make a generalization about population increase in Africa from 1950 to 1990. Make a generalization about the estimated future increase from 1990 to 2020. Why do you think these statistics are important to government planners?

Source: Population Reference Bureau

African traditions encourage large families. Children are seen as a valuable resource to the family. "Each extra mouth comes attached to two extra hands," notes a West African saying.

The population explosion in Africa has created many problems for government leaders and economic planners. Half of the people of Africa are under 15 years old. Governments have to find money for schools, housing, and jobs for these young people. Also, because good farmland is scarce in Africa, more and more people are crowding into cities.

The strains caused by the population boom are leading some people to change their ideas about family size. In cities, people may choose to have fewer children. Some governments are providing family planning information and health services. Economic hard times in the 1990s, however, have forced governments to spend less on such programs.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) D.R. Congo, (b) Tanzania, (c) Côte d'Ivoire.
2. **Identify:** (a) Mobutu Sese Seko, (b) Julius Nyerere, (c) Félix Houphouët-Boigny.
3. **Define:** (a) secede, (b) democratization, (c) socialism, (d) multinational corporation.
4. Describe two political problems facing African nations.
5. Why did socialism appeal to many Africans?
6. Describe how rapid population growth strains limited resources in Africa.
7. **Defending a Position** Would you agree that developing agriculture is as important as building industry? Why or why not?
8. **Writing Across Cultures** Reread the quotation at the beginning of this section. Write a paragraph explaining what Julius Nyerere meant.



### 3

## CHANGING PATTERNS OF LIFE

### FIND OUT

How is urbanization affecting African societies?

How are the lives of women and rural people changing?

Why are schools a source for cultural change?

“At first I couldn’t keep the tractor going in a straight line,” recalled Gilda Mohlanga. “But each day I got a bit better.” Soon, Mohlanga was plowing fields. “I got very excited and I would think: ‘Goodness, I can drive a tractor! We women can do this kind of work!’”

Mohlanga works on a state-owned farm in Mozambique. Women have traditionally done most of the farm work in Africa. Under European rule, however, African men raised cash crops. Women still grew food for the family. After independence, men guarded their jobs in the cash economy. To encourage equality between men and women, Mozambique hired women to work on farms.

Modern technology, such as tractors, is bringing change to African societies. The greatest changes are occurring in the growing cities.

### Growth of Cities

The population explosion and the growth of industry have contributed to rapid urbanization. Although some African cities have existed for hundreds of years, they remained relatively small. Today, city populations are soaring. In 1990, only 22 percent of Africans lived in cities. By 2025, about 54 percent of Africans will live in urban areas.

Cairo, Egypt, had a population of 3.7 million in 1960. By 1995, the population topped 11 million. Dakar, Senegal, is expected to grow from 1 million people in 1990 to 5 million by 2000. During the same period, the population of Nairobi, Kenya, will grow from 2 million to 5 million.

Why do people migrate from farms to cities? Rural poverty is driving millions of people to give up farming. These displaced farmers want the benefits of urban life such as better jobs, improved housing, better schools, and more health care. Cities also offer a wide range of activities, from markets and stores to sporting events and discos. Young people enjoy greater freedom in cities than in villages.

Despite their attractions, cities have a bleak side. Jobs are scarce. Many people do not have money to buy the goods shown in stores or to see the movies advertised on billboards. They live in sprawling shantytowns that have grown up around the cities.

### Up Close

#### A Long Trek to Work

Six days a week, Mutombo Kinaoudi sets out on foot for work. Mutombo\* lives in a shantytown outside Kinshasa, Congo’s capital city. “I walk because I can’t afford 25 zaires [about 12 cents] to pay for the bus,” says Mutombo. With his weekly earnings of \$9, he must buy food, clothing, and other necessities for himself and his family.

For almost two hours, Mutombo treks along dirt roads. Government-owned buses stuffed to overflowing pass him by. Because the government cannot buy more buses, owners of private vehicles fill in. Trucks, called *fula-fulas*, load up with dozens of passengers. The last riders to squeeze onto the truck stand on the bumpers.

As Mutombo nears the city, the dirt roads become paved streets. Here, he walks by the heavily guarded homes of Kinshasa’s rich. As in cities everywhere, the wealthy people of

\* In some African societies, a person’s family name is given first. Mutombo is this man’s family name.



**Commuting Workers** Demand for public transportation has outstripped the government's ability to provide it. As a result, some workers must take the "fula-fulas," trucks converted into buses by private individuals. Many workers can barely afford the fare, which amounts to pennies a day.

**Change** What problems face workers newly arrived in the city from the countryside?

Kinshasa live in fine homes. They have green lawns, shade trees, and well-lighted streets.

Finally, Mutombo reaches the international hotel where he works as a car-park attendant. He has walked six miles.

Like all African cities, Kinshasa has grown rapidly. By the mid 1990s, its population topped 4 million people. The Congolese government cannot afford to pave roads or extend sewers, water, and electricity outside the city. In the shantytowns, people like Mutombo build homes out of scrap metal, cardboard, and dried clay bricks. A family may live in one or two rooms. They rent space to others, often relatives newly arrived from the country.

Like his neighbors, Mutombo dreams of moving into a better neighborhood. The next

step up might be a government-built bungalow with a water spigot outside. Such a home would be an improvement. Most shantytown residents get their untreated water from shallow wells. ■

### Effects of Urbanization

The growth of cities is helping to reshape African societies. A new urban elite has emerged. In colonial days, the elite were the white colonial officials and business owners. Today, the elite are Africans with top jobs in government and business. Wealth, education, and power set them apart from others.

Most cities have a small middle class that includes people with a high school education.

They might be clerks in government offices or factory supervisors. The great majority of city dwellers, however, are poor workers who earn barely enough to get by.

**Changes in the family.** Urbanization is changing family life. In cities, people tend to live in nuclear families rather than in extended families. Traditional bonds of lineage and kinship are weakening. The longer people live in cities, the less attached they feel to their ancestors and to the land.

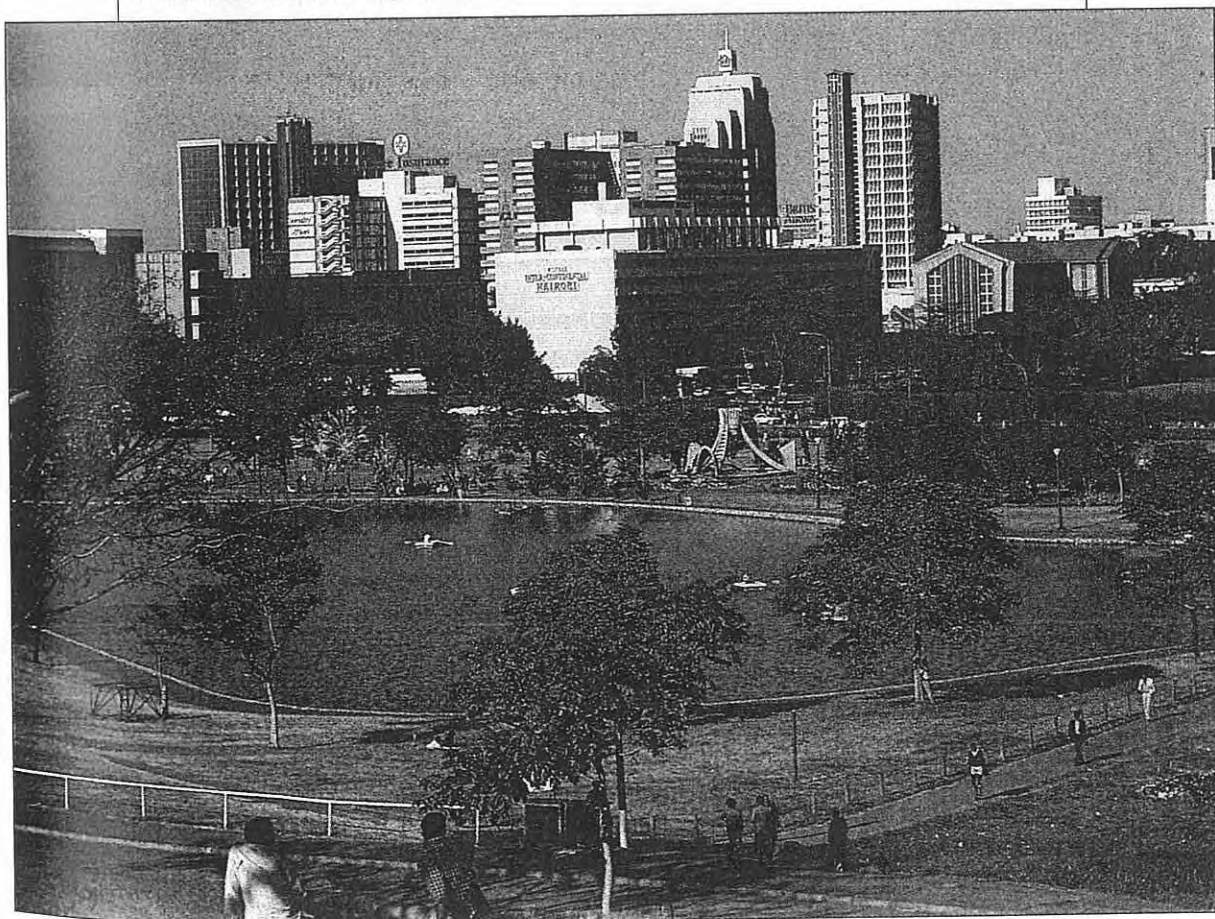
Despite changes, the old bonds remain strong. Often a family member goes to the city and finds a job. Soon, other family members follow. The newcomers add a strain

because they have no money or jobs, but their relatives feel responsible for helping them.

Among the wealthier and better educated, marriage customs are changing. Instead of accepting arranged marriages, as was common in the past, more young people choose their own mates. Such marriages further weaken family ties.

**Westernization.** Many young people in Africa dream of romantic marriages like those shown in western movies and soap operas. Western culture and technology are everywhere in the cities. Many Africans welcome the benefits of western technology but warn against the dangers of westernization. To

**Nairobi, Kenya** Urbanization is bringing many changes to African societies. Nairobi, shown here, is Kenya's capital and largest city. Its location and mild climate have contributed to its rapid growth. Today, the city has a population of 2 million people and is a hub of commerce and industry. **Change** Describe ways in which cities like Nairobi are transforming Africa.



them, western culture glorifies individual desires and material goods at the expense of the community. They urge Africans to preserve traditional values of family and group loyalty.

**Religion.** Those who reject westernization include many Islamic leaders. In the 1980s, a religious revival swept across the Islamic areas of Africa as well as the Middle East. This revival called for strict obedience to the laws of the Koran. The Islamic revival has had a great impact on North African nations such as Libya, Sudan, and Egypt. It has not, however, gained much support in sub-Saharan Africa.

Since the early 1900s, numerous "independent" Christian churches have arisen in Africa. These churches blend Christian and local African religious beliefs. They have great appeal to many Africans. Religious groups have sometimes mobilized their followers to achieve important social reforms.

The growth of Christian churches has been rapid. By the next century, Africa may have more Christians than any other continent.

### Women's Lives

Throughout Africa, women are gaining legal rights. In Ethiopia and Kenya, new laws allow women to own and inherit property. Recent laws in the Côte d'Ivoire outlawed polygamy and payment of a bride price.

Governments are also beginning to support programs to help women obtain technical training and jobs. Women in cities have an opportunity to enter the money economy. A growing number are taking jobs as clerks, salespeople, and bankers. In Zimbabwe and several other African nations, a few women have risen to high-level government jobs.

Despite new laws, however, most women's lives have changed little. In rural areas, women are still the main food producers. In much of Africa, they raise two thirds of the food.

Today, as in the past, a woman rises at dawn and spends 10 to 15 hours completing basic tasks. She feeds her children, weeds the fields, chases off animals that raid crops, and

collects wood for fuel. Besides raising food for her family, she helps her husband grow cash crops.

Preparing food takes hours. Women must pound millet or sorghum into flour. Even though packaged foods are available, few rural women can afford them. Women must spend much time getting water. One man in Tanzania noted,

“Water is a big problem for women. We can sit here all day waiting for food because there is no woman at home. Always they are going to fetch water.”

As this quotation shows, attitudes about the role of women are very slow to change. African women today are organizing politically to change such attitudes.

### Rural Patterns

Despite the migration to the cities, most Africans still live in rural areas. Many farmers continue to use non-mechanized farming tools such as hoes, but they want the benefits of technology. "My biggest desire is to acquire a seeding and weeding machine," remarked a man in Gambia. A Nigerian woman said, "If I could have modern implements to clear, till, and plant my farm, I would have more energy and time for house chores."

Technology is changing herding and fishing societies, too. Owners of meat-packing factories are trying to convince herders to sell more of their cattle for cash. Some herders have done so, but many refuse. They view cattle, not money, as a symbol of wealth. People in fishing societies are using motorized boats to fish on lakes and along seacoasts. With refrigeration, their catches can be sent to distant markets.

### Schools and Universities

Schools are another force for cultural change. All African governments support programs to increase literacy and to give people job skills. Through education, too, leaders



**A Planned Village** In most African villages, people follow traditional ways of life. Some governments created new forms of villages. In these, distribution of farmland, houses, roads, and railroads was designed to benefit the village as a whole.

**Culture** What goods and services did the government have to supply if planned villages were to be successful?

hope to encourage a sense of national unity. Before the 1960s, only a small percentage of African children went to school. By building schools and training teachers, governments have made progress toward increasing literacy.

Schools face many challenges, however. Many students drop out after a few years. Recently, economic hardships have forced governments to cut spending on schools. A teacher might have 100 students in a classroom without enough desks, chairs, books, or chalkboards. Many teachers themselves have little training beyond elementary school.

Only a few students attend high schools or universities. Most African governments, however, pay the cost for each student. These governments recognize the need to educate future leaders.

The number of universities in Africa has risen from 6 in 1960 to 80 in 1990. Most universities lack adequate equipment, libraries, and supplies. Professors earn from \$15 to \$85 a week. Students live in crowded, tiny dormitory rooms since most cannot afford private housing off campus. Despite the difficulties, students share a sense of community and are determined to get an education.

## SECTION 3 REVIEW

1. Describe three changes brought about by rapid urbanization.
2. Why do some Africans oppose westernization?
3. (a) How are women's lives changing?  
(b) How do traditional ways still shape their lives?
4. How can education lead to social change?
5. **Analyzing Information** An African saying states, "An old man is one who remembers when people were more important than machines." What does this saying show about the changes taking place in African societies?
6. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph describing the similarities between the effects of urbanization in the United States and in African countries.

## 4

### NIGERIA

#### FIND OUT

How has geography affected Nigeria's economy?

How have regionalism and nationalism affected Nigeria?

Why did the military take power in Nigeria?

What economic progress has Nigeria achieved?

**Vocabulary** ethnicity

Christy Essien-Igbokwe is Nigeria's most popular woman singer. On stage, she sometimes sings in French. Then she switches to one of the four Nigerian languages she speaks. (Like most Africans, she is fluent in several local languages.) At other times, she sings in a form of English used by some Nigerians. In her song "My People," she urges:

66 No matter who you be  
Ooooh  
No matter your job  
Ooooh  
Come on everybody  
Let we build Nigeria now. 99

Nigeria is one of the largest and richest nations in Africa. It is also the most populous. In fact, one out of every six Africans is Nigerian. Size, resources, and population combine to make Nigeria a powerful force in West Africa. By looking at Nigeria's experience since independence, you can see many of the challenges facing the nations of Africa.

### Geography and People

Nigeria lies in the tropics, just north of the Equator. The hot, wet climate of southern Nigeria supports large rain forests. This resource gives Nigeria an active lumber industry. Farther north, the forests give way to wooded savanna and grasslands. There, people have developed farming and herding societies.

Nigeria has mineral resources such as tin, iron, and coal. Its most valuable resource, though, is oil. Machines work night and day pumping oil from wells along the coastal lowlands and offshore. Oil has brought both wealth and troubles to Nigeria, as you will read.

Nigeria takes its name from the Niger River. Along with the Benue River, the Niger provides water for irrigation and serves as a transportation route. The rivers also divide the country into three regions, roughly matching its largest ethnic groups. Northern Nigeria is home to the Muslim Hausa and Fulani people. In the southwest are the Yoruba, and in the southeast live the Ibo. Many southerners are Christians or follow traditional religious beliefs.

Many smaller ethnic groups are scattered throughout the country. In all, Nigeria is home to more than 250 ethnic groups who speak 12 major languages. **Ethnicity**, or attachment to one's own ethnic group, and regional loyalties play an important role in shaping Nigeria today.

## Political Development

Before the Age of Imperialism, many diverse groups lived in what is today Nigeria. Some, such as the Yoruba, Hausa, and Fulani, created powerful states. As you read in Chapter 4, the forest kingdom of Benin flourished in this region. Other people, such as the Ibo, lived in small, self-governing villages.

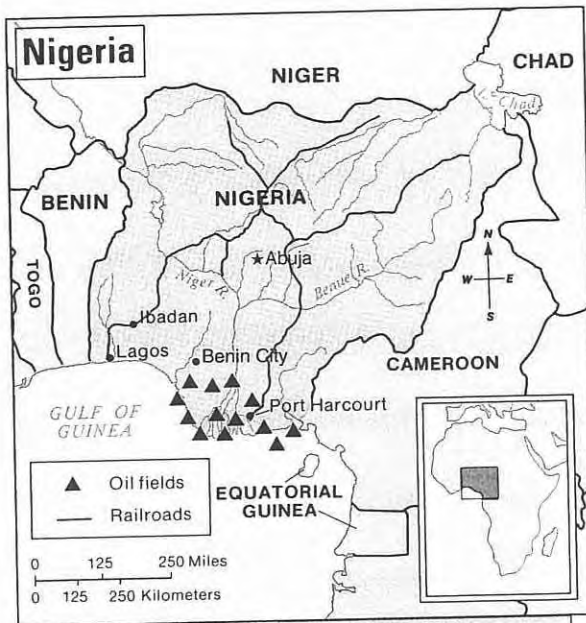
In the late 1800s, the British annexed lands in West Africa. Many local rulers strongly resisted British rule. Eventually, the British set up the colony of Nigeria. They carved out plantations to produce cash crops such as cocoa, cotton, palm oil, and peanuts.

**The road to independence.** Despite British domination, resistance continued. In 1929, market women in eastern Nigeria led violent protests against foreign rule. After World War II, Nigerian nationalism grew stronger. Each main region had its own political party, representing the region's major ethnic group. The nationalist leader Nnamdi Azikiwe (eh-n NAHM dee ah zee KAY way) called for regional parties to unite and form a national party. Slowly, Nigerians gained greater rights. In 1960, they finally achieved independence.

**Tragic divisions.** Religious, economic, and ethnic divisions flared after independence. These divisions led to a tragic civil war. The Ibo in the southeast felt that the Muslim Hausa-Fulani dominated Nigeria. The Ibo also wanted to keep control of the rich oil fields in their region. In 1967, the Ibo seceded. They set up the independent Republic of Biafra.

In the brutal war that followed, Nigeria's central government blockaded Biafra. More than 1 million Biafrans may have died of starvation. In 1970, a defeated Biafra rejoined Nigeria. Today, despite efforts to build national unity, regional loyalties remain strong. Nigerians do not, however, foresee another civil war. (See Connections With Literature, page 804, "Civil Peace.")

**Civilian and military rule.** A Nigerian saying, "Soldier go, soldier come," echoes the country's experience. Since independence, the government has moved back and forth between civilian and military rule. At times, the military won support by promis-



### MAP STUDY

Nigeria is one of Africa's largest nations and has the largest population, with about 125 million people. Nigeria also has rich natural resources of oil, coal, iron ore, and tin.

- 1. Location** (a) Where are most of Nigeria's main cities located? (b) Which two cities are less than 100 miles apart?
- 2. Interaction** Why have railroads been important in developing Nigeria's economy?
- 3. Applying Information** What advantages does Nigeria's location offer in developing its resources and promoting world trade?

ing to end corruption and mismanagement. Yet military rulers, too, were caught up in corruption.

In 1993, Nigeria's military ruler allowed elections but then canceled the results. As protests increased, the military cracked down on critics. It even executed a well-known author and environmentalist, Ken Saro-Wiwa. That action led to a world outcry and renewed demands for democracy.

After 15 years of military rule, Nigerians were finally allowed to elect a president in 1999. Olusegun Obasanjo, a former general with strong ties to the military, won. Still, supporters of democracy hoped for a peaceful return to civilian rule.

## Economic Development

Nigeria has had mixed success in developing its economy. Early on, civil war disrupted the economy. Then, the oil boom of the 1970s brought spectacular riches. The government borrowed heavily to develop industry and agriculture. It built schools and raised its literacy rate.

Oil wealth had a negative side, though. It contributed to corruption and greatly increased the gap between rich and poor. Massive borrowing also left Nigeria deeply in debt. When oil prices fell, the nation did not have money to repay its loans.

Nigeria's new civilian government faced severe economic problems. Low oil prices in the 1990s hurt government income. Unemployment sparked protests. Unrest was spreading in oil-producing areas. Residents there were angry about pollution. Also, few had seen any benefits from Nigeria's oil riches.

**Industry and agriculture.** The Nigerian government plays a large role in the economy because it owns many key industries. Private businesses also operate but are not very strong. During the oil boom years, Nigeria developed a range of industries, from automobile assembly plants to steel mills and petrochemical plants.

Despite the growth of industry, most Nigerians still make a living from the land. Farmers produce cash crops such as cotton, palm oil, coca, and kola nuts. Nigeria also exports rubber, coffee, and timber.

As more people moved to cities, Nigerians bought more imported wheat and rice instead of locally grown foods like millet and sorghum. Wheat and rice imports hurt local farmers who could not sell their food crops. Efforts to change this trend have had limited success.

Nigeria's future depends on making major economic reforms to end corruption

**Nigerian Oil Drilling** Nigeria has the largest oil deposits of any African nation. Oil produced from wells, like the one offshore shown here, accounts for more than 90 percent of the nation's exports. Nigeria has used its oil wealth to begin to industrialize its economy. **Choice** How might the people and the government disagree about how income from oil should be spent?





and waste. When the International Monetary Fund recently released loans to Nigeria, it pushed the government to focus on programs to relieve poverty, not just on highly visible building projects.

### Population Growth

Nigeria's population numbers about 125 million. Experts predict it may double by the year 2025. Like much of Africa, a large percentage of Nigeria's population is under 15 years old. In the years ahead, Nigeria must not only feed but also educate and provide jobs for these young people.

Many younger Nigerians prefer to live in cities such as Lagos. The government, however, is trying to encourage people to remain on farms. Michael Ibru, the son of a privileged family, is setting an example for others. He founded a fish business to provide a source of low-cost protein to city dwellers. He has also diversified his business into poultry.

### Music and Literature

The many traditions of Nigeria's diverse people are evident in the arts. Today, artisans in Benin City turn out fine bronze sculptures similar to those their ancestors made hundreds of years ago.

In dance halls and on street corners, bands play juju music based on the traditional "talking drums." A talking drum has special features that allow the drummer to vary the pitch. In that way, the drummer can imitate the tones of African languages.

Nigerian band leaders such as King Sunny Ade (AH day) and Fela Anikulapo Kuti have won international fame. Ade's music weaves together the sounds of steel guitars, rhythm guitars, synthesizers, maracas, and talking drums. Kuti's band blends traditional African rhythms and American jazz.

Novelists and playwrights have also found inspiration in traditional cultures. *Things Fall Apart*, a novel by Chinua Achebe (CHIHN wah ah CHEE bee), reveals the tragic effects of European rule on a Nigerian village. (See page 144.) In 1986, Nigeria's leading playwright,



**Contemporary African Music** Music has always been a vital part of Africa's heritage. Today, African musicians play for a worldwide audience. Nigerian band leader King Sunny Ade, shown here, combines the music of traditional instruments like "talking drums" and maracas with the sounds of high-tech synthesizers and steel guitars.

**Culture** How can music bring better understanding among peoples?

Wole Soyinka, became the first African to win the Nobel Prize for Literature. His play *A Dance of the Forests* tells of the relationship between spirits, ghosts, and Ogun, one of the powerful gods of the Yoruba people. ( See Connections With Literature, page 804, "Civilian and Soldier.")

## SECTION 4 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) Nigeria, (b) Niger River, (c) Benue River, (d) Lagos.
2. **Identify:** (a) Nnamdi Azikiwe, (b) Biafra, (c) Ken Saro-Wiwa, (d) Chinua Achebe.
3. **Define:** ethnicity.
4. How have natural resources played a role in Nigeria's development?
5. Why have some Nigerians supported military rule?
6. What success has Nigeria had in developing its economy?
7. **Linking Past and Present** Why do you think Nigerians feel more loyalty to ethnic groups than to the national government?
8. **Writing Across Cultures** Write a paragraph explaining a similarity or difference between a cause of civil war in Nigeria and a cause of the American Civil War.

## 5

### ZIMBABWE

#### FIND OUT

What geographic features have shaped Zimbabwe?

How did Zimbabwe achieve independence?

How has Zimbabwe promoted tolerance?

**Vocabulary** economic sanctions

“Our ancestor Nehanda died with these words on her lips, ‘I’m dying for this country.’ She left us one word of advice, ‘Take up arms and liberate yourselves.’”

In the 1890s, Nehanda and her husband were captured and executed for resisting British rule. Her courage inspired young

freedom fighters in the 1970s. Like Nehanda, they wanted to end white rule over what is today Zimbabwe. The poem “Take Up Arms and Liberate Yourselves” became their anthem. As you will read, modern-day Zimbabweans succeeded in winning independence in 1980.

Compared to Nigeria, Zimbabwe is a small country. Its population numbers about 11 million. In area, it is less than half the size of Nigeria. Yet today Zimbabwe is as important to Southern Africa as Nigeria is to West Africa.

### Geography and People

Zimbabwe is a landlocked nation. Goods must be sent overland through neighboring countries. In colonial days, most trade passed through white-ruled South Africa. Since independence, Zimbabwe has tried to reopen rail and road routes through Mozambique. It has also sent troops to help Mozambique defeat rebels who have damaged roads and railroads.

**Resources.** Geography has influenced Zimbabwe in many ways. The country is mostly high plateau with a mild climate and regular wet and dry seasons. In level areas, Zimbabweans grow cash crops such as tobacco and cotton. They also produce food crops such as corn. Unlike other African nations, Zimbabwe has faced the threat of drought only once. In the early 1980s, drought greatly reduced food output for two seasons.

Zimbabwe has rich mineral deposits, including chromium, coal, copper, nickel, and gold. Those resources have helped the country to develop economically. An excellent system of roads and railroads links different parts of the country. In addition, Zimbabwe uses the Kariba Dam to harness the energy of the Zambezi River.

**Ethnic groups.** Zimbabwe has fewer ethnic divisions than Nigeria. About 80 percent of the people are Shona. Another 19 percent are Ndebele (ehn duh BEH leh). Each group has its own language. Whites, Asians, and people of mixed race make up a small portion of the population.

Although ethnic rivalries exist, Zimbabwe's leaders have limited their effects. The goal of the independence struggle was to force the minority white rulers to turn over the government to the majority black population.

### The Road to Independence

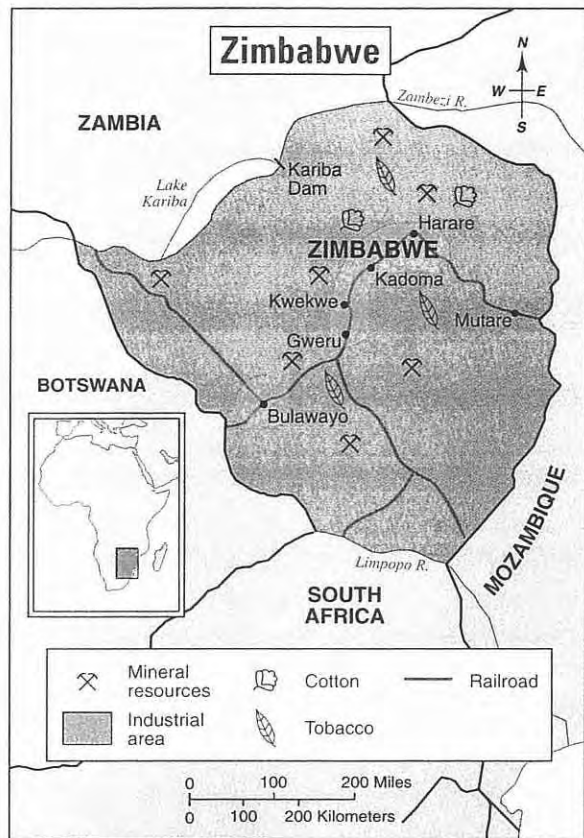
Zimbabwe was the center of an ancient gold-trading kingdom. In the period between 800 and 1300, local people traded with the cities of East Africa. (See page 84.) In the 1500s, the Portuguese tried unsuccessfully to set up a colony and mine gold in the region. Not until the late 1890s did the British manage to build a colony in what is today Zimbabwe.

**Rhodesia.** The British called their colony Rhodesia, after Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes was a businessman who promoted imperialism in Africa. Thousands of white settlers migrated to Rhodesia. They took over the best land and set up large plantations to grow cash crops. The British also used African labor to develop the mineral resources of Rhodesia.

In the 1960s, independent nations were emerging across Africa. Britain took steps to move Rhodesia toward black majority rule. White Rhodesians objected to these moves. They were determined to hold onto power even though they made up less than 5 percent of the population. In 1965, they issued their own declaration of independence.

**Taking action.** Other nations did not recognize the independence of Rhodesia. The United Nations condemned the actions of the white-led government. The UN also imposed economic sanctions. That is, they called on member nations to stop trading with Rhodesia. Although the sanctions hurt the economy, the minority government clung to power.

By the 1970s, several black nationalist groups had launched a guerrilla war to win freedom. The fighting continued through the decade, taking more than 20,000 lives. Finally, all sides agreed to negotiation. In 1980, the nationalists achieved their goal. Rhodesia was renamed Zimbabwe.



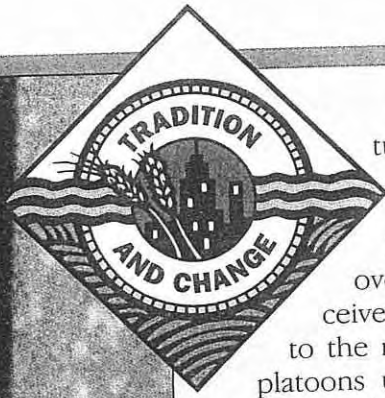
### MAP STUDY

Zimbabwe is a small nation in Southern Africa, with a population of about 11 million. It has abundant mineral resources of chromium, copper, gold, nickel, and coal, as well as fertile farmland.

- 1. Location** Describe the relative location of Harare.
- 2. Interaction** (a) What cash crops are grown in Zimbabwe? (b) How are crops and mineral resources transported to the industrial areas?
- 3. Drawing Conclusions** (a) Why is Zimbabwe described as a "landlocked country"? (b) What are the disadvantages of such a location?

### Rebuilding the Nation

A leader of the independence struggle was Robert Mugabe (moo GAH beh). After his party won a majority in the national elections, he formed a government. Mugabe urged blacks and whites to set aside differences and



## Linda Mutondoro, Guerrilla Commander

Many women took an active part in the struggle to win independence for Zimbabwe. Linda Mutondoro, a guerrilla leader, rose to become a skillful company commander. Commitment to her country's freedom propelled her far beyond the traditional role of a woman in Africa.

In 1976, thousands of Zimbabweans traveled to neighboring Mozambique. There, men and women were trained in guerrilla warfare to fight the army of Rhodesia. Although she was only 15 years old, Mutondoro left school to join the struggle. She walked for days to reach the military camps in Mozambique. Twice during her training, Mutondoro survived massacres by Rhodesian forces. Artillery and aircraft fire killed thousands of Zimbabwean soldiers and refugees.

At the time, traditional attitudes kept women in jobs such as carrying supplies and cooking. Only the most outstanding and bold women could overcome discrimination and receive promotions. Mutondoro rose to the rank of commander, with three platoons under her command. She successfully led her company against the enemy within Rhodesian territory. In 1979, just as the war was ending, she was captured and beaten in prison.

After independence in 1980, Mutondoro was released. She joined Zimbabwe's ministry of foreign affairs, working in embassies in Sweden, Germany, and Senegal. Linda Mutondoro's plans include earning a doctorate in political science. Someday, she will teach a new generation of Zimbabweans about the struggle for freedom.

Leaders such as Linda Mutondoro help change women's role in society. Traditionally, women were seen as inferior to men politically, although they were respected as mothers and teachers. During the colonial period, the status of women fell. Today, women in Zimbabwe are gaining access to jobs and positions formerly reserved for men.

1. What risks did Linda Mutondoro face in becoming a guerrilla commander?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** How did the contributions of Zimbabwean women to the struggle for independence help them win greater political rights?

work together to rebuild the nation. He spoke out strongly against racism in any form:

“The wrongs of the past must now stand forgiven and forgotten. . . . If ever we look to the past, let us do so for the lesson the past has taught us, namely that oppression and racism are [injustices] that must never again

find scope in our political and social system.”

**Restoring unity.** Zimbabwe's constitution included a number of protections for the white minority. Leaders of the former white government held seats in Zimbabwe's parliament. Mugabe also appointed two whites to positions in his cabinet.

At the same time, Mugabe tried to ease political tensions among Zimbabwe's ethnic groups. His own party was made up largely of Shona. The rival party was dominated by the Ndebele. In 1987, these two parties merged. Nonetheless, Zimbabwe remains a multiparty democracy.

**Improving services.** Mugabe's goals included providing basic services to all citizens. Before independence, the Rhodesian government had favored whites. White children attended better schools and white farmers received more aid. Whites also received better health care. At independence, Mugabe set out to improve services to blacks.

The number of children in elementary school more than tripled in the last decade. The government has pledged to provide eight years of schooling to all children. Although education is costly, people in local communities give their time and work to setting up schools.

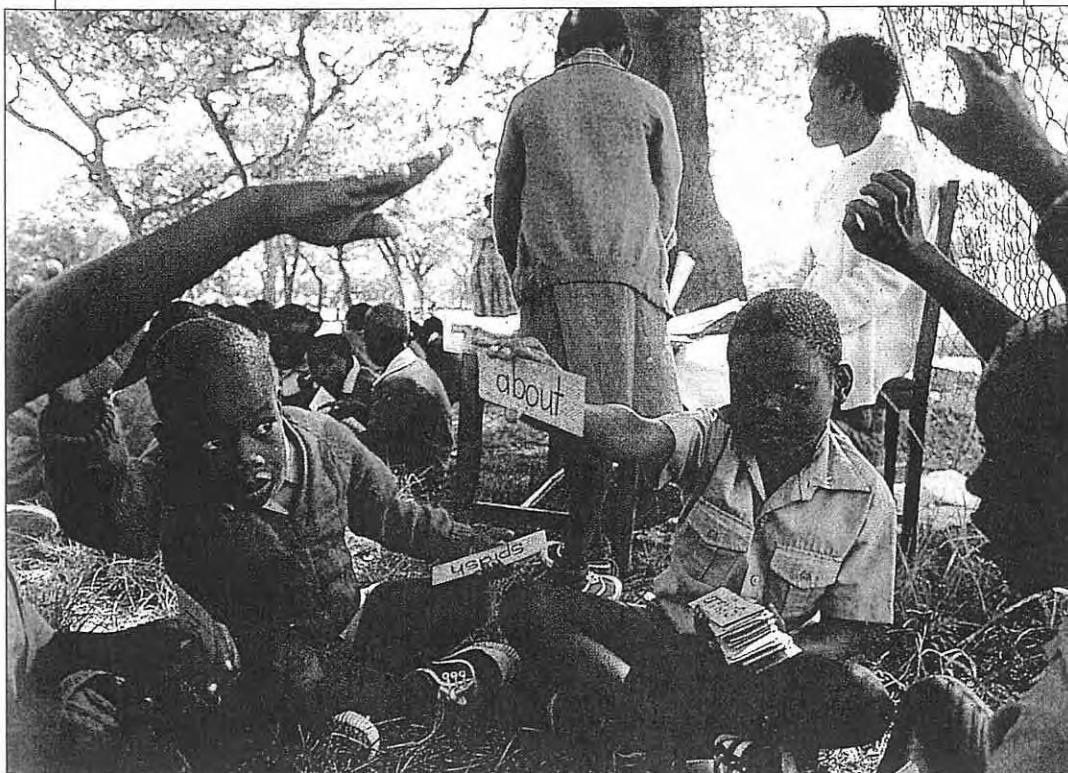
Schools are not segregated officially, although most students are black. Textbooks promote unity by discussing the contributions of all ethnic groups, not just Europeans as they did in the past.

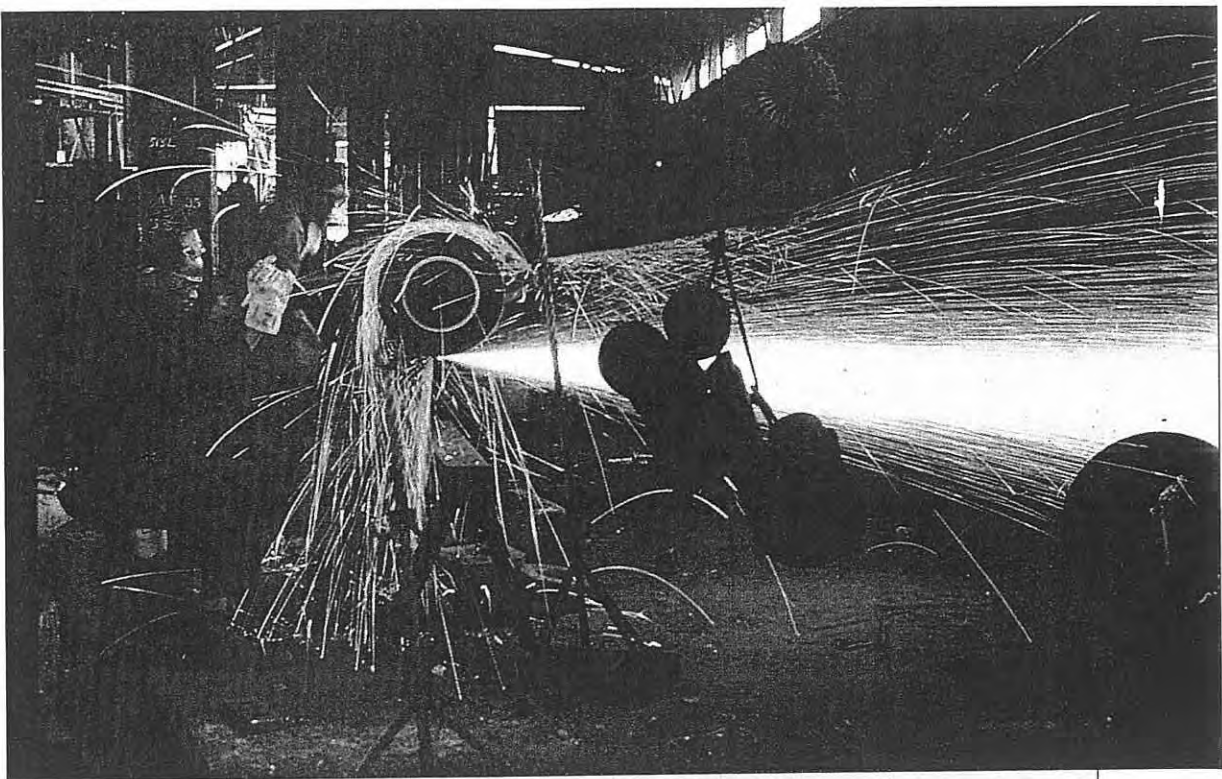
## Economic Development

Besides working toward national unity, Mugabe sought to reform landholding patterns and develop agriculture. In Zimbabwe, the best land belongs to about 4,000 big farmers, most of them white. About 7 million black farmers are crowded onto rocky, dry land.

Under a 1992 law, the government started buying land to transfer to peasants. Tensions rose because white landowners objected to having to sell their land at prices set by the government. Another problem emerged when reports suggested that the government had sold some lands to powerful supporters.

**Education in Zimbabwe** Public schools are the key to a better future everywhere. They provide skilled workers needed for a productive society. These Zimbabwean students are learning English, the official language of their country. **Diversity** In what ways can Zimbabwe's schools strengthen its diverse society?





**Zimbabwe Industry** Zimbabwe has used its hydroelectric power, iron ore, coal, and other resources to become one of the most industrialized nations of Africa. These skilled foundry workers produce machine parts. About one fourth of the population works in manufacturing. **Choice** Why does the government control some of the economy but also allow private enterprise?

Both large plantations and small family farms are common in Zimbabwe. In the 1980s, the small farms outproduced large plantations. The government has set up programs to provide seed, fertilizer, and technological help to farmers. As a result, food output has increased.

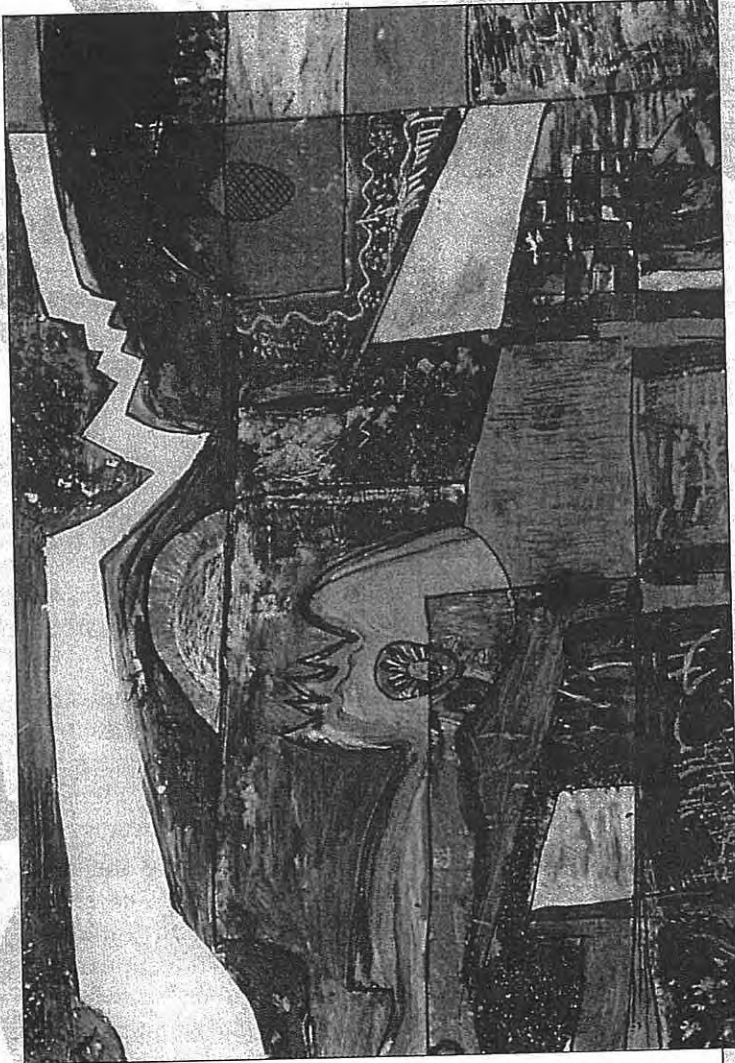
Unlike many African nations that have to import manufactured goods, Zimbabwe has a number of industries. During the years of UN sanctions, Rhodesians built factories to produce goods that had once been imported. Today, those factories produce steel and heavy industrial equipment along with textiles and consumer goods.

As in most developing nations, the government of Zimbabwe maintains a large degree of control over the economy. Mugabe has, however, encouraged private investors to develop new businesses. Multinational corporations operate many mines as well as other industries. Private companies compete with government-run enterprises, encouraging diversity.

## SECTION 5 REVIEW

1. **Locate:** (a) Zimbabwe, (b) Zambezi River.
2. **Identify:** (a) Rhodesia, (b) Robert Mugabe.
3. **Define:** economic sanctions.
4. Describe one advantage and one disadvantage of Zimbabwe's geography.
5. Why did Zimbabweans have to fight for independence?
6. What economic successes has Zimbabwe had?
7. **Applying Information** "An evil remains an evil whether practiced by white against black or by black against white," said Robert Mugabe at Zimbabwe's independence. How has Mugabe tried to end the evil of racism?
8. **Writing Across Cultures** The civil rights movement in the United States occurred at about the same time as nations in Africa were gaining their independence. Write a paragraph explaining how the movements might be connected.

# AFRICA IN THE WORLD TODAY



**Modern African Art** African artists have influenced the development of modern art around the world. Senegalese artist Serigne N'Diaye paints on glass. This detail of his painting, *The City*, shows the artist's impression of life in Dakar. **Fine Art** Why are artists, musicians, and writers important to a society?

## CHAPTER OUTLINE

- 1 Regional and Global Issues
- 2 The Republic of South Africa
- 3 Literature and the Arts

**T**he magical beat of a talking drum pounds. Electric guitars run riffs up and down the scale. Above these sounds, Youssou Ndour sings in the Wolof language of Senegal. Ndour is among the most popular singers of West Africa. In the late 1980s, he gained worldwide fame during the "Human Rights Now!" tour. Along with other international stars like Bruce Springsteen and Sting, Ndour carried the message of human rights to audiences around the world.

Ndour's music, known as *mbalax*, is one of many African musical styles. African popular music is as diverse as its people. Today, musicians from Senegal to South Africa are creating exciting new music by blending African sounds with western jazz, gospel, rock, and Latin beats.

"I'm an ambassador for African music throughout the world," says Ndour. "If people become more interested in Senegal and if there is more interaction between

people of different cultures because of my music, that will be very good."

In the arts, as in politics, people recognize the growing interdependence of the world. Through international concert tours, musicians raise money for causes such as famine relief and campaign for social and political change.

## CHAPTER PERSPECTIVE

In the 1990s, music was just one way that Africans were taking their place on the world stage. The 54 independent nations of Africa make up a major part of the "global village."

As you read, look for these chapter themes:

- ▶ Through regional and international organizations, the nations of Africa have worked for peace and economic development.
- ▶ Although African nations generally remained nonaligned, Cold War politics had an impact on them.
- ▶ Under internal and external pressures, South Africa has taken steps to end its policy of racial segregation.
- ▶ African arts and literature blend traditional and modern influences.

### Literature Connections

In this chapter, you will encounter passages from the following works.

"Africa and Freedom," Albert J. Luthuli  
"Song for the Lazy," Central African poem

*Things Fall Apart*, Chinua Achebe

For other suggestions, see Connections With Literature, pages 804–808.

# 1

## REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ISSUES

### FIND OUT

How do the goals of the Organization of African Unity reflect the interdependence of African nations?

Why do African nations take an active role in the United Nations?

How did African nations respond to Cold War issues?

How are Africans using science and technology to solve problems?

**Vocabulary** nonalignment

“Anyone who wants to participate in a peaceful and democratic transition in our country is welcome,” said an Ethiopian government leader in 1991. After almost 30 years of civil war, peace was returning to the battered land. A center of fighting had been Eritrea, a region on the Red Sea that finally won independence. War had also raged in the Ogaden region, where people of Somali descent fought Ethiopian rule. During the long war, each side had received aid from one of the superpowers. After the Cold War ended, peace seemed possible.

While Ethiopians welcomed peace and planned elections, wars flared in other African countries. To resolve such conflicts, African nations turned to regional and international organizations.

### Regional Cooperation

As you read, in the 1950s Kwame Nkrumah called for a politically united Africa, like the United States. Although this goal of Pan-African unity was never reached, the dream never died. Even as individual nations won independence, Pan-Africanism remained a strong force.



**African Union** In 1963, the independent nations of Africa formed the Organization of African Unity, or OAU. By 1991, all African nations except South Africa had joined the OAU. Through the OAU, they supported independence movements and promoted peace. In 1963, the OAU stopped a brief war between Algeria and Morocco. It also helped settle a border dispute between Kenya and Somalia.

However, bringing peace to nations that were torn by civil war proved difficult. Many nations did not want the OAU to meddle in their internal affairs. African leaders came to the conclusion that the OAU had outlived its usefulness.

In 2002, they formed a new organization, the African Union, or AU. They hoped to attract foreign investment by promoting good government and human rights. Leaders warned, however, not to expect that they would transform the continent overnight.

"People were expecting us to run before we walk," said Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo. "I think people should be patient with us, bearing in mind that even the Western countries . . . took time to [become democracies]."

**Other regional groups.** Many African nations belong to regional groups. Like the AU, these groups encourage economic development. Because many African nations are small and have limited resources, these efforts are meant to strengthen their position in the world.

The nine-nation Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) helped members reduce their dependence on South Africa. For example, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Botswana, which are landlocked, used to ship goods through South African ports. By improving rail links through Mozambique and Tanzania, SADCC gave the three landlocked nations another route for trade. The 16-nation Economic Community of West African States (ECWAS) helped members by ending customs duties and supporting joint transportation and energy projects.

## International Ties

At independence, each African nation joined the United Nations (UN). Since then, Africans have taken an active role in that world body. They have worked for policies favorable to developing nations. For example, developing nations want access to new technology. They also want to be able to sell their manufactured goods in markets traditionally controlled by the industrial world. Although African nations agree on some issues, they do not always vote the same way in the UN.

Through the UN, African nations seek international cooperation on issues such as the environment, education, and agricultural development. UN agencies send farm experts, engineers, and teachers to help developing nations. They have also provided emergency relief to areas faced with famine. In Africa, as elsewhere, UN peacekeeping forces have at times tried to restore order in war zones such as Somalia or Rwanda.

African nations belong to a variety of other international organizations. Algeria, Libya, and Nigeria are members of OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting countries. OPEC includes major oil-exporting nations from Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Asia. It was set up to regulate oil prices.

Many African nations also have strong economic and cultural ties to former colonial powers. Most former British colonies belong to the Commonwealth of Nations. This group includes more than 40 countries that Britain once ruled. Many African nations once ruled by France have linked their currencies, or money, to the French franc. They also give preference to French products. Nearly all the cars in Senegal, for example, are French.

## The Cold War and After

African nations won independence during the Cold War. Because Africa is rich in mineral resources and is centrally located, both the United States and the Soviet Union wanted to win allies among the new nations.



**Famine Aid** Workers, below right, unload food sent by the International Red Cross. Above, other aid workers distribute food to refugees who had fled the fighting during the civil war in Ethiopia. War combined with severe drought caused crop failures and famine in both Ethiopia and Somalia. **Human Rights** What responsibility, if any, do people have to help those in need?



Like other developing nations, however, most African countries chose a policy of **nonalignment**—that is, they did not favor either side in the Cold War. Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah wrote:

“ Our attitude, I imagine, is very much that of America looking at the disputes of Europe in the 19th century. We do not wish to be involved. ”

Although they remained nonaligned, many African nations looked to the superpowers for aid. The Soviet Union provided arms and economic aid to African countries that adopted socialist systems. At the same time,

the United States supported governments that were friendly to its interests. Sometimes, that meant backing harsh dictators.

**Foreign interference.** To promote their interests, the superpowers often interfered in the internal affairs of African nations. For example, the Soviet Union and the United States backed rival groups in civil wars in Ethiopia and Somalia. They did this because they wanted to build naval bases along the Red Sea, where these nations are located.

Former colonial powers have also remained involved in African affairs. Both Belgium and France have sent troops into former colonies during times of conflict.

**After the Cold War.** As the Cold War ended, both the United States and the Soviet Union backed peace efforts in Namibia and other trouble spots. For years, South Africa had controlled mineral-rich Namibia. Namibians waged a decades-long war for freedom. In the 1980s, South Africa's hold weakened, and Namibia won independence in 1990.

Conflicts continued in other parts of Africa. In Angola, a UN-backed peace accord fell apart within a few years. After a long war, Eritrea gained independence from Ethiopia. Then, the two nations clashed along their borders. Civil wars within Sierra Leone, Liberia, and the Congo spread to involve other African nations. The UN and OAU tried hard to end such conflicts.

## Debt and AIDS

Economic factors outside their control affect emerging nations in Africa and elsewhere. All are influenced by global trends such as shifts in prices of important natural resources. When prices for their exports are high, African nations benefit. When prices fall, budgets are squeezed and the debt burden of these nations worsens.

**The debt burden.** African nations spend billions each year to repay old loans. Efforts to ease the burden have had little success. Many African nations want rich nations to cancel the debt. They believe that will help Africa rid itself of its debt burden. Yet many experts are

concerned that wealthy nations will not lend money to poor ones if they fear the loans will not be repaid. African nations are also seeking help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. Both these lending agencies have demanded that debtor nations reform their economies before receiving further loans.

**AIDS.** Debt is linked to the AIDS epidemic that is sweeping across Africa. Medical experts believe that more than 25 million Africans have AIDS. Millions have already died from the disease. Many are adults in their most productive years. Many others are children. African nations have little money to teach about AIDS prevention and control or to treat the deadly disease.

The disease is taking a terrible toll on the future of African nations. A global effort is underway to raise billions to help African nations slow the epidemic. Two nations have already made some progress. Uganda has reduced its infection rate while Senegal has managed to keep its infection rate low. However, many African nations simply do not have the resources to cope with the epidemic.

## Ongoing Challenges

In dealing with AIDS and other problems, African nations are seeking solutions that are appropriate to their societies. However, they also rely heavily on global assistance.

**Limiting family size.** Africa's population growth has put a strain on the economies of African nations. The UN and other groups are working with African governments to set up programs that teach family planning.

The traditional view that African men should father many children works against family planning. Many nations are trying to combat this way of thinking. In Zimbabwe, social workers like Apollonia Chirimuta speak to groups of men in the villages. She asks them: "What do your children want? Land?" The men answer yes. "Well," she continues, "there won't be enough land for them because your families are too big." Officials are spreading a



**Making the Desert Bloom** Using a mixture of fertilizers and products that help soil retain moisture, scientists in Africa have had some success in making dry soil productive. Experiments conducted on the dry volcanic soil of the Cape Verde Islands have shown that unproductive soil can be made to support crops. **Technology** What impact might such an innovation have on nations in arid regions of the world?

similar message in countries from Egypt to Kenya to Mozambique.

**Science and food production.** African nations are also finding ways to increase food production. A successful program has introduced dry-season farming. By digging wells and irrigation ditches to link ponds and fields, farmers can grow corn and wheat during the dry season. Dry-season farming has allowed farmers to produce two crops a year. Says Adamou Sani, a farmer in Niger:

“ Dry-season crops are such a normal practice now that everyone grows them. Before, each year after the harvest I went to the city to look for work. But today, with the dry-season crops, I have work in the village. Truly it is a good thing. ”

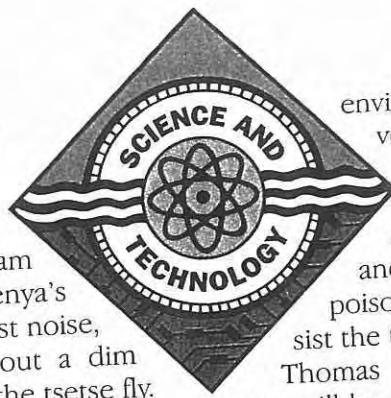
Researchers have worked to save the important cassava (kuh SAH vuh) crop, which was threatened by insects. About 200 million Africans depend on cassava as their main

source of calories. (Many Americans know this plant as the source of tapioca.) In the 1970s, mealybugs attacked the cassava crop, causing crop losses of up to 80 percent. To solve the problem, scientists bred wasps that eat mealybugs and then released the wasps from airplanes. This method of using insects to fight other insects is called biological pest control.

Farm experts are developing new kinds of crops, such as corn and sorghum, that yield larger harvests. Ordinary farmers are experimenting with new crops and new techniques, too. In Burkina Faso, Halodou Sawadogo wanted to grow and store potatoes. He dug a 10-foot-deep storage pit and devised a system to keep it cool and dry. “The agricultural experts told me, ‘It’s impossible to store potatoes in this climate without them sprouting.’ Well, I’ve proved you can,” said Sawadogo proudly.

Scientists are working with farmers to stop soil erosion. Nigerian farmers are trying “alley-cropping.” They plant long rows, or

# Trapping the Tsetse Fly



Members of the research team paused on the trail, deep in Kenya's Rift Valley. Above the usual forest noise, the African scientists picked out a dim sound—the menacing buzz of the tsetse fly.

The bite of the tsetse can cause sleeping sickness—a disease often fatal to humans and cattle. The tsetse fly thrives in some parts of the African savanna. Each year, the flies cause more than 20,000 new cases of sleeping sickness among people. The disease also kills thousands of cattle, causing the loss of 3 billion pounds of beef annually. Sometimes, people have had to abandon their communities because of the tsetse fly.

The high cost in human life and great economic losses have spurred scientists to hunt for ways to control the tsetse fly. Kenyan scientist Thomas Odhiambo founded the International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE) in Nairobi, Kenya. The ICIPE is the only scientific institution in the world devoted solely to the study of insects and the control of insect-related problems.

In the past, people used drastic measures against insect populations. A common tactic was to set fire to large areas to destroy insect breeding grounds. The only alternative was to spray highly toxic pesticides. Yet these killed many other things besides "pests." Neither of these destructive measures solved the insect problem.

Today, ICIPE scientists use techniques that destroy tsetse flies without harming the

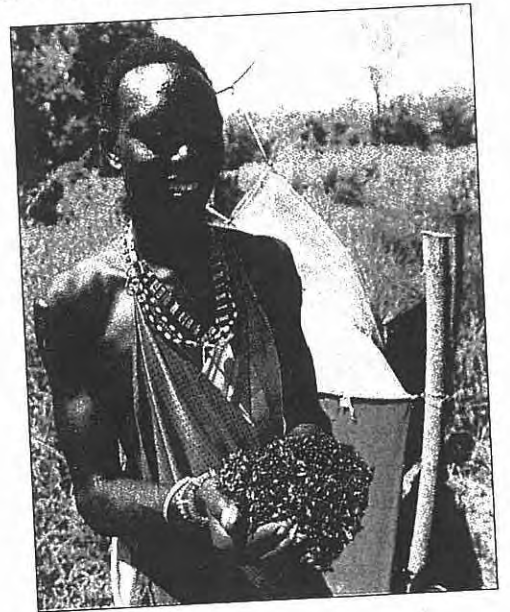
alleys, of crops such as corn and yams. In between, they plant rows of fast-growing trees and vines that can be harvested for firewood.

**Fighting disease.** As you read in Chapter 3, many diseases flourish in the tropical climates of Africa. Researchers have curbed tropical diseases such as malaria and sleeping sickness. (See the feature above.)

environment. One research team invented a simple trap that can catch more than 20,000 tsetse flies in a week. Constructed of some blue cloth, a few staples, and a plastic bag, the trap uses no poisons at all. Tsetses just cannot resist the trap's bait—ox-breath perfume.

Thomas Odhiambo hopes that the next step will be to discover ways in which seemingly harmful insects can serve useful functions. He poses the question, "Did you know that termites make excellent chicken food?"

1. What is the function of the International Centre of Insect Physiology and Ecology (ICIPE)?
2. **Applying Information** How might worldwide benefits be gained from insect research in Africa?



Since the late 1970s, AIDS has swept across much of the continent, infecting millions of African men and women. AIDS has hit urban areas the hardest. Many victims are between the ages of 19 and 40. Because of the worldwide impact of the disease, scientists in many countries are seeking vaccines or cures for the AIDS virus.

## SECTION 1 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Organization of African Unity, (b) International Monetary Fund.
- 2. Define:** nonalignment.
- 3.** (a) How is the OAU an example of Pan-Africanism? (b) How do regional organizations help African nations strengthen their economies? Give an example.
- 4.** What role do African nations play in the UN?
- 5.** (a) How did the Cold War affect African nations? (b) What effect did the end of Cold War tensions have on Africa?
- 6.** How do science and technology offer Africans hope for the future?
- 7. Synthesizing** How is the debt crisis an example of global interdependence?
- 8. Writing Across Cultures** Reread the statement by Kwame Nkrumah, on page 135, comparing African attitudes during the Cold War to American attitudes toward foreign involvement in the 1800s. Write a paragraph explaining what Nkrumah meant by this statement.

## 2

### THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

#### FIND OUT

- What was the purpose of apartheid?
- How did apartheid affect the lives of South Africans?
- Why did South Africa move toward democracy?

**Vocabulary** apartheid

“Free at last,” proclaimed Nelson Mandela in 1994 as South Africa held its first ever all-race elections. In a landslide victory, Mandela became the first black president of South Africa.

The elderly leader had spent 27 years in prison for opposing the racial policies of the old white-dominated South African government.

“Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all,” declared Mandela as he took office. “The time for the healing of wounds has come.” South Africans of all races hoped that healing would take place.

### A Policy of Forced Segregation

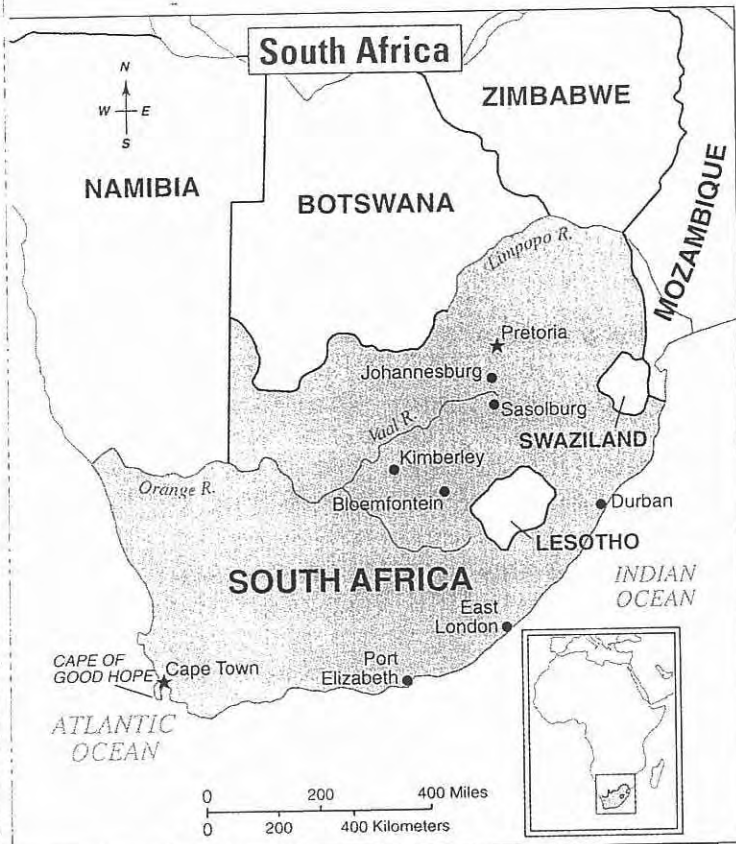
In 1910, Britain granted South Africa self-rule. Until 1994, a small white minority governed the nation. Whites make up about 16 percent of South Africa’s population. The majority of South Africans—70 percent—are black. Other groups include people of mixed racial background (11 percent) and Asians (3 percent).

**Origins of apartheid.** In 1948, the Nationalist party came to power in South Africa. It drew support from conservative white farmers. Many of them were descended from Dutch settlers who held strong views on white superiority. South Africa was already segregated along racial lines, and the Nationalists strengthened the divisions. They set up the strict legal system of apartheid (uh PAHRT hayt), or rigid separation of races.

Under apartheid, the government classified all South Africans as white, black, “coloured” (people of mixed race), or Asian. It then passed laws to keep the races separate. Nonwhites could not vote. They were also restricted as to where they could live and work.

The government assigned black ethnic groups, such as the Zulus and Xhosas, to live in a number of bantustans, or homelands. Supporters of apartheid claimed that separation allowed each group to develop its own culture. The homelands, however, were located in dry, infertile areas. Four fifths of South Africa, including its rich mineral resources and fertile farmlands, remained in white hands.

**Strict laws.** Because South Africa needed black workers, the government allowed some blacks to live outside the homelands. To control their movement, it enacted pass laws. The pass laws required all black South Africans living in a town or city to carry a passbook. The



### MAP STUDY

South Africa is the largest nation in Southern Africa and the most industrialized in all of Africa. Its natural resources include gold, diamonds, iron ore, chromium, and coal.

1. **Location** Describe the relative location of South Africa.
2. **Location** In what areas of South Africa are the major cities located?
3. **Making Global Connections** Why do you think economic sanctions by other nations helped pressure South Africa to end apartheid?

passbook included a record of where they could travel or work, their tax payments, and a record of any criminal convictions. It had to be carried at all times and produced upon demand.

Pass laws divided families. A man might have a job in town, while his wife had to remain in the homeland. One South African

newspaper reported how Mathilda Chikuye was fined \$25 for letting her husband live with her. She had permission to be in town, but he did not.

Apartheid enforced a system of inequality. Blacks were forbidden to ride on "white" buses, swim at "white" beaches, or eat at "white" restaurants. Apartheid also extended to education. Black schools received much less money and other support than white schools. As a result, literacy remained low among black students, and many dropped out of school. Only a very few black South African students received higher education.

### Struggle Against Apartheid

From the start, blacks and some other South Africans opposed apartheid. Leaders such as Albert J. Luthuli (luh too lee) urged nonviolent resistance. Luthuli won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960. In his acceptance speech, he stated,

“ [Apartheid] is a museum piece in our time, a hangover from the dark ages . . . a relic of an age that everywhere else is dead or dying. . . . These ideas survive in South Africa because those who sponsor them profit from them. ”

Later, another black South African leader, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, won the same prize. Like Luthuli, Tutu strongly opposed apartheid but rejected violence. ( See Connections With Literature, page 804, "The Ultimate Safari.")

The South African police and government forces used violence, however. In 1960, protesters staged a peaceful demonstration in Sharpeville, a township near Johannesburg. The police opened fire, killing more than 60 people. The "Sharpeville massacre" aroused anger worldwide. As protests continued, the government banned opposition groups, such as the African National Congress (ANC). Black leaders, including Nelson Mandela, went into hiding. Mandela was captured and sentenced to life in prison in 1964.

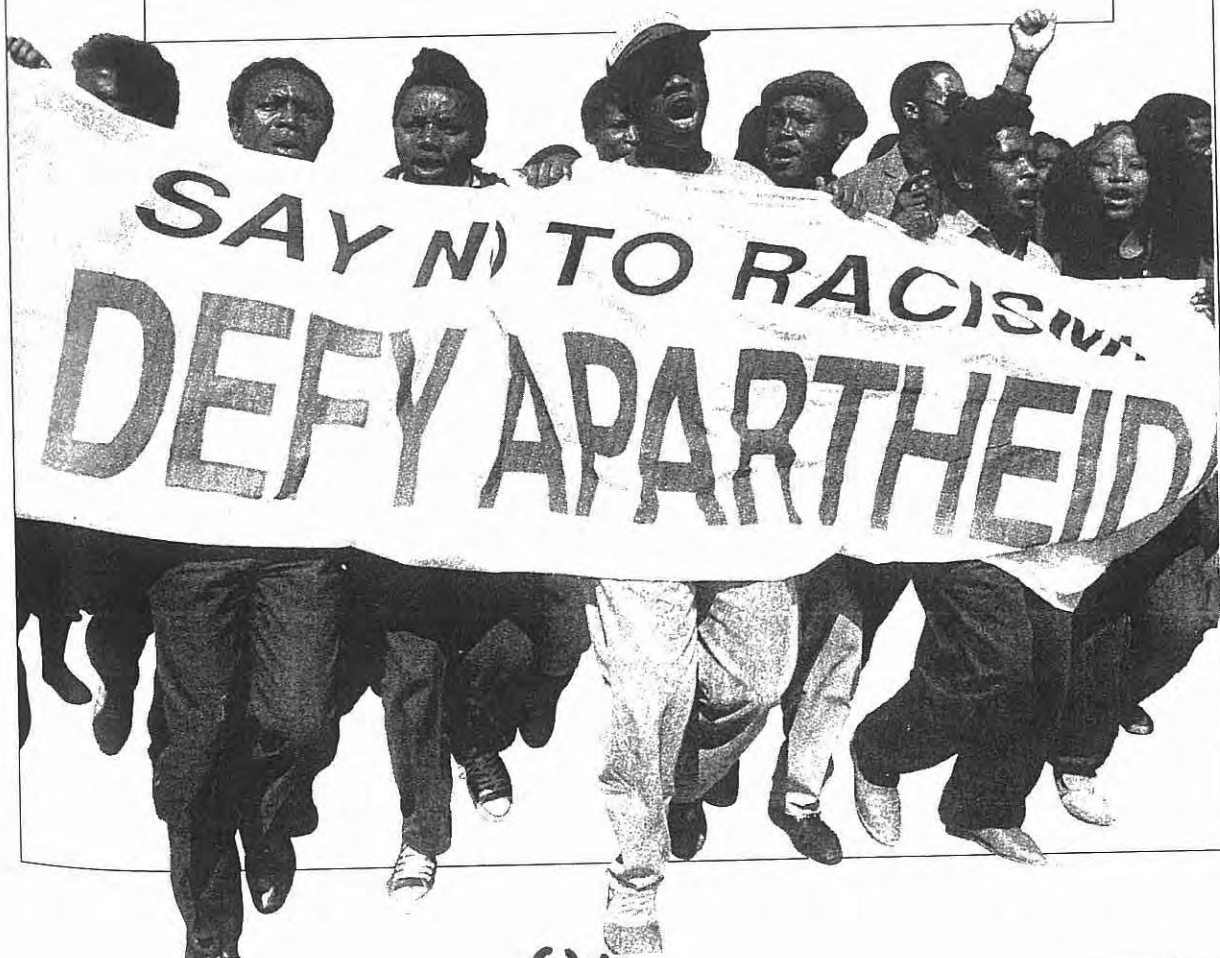
**Women and students.** Many South African women joined the struggle against apartheid. At one rally, more than 20,000 women marched through Pretoria to demonstrate against the pass laws. During the years of struggle, many women lost their lives or went to prison for their beliefs.

In 1976, students in Soweto (suh WEE toh), a black township located outside Johannesburg, protested a new law requiring the use of Afrikaans in all public schools. Afrikaans is the language of white South Africans who are descended from Dutch settlers. When the government responded with violence, the protests spread.

**Pressure grows.** While South Africans demanded change from within, international pressure grew. From its founding, the OAU had worked to end apartheid. It urged members to boycott South Africa. Other groups also pressed for change in South Africa. The United Nations placed an arms embargo on South Africa. International sports organizations such as the Olympic Committee barred South African athletes from competition.

During the 1980s, many nations, including the United States, imposed economic sanctions. This meant that they cut off trade in many items and ended financial dealings with South African businesses.

**Protesting Apartheid** In the long struggle against apartheid, black South Africans held demonstrations such as this to demand change and win worldwide sympathy for their cause. In white-dominated South Africa, blacks had no political rights and little hope for economic freedom. **Justice** Under what conditions can nonviolent protest be effective?







#### The New South Africa

An integrated school in Johannesburg symbolizes the progress that South Africa's democratic government has made. Integrated schools give black South Africans better educational facilities and provide more long-term job opportunities than the old segregated schools did.

**Justice** In what other areas has South Africa made progress in recent years?

### Steps Toward Change

Protests and economic sanctions had an effect. As sanctions slowed South Africa's economy, white business leaders pressed for change. A growing number of white South Africans came to believe that apartheid must end in order for the country to grow.

**An end to apartheid.** By the mid-1980s, historic changes were underway. The government repealed the hated pass laws. It also opened some segregated facilities to all South Africans. In 1989, South Africa's president, F.W. de Klerk, lifted the ban on the ANC and other groups opposed to apartheid. A year later, the government freed Nelson Mandela and other ANC leaders from prison and began to hold talks with black leaders.

In the early 1990s, a new constitution was written to guarantee blacks basic rights. In 1994, voters elected a new government. In this historic election, black South Africans voted for the first time. Mandela was swept into office as South Africa's new president. "We are starting a new era of hope and reconciliation, of nation-building," he said.

**Majority rule.** Mandela hoped to "heal the wounds of the past." He backed the work of a government commission that was established to gather data about crimes committed under apartheid. Uncovering the truth was

meant to free South Africa from its oppressive past.

Mandela called for a new order "based on justice for all." He wanted to bring services such as electricity, housing, and decent schools to millions of black South Africans. That goal posed a huge challenge, especially because years of apartheid left black South Africans eager for rapid change.

Mandela faced many problems. The gap between rich and poor in South Africa was one of the largest in the world. In addition, ethnic and political tensions between Mandela's ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, led by Chief Buthelezi (boo tuh LEE zee), flared into violence at times. Then, in the late 1990s, economic woes hit the nation.

**South Africa's future.** Mandela retired in 1999 at the age of 80. The new president, Thabo Mbeki, faced the challenge of making South Africa's multiracial democracy work. However, economic hardships and charges of corruption plagued his government. Also, South Africa was one of the nations that was hardest hit by the AIDS epidemic.

Despite these issues, South Africa has abundant resources. Mbeki has pledged to promote economic growth, reduce poverty, and improve the lives of people who suffered under apartheid.

## SECTION 2 REVIEW

- 1. Identify:** (a) Nelson Mandela, (b) Albert J. Luthuli, (c) Desmond Tutu, (d) Sharpeville massacre, (e) F. W. de Klerk.
- 2. Define:** apartheid.
- 3.** (a) How did apartheid divide South African society? (b) How did it promote social inequality?
- 4.** Why did the South African government change its racial policy?
- 5. Applying Information** How has the legacy of the pass laws contributed to violence among black South Africans today?
- 6. Writing Across Cultures** Write a letter to Nelson Mandela, looking back on the struggle against apartheid. Explain why you think the victory against apartheid in South Africa was important to people in the United States.

### 3

## LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

### FIND OUT

How do themes in African literature reflect African life?

How has African art influenced other cultures?

What are the unique features of African music?

**Vocabulary** griot

**C**aptain Africa is a superhero. In popular comic books, he fights a constant battle against evildoers and ignorance. In one story, a college graduate learns that her parents have arranged for her to marry “the notorious Chief Eza.” In the nick of time, Captain Africa arrives to right the wrong that has been done.

“We have our own culture, our own heritage,” says Mbadiwe Emelumba, head of the Nigerian firm that publishes the Captain Africa comics. The comics deal with current issues, but also include themes from the past. Above all, they tell a good story, and storytelling has long been a feature of African culture.

We can understand a people’s culture by looking at their literature, music, and other arts. Through these forms of expression, people communicate their feelings, beliefs, and ideas to other members of their culture and to the rest of the world.

### African Literature

The peoples of Africa have developed a rich oral and written literature. Oral literature includes poems, histories, folk tales, and myths that were passed on by word of mouth from one generation to the next. Written literature began with ancient Egyptian works.

**Oral literature.** In traditional African societies, the storyteller, or *griot* (GREE oh), held a place of honor. The griot spoke the praises of the ruler and recited events from history. Storytellers also recited riddles, poems, and tongue-twisters. Many of the stories or poems that griots told contained a moral, or lesson, such as this “Song for the Lazy” from Central Africa:

“ If you are hungry  
Use your hoe,  
The only drug  
The doctors know. ”

Some themes appear in many stories. One favorite theme is that the universe has a moral order. If people disturb that order, they will suffer misfortune. Another common theme is that people must respect the environment if they wish to prosper. “If one wants to catch a large fish,” states a West African proverb, “one must give something to the stream.”

In villages today, people gather around the storyteller to hear familiar tales and poems. They can also hear storytellers on the radio. Tapes with poets reading both new and old poems are also available.

## --Jomo Kenyatta, "The Gentlemen of the Jungle"

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[Jomo Kenyatta, a member of the Kikuyu people (Kenya's largest ethnic group), was educated in London; upon his return to East Africa he led various anti-colonial and reformist movements. After the bloody struggle for independence, Kenyatta became Kenya's first president. This story, which Kenyatta labeled 'a Kikuyu folk tale,' was written in the early 1950s.

I have numbered the paragraphs for ease of reference; I will do this for most of our Electronic Reserve readings, although not for poems. Also, my explanatory notes are put in the text in square brackets, as are any other editorial changes I have made to the original - procedures that will be followed in all Electronic Reserve selections.]

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1. Once upon a time an elephant made a friendship with a man. One day a heavy thunderstorm broke out; the elephant went to his friend, who had a little hut at the edge of the forest, and said to him: "My dear good man, will you please let me put my trunk inside your hut to keep it out of this torrential rain?" The man, seeing what situation his friend was in, replied: "My dear good elephant, my hut is very small, but there is room for your trunk and myself. Please put your trunk in gently." The elephant thanked his friend, saying: "You have done me a good deed and one day I shall return your kindness." But what followed? As soon as the elephant put his trunk inside the hut, slowly he pushed his head inside, and finally flung the man out in the rain, and then lay down comfortably inside the friend's hut, saying: "My dear good friend, your skin is harder than mine, and as there is not enough room for both of us, you can afford to remain in the rain while I am protecting my delicate skin from the hailstorm."
2. The man, seeing what his friend had done to him, started to grumble; the animals in the nearby forest heard the noise and came to see what was the matter. All stood around listening to the heated argument between the man and his friend the elephant. In this turmoil the lion came along roaring, and said in a loud voice: "Don't you all know that I am the King of the Jungle! How dare anyone disturb the peace of my kingdom?" On hearing this the elephant, who was one of the high ministers in the jungle kingdom, replied in a soothing voice, and said: "My lord, there is no disturbance of the peace in

your kingdom. I have only been having a little discussion with my friend here as to the possession of this little hut which your lordship sees me occupying."

3. The lion, who wanted to have 'peace and tranquillity' in his kingdom, replied in a noble voice, saying: "I command my ministers to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to go thoroughly into this matter and report accordingly." He then turned to the man and said: "You have done well by establishing friendship with my people, especially with the elephant, who is one of my honorable ministers of state. Do not grumble any more; your hut is not lost to you. Wait until the sitting of my Imperial Commission, and there you will be given plenty of opportunity to state your case. I am sure that you will be pleased with the findings of the Commission." The man was very pleased by these sweet words from the King of the Jungle, and innocently waited for his opportunity, in the belief that naturally the hut would be returned to him.
4. The elephant, obeying the command of his master, got busy with other ministers to appoint the Commission of Enquiry. The following elders of the jungle were appointed to sit in the Commission: (1) Mr. Rhinoceros; (2) Mr. Buffalo; (3) Mr. Alligator; (4) The Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox to act as chairman; and (5) Mr. Leopard to act as Secretary to the Commission. On seeing the personnel, the man protested and asked if it was not necessary to include in this Commission a member from his side. But he was told that it was impossible, since no one from his side was well enough educated to understand the intricacy of jungle law. Further, that there was nothing to fear, for the members of the Commission were all men of repute for their impartiality in justice, and as they were gentlemen chosen by God to look after the interests of races less adequately endowed with teeth and claws, he might rest assured that they would investigate the matter with the greatest care and report impartially.
5. The Commission sat to take the evidence. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant was first called. He came along with a superior air, brushing his tusks with a sapling which Mrs. Elephant had provided, and in an authoritative voice said: "Gentlemen of the Jungle, there is no need for me to waste your valuable time in relating a story which I am sure you all know. I have

always regarded it as my duty to protect the interests of my friends, and this appears to have caused the misunderstanding between myself and my friend here. He invited me to save his hut from being blown away by a hurricane. As the hurricane had gained access owing to the unoccupied space in the hut, I considered it necessary, in my friend's own interests, to turn the undeveloped space to a more economic use by sitting in it myself, a duty which any of you would undoubtedly have performed with equal readiness in similar circumstances."

6. After hearing the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant's conclusive evidence, the Commission called Mr. Hyena and other elders of the jungle, who all supported what Mr. Elephant had said. They then called the man, who began to give his own account of the dispute. But the Commission cut him short, saying: "My good man, please confine yourself to relevant issues. We have already heard the circumstances from various unbiased sources; all we wish you to tell us is whether the undeveloped space in your hut was occupied by anyone else before Mr. Elephant assumed his position." The man began to say: "No, but - ." But at this point the Commission declared that they had heard sufficient evidence from both sides and retired to consider their decision.
7. After enjoying a delicious meal at the expense of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant, they reached their verdict, called the man, and declared as follows: "In our opinion this dispute has arisen through a regrettable misunderstanding due to the backwardness of your ideas. We consider that Mr. Elephant has fulfilled his sacred duty of protecting your interests. As it is clearly for your own good that the space should be put to its most economic use, and as you yourself have not yet reached the stage of expansion which would enable you to fill it, we consider it necessary to arrange a compromise to suit both parties. Mr. Elephant shall continue his occupation of your hut, but we give you permission to look for a site where you can build another hut more suited to your needs, and we will see that you are well protected."
8. The man, having no alternative, and fearing that his refusal might expose him to the teeth and claws of members of the Commission, did as they suggested. But no sooner had he built another hut than Mr. Rhinoceros charged in with his

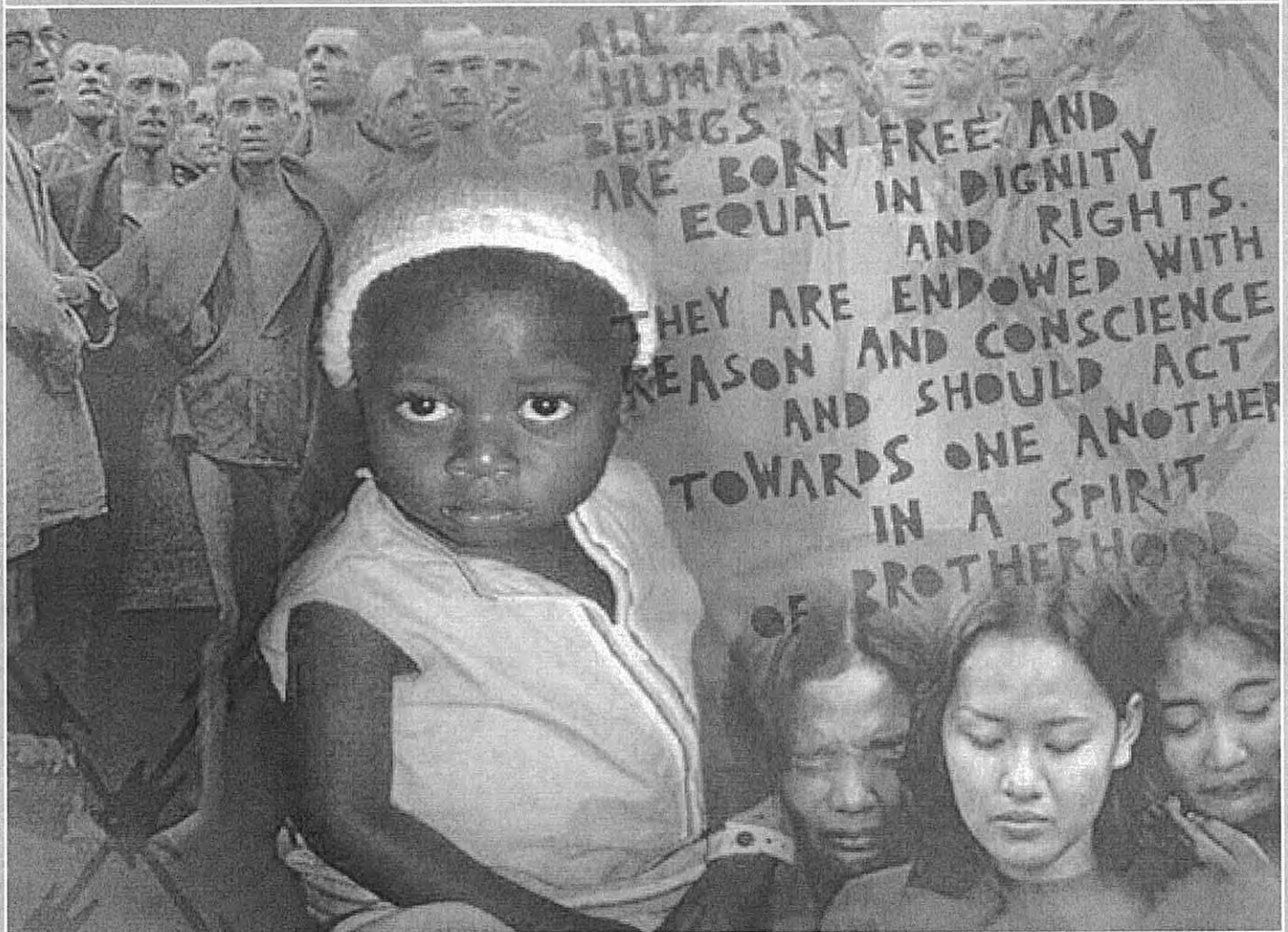
horn lowered and ordered the man to quit [in British English, 'quit' can mean 'leave']. A Royal Commission was again appointed to look into the matter, and the same finding was given. This procedure was repeated until Mr. Buffalo, Mr. Leopard, Mr. Hyena and the rest were all accommodated with new huts. Then the man decided that he must adopt an effective method of protection, since Commissions of Enquiry did not seem to be of any use to him. He sat down and said: "*Ng'enda thi ndagaga motegi*," which literally means "there is nothing that treads on the earth that cannot be trapped," or in other words, you can fool people for a time, but not for ever.

9. Early one morning, when the huts already occupied by the jungle lords were all beginning to decay and fall to pieces, he went out and built a bigger and better hut a little distance away. No sooner had Mr. Rhinoceros seen it than he came rushing in, only to find that Mr. Elephant was already inside, sound asleep. Mr. Leopard next came in at the window, Mr. Lion, Mr. Fox and Mr. Buffalo entered the doors, while Mr. Hyena howled for a place in the shade and Mr. Alligator basked on the roof. Presently they all began disputing about their rights of penetration, and from disputing they came to fighting, and while they were all embroiled together the man set the hut on fire and burnt it to the ground, jungle lords and all. Then he went home saying: 'Peace is costly, but it's worth the expense,' and lived happily ever after.

\* \* \*

"Much silence has a mighty noise." --Swahili proverb

# Confronting Genocide: Never Again?



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September 2006

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

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## Acknowledgments

*Confronting Genocide: Never Again?* was developed by the Choices Program with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies and scholars at Brown University. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

Omer Bartov

John P. Birkelund Professor of European History and Professor of History  
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Samantha Power's book "*A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*" provided the inspiration and many of the ideas found in this unit.

*Confronting Genocide: Never Again?* is part of a continuing series on international public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



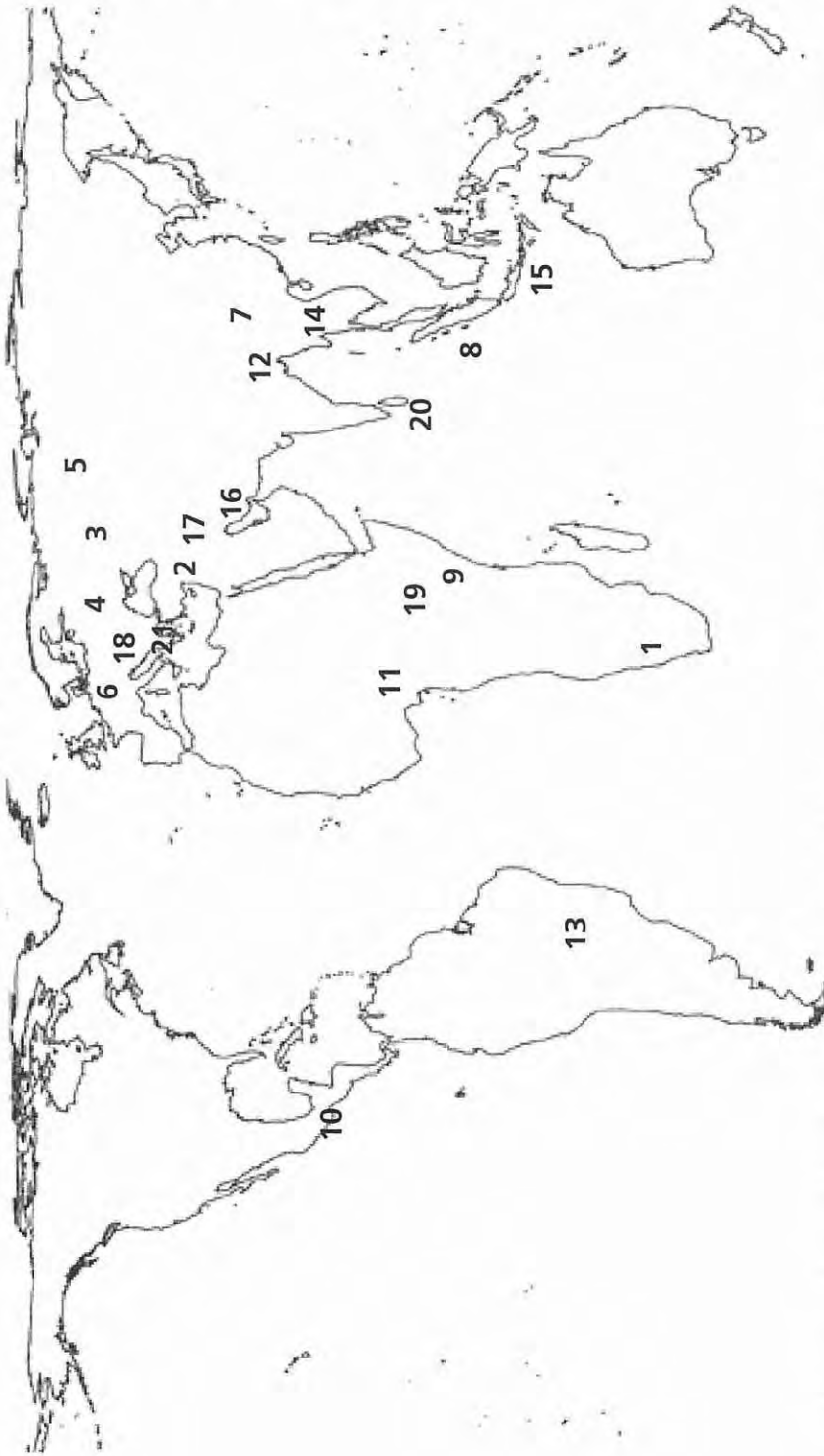
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Ukraine data supplemented by R. P. Rummel "Lethal Politics:  
Soviet Genocide and Mass Murder since 1917," 1990.

### Genocidal Acts of the Twentieth Century



- (1) 1904 Hereros of South Africa 65,000 out of 80,000 killed by the German government
- (2) 1915-1922 Armenians of Turkey 1,500,000 killed by the Ottoman Empire
- (3) 1918-1921 Jews living in Ukraine 100,000-250,000 killed by Pogroms by Ukrainian government
- (4) 1932-1933 7,000,000-11,000,000 killed by imposed famine by USSR government under Joseph Stalin
- (5) 1936-1939 Soviet political dissenters 400,000-500,000 killed by USSR
- (6) 1939-1945 Jews of Europe 6,000,000 killed along with 6,000,000 others including Slavs, Gypsies, handicapped, and Jehovah's Witnesses by Nazi Government of Germany
- (7) 1950-1959 Buddhists in Tibet number killed unknown by Chinese government
- (8) 1965-1966 "Community" in Indonesia 600,000 political opponents killed by the Indonesian government
- (9) 1965-1972 Hutus of Burundi 100,000-300,000 killed by the Tutsi
- (10) 1965-present Guatemalan Indians number killed unknown by Guatemalan soldiers
- (11) 1967-1970 Igbo people of N. Nigeria number killed unknown by government soldiers
- (12) Bengalis in East Pakistan, now Bangladesh 1,000,000-3,000,000 killed by the Pakistani government
- (13) 1972 Ache Indians of Paraguay number killed unknown by the Paraguayan government
- (14) 1975-1979 Cambodians 1,700,000-1,900,000 killed by the Khmer Rouge government
- (15) 1995-2000 Citizens of East Timor 100,000 killed by Indonesian troops
- (16) 1980-present members of the Baha'I (religion in Iran) amount killed unknown by the Ayatollah Khomeini government
- (17) 1991-2003 Kurds amount killed unknown by the Iraqi government
- (18) 1992-1998 Muslims of Bosnia 200,000 killed by Croatians and Serbians
- (19) 1994 Tutsi mostly civilians 800,000 killed in Rwanda by the Hutu
- (20) 1995-2001 Tamil people amount killed unknown by the Sri Lankan government
- (21) 1998 Albanians in Kosovo amount killed unknown by the Serbs



## Introduction: Never Again?

It was to be one of the bloodiest days of the twentieth century. In a highly organized campaign, families were killed as they fled their homes, people were hunted down and slaughtered, women were murdered as they were giving birth. Thousands of men, women, and children were herded into a stadium where they were mowed down by soldiers' machine gun fire and hand grenades. Corpses were pushed by the thousands into large burial pits. Within four months, nearly one million people were murdered simply because of their ethnic origin.

The type of horror described above came to be known as "genocide" following the Nazi extermination of some six million Jews and six million other "undesirables" during the Holocaust. When World War II ended and the Nazi concentration camps were liberated, the world was shocked and horrified by the crimes that had taken place. Leaders world-wide made promises and signed the Genocide Convention, which pledged that such an event would never again happen. Tragically, the promise of "never again" was broken time after time throughout the second half of the twentieth century.

The events described in the first paragraph did not take place during the Nazi Holocaust. They took place in Rwanda in 1994, nearly fifty years after the world had pledged "never

again." In 1998, President Clinton, who was in office during the Rwandan Genocide, spoke about the events. He said that "...to help ensure that those who survive in the generations to come never again suffer genocidal violence, nothing is more vital than establishing the rule of law." These words rang hauntingly of the same sentiments that were expressed after the Nazi Holocaust and the development of the Genocide Convention in 1948.

During the twentieth century, nearly 170 million people were killed by governments or political violence, forty million of them in genocides. In contrast, roughly forty million soldiers died in wars and revolutions in the same period. Why has this happened? How has the international community tried to prevent this? Why has it failed the promise of "never again"? What about the United States? How have our leaders dealt with this terrible problem?

In the pages that follow, you will explore the world's response to genocide over the past century. Part I explores the history of the international community's efforts to deal with genocide. Part II examines five case studies of genocide and both the world and U.S. response to each case. Ultimately, you will be asked to formulate how you think the United States should respond in the future when confronted with another genocide.

### Note to Students

During the twentieth century, governments or political violence killed more than 170 million civilians. This unit focuses on one type of killing of civilians: genocide. In its strict legal definition, genocide refers to widespread murder and other acts committed by governments or other groups with the intent to destroy—in whole or in part—a national, racial, religious or ethnic group. Scholars calculate that there were more than forty million victims of genocide in the twentieth century. Of course, there have been other kinds of killing as well. Civilians have been targeted for political reasons and during wartime, for instance. This unit is not meant to ignore these other tragedies of history, but rather to focus on the particular issue of genocide and how the world has attempted to cope with this repeating problem. The five case studies discussed here focus on government-perpetrated genocide. Most genocides have been perpetrated by governments but it is important to note that government involvement is not necessary for genocide to occur.



## Part I: Defining Genocide

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According to the United Nations Genocide Convention, genocide is a coordinated plan to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group by killing, causing serious bodily or mental harm, inflicting conditions designed to bring about its destruction, preventing births within the group, or removing children from the group. Many genocides have occurred throughout history, from the murder of Christians by the Romans in the first century to the deaths of nearly one million people in Rwanda in 1994. Yet the word genocide did not exist until the 1940s.

Until then, there was no single word to describe the organized destruction of an entire group. It may seem strange to us today, but there was also no legal mechanism for the international community to respond to mass-murder and atrocities perpetrated against a people. If a person killed someone on the street, he or she could be charged with a crime: murder. He or she could then be prosecuted under the laws of that nation and punished if found guilty. However, if a government or another group attempted to annihilate a whole group of people, what crime had it committed? It was murder on a mass scale, but how could the state be held responsible? Who held jurisdiction for prosecuting such a large-scale crime?

### ***Who devised the term “genocide”?***

Raphael Lemkin, a legal scholar, recognized that these questions needed to be answered. He began thinking about the questions after the Armenian Genocide (1915-1918) and contemplated the answers from the early 1920s until his death.

Lemkin followed the case of a young Armenian, Soghomon Tehlirian, who had murdered the Turkish minister of the interior in Berlin in 1920 because Tehlirian held the minister responsible for the organized killing of Armenians. Lemkin found it hard to understand a system in which Tehlirian could

be charged and tried for the death of a single man, but which did not hold Turkish leaders accountable for killing more than a million Armenians.

***“Is it a crime for Tehlirian to a kill man, but it is not a crime for his oppressor to kill more than a million men?”***

—Raphael Lemkin

Lemkin began what would become a lifelong crusade to convince the international community that it must do something to prevent what had happened in Armenia from happening in other places.

### ***What is the international community?***

The international community is a general term often used to describe the interaction of states and how they cooperate together to resolve issues between them. Lemkin believed that preventing genocide was complex, requiring international cooperation to stop states or groups from committing mass murder.

The events of the early twentieth century changed how states saw the international community. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson put forward an ambitious plan to build a more peaceful and cooperative world. He proposed a League of Nations that would attempt to enforce basic principles of conduct for states. It was this framework that Lemkin attempted to harness in his own battle to make genocide an international crime.

### ***How was the international community affected by the First World War?***

The First World War created the climate in which the Armenian Genocide took place. It also created the impetus for the international community to begin to organize itself in order to prevent further death and destruction from war.

World War I changed the way the world



viewed itself. Ten million soldiers died on the battlefield and at least five million civilians perished from disease and starvation. Many historians argue that a system of international communication entailing procedures to resolve disputes would have prevented World War I.

President Woodrow Wilson also believed that a failure in the international system led Europe into World War I. Even while the war was raging, Wilson drafted a plan for lasting world peace. In January 1918, he unveiled his fourteen-point proposal to reshape international relations. Central to Wilson's plan were the principles of self-determination, open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, and arms limitation. To oversee the new international system, Wilson called for the creation of a permanent global organization—the League of Nations.

Wilson imagined a new era characterized by the open publication of treaties and the settlement of disputes by impartial commissions. Wilson hoped the League would serve as the “court of public opinion” in which the “conscience of the world” would make itself heard.

***Why did America reject a larger international role?***

Britain, France, and Italy, the key allies

of the United States in World War I, had little use for Wilson's ideas. Rather, they wanted the League of Nations to secure their wartime victory. As the chairman of the special committee that drew up the blueprint of the League in 1919, Wilson worked hard to maintain unity among the Allied forces. His committee's proposal for the organization of the League reflected British and French concerns.

With negotiations concluded, President Wilson took the case for the League to the American public. He claimed that the League would build on the progress of earlier International Peace Conferences. According to Wilson's recommendations, all member states of the League would gather annually to discuss international issues. Meanwhile, a council of the world's great powers would meet more frequently to deal with international crises. Opponents of the League argued that the new organization would largely be a tool of Britain and France. In the U.S. Senate, opponents objected to the provision that required members to come to the defense of any other member under attack. They did not want U.S. troops to be forced to defend the borders of a French colony in Africa or to protect the British Empire's interests in India, for example.

***Why did the League of Nations fail?***

After the League of Nations treaty took

**The Madrid Conference**

In 1933, Lemkin planned to travel to Madrid to present a draft of a law to other international lawyers at an international conference. The law he had drafted intended to deal with the destruction of groups as well as their intellectual and cultural life. To make his case, Lemkin planned to recount the murder of the Armenians and to warn the international community of Hitler, who had recently come to power in Germany. The Foreign Minister of Poland, hoping to cultivate better relations with Hitler, refused to let Lemkin travel to Madrid. Instead, Lemkin's proposal was read aloud in Madrid to lawyers from thirty-seven different countries. There were few supporters. Those present wondered why these crimes the Ottoman Empire committed against Armenians years previously needed to be legislated against—they believed that these crimes happened so rarely that no law was needed. In addition, Lemkin's proposals met with criticism because international law dealt with the law between nations, not with how nations treated people inside their own borders. Soon after the conference, Lemkin was fired from his job as a public prosecutor for refusing to stop criticizing Hitler. The Polish foreign minister accused him of insulting Poland's German “friends.”



effect in January 1920, the organization's flaws became apparent. Enforcement of the League's ambitious covenant proved to be the biggest problem. Although League members pledged to cooperate in preventing aggression, protecting the rights of minorities, and limiting armaments, there were no effective mechanisms to force them to honor the covenant. The requirement that all League members agree on important decisions often blocked action.

Moreover, League membership was far from universal. In 1920 the United States Senate rejected U.S. participation. Meanwhile, the British and French deliberately excluded other important countries from League membership. Germany, for example, was not allowed to join until 1926, while the Soviet Union was barred until 1934. Confronted with its first major challenge in 1931, the League failed to stop a Japanese invasion into the Chinese province of Manchuria. Later in the 1930s, the League proved powerless in the face of Italian and German aggression. By the time World War II began, international statesmen had all but given up on the League.

## World War II

While the millions of deaths of World War I shook the world, the death toll and ferocity of World War II would eclipse what had transpired a generation earlier and squelch Wilson's vision of a more cooperative world.

As Hitler's armies advanced to the east, they unleashed a form of warfare that included the elimination of entire groups of people

that they considered less than human including Jews, Slavs, and Gypsies, among others.

***“The whole of Europe has been wrecked and trampled down by the mechanical weapons and barbaric fury of the Nazis.... As his armies advance, whole districts are exterminated. We are in the presence of a crime without a name.”***

—British Prime Minister  
Winston Churchill

### ***How did World War II change the international community?***

During the Second World War, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt envisioned an international community of nations that would cooperate to prevent conflict and end need and injustice throughout the world. Ultimately, Roosevelt's vision found its expression in 1945 when the countries fighting against Germany and Japan formed the United Nations in San Francisco.

In addition to Roosevelt's vision for a more cooperative international community, the Allies of World War II recognized that the enemy's atrocities and war crimes could not go unpunished. In 1943, in response to the large-scale murder of civilians by the Nazis, Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union signed the Moscow Declaration. Drafted by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, it included a statement on atrocities that promised to prosecute those who had committed mass murder.

### **Giving the Crime a Name**

Although genocide had existed since the beginning of recorded history, there was no single word to describe what it meant until Raphael Lemkin created the word “genocide” as a way to give a name to the terrible crime against the Jews of Europe by the Nazis. “Geno” is from Greek, meaning race or tribe, and “cide” is derived from Latin, meaning killing. Lemkin first used the word in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published in 1944, which outlined the law and practices of the Nazis in occupied Europe. Lemkin, a Jew, had fled Poland for the United States ahead of the Nazis. His family chose to remain in Poland. The Nazis murdered forty-nine of his relatives; only four survived.



***“Let those who have hitherto not imbued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.”***

—from the Moscow Declaration

### ***What were the Nuremberg trials?***

Following their victory, the Allies kept the promise they had made and put twenty-four accused Nazi war criminals on trial in Nuremberg, Germany. (Many others would be tried later on; some were never tried.) They were charged with crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and violating the rules of war. Numerous defendants argued that only a state and not individuals could be held responsible for these actions. They also argued that their actions were not illegal because under the long-held international principle of state sovereignty a country is protected from outside interference. The court rejected these arguments and sentenced twelve defendants to death and six to prison terms; three were acquitted. (Two of the defendants were not sentenced: one had committed suicide and the other was physically and mentally unable to stand trial.)

### ***What important legal principles emerged from the Nuremberg Trials?***

The defendants at Nuremberg had been found guilty of crimes against humanity—not genocide, although Lemkin had encouraged the prosecutors to include the term genocide in the indictment. Even so, the international community agreed that some important legal principles came out of the Nuremberg Trials. These Principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal were adopted into international law in 1950, eroding the absoluteness of state sovereignty.

**Principle I.** Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefore and liable to punishment.

**Principle II.** The fact that internal [state]

law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.

**Principle III.** The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him [or her] from responsibility under international law.

**Principle IV.** The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his [or her] government or of a superior does not relieve him [or her] from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him [or her].

### ***Why did Lemkin propose a UN resolution banning genocide?***

While Raphael Lemkin believed that the Nuremberg Trials were an important step, he also felt it necessary to create a law that did not link the prevention of genocide solely to wars between states. In 1946, Lemkin began a campaign at the UN to introduce a resolution prohibiting all forms of genocide. Lemkin’s timing was good. Images of the Nazi death camps and testimony from Nuremberg were fresh in the public’s mind.

In addition, as a new institution the UN held great promise. Lemkin was not accredited at the UN, but he spent days wandering the halls, working his way past security guards and cornering diplomats to lobby for the resolution. Lemkin argued that genocide could have a terrible effect on the world—not only in the present day but for the generations to come.

***“We can best understand this when we realize how impoverished our culture would be if the peoples doomed by Germany, such as the Jews, had not been permitted to create the Bible, or give birth to an Einstein, a Spinoza; if the Poles had not had the opportunity to give to***



*the world a Copernicus, a Chopin, a Curie; the Czechs, a Huss, a Dvorak; the Greeks, a Plato and a Socrates; the Russians, a Tolstoy and a Shostakovich.”*

—Raphael Lemkin

In December 1946, the UN General Assembly unanimously passed a resolution that condemned genocide and began to draft a treaty that would ban the crime.

**“The right to exterminate entire groups which prevailed before the resolution is gone. From now on no government may kill off a large block of its own subjects or citizens of any country with impunity.”**

—*The New York Times*, January 5, 1947

## The Genocide Convention

Traveling between New York and Geneva, Lemkin continued to lobby hard for the treaty. On December 9, 1948, the UN unanimously passed the Genocide Convention. The treaty made genocide a crime and obligated its signers to prevent, suppress, and punish genocide. The treaty held violators responsible whether they attacked another state or acted inside their own borders. The Genocide Convention further eroded the principle of sovereignty that had been weakened at Nuremberg: states could no longer expect to be free from outside interference if they were committing genocide.

### **How did the Cold War affect the role of the UN?**

International cooperation on all interna-

tional issues at the UN proved difficult due to increasing hostility between the United States and its wartime ally, the Soviet Union. These tensions were so profound that they became known as the Cold War and would last for nearly four decades. Because of the veto system, U.S.-Soviet hostility often prevented the Security Council from acting. Voting in the UN’s General Assembly generally followed the lines of Cold War alliances. Whenever key U.S. and Soviet interests clashed, there was little hope of making treaties work—including the Genocide Convention.

### **What was the reaction in the United States to the convention?**

President Harry S. Truman strongly supported ratification of the Genocide Convention by the U.S. Senate (as required by the Constitution). The convention ran into opposition in the Senate on several grounds. First, the language was indefinite. For example, it was unclear how many people had to be killed for an event to be considered genocide or if it was even a matter of numbers. Some worried that the convention could make possible the intervention in another state’s internal affairs when genocide was not taking place. Others claimed that some of the provisions, including the lines about inflicting “mental harm,” could be applied against the United States in the racially segregated south or that the U.S. could be held accountable under the convention for genocide against Indian tribes in the nineteenth century. The main objection to the treaty was that it was seen as infringing on U.S. sovereignty and would allow foreign countries and organizations to examine the internal affairs of the United States.

## What is State Sovereignty?

State sovereignty means the absolute authority of the state to govern itself free of outside interference. Governments—whether headed by democratically elected officials or self-imposed dictators—have traditionally strongly defended the principle of sovereignty. Sovereignty has served as the foundation of international relations. Governments have supported the UN, the League of Nations, and earlier international efforts based on the assumption that their sovereignty would be protected. In practical terms, sovereignty has never been absolute. Strong countries have always influenced the policies of weaker countries.





In addition, some politicians distrusted the United Nations. This affected the progress of ratification by the Senate. President Eisenhower, newly elected and not willing to alienate a powerful group in the Senate including Senator Joseph McCarthy, disavowed the Genocide Convention and all other human rights treaties. Eisenhower's administration felt that these treaties exceeded the traditional bounds of international law by trying to influence the internal workings of individual countries. The Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, said that the United States would use education, not law, to further the cause of human rights around the world.

The Genocide Convention received little attention in the Senate until 1967. Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin, with the backing of Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, began a campaign to resurrect consideration of the Genocide Convention with a speech on the floor of the Senate.

***“The Senate’s failure to act has become a national shame...I serve notice today that from now on I intend to speak day after day in this body to remind the Senate of our failure to act and of the necessity for prompt action.”***

—Senator William Proxmire

Over the next seventeen years, Proxmire would make 3,210 more speeches (one every morning on the Senate floor) against genocide.

### ***When did the United States ratify the Genocide Convention?***

Proxmire's speeches were all different. He recounted events of genocide around the world. He pointed out that the Soviet Union ratified the convention in 1953 and he often highlighted the effects on international debates and diplomacy of the United States' failure to ratify the treaty. He identified U.S. failure to help the Jews during World War II. This began to hit home around the fortieth anniversary of the Allied liberation of Nazi extermination camps.

In 1985, President Ronald Reagan visited a cemetery in Bitburg, Germany. The visit was intended to mark the anniversary of the end of World War II and to demonstrate solidarity with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, an important ally in the Cold War struggle against the Soviet Union. In addition to the German soldiers buried there, however, there were members of the SS, known for its brutality and its central role in the extermination of Jews. Although Reagan added a visit to a concentration camp, there was an outpouring of criticism in the United States from many veterans' groups, Jewish organizations, and members of both political parties angered by the president's cemetery visit. In response to the protests, the White House decided to push for ratification of the Genocide Convention. On February 11, 1986 the Senate ratified the Genocide Convention 82-11.

### ***What reservations did the Senate attach to the Genocide Convention?***

Although the United States Senate approved the Genocide Convention, it attached a series of reservations to the treaty designed to protect U.S. sovereignty. (International law permits states to attach reservations, declarations, or understandings to a treaty that qualify or clarify their support of a treaty.) The reservations stated that before the United States could be judged by an international court, it would have to accept the jurisdiction of the court.

***“...the sovereignty of our Nation and the freedom of our people have been protected against assault by the World Court.”***

—Senator Jesse Helms

### **After the Cold War**

The end of the Cold War in the late 1980s revitalized the United Nations. The UN led the way in organizing peacekeeping missions in war-torn nations and providing humanitarian relief to combat starvation and disease in countries around the world. The human rights standards that were among the founding



principles of the UN gained new meaning. The international community enacted economic sanctions and took military action to punish or prevent extreme abuses of human rights.

***What is the future of international cooperation?***

Although international cooperation has increased significantly in the past half century, it rests on disputed underpinnings. The human rights values championed by the UN and others are not without critics.

How far these human rights will be extended in the twenty-first century is open to question. China, Russia, and other non-Western powers, as well as conservative critics in the United States, contend that an emphasis on human rights will topple a crucial pillar of the international system—the principle of state sovereignty. Defenders of state sovereignty maintain that states should be free from external control. Those who wish to prioritize human rights argue that there must be limits to state sovereignty, particularly when universal human rights are at stake.

***“Sovereignty implies conducting an independent foreign and internal policy, building of schools, construction of roads...all types of activity directed towards the welfare of people. Sovereignty cannot be conceived as the right to kill millions of innocent people.”***

—Raphael Lemkin

***What events indicated a change in the international attitude toward state sovereignty?***

**The Kurds of Northern Iraq:** When the first war against Iraq ended in 1991, U.S. forces set up a UN operation in northern Iraq to protect the 3.7 million Kurds who had been targeted previously in a genocide by Saddam Hussein. Until the second war on Iraq in 2003, the Kurds depended largely on the international community to protect them from the Iraqi army and to provide them with relief sup-

plies. Active international involvement in the Kurdish situation set an important precedent elsewhere around the world. Intervention in the sovereign state of Iraq in order to protect the Kurds from further acts of genocide and for humanitarian purposes marked a changing tide internationally.

**Kosovo:** The war against Yugoslavia in 1999 also represented a critical turning point. For the first time, a U.S.-led international coalition launched a war specifically to stop a government from carrying out human rights violations and genocide against Kosovar Albanians (a minority group) within its borders. The United States and its allies placed safeguarding human rights above preserving state sovereignty. This intervention did not have the support of the UN Security Council because of opposition from China and Russia. Chinese and Russian leaders argued that this concern for human rights was simply a ploy to bolster the influence of the United States and its NATO allies. Their staunch opposition to the intervention in Kosovo exposed a disagreement over what principles should govern international relations.

***What do other critics of human rights interventions say?***

Other critics of the United States and its allies point to a double standard in promoting human rights or preventing genocide. They note that Western nations have been reluctant to intervene in regions where they lack financial interests and military bases. In the 1990s, for example, the West stood on the sidelines as governments in Sudan and Rwanda conducted wars and massacres that claimed millions of lives.

***Why has the United States resisted joining the International Criminal Court?***

The International Criminal Court (ICC) represents an attempt by the international community to put in place a permanent court to try those accused of genocide and war crimes. Thirty countries have ratified the 1998 agreement. However, the United States refuses

to ratify it in its present form. The ICC's critics in the United States note that the language of the treaty is unclear and could allow for politically motivated and unfair prosecutions. In addition, they point out that certain rights protected by the American Constitution, like a trial by jury, would be lost for an American tried by the international court.

The ICC's supporters counter that if a na-

tion investigates and tries its own citizens for the crimes then the ICC does not have jurisdiction. American supporters of the court believe that an international system of justice like the ICC furthers the cause of international human rights and the rule of law. Whether the United States can resolve these disagreements or renegotiate parts of the treaty remains to be seen.

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**W**hile most Americans agree with the sentiment “never again,” what this means for policy is unclear. The role of the international community and the United States in preventing genocide remains to be defined. In the next section you will have the opportunity to examine five historical case studies of genocide that give a brief overview of the responses of the United States and the international community.



## Part II: Five Case Studies

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It is hard to imagine that throughout the twentieth century the extermination or attempted extermination of an entire group occurred time after time. Despite widespread acknowledgment that genocide should not and will not be tolerated, both the United States and the world have struggled to respond to this recurring problem for a variety of reasons. The complexity of balancing a country's role in the international community requires many hard decisions and difficult trade-offs.

In Part I of the reading you learned how genocide is defined and about the evolution of the international community's response to it. In this section, you will examine five sketches of genocides that occurred during the twentieth century. (The map on page ii provides an overview of other genocidal acts that occurred

during the twentieth century.) Each case study touches upon the events leading up to the genocide, the actual events of the genocide, and the various responses of the United States and the international community. In addition, there are controversies that surround each case study. A box in each case study touches on some of the disputes and disagreements.

You will see that there are a number of common threads that run through these genocides. These case studies are not meant to be comparative, yet the elements of fear, the struggle for power, economic and political distress, propaganda, and increasing nationalism can be found in each. It is also important to take note of the advances and the setbacks to the international commitment to "never again" allow genocide to occur.

### The Armenian Genocide

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In 1915, the Turkish government began an organized campaign of deportation and annihilation of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. By 1923, 1.5 million Armenians, over two thirds of the Armenian population, had been murdered, deported, or forced into the desert where they starved to death. The international community did not intervene to stop the massacre. The atrocities committed against the Armenian people at the hands of the Turkish government was one of the first genocides of the twentieth century.

#### *What were the origins of the Turkish-Armenian conflict?*

Turkish invasions of the Armenian kingdoms began in the eleventh century. By the sixteenth century most of the Armenian kingdoms were incorporated into the Ottoman Empire. As a Christian minority, Armenians were relegated to second-class citizenship and suffered official discrimination. Despite these factors, the Armenians existed in a state of relative peace with ethnic Turks and most

were loyal to the Empire.

The Ottoman Empire began to weaken during the nineteenth century. European powers vied for control over the Empire. Internal corruption increased and economic conditions worsened. As Armenians began to demonstrate their desire for political representation, ethnic tensions increased between the Turks and the Armenians. Near the turn of the century the government ordered massacres in an effort to lessen Armenians' expectations for government representation and protection. The massacres led to the death of more than three hundred thousand Armenians.

In 1908, the Young Turks (officially named the Committee of Union and Progress, or CUP) led a revolution and seized power from the sultan. The Armenians initially celebrated this change in power. The new rulers, who originally promoted a platform of equality and constitutionalism, quickly turned to extreme nationalism. Afraid of external conquest, the Young Turks used propaganda and fear to drum up widespread support for an entirely



**SEPTEMBER 16, 1915**

## **ANSWER MORGENTHAU BY HANGING ARMENIANS**

**He Protests Against the War  
of Extermination Now  
In Progress.**

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, Thursday, Sept. 16. — A Times correspondent, lately in Salonika, says that all the reports from Turkey are agreed as to the terrible character of the Turkish atrocities against Armenians. It is believed that it is the official intention that this shall be a campaign of extermination, involving the murdering of 800,000 to 1,000,000 persons. Christians can escape murder by embracing Mohammedanism, in which case all the female members of the convert's family of marriageable age — wife, sisters, or children — are distributed around to other Turks, making the reversion to Christianity in the future practically impossible.

The American Minister at Constantinople is said to have protested recently against the massacre, in view of the danger to which they exposed the American missionaries. The only response to his protest was the hanging of twenty leading Armenians the next day in the streets of Constantinople.

ethnic Turkish state rather than the existing multinational empire. With the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and Turkey's entrance into the war, nationalism increased, serving to further the idea that "Turkism" should replace "Ottomanism." The Armenians came to be seen as a roadblock to the Turkish state. Plans were drawn to remove the roadblock.

### ***How was the genocide committed?***

On April 24, 1915 over two hundred Armenians were rounded up in Constantinople, marking the start of the Armenian Genocide. They were arrested, deported, and executed. From that day forth, deportation, execution,

and starvation became the plight of the Armenian people.

Turkish officials claimed that the Armenians planned to revolt and destroy the Ottoman Empire. This claim produced widespread Turkish support for the deportation of all Armenians. Government orders gave Armenians three days to pack their belongings and leave. To protect against potential resistance, all able-bodied Armenian men were shot. The women, children, and few surviving men began a long march to non-existent relocation centers in the Syrian Desert. These massive caravans were denied food and water and were raided and attacked by bands of Turks under commission by the government. Hundreds of thousands of people died during deportation.

***“By continuing the deportation of orphans to their destination during the intense cold we are ensuring their eternal rest.”***

—Talaat Pasha, Turkish Minister  
of the Interior

Turkish officials who resisted the deportation process were replaced by other officials that the government considered to be more reliable.

***“It was first communicated to you that the Government, by order of the Jemiyet, had decided to destroy completely all Armenians living in Turkey. Those who oppose this order and decision cannot remain on the official staff of the Empire. An end must be put to their existence, however criminal the measures taken may be, and no regard must be paid to age, or sex, or conscientious scruple.”***

—Talaat Pasha

### ***How did the United States respond to the Armenian Genocide?***

President Woodrow Wilson characterized the situation in the Ottoman Empire as a civil



Armenian National Institute, Inc. Elder Photo Collection.

Young Victims of the Armenian Genocide.

war. He saw the events as “sad but justified to quell an internal security threat.” Determined to keep America out of World War I, he did not see meddling in the “sovereign affairs” of another country as the way to maintain America’s desired neutrality. Most citizens of the United States agreed with President Wilson’s non-interventionist policy.

There was some dissent among the American people about non-intervention, however. U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Henry Morgenthau lobbied furiously for intervention.

***“I earnestly beg the [State] Department to give this matter urgent and exhaustive consideration with a view of reaching a conclusion which may possibly have an effect on checking [Turkey’s] government and certainly provide opportunity for efficient relief which now is not permitted.”***

—Ambassador Morgenthau

Dissenters did not believe that a desire for neutrality should exempt a government from the duty to intervene in the face of such atrocities. Despite their efforts to persuade the United States and the rest of the world to intervene, little was done to ease the suffering of the Armenians. President Wilson maintained that keeping the U.S. out of World War I was his top priority.

***How did the international community respond to the Armenian Genocide?***

The international community condemned the Armenian Genocide and threatened to hold the Young Turks personally responsible for the massacres against the Armenians. This proved to be more of an idle threat than a true commitment. Preoccupied with World War I as well as their own domestic issues, other governments took no strong actions to curb the killing or bring the perpetrators to justice. Furthermore, no law yet existed prescribing how to respond to such an event.

Some small international efforts to raise money and offer support did take place during the genocide. While not enough to curb the ever increasing death toll, these relief efforts did ensure the survival of those few Armenians who managed to escape death. Additionally, there were instances of resistance to the Turkish government within the Ottoman Empire itself. Though few and far between, these efforts made a difference in the survival of the Armenian people.

***“While some Turks robbed their Armenian neighbors, others helped by hiding them in safe dwellings.”***

**“The Forgotten Genocide”**

Today, the Turkish Government dismisses all charges of genocide and denies that the relocation of Armenians was actually a plan to exterminate the whole of the Armenian population. The United States, along with many other members of the international community, has not pressed Turkey to admit to the genocide. Turkey’s proposed admission into the European Union has caused a stir among those working to gain an acknowledgment and apology from the Turkish government. Many are enraged by the idea that Turkey could be allowed to join the EU without admitting to the genocide. Others contend that too much time has passed to open old wounds.



*While some Kurds willingly participated in the massacres, others guided groups of Armenians through the mountain passes to refuge on the Russian side. Finally, while some Arabs only saw the Armenians as victims, others shared their food.”*

—Scholar Reuben P. Adalian

### **What happened after World War I ended?**

World War I ended in 1918. In the postwar period, four hundred of the Young Turks who were directly involved in the orchestration of the Armenian Genocide were arrested. There was also a change in government within the Empire. Domestic trials ensued and charges were pressed for crimes ranging from “unconstitutional seizure of power” to “conspiring to liquidate the Armenian population.” The

leaders of the Young Turks were condemned to death for their roles in the genocide. They eluded justice by fleeing to foreign countries and were not pursued by the new Turkish government or the international community. Many Turks joined the new Nationalist Turkish movement led by Mustafa Kemal. The killing of Armenians continued. By 1923, nearly 1.5 million Armenians had been killed under government orders.

In 1923 the Ottoman Empire, renamed Turkey, was declared a republic and received international recognition. With this new beginning, the Turkish-Armenian issues of resettlement and restitution were swept aside and forgotten by most of the world. The few Armenian survivors of the genocide migrated around the world, seeking refuge in over two dozen countries.

## **The Holocaust**

On September 1, 1939, Nazi Germany began a war of conquest and expansion when it invaded Poland. Three days later Great Britain and France responded by declaring war on Germany. Within months, nearly all of Europe was at war. In six years, the Nazis exterminated some twelve million civilians (including six million Jews) whom they considered inferior in a genocide widely referred to as the Holocaust. Hitler’s “Final Solution” to the “Jewish Question” took place under the guise of war.

### **What were the origins of the Nazi persecution of the Jews?**

In 1933, the people of Germany faced great economic hardship. Nearly six million people were unemployed. The Nazi Party, promising to revitalize the economy, rose to power. With Chancellor Adolf Hitler as leader, the Nazis significantly reduced unemployment and restored a sense of national pride in the country. Racism, particularly anti-Semitism, was at the heart of Hitler’s philosophy. He believed that the Germans were the “master race,” entitled to rule the world. In his mind, Jews were poisoning the blood and culture of the German

people, and preventing the Germans from attaining their political and cultural potential.

Hitler labeled Europe’s 9.5 million Jewish people as “vermin that must be expunged” and an obstacle to German domination in Europe. As he gained more and more supporters throughout Germany and elsewhere in Europe, already present anti-Semitism drastically increased.

On April 1, 1933 Hitler called for a boycott of Jewish businesses. This boycott was meant to officially mark Jews as different and inferior, as well as to plunge them into economic distress and strip them of any political or social power. A few Germans defied the boycott but the great majority avoided Jewish businesses from that day forth. The success of this boycott, in essence, gave Hitler the encouragement to begin systematically exporting and exterminating all European Jews.

**“This was the day of the greatest cowardice. Without that cowardice, all that followed would not have happened.”**

—Rabbi Baeck, Holocaust survivor



### ***How did Hitler implement his “Final Solution”?***

Before invading Poland, the Nazis drew up plans to annihilate the whole of European Jewry and all other “undesirables” (namely Slavs, Gypsies, German homosexuals, and mentally and physically disabled people). The Nazis built concentration camps and trained traveling killing squads. Great fear and loyalty were instilled in the Nazi army and the German people. Beginning in 1941, all Jews over the age of six were forced to wear the yellow Star of David on their outer clothing. During the war, ghettos were established for the Jewish people as well as transit camps and forced labor camps.

Killing during the Holocaust was a highly organized and industrialized process. The Nazis devoted significant bureaucratic and military resources to implement their plans. Hundreds of thousands of people were sent to extermination camps where they were systematically murdered in gas chambers. Others were worked to death at labor camps (concentration camps). They never received adequate sustenance, were constantly exposed to poor conditions, and were subjected to severe mistreatment. Still others were killed by mobile killing squads that traveled throughout the Soviet Union and elsewhere murdering millions.

In the final months of the war, in a last ditch attempt to prevent the Allies from liberating large numbers of prisoners, the Nazis instituted “death marches” for prisoners. Food, water, and rest were not provided; the goal of these marches was death for all. In total, more than six million Jews were exterminated in the Holocaust, along with six million other “undesirables.”



A sign reading “Jews are unwanted here.”

USHMM, courtesy of Hans Frankl.

### ***How could it have happened?***

World War II ended in Europe on May 8, 1945. Germany’s troops surrendered unconditionally. The liberation of the concentration camps revealed the horrors of the Holocaust for the world to see. Today, many wonder how it was possible

for the Holocaust to occur. Where was the international community? Where was the United States? Why didn’t someone stop Hitler? The answers to these questions are complex, confusing, often frustrating, and sometimes completely nonexistent.

Some contend that it was not until the end of the war when the camps were liberated that the world finally understood the severity of the situation. Others claim that governments and individuals alike knew what was taking place and chose not to stop it. The truth probably lies somewhere in between and differs

### **Holocaust Victim Count**

The number of victims of the Holocaust is widely disputed. Due to the incineration of bodies, mass grave burials, and lack of complete records it is impossible to know with certainty how many people were killed in the genocide. Politics, denial, and differing historical interpretations also play into the uncertainty. Moreover, because the Holocaust was orchestrated under the veil of World War II, it is sometimes difficult to establish which deaths were part of a targeted extermination campaign (the Holocaust) and which deaths were wartime casualties. The most widely, though certainly not universally accepted estimate is twelve million Holocaust victims—six million Jews and six million others.



widely for each country and individual. At the end of the war, however, when the concentration camps were liberated, there was no denying the gravity of the situation.

### ***How did the world respond?***

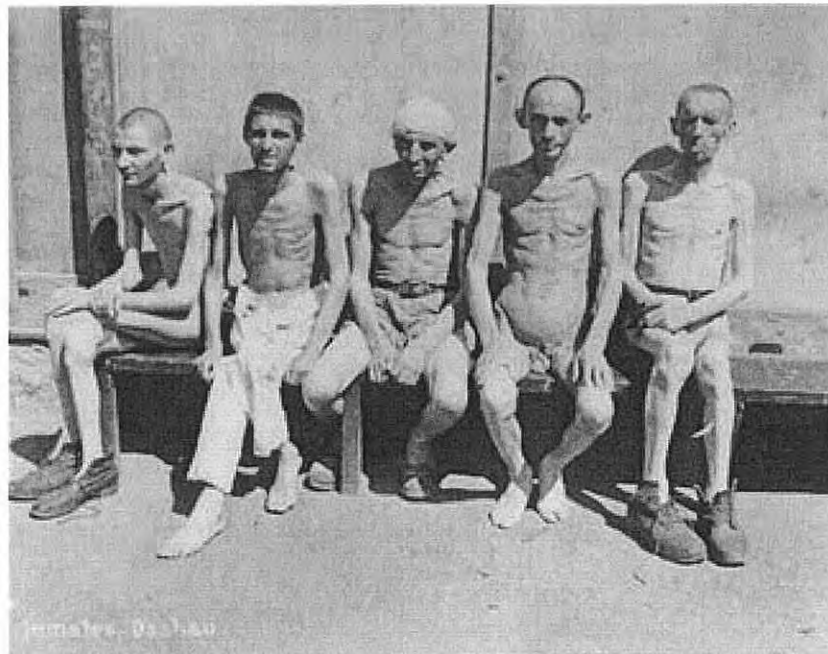
The United States, along with much of the world, ignored early signs of the extent of Nazi fanaticism. Because of Hitler's high popularity among the German people and his significant political successes, some countries and individuals even strongly supported Hitler's actions and ideals. When Europe was engulfed in fighting, each country struggled with loyalty issues, national interests, security, and fear. Many countries allowed some German Jews to enter and attempted to defend their country and their Jewish citizens militarily. Others sided and even collaborated with Hitler. Some remained uninvolved.

Before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, most Americans did not want to get involved in the war that embroiled much of the rest of the world. The great majority believed that the United States should stay out of Europe's problems. In addition, the country was beginning to recover from the economic hardships of the Great Depression. President Roosevelt, who anticipated the need to stop Hitler, was unable to take action against the Nazis because domestic political opinion did not support it. When, on December 7, 1941 Japan attacked the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, the United States immediately declared war on Japan. Several days later Germany declared war on the United States.

In 1942, President Roosevelt began to receive information about Nazi extermination practices. Although the Allies warned the Nazis that they

would be held accountable for their crimes, the Allies took little action during the war to stop the genocide. For example, some wonder why the United States did not choose to bomb the concentration camps or the railroads that transported Jews and others to their death. Military officials decided that resources could be better used for other war missions. The Nazi death camps received publicity in the U.S. newspapers, but the stories were met with skepticism and disbelief. The military successes of the Allies changed the course of the war, but did not significantly curb Germany's highly organized, well-established killing system.

***“The responsibility for this crime of murdering the entire Jewish population of Poland falls in the first instance on the perpetrators, but indirectly also it weighs on the whole of humanity, the peoples and governments of the Allied States.... By passive observation of this murder of defenseless millions and of the maltreatment of children, women, and old men, these***



Survivors in Dachau Concentration Camp, May 1945.

USHMM, courtesy of Francis Robert Artz.

***countries have become the criminals' accomplices...."***

—Polish Jew Szmul Zygielbojm, May 1943  
Written in his suicide letter

### ***What happened after the war?***

The Allied forces set up refugee and displaced person camps. Between 1948 and 1951 nearly seven hundred thousand Jews emigrated to the newly established state of Israel.

## **The Cambodian Genocide**

The Communist Party of Democratic Kampuchea, known commonly as the Khmer Rouge, took control of Cambodia on April 17, 1975, replacing Lon Nol's Khmer Republic. This takeover occurred after five years of violent civil war in Cambodia. Many Cambodians were elated at the change in government and celebrated the prospect of a new era of peace in their country. The celebration ended quickly as the Khmer Rouge began a campaign of mass starvation and killing which led to the deaths of nearly two million Cambodians.

### ***What led to the Cambodian Genocide?***

In 1970, Cambodia's leader Prince Sihanouk and his monarchy were deposed in a military coup. Lieutenant Lon Nol took over and formed a new right-wing government. Prince Sihanouk and his supporters joined a communist guerrilla organization called the Khmer Rouge. In 1970, the Khmer Rouge attacked Lon Nol's army, starting a civil war. In 1975 they finally overthrew Lon Nol's government and took power. The civil war had ended but an even more brutal phase began.

Pol Pot, the leader of the new Khmer Rouge, imagined a classless society in Cambodia—a communist utopia. Immediately after taking power, he led his new government in a campaign to rid the country (renamed "Democratic Kampuchea") of all class distinctions that existed between rural and urban populations. The Khmer Rouge envisioned a Cambodia without cities, private property, or money, where all goods would have to be exchanged and bartered. All urban Cambodians

Thousands of others relocated to countries around the world. International commitment to humanitarian assistance and intervention proved to be stronger than ever after the genocide ended.

The world vowed that such atrocities would "never again" take place. Dozens of countries drafted and signed the Genocide Convention.



were forced out of the cities and made to live an agrarian life-style.

***“We will be the first nation to create a completely Communist country without wasting our time on the intermediate steps.”***

—Khmer Rouge Minister of Defense, Son Sen

The Khmer Rouge attempted to destroy one society and mold another. Pol Pot wanted an entirely self-sufficient country, capable of feeding itself, defending itself, and expanding to gain more land and power in Asia.



## Auto-Genocide

Auto-genocide (self-genocide) is the term given by the UN Human Rights Commission to genocide of a people against itself rather than another ethnic group. A large percentage of the deaths in the Cambodian Genocide were of ethnic Khmer people—people from the same cultural group as the Khmer Rouge. It is for this reason that the Cambodian Genocide is often referred to as an “auto-genocide.” There were, however, many other groups targeted by the Khmer Rouge as well.

As part of the “transition,” all banks and forms of currency were destroyed. Telephone and postal services were abolished. Media was censored. Religion was forbidden. Clothing was collected and destroyed; the entire country was forced to dress in the same government-issued black pants and shirts. Every hospital was closed and medicines were banned. The educational system was dismantled and all books were confiscated and burned.

### *How was the genocide carried out?*

An estimated 1.7 million people died under the Khmer Rouge between 1975 and 1979 as a result of execution, starvation, disease, exposure to the elements, and overwork. The new leadership killed any perceived resisters or “non-valuable” members of society. The transition to communism also resulted in an abrupt transition to a repressive and murderous regime. Former Lon Nol government soldiers, civil servants, Buddhist monks, ethnic and religious minorities, elderly citizens, intellectuals, and groups of people thought to have contact with Vietnamese, such as Eastern Khmers, were among those hunted down. The simple act of wearing glasses—thought to be a symbol of intelligence and literacy—often brought execution.

Urban dwellers were made to leave the cities and towns and move to work camps in rural

Cambodia. Food productivity drastically fell with the transition to communal agriculture. The Khmer Rouge government continued to export a large percentage of the available food to China to repay past debts. The Khmer Rouge kept rations dangerously low while forcing people to work long hours in the hot sun. Malnutrition increased and starvation led to the death of hundreds of thousands of people. The great majority of deaths during the genocide resulted from deliberate starvation and malnutrition.

***“To spare you is no profit, to destroy you is no loss.”***

—Khmer Rouge slogan

Men, women, and children “disappeared” from villages and work camps on a regular basis. Families were split up and fear and distrust were cultivated among citizens. The government used propaganda and food to entice starving individuals to turn on oth-



Snapshots of genocide victims taken before their execution at Tuol Sleng Prison in Phnom Penh—the Khmer Rouge’s largest torture and killing center.

Courtesy of Bruce Sharp. www.mekong.net.

ers, making a large-scale revolt against the Khmer Rouge highly unlikely. Resisters to Khmer Rouge policies faced execution, often by disembowelment, by beatings, or by having nails hammered into the back of their heads. Additionally, the Khmer Rouge instilled in the Cambodian people an intense fear and hatred of the Vietnamese people, whom they called “monsters.” A border dispute with Vietnam had led to war between the two countries. Many Cambodians believed following the Khmer Rouge orders was the only way to escape a full scale Vietnamese invasion—an event that they believed would lead to a certain and horrific death for all.

The radical rule of Pol Pot ended in 1979 when the Vietnamese army invaded and overthrew the Khmer Rouge government, capturing Phnom Penh.

### ***How did the world respond?***

There was little international effort to stop the killing in Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge expelled all foreigners from the country immediately after taking power. It was nearly impossible for the outside world to gain firsthand knowledge of what was taking place in Cambodia, so news coverage was sparse. At the same time, the Vietnam War was coming to an end as the United States withdrew from South Vietnam. Communism and capitalism were both vying for political dominance around the world. Most governments were focused on their own affairs. There were networks of people who helped smuggle Cambodians out of the country and to safety, as well as many small international efforts to raise funds, but over all, very little attention, time, or money

was devoted to the Cambodian Genocide. Yet again, genocide was underway as the world watched.

### ***How did the United States respond?***

U.S. policy in the Vietnam War contributed to the rise of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge. During the Vietnam War, Cambodia had attempted to stay neutral, yet both North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces used Cambodian territory to hide, supply, and train their troops. As this military activity increased in Cambodia, President Nixon authorized B-52 bomber raids on Cambodian sanctuaries. From 1969 to 1973 there were more than thirty-six thousand B-52 bombing missions against Cambodia. The resulting political, economic, and social instability, coupled with the pre-existent peasant unrest, contributed to the Khmer Rouge’s rise to power.

During the Ford administration (1973-1976) the United States maintained economic embargoes against the Communist countries of Vietnam and Cambodia. No significant measures were taken to curb the

human rights abuses in Cambodia; the United States was more concerned about containing communism and winning the Cold War. In addition, other significant issues focused U.S. attention elsewhere. Finally, the United States had not yet signed the Genocide Convention and most did not feel obliged to contribute time, energy, or money to solving the problem in Cambodia.

Jimmy Carter became president in 1976 and inherited the “Cambodian Problem” just as it began to erupt into a massive blood bath. As the killing increased and it became



Uncle Sam and Pol Pot shake hands.



more and more obvious that genocide was underway, President Carter's administration struggled to balance its commitment to human rights with broader imperatives such as winning the Cold War. Disturbed by the number of tyrannical regimes the U.S. had supported in the name of anti-communism, Carter made an effort to give priority to human rights.

***"I want our country to set a standard of morality. I feel very deeply that when people are deprived of basic human rights that the president of the United States ought to have a right to express displeasure and do something about it. I want our country to be the focal point for deep concern about human beings all over the world."***

—Jimmy Carter

Though he emphasized human rights and tried to make them a vehicle of his foreign policy, his efforts proved largely ineffective as Cold War initiatives and domestic priorities required most of his attention. In addition, the Vietnam War had left most American citizens and government officials averse to the idea of going back into Southeast Asia. In the end, very little was done to stop the genocide.

### ***What happened in Cambodia after the genocide?***

The genocide ended in 1979 when the Vietnamese invaded Cambodia in response to a border dispute. The Vietnamese overthrew the Khmer government and forced them into exile in the countryside. The Vietnamese established a temporary coalition government under which it was once again legal to own

property and Buddhism was revived as the state religion. However, because of animosity toward Vietnam and Cold War allegiances, the United States and its allies continued to recognize the exiled Khmer Rouge government. The UN allowed it to maintain its seat in the General Assembly.

Civil unrest, hunger, and devastation persisted. The infrastructure of the country had been almost completely destroyed during Pol Pot's reign. Nearly all intellectuals had been killed, countless women were widowed and children orphaned, and land mines still covered the countryside. These factors made Cambodia's recovery from the genocide difficult. In addition, there was very little international commitment to helping Cambodia with this process.

In recent years the international community, with the United States taking much of the lead, has begun to assist Cambodia with its quest for justice and reconstruction. In 1991 a peace agreement was signed among opposing groups including the Khmer Rouge. Democratic elections, under the observation of a UN peacekeeping force, were arranged in 1993.

The former monarch was restored in what ended as disputed elections. The process of establishing international criminal trials to hold Khmer Rouge leaders accountable for genocide and crimes against humanity began in 1998. Leader Pol Pot died in 1998, before he could be tried. An agreement between the UN and Cambodia to establish an international genocide court was reached in March 2003, amidst much debate and disagreement. Some social and economic reconstruction programs have also begun, despite occasional political instability. Progress is being made in the country, though many large obstacles remain.



## The Bosnian Genocide

In 1984, Sarajevo, Yugoslavia was home to the Winter Olympics. Known as a multicultural and cosmopolitan city, Sarajevo seemed to be an ideal host for the world games. Fewer than ten years after the Olympics, the city barely stood. Nearly every inch of it was riddled with bullet holes, and Yugoslavia had disintegrated into war. Sarajevo was no longer seen as a symbol of successful multiculturalism, but rather as a city of hatred and ethnically motivated killing. The Bosnian Genocide was underway.

### *What were the origins of Yugoslavia's unrest?*

Yugoslavia came into existence in 1918. From its birth, the country struggled with the competing politics of the Eastern Orthodox Serbs and the Roman Catholic Croats. Nazi occupation during World War II brought severe bloodshed to the country. More than one million Yugoslavs died, many in massacres. Serbs, Muslims, and Croats all perpetrated these atrocities and all suffered severe losses. Tens of thousands of Serbs, in particular, fell victim to wartime massacres, as the Croats collaborated with the Nazis.

By 1945, the defeat of the Nazis and a cruel civil war had brought Communist leader Marshal Tito to power. Tito's iron-fisted rule and popularity as a wartime hero held Yugoslavia together during the Cold War. Under Tito, an intricate federal system distributed political power among Yugoslavia's ethnic groups. Despite his efforts, Tito could not completely erase the hatred and anger that had taken root during World War II. After his death in 1980, the country's power-sharing arrangement fell apart. A political and economic crisis followed. Leaders on all fronts used ethnic tensions to try to gain more political power. In the Republic of Serbia (part of Yugoslavia), for example, Slobodan Milosevic rose to power in the late 1980s by rekindling ethnic Serbian nationalism. Milosevic's moves to assert Serbia's dominance in turn fueled nationalism in Yugoslavia's other republics.



***“Yugoslavia’s tragedy was not foreordained. It was the product of bad, even criminal, political leaders who encouraged ethnic confrontation for personal, political and financial gain.”***

—Richard Holbrooke, Chief Bosnia Negotiator for the United States

In 1991 and 1992, Yugoslavia's federal system completely disintegrated, with the republics of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Macedonia declaring independence. Fighting erupted in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 and spilled over into Bosnia in early 1992. (Only two republics—Serbia and Montenegro—remained part of Yugoslavia.) Bosnia became the site of yet another twentieth century genocide.

### ***Who was targeted during the Bosnian Genocide?***

Muslim and Croat civilians—mostly men—were targeted during the genocide. While they supported the creation of an independent state, local Serbs saw themselves and their land as part of Milosevic's "Greater Serbia." The Serbs attempted to expel Muslims and Croats from Serb areas. Specifically targeting civilians, the Serbs used torture, gang rape, concentration camps, and massacres to carry



out their “ethnic cleansing” against Bosnian Muslims and Croats. During the war, Muslims and Croats were guilty of atrocities as well. However, Serb forces were responsible for most of the brutality against civilians.

***How did the world respond?***

The international community played a complicated role in the Bosnian Genocide. Asserting that the stability of the continent was at stake in Bosnia, while denying that the events amounted to genocide, the European Union unsuccessfully attempted mediation. The UN then sent a peacekeeping force to the country in 1992 and established six “safe areas” using lightly armed troops from European nations. Serbian aircraft were prohibited from flying over the country and economic sanctions were imposed on the Yugoslav government.

Nevertheless by 1993, Bosnian Serb forces controlled 70 percent of Bosnia’s territory and their plan for “ethnic cleansing” continued. The European leaders were eager to assert their leadership and peacekeeping abilities and the United States was willing to step back. (The United States government was also reluctant to call events in Bosnia a genocide.)

***“We do not interfere in American affairs. We hope that they do not interfere in ours.”***

—Jacques Delor,  
Chairman of the European  
Commission

The peacekeeping effort proved to be largely ineffective in stopping the genocide. The so-called UN safe areas all fell to the Serbs and were “ethnically cleansed,” most infamously perhaps in Srebrenica where UN troops, who had promised to protect Bosnian Muslims, withdrew. Some eight thousand Bosnians were massacred.

***“The tragedy of Srebrenica will forever haunt the history of the United Nations. This day commemorates a massacre on a scale unprecedented in Europe since the Second World War—a massacre of people who had been led to believe that the UN would ensure their safety. We cannot undo this tragedy, but it is vitally important that the right lessons be learned and applied in the future. We must not forget that the architects of the killings in Srebrenica and elsewhere in Bosnia, although indicted by the international criminal tribunal, are still at large. This fact alone suggests that the most important lesson of Srebrenica—that we must recognize evil for what it is and confront it not with expediency and compromise but with implacable resistance—has yet to be fully learned and applied. As we mark the anniversary of the death of thousands of disarmed and defenseless men and boys, I wish to express once again to their families and friends my deepest regret and remorse. Their grief cannot be assuaged and must not be forgotten.”***

—Kofi Annan, UN Secretary-General,  
July 11, 2000



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## Ethnic Cleansing

The term “ethnic cleansing” is often used either in addition to or instead of “genocide” when describing the Bosnian case. Some scholars contend that the deaths that occurred in Bosnia were part of an ethnic cleansing campaign that was full of genocidal acts but was not an actual genocide. Those who characterize the Bosnian case solely as ethnic cleansing believe that the Serbs’ intention was not the complete extermination (i.e. genocide) of all Bosnian Muslims, but rather the forced and complete exportation of them (i.e. ethnic cleansing). This position holds that genocidal acts were used to attempt to instill the fear and devastation necessary to get the Muslims to leave their land and take refuge elsewhere, but that complete extermination was never a goal. On the other hand, many scholars claim that the number of genocidal massacres used to carry out the ethnic cleansing campaign leaves little question that the events should be considered a genocide. In April 2004, the United Nations War Crimes Tribunal announced that the persecution and killing of Bosnian Muslims by Serbs was indeed a genocidal campaign.

### *How did the tide turn in Bosnia?*

In 1995, an alliance between Croatia and Bosnia’s Muslims tilted the balance of power on the battlefield against the Serbs. In addition, as Serbian massacres of Bosnian Muslim villagers and artillery attacks against Sarajevo continued, journalists and individual citizens galvanized public opinion in the United States and worldwide, calling for an intervention to stop the bloodshed.

Ultimately, it was the United States that took the lead in bringing peace to Bosnia. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched a bombing campaign against the Bosnian Serb army. NATO’s air war, led by

U.S. pilots, allowed Bosnian Croat and Muslim fighters to take the initiative on the ground.

By the fall of 1995, a new map of Bosnia had taken shape. The Serb-held portion of the country shrank to 49 percent, while the Muslims extended their control to 29 percent of the territory and the Croats to 22 percent. Ironically, the ethnic cleansing that the international community had tried to prevent was mostly complete; Bosnia consisted of three largely ethnically pure regions, each with its own army. In all, more than two hundred thousand people had died in the struggle and 2.3 million had lost their homes.

In October 1995, a cease-fire was reached. A formal peace agreement was signed in Dayton, Ohio in December, 1995. The agreement was meant not only to end the war, but also to build a democratic, multi-ethnic state. To a large degree, it is the United States that has stood behind the international commitment to maintain Bosnia’s borders and to compel the young state’s three main ethnic groups to share the responsibilities of government. When U.S. peacekeepers



UN Photo 186725/1. Isaac. Reprinted with permission.

A Muslim man and his grandson stand amid the destruction in Stari Vitez.





first entered Bosnia, President Bill Clinton pledged that they would stay no longer than a year. By 1999, he conceded that accomplishing his goals in Bosnia would require many years, even decades, of international involvement.

Today, thousands of refugees who were victims of “ethnic cleansing” have returned to their homes. The former leader of Yugoslavia, Slobodan Milosevic, was charged with “crimes against humanity,” “violations of the laws or customs of war”, and genocide by the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) at the Hague. He died in March 2006, having been held since 2001. Many other officials are

being tried in the International Criminal Court as well, though motivation to track down the top Serbian officials who remain at large is wanting.

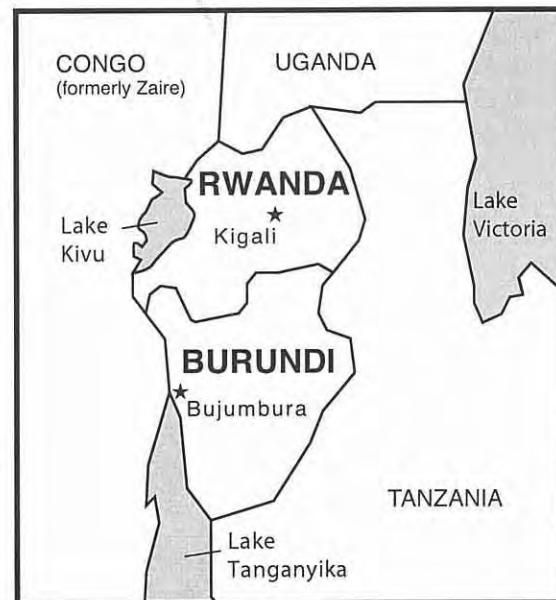
Hundreds of millions of dollars in economic aid have been spent to restore the economy. The United States and its allies remain hopeful that their investment will pay off. More than one million refugees have returned to their homes. Politically, voters from all three ethnic groups have consistently supported candidates with nationalistic views. The multi-ethnic central government envisioned by the Dayton Treaty exists largely on paper.

## The Rwandan Genocide

In the spring of 1994, the world watched as violence engulfed the tiny central African country of Rwanda. Over the course of one hundred days, nearly one million people were killed at the hands of army militias, friends, family members, and neighbors. In a country that had a total population of fewer than eight million, these numbers are mind-boggling. In a world that had pledged “never again,” the reality seemed instead to be “again and again.”

### *What are the origins of the Tutsi-Hutu conflict?*

The hostility between Hutus and Tutsis, however intense, reaches back only a few decades. Although a minority, making up approximately 15 percent of the population, the Tutsis have long held most of the land in Rwanda (and neighboring Burundi). For centuries, they were primarily cattle herders while the Hutus, making up 84 percent of the population, were farmers. (The Twa people comprise the remaining 1 percent of the population.) Under German and then Belgian colonial rule, the economic differences between the two groups deepened. The Belgians openly favored the Tutsis. Educational privileges and government jobs were reserved solely for the Tutsis. Identity cards were issued to document ethnicity. (These types of cards were later used to identify the Tutsi during



the 1994 genocide.) This colonial favoritism contributed to tensions between the Hutus and Tutsis.

Despite the growing tensions, widespread violence did not break out between the two groups until the country gained independence in 1962 as Rwanda-Urundi. (The country later split into the nations of Rwanda and Burundi.) In the late 1950s, the Belgians hastily organized elections in Rwanda and Burundi as their colonial empire in central Africa began to crumble. Hutu parties gained control of the



Courtesy of USHMM. Photo by Jerry Fowler.

Identity cards were used to identify Tutsis during the genocide.

Rwandan government in 1959, reversing the power structure and triggering armed opposition by the Tutsis. In three years of civil war, fifty thousand Rwandans were killed and another one hundred thousand (almost all Tutsi) fled the country. In neighboring Burundi, the Tutsis took advantage of their control of the army to override election results and seize political power. During the next three decades, Burundi's Tutsi-led government crushed repeated Hutu uprisings. In 1972 as many as one hundred thousand Hutus were killed in Burundi.

Ethnic conflicts notwithstanding, the vast majority of Hutus and Tutsis struggled side by side for survival as small farmers. By 1994, Rwanda, with a population of 8.4 million people and a land area the size of Maryland, was among the world's most densely populated and poorest nations. Poverty and the scarcity of land played into the hands of politicians seeking to further their power by igniting ethnic tensions.

#### ***What events led to the Rwandan Genocide?***

In 1990, the region's problems were further complicated by the invasion of Rwanda by the rebel army, the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF). Most of the soldiers in the RPF were Tutsi

refugees who had been living in neighboring Uganda since the early 1960s. In August 1993, the Arusha Accords peace agreement between the rebels and the government was signed in Tanzania and a small UN force was put in place to oversee the accord.

Events in Burundi, however, soon reignited tensions. In October 1993, Tutsi army officers killed Burundi's first Hutu president, Melchior Ndadaye, in an attempt to overthrow the new government. Burundi plunged into violence. As many as one hundred thousand people, most of them Hutu, were killed.

Hutu extremists in Rwanda used the Burundi crisis as an opportunity to fan hostility against Tutsis in their country. In April 1994, Rwandan President Juvenal Habyarimana was killed in a suspicious plane crash, along with the second president of Burundi. Within hours of the crash, Hutu extremists executed eleven UN peacekeepers from Belgium and began carrying out a well-organized series of massacres. After the murder of the Belgians, the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda was brought to an abrupt halt as nearly every UN soldier was evacuated at the demand of their individual countries.

#### ***How was the genocide carried out?***

The Rwandan Genocide lasted for one hundred days. Nearly one million people were killed in this time. Machetes and clubs were the most widely used weapons. Thousands of Tutsis and moderate Hutus were hacked to death each day by Hutus, many of them friends, neighbors, and relatives. Civilian death squads called *Interhamwe*, or "those who fight together" had trained prior to the start of the genocide and were responsible for the largest massacres. The majority of other

Hutus were given machetes and incited over the radio to kill. Told that the Tutsis would destroy Rwanda and kill all of the Hutus, the Hutus were made to believe that they had to kill the Tutsis first. Hutus who refused to kill or who attempted to hide Tutsis were killed as well. The largest massacres occurred in areas where Tutsis had gathered together for protection, such as churches, schools, and abandoned UN posts.

Radio played an integral role in the genocide. A nation crazed with fear and desperation heard repeated broadcasts labeling the Tutsi as “cockroaches” and “devils.” Loudspeakers in the streets disclosed names and locations of Tutsis on the run. The United States, the only country in the world with the technical ability to jam this hate radio, refused, stating that it was too expensive and would be against people’s right to free speech.

***How did the international community respond?***

Prior to the start of the genocide, the United States and the United Nations both disregarded warnings they received from Rwandans as well as from General Romeo Dallaire, head of the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda. These warnings clearly stated that a plan to exterminate the Tutsis was underway. Dallaire made an urgent request to be granted permission to raid the Hutu weapons caches. He was denied permission on the grounds that it was too dangerous, unprecedented, and against his mandate. He was instructed to inform the Hutu leaders that a genocide was about to begin. As the organizers of the genocide, these Hutu leaders were

already well aware of this.

Once actual killing broke out, world leaders condemned the violence in Rwanda, but balked at intervening to stop it. U.S. officials in the Clinton administration refused to define the killings as “genocide,” in part because they did not want to be obligated to intervene under the Genocide Convention. Even as the rivers filled with corpses and the streets were lined with severed limbs, the international community did not intervene. Many characterized the conflict as “ancient ethnic hatred” and saw the risk of intervention as too high.

Eventually, the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) stepped up its assault against the government and the massacres came to a halt. By July 1994, the RPF had seized the capital and forced the Hutu army to flee in panic. Fearful of reprisals, as many as two million Hutus abandoned their homes, many taking refuge in the Congo. International forces, including two thousand American troops, ar-



UN Photo 18679771. Isaac. Reprinted with permission.

Rwandan children who lost their parents in the genocide rest at a camp in Goma.



rived after the massacres had ended to protect international relief operations for the nearly two million Hutu refugees, including many of the killers. The last UN peacekeepers left Rwanda in early 1996.

***Why did the international community fail to intervene?***

In the years since the Rwandan Genocide, diplomats and scholars have debated why the international system failed Rwanda's victims. The reasons remain unclear. State sovereignty, apathy, financial restraints, bureaucracy, fear, safety concerns, and "Somalia Syndrome" are among them. In 1998, while visiting Rwanda, President Clinton apologized for his administration's part in disregarding the events of 1994.

***"The international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy, as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe havens for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can***

***and must do everything in our power to help you build a future without fear, and full of hope."***

—President Bill Clinton in Rwanda, 1998

Despite President Clinton's apology and the apologies of others, the United States and other nations have done little to address the deeper causes of one of the world's bloodiest and most explosive conflicts. Progress has been made in preventing a new round of bloodletting between Tutsis and Hutus, but some worry that the international community is not doing all that it should. The country, with its fragile stability and complicated past, could easily explode into violence again, as could neighboring Burundi.

***"If it were to happen again tomorrow, would the international community be there? Quite honestly, I don't know."***

—UN Secretary General Kofi Annan

***How is Rwanda recovering from the genocide?***

Rwanda's government has taken steps to heal the wounds of Tutsi-Hutu conflict within Rwanda. Almost all of the Hutu refugees have returned home. Local and national elections

**Somalia Syndrome**

In 1993, U.S. troops stationed in Mogadishu, Somalia on a humanitarian mission were involved in a clash with Somali militia. The firefight that ensued on October 3, 1993 was the bloodiest firefight involving U.S. troops since Vietnam. The conflict resulted in eighteen dead Americans and nearly one thousand dead Somalis. The American troops were killed and dragged through the streets of the capital city of Mogadishu. Broadcast for the world to see, the American public was outraged. All American peacekeeping troops in Somalia were removed as the country slipped into chaos. This battle changed America's responses to the world's humanitarian crises, especially those in Africa. America's reluctance to get involved in certain conflicts, often those involving ethnic strife, is commonly referred to as the "Somalia Syndrome."

***"Three brief years separated the vigorous military intervention that overrode Iraqi sovereignty and supported humane values in defense of some 1.5 million Kurds in April 1991 from the total passivity in responding to the Rwandan bloodbath during which perhaps a million people were murdered in April 1994. In between, there was Somalia."***

—Scholar Thomas G. Weiss



have been held and both Hutus and Tutsis fill top government positions. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (in Arusha, Tanzania) has tried more than fifty of the top organizers of the genocide, though there are currently thousands of suspects still awaiting justice, and many others at large. In 2005 the government released about half of its prisoners, many of whom had already served the maximum sentence for their alleged crimes. Over thirty thousand accused remain in jail.

A local, traditional justice system known as *Gacaca* (pronounced ga-cha-cha) is trying to bring justice and healing to the remaining victims and perpetrators. These courts try lower-level participants in the genocide, and have sentenced over thirteen hundred people so far. Some Rwandans say they have been threatened from testifying in these courts.

Memories of the 1994 genocide remain fresh, though the government says its promotion of national unity is working. Countless Hutus and Tutsi live as displaced persons or refugees. Inter-marriage and close friendships between Tutsis and Hutus are no longer as common as they once were. Moreover, Rwanda's poverty, which has worsened since 1994, threatens to touch off further ethnic conflict. Regional instability and the massive refugee problem in the African Great Lakes Region are additional factors that threaten stability in Rwanda.

***“Rwanda has a problem. On the surface, things are becoming normal. But some of the flowers which are flowering have bodies beneath them.”***

—Esther Mujaway, Rwandan counselor

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The case studies discussed in this reading represent only some of the genocides that have scarred the twentieth century. The frequency with which genocides have occurred in the past suggests that the world will see more cases of genocide in the future. In the coming days you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy on this issue. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore is based in a distinct set of values or beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and our relationship with the UN. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy.

At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. policy should be heading. In doing so, you may borrow heavily from one option, combine ideas from several, or take a new approach altogether. You will need to weigh the risks and trade-offs of whatever you decide.



## Options in Brief

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### Option 1: Lead the World in the Fight to Stop Genocide

Genocide is unacceptable—anywhere, at any time. Nearly forty million individuals were killed in genocides throughout the twentieth century. Pledging “never again” and then standing by while genocide scars the face of the earth cannot be tolerated. We must align rhetoric with reality and start taking our responsibility to uphold the Genocide Convention seriously. When the world fails to act, we must take it upon ourselves to prevent and stop genocide whenever and wherever it occurs. We must be willing to try perpetrators of genocide in specially created tribunals or courts. Preventing genocide must become a foreign policy priority for the United States.

### Option 2: Stand with the International Community Against Genocide

The last hundred years have seen genocides in the four corners of the globe. Genocide is a global concern and requires a unified global response. No single nation has the necessary experience, resources, or credibility to set or apply standards for international behavior. We must recognize the UN as the entity with the legitimacy and experience to develop and maintain a long-term, international effort to prevent and stop genocide. If the UN is going to have the strength it needs to meet this responsibility, we must play a leadership role in supporting the effectiveness of the UN on security matters. If we are ever to see a time when genocide is no more, we must stand together with the international community against acts of genocide whenever and wherever they surface.

### Option 3: Speak Out, But Preserve State Sovereignty

Genocide is a terrible crime and we must speak out against it. But directly meddling in the internal affairs of another country—even in the face of genocide—will only set us up for disaster in the future. The principle of state sovereignty has been central to the international community for hundreds of years and it remains an integral part of the UN today. Eroding the principles of state sovereignty could significantly weaken the United Nations, leading to more harm than the crime we are trying to prevent. Failing to protect state sovereignty will also open the doors to international meddling in the affairs of the United States. We do not want other countries telling us what to think or how to act, so we should not tell them. The right of nations to govern themselves must be preserved.

### Option 4: Intervene Only When U.S. Interests are Directly Threatened

Genocide is a sad fact of human nature. There have been many genocides in the past century and there will be many more to come. It is unrealistic to think that the United States can stop them all. We must be pragmatic in today's difficult world. The first priority of our foreign policy must be to make our country stronger and safer. We can speak out against genocide and encourage the UN and our allies to do the same, but unless it directly threatens our stability, our involvement should be limited to diplomatic initiatives. Risking American lives and spending huge sums of money to try to prevent genocide is not sensible unless it is done to protect our economic and security interests.



## Option 1: Lead the World in the Fight to Stop Genocide

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Genocide is unacceptable—anywhere, at any time. Nearly forty million individuals were killed in genocides throughout the twentieth century. Most of the world, including the United States, stood by and watched these genocides unfold despite their proclaimed commitment to “never again” allow such horrific crimes. We must align rhetoric with reality and start taking our responsibility to uphold the Genocide Convention seriously. As the only remaining superpower, we have both the opportunity and the responsibility to stand up for human rights throughout the world. We must make the prevention of genocide a foreign policy priority and act to stop it whenever and wherever it occurs, regardless of the sentiments of other nations.

There are currently numerous conflicts simmering all over the globe with the potential to develop into mass killings and genocides in the coming years. We must work diligently to prevent these conflicts from erupting into genocide as well as directly intervene if the conflicts escalate to genocide. We cannot depend on or wait for others to stop a bloodbath. We have seen time and again that the United Nations Security Council is too often paralyzed by political divisions and bureaucratic red tape to act. Likewise, many individual countries have neither the resources nor the desire to intervene. If the international community fails to mobilize quickly or shirks its responsibility, we must take it upon ourselves to do all that we can to stop the killing. We must then hold perpetrators of genocide accountable for their actions in specially created tribunals or courts.

### What should we do?

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- The United States must not shirk its responsibility as a superpower to defend the rights of the helpless. We should announce to the world that the United States will do everything in its power to prevent and to stop genocide wherever it may occur in the world.

- If a genocide occurs, we must tell the world what we know and try to rally support for stopping it. If no one will help, we must act on our own.

- We should devote additional resources to monitoring situations that have the potential to develop into genocide. We should equip and train our military for interventions to prevent genocide.

- The United States recognizes that the principle of state sovereignty is not sacred, especially when human lives are at stake. We should announce that the U.S. will not allow tyrants to hide behind state sovereignty if they are committing the crime of genocide.



## Option 1 is based on the following beliefs

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- As the world's superpower and a beacon of liberty and human rights, the United States has the responsibility to protect the powerless—even if the rest of the world or the UN cannot agree on what to do.
- State sovereignty no longer applies if a state fails to protect its own people from mass murder, genocide, or crimes against humanity.

### Arguments for

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1. Preventing genocide provides a clear moral purpose to our foreign policy.
2. The political squabbles that divide the international community have often prevented tyrants from being held accountable for their actions. The United States can and should act to bring safety and justice to those who need it.
3. Acting alone when necessary avoids the delays and inefficiency of the international community.

- The international community has proven itself to be largely ineffective over the years at preventing genocide.
- The effects of genocide cannot be localized or contained by state borders. Genocide anywhere affects all people. It is in our national interest to stop it whenever and wherever it occurs.

### Arguments against

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1. Unilateral action can lead to misperceptions about the intentions and goals of U.S. policy. We cannot afford to increase already present anti-American sentiment by sticking our noses into other people's business.
2. Acting alone could get us embroiled in long-term problems that we do not have the capability or will to resolve.
3. State sovereignty is a vital principle of the international system. Intervening in another state's sovereign affairs will significantly erode this system and lead to more serious problems.
4. Intervening in the internal affairs of another country, no matter how noble the cause, will provide a precedent for other nations to intervene in our internal affairs.
5. The United States does not have the resources, nor the right, to be the world's police officer.
6. While preventing genocide is a noble idea, we must focus our foreign policy efforts on those issues that directly affect America's economic and political interests. Intervening in every case of genocide will be extremely expensive, dangerous, and time consuming.





## Option 2: Stand with the International Community Against Genocide

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The last hundred years have seen genocides in every corner of the globe. More than forty million people from many nations have been victims. Genocide around the world must be stopped and a strong and unified global response is required to do so. No single nation has the necessary experience, resources, or credibility to set or apply standards for international behavior. The UN has these necessary components and must be the force behind genocide prevention and confrontation. If the United States tries on its own to address this issue our motives will be questioned and we will receive blame for anything that goes wrong. In today's world we cannot afford to increase anti-American sentiment as a result of our foreign policy.

We must recognize and support the United Nations as the entity with the legitimacy and experience to develop and maintain a long-term, international effort to prevent and stop genocide. The great majority of nations agree that genocide must not be allowed to happen again, yet it continues to occur around the world. Nothing can go further to prevent it than a clear international commitment to upholding the rule of law. As the world's only superpower, we must renew our commitment in the UN, taking a leadership role in strengthening and supporting its effectiveness in security matters. If we are ever to see a time when genocide is no more, we must stand together with the international community against acts of genocide whenever and wherever they surface.

### What should we do?

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- The United States should work to encourage an international campaign to prevent and stop genocide by making it one of the highest priorities of the United Nations.
- The United States should drop its reservations to the Genocide Convention and sign on to the International Criminal Court.
- The United States should work to en-

courage greater cooperation among members of the UN Security Council and be willing to devote resources to making the UN a more effective organization.

- The United States should help strengthen the UN's capacity to identify and resolve potential genocides before they get underway.



## Option 2 is based on the following beliefs

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- The United Nations is the world's best hope for resolving international problems. A nation acting alone has neither the moral authority nor the capacity to right the world's wrongs.

- International law is the best way to resolve international problems. Only the UN

has the legitimacy to authorize the measures needed to stop or prevent genocide.

- Most, if not all, nations want to prevent genocide.

- A strong UN is the best hope for peace, stability, and justice in the world.

## Arguments for

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1. All nations will share the costs of helping to prevent genocide.

2. Nothing can go further to prevent genocide than a clear international commitment to upholding the rule of law.

3. Making the prevention of genocide a priority of the UN will reinvigorate the role of the UN in the world. Prioritizing genocide is a clear goal that many nations can support.

4. Preventing genocide is an issue on which nations can agree. Success in this area could help improve international cooperation on other issues.

## Arguments against

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1. The UN operates too slowly and inefficiently to be relied on in such an important matter.

2. There are too many political divisions on the UN Security Council to ensure that it would act to prevent genocide.

3. The UN has proven itself incapable of preventing genocide even when it was happening right under its nose.

4. Giving jurisdiction to the International Criminal Court and other international judicial bodies will subject American citizens and soldiers to politically motivated prosecutions.

5. Intervening in a sovereign state's affairs will undermine, if not completely destroy, the necessary and established structures of state sovereignty.

6. Focusing too much attention on preventing genocide will take away resources from other more important U.S. foreign policy issues such as preventing terrorism.



## Option 3: Speak Out, But Preserve State Sovereignty

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Genocide is a terrible crime and we must speak out against it. But directly meddling in other countries' affairs will only set us up for disaster in the future. The principle of state sovereignty has been central to the international system for hundreds of years and it remains an integral part of the United Nations today. Intervening, alone or as part of a multinational initiative, in the internal affairs of another country—even in the face of genocide—will undermine the concept of state sovereignty and erode the long-established structures of the international system.

We must recognize that the peace and stability of the world are best served by respecting the principles of state sovereignty and territorial integrity. Failing to respect these principles will do irreparable harm to the current international system—with far greater consequences than the wrong that the international community is trying to prevent. Eroding the principles of state sovereignty could significantly weaken the United Nations. Very few countries will be willing to remain part of the UN if their right to govern themselves is significantly decreased. Failing to protect the principle of state sovereignty will also open the door to international meddling in the affairs of the United States. If we accept that international officials can decide what countries are permitted to do inside their borders, it is just a matter of time before our own Constitution is challenged. We should free ourselves from the Genocide Convention, and encourage others to do the same. Additionally, we should not sign on to the International Criminal Court. Both of these structures would subject us to the political whims of other nations. The right of nations to govern themselves must be preserved.

### What should we do?

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- The United States should reaffirm the rights of states to govern themselves according to their own values free from outside interference. We should not engage in any activities that could lead to the demise of the international community's commitment to state sovereignty.

- The United States should promote the UN and other organizations in their role as respondents to humanitarian needs.

- The United States should withdraw from the Genocide Convention and refuse to sign onto the International Court. We should encourage other nations to do the same.

- While declaring our commitment to the principle of state sovereignty, the United States should speak out against genocide and encourage nations to prevent it within their own borders.



## Option 3 is based on the following beliefs

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- State sovereignty is an integral part of the international system. Its erosion would lead to the deterioration of the United Nations.
- Multilateral institutions or organizations that threaten the sovereignty of individual states have the potential to do more harm than good.

### Arguments for

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1. Intervening in the internal affairs of another country will erode the structures of state sovereignty. The consequences of such actions will be greater than the wrong we are trying to address.
2. Resisting “feel-good” but flawed ideas like the Genocide Convention or the International Criminal Court will minimize politically motivated prosecutions and unwise obligations to meddle in other countries’ affairs.
3. The international system is founded on the principle of state sovereignty. Preserving this principle will help foster stability and predictability in the world.
4. The United States will be a more effective force for good in the world if it remains unconstrained by unworkable and flawed international agreements.

- International courts and agreements threaten all Americans’ constitutional rights to due process and a trial by one’s peers.
- Each nation must retain the right to decide the laws that govern its people.

### Arguments against

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1. Preserving state sovereignty even when states do not meet their responsibility for protecting civilians reaffirms the belief of tyrants that they can act without fear of consequences.
2. State sovereignty can be preserved up to a point, but not at the expense of looking the other way if a genocide is occurring. Human lives are more important than abstract principles. What happened to “never again”?
3. Refusing to sign international agreements angers the rest of the world and makes preventing genocide more difficult.
4. Arguing that preserving our sovereignty is more important than working with other nations to eradicate the evil of genocide makes the United States appear callous and selfish.
5. A genocide’s effects have never been completely contained within the country in which the genocide was actually committed. The cross-border refugee movement alone makes it an international issue.



## Option 4: Intervene Only When U.S. Interests are Directly Threatened

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Genocide is a sad reality of human nature. There have been many genocides in the past century alone, and there will be many more to come. It is unrealistic to think that the United States can stop them all. We must be pragmatic in today's difficult world. Acting as the world's police officer or as a crusading idealist will only continue to get us into trouble and drain valuable resources that are needed here at home and for the war on terror. More resentment will build against us, and our own economy, security, and stability will suffer if we continue meddling in other people's affairs. Our country's founders sought to make the United States a model for the world, not its police officer. The danger and economic sacrifices associated with a campaign to eliminate genocide are enormous. We must protect ourselves and concentrate on issues that are of vital importance to us, rather than devoting our time and energy to trying in vain to stop intractable killing campaigns around the world.

The first priority of our foreign policy must be to make our country stronger and safer, not to seek to change the world. We cannot afford to sacrifice our economic interests or risk creating resentment abroad by sticking our noses into other people's problems. We can speak out against human rights abuses and encourage the UN and our allies to do the same, but unless genocide directly threatens our stability, our involvement should be limited to diplomatic initiatives. Risking American lives and spending huge sums of money to try to prevent genocide is not sensible unless it is done to protect our economic and security interests.

### What should we do?

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- In the case of genocide, the United States should only intervene if our national security is at stake.

- We should not risk American lives to stop intractable killing campaigns around the world unless we are protecting our economic or security interests.

- Our government should shift its focus away from international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations and focus more on protecting our country and its interests.

- We should work to strengthen regional organizations and encourage them to deal with their own regional problems.



## Option 4 is based on the following beliefs

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- Our government's resources are limited and must be devoted to protecting the interests of the United States.

- We cannot expect other nations to share the same sets of interests or values as the United States.

### Arguments for

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1. Basing decisions on a clear calculation of U.S. interests will enable our country to concentrate American resources on issues that matter most to the United States.

2. By establishing a clear standard by which we judge when the U.S. should respond to genocide, we will allow U.S. leaders to correctly allocate diplomatic, economic, and military resources.

3. Encouraging other nations to take more responsibility for the world's peace and security lessens the burden on the United States.

- It is idealistic and unwise to think that the United States can or should change the world.

- Neighboring states and regional organizations have the primary responsibility for and the interest in intervening in genocides taking place in their own regions.

### Arguments against

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1. The United States is the only country with the diplomatic and military clout to prevent or stop a genocide.

2. True international cooperation is needed when confronting genocide. If all countries only acted in their own immediate interests, there would be few countries willing or able to intervene.

3. Intervention in the internal affairs of any state, even if our interests are affected, is a dangerous way to conduct international relations. The principles of state sovereignty are intrinsic to our international system.

4. Working with other countries to prevent genocide even when traditional U.S. economic and security interests are not affected can help build a more cooperative international community. In the long run, this would benefit the United States.

5. Prioritizing economic or security interests over the lives of innocent people repeats the tragic mistakes of history. What happened to "never again"?



## Supplementary Documents

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### Excerpt from the Moscow Declaration, 1943 Statement on Atrocities Signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Premier Stalin

The United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union have received from many quarters evidence of atrocities, massacres and cold-blooded mass executions which are being perpetrated by Hitlerite forces in many of the countries they have overrun and from which they are now being steadily expelled. The brutalities of Nazi domination are no new thing, and all peoples or territories in their grip have suffered from the worst form of government by terror. What is new is that many of the territories are now being redeemed by the advancing armies of the liberating powers, and that in their desperation the recoiling Hitlerites and Huns are redoubling their ruthless cruelties. This is now evidenced with particular clearness by monstrous crimes on the territory of the Soviet Union which is being liberated from Hitlerites, and on French and Italian territory.

Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interest of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been

responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece including Crete and other islands, to Norway, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Italy.

Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged.

Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offenses have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the government of the Allies.



## Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the UN General Assembly 9 December 1948

### Article 1

The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

### Article 2

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

### Article 3

The following acts shall be punishable:

- (a) Genocide;
- (b) Conspiracy to commit genocide;
- (c) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;
- (d) Attempt to commit genocide;
- (e) Complicity in genocide.

### Article 4

Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

### Article 5

The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

### Article 6

Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

### Article 7

Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article 3 shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

### Article 8

Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3.

### Article 9

Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfillment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article 3, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

### Article 10

The present Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.





#### **Article 11**

The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

#### **Article 12**

Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

#### **Article 13**

On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a procès-verbal and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

#### **Article 14**

The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date

of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be effected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

#### **Article 15**

If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

#### **Article 16**

A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

#### **Article 17**

The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article 11 of the following:

(a) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article 11;

(b) Notifications received in accordance with Article 12;

(c) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article 13;

(d) Denunciations received in accordance with Article 14;

(e) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article 15;

(f) Notifications received in accordance with Article 16.

#### **Article 18**

The original of the present Convention

shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article 11.

#### Article 19

The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

### The Nuremberg Principles Text adopted by the International Law Commission of the United Nations in 1950, and submitted to the General Assembly

**Principle I.** Any person who commits an act which constitutes a crime under international law is responsible therefore and liable to punishment.

**Principle II.** The fact that internal law does not impose a penalty for an act which constitutes a crime under international law does not relieve the person who committed the act from responsibility under international law.

**Principle III.** The fact that a person who committed an act which constitutes a crime under international law acted as Head of State or responsible government official does not relieve him from responsibility under international law.

**Principle IV.** The fact that a person acted pursuant to order of his Government or of a superior does not relieve him from responsibility under international law, provided a moral choice was in fact possible to him.

**Principle V.** Any person charged with a crime under international law has the right to a fair trial on the facts and law.

**Principle VI.** The crimes hereinafter set out are punishable as crimes under international law:

(a) Crimes against peace:

(i) Planning, preparation, initiation or waging of a war of aggression or a war in violation of international treaties, agreements or assurances;

(ii) Participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the acts mentioned under (i).

(b) War Crimes:

Violations of the laws or customs of war which include, but are not limited to, murder, ill-treatment or deportation of slave-labour or for any other purpose of the civilian population of or in occupied territory, murder or ill-treatment of prisoners of war or persons on the seas, killing of hostages, plunder of public or private property, wanton destruction of cities, towns, or villages, or devastation not justified by military necessity.

(c) Crimes against humanity:

Murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation and other inhumane acts done against any civilian population, or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds, when such acts are done or such persecutions are carried on in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or any war crime.

**Principle VII.** Complicity in the commission of a crime against peace, a war crime, or a crime against humanity as set forth in Principle VI is a crime under international law.



## Universal Declaration of Human Rights Proclaimed and adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations December 10, 1948

### Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY proclaims:

THIS UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF

HUMAN RIGHTS as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

### Article 1.

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

### Article 2.

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

### Article 3.

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

### Article 4.

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

### Article 5.

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

### Article 6.

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

### Article 7.

All are equal before the law and are



entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

**Article 8.**

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

**Article 9.**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

**Article 10.**

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

**Article 11.**

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

**Article 12.**

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

**Article 13.**

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any

country, including his own, and to return to his country.

**Article 14.**

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

**Article 15.**

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

**Article 16.**

(1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

**Article 17.**

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

**Article 18.**

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

**Article 19.**

Everyone has the right to freedom of



opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

**Article 20.**

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

**Article 21.**

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

**Article 22.**

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

**Article 23.**

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

**Article 24.**

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

**Article 25.**

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

**Article 26.**

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

**Article 27.**

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.



**Article 28.**

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

**Article 29.**

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and

respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

**Article 30.**

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

**Dallaire Fax  
Sent by Romeo Dallaire, Commander of the UN troops in Rwanda on 11 January 1994 to the Department of Peacekeeping Operations at UN Headquarters in New York. Dallaire warns of planned massacres revealed by a top militia informer.**

Outgoing Code Cable			
Date	11 January 1994		
TO:	Baril/DPKO/UNations New York	FROM:	Dallaire/Unamir/ Kigali
FAX NO: CABLE: INMARSAT	Most immediate- code 212-963-4657	FAX NO:	011-250-84273
SUBJECT:	Request for protection of informant		
ATTN:	Mgen Baril		
TOTAL NUMBER OF TRANSMITTED PAGES INCLUDING THIS ONE:			2

1. Force commander put in contact with informant by very very important government politician. Informant is a top level trainer in the cadre of interhamwe-armed militia of MRND.

2. He informed us he was in charge of last Saturday's demonstrations which aims were to target deputies of opposition parties coming to ceremonies and Belgian soldiers. They hoped to provoke the RPF BN to engage (being fired



upon) the demonstrators and provoke a civil war. Deputies were to be assassinated upon entry or exit from Parliament. Belgian troops were to be provoked and if Belgians soldiers restored to force a number of them were to be killed and thus guarantee Belgian withdrawal from Rwanda.

3. Informant confirmed 48 RGF PARA CDO and a few members of the gendarmerie participated in demonstrations in plain clothes. Also at least one Minister of the MRND and the sous-prefect of Kigali were in the demonstration. RGF and Interhamwe provided radio communications.

4. Informant is a former security member of the president. He also stated he is paid RF150,000 per month by the MRND party to train Interhamwe. Direct link is to chief of staff RGF and president of the MRND for financial and material support.

5. Interhamwe has trained 1700 men in RGF military camps outside the capital. The 1700 are scattered in groups of 40 throughout Kigali. Since UNAMIR deployed he has trained 300 personnel in three week training sessions at RGF camps. Training focus was discipline, weapons, explosives, close combat and tactics.

6. Principal aim of Interhamwe in the past was to protect Kigali from RPF. Since UN-AMIR mandate he has been ordered to register all Tutsi in Kigali. He suspects it is for their extermination. Example he gave was that in 20 minutes his personnel could kill up to 1000 Tutsis.

7. Informant states he disagrees with anti-Tutsi extermination. He supports opposition to RPF but cannot support killing of innocent persons. He also stated that he believes the president does not have full control over all elements of his old party/faction.

8. Informant is prepared to provide location of major weapons cache with at least

135 weapons. He already has distributed 110 weapons including 35 with ammunition and can give us details of their location. Type of weapons are G3 and AK47 provided by RGF. He was ready to go to the arms cache tonight—if we gave him the following guarantee. He requests that he and his family (his wife and four children) be placed under our protection.

9. It is our intention to take action within the next 36 hours with a possible H HR of Wednesday at dawn (local). Informant states that hostilities may commence again if political deadlock ends. Violence could take place day of the ceremonies or the day after. Therefore Wednesday will give greatest chance of success and also be most timely to provide significant input to on-going political negotiations.

10. It is recommended that informant be granted protection and evacuated out of Rwanda. This HQ does not have previous UN experience in such matters and urgently requests guidance. No contact has as yet been made to any embassy in order to inquire if they are prepared to protect him for a period of time by granting diplomatic immunity in their embassy in Kigali before moving him and his family out of the country.

11. Force commander will be meeting with the very very important political person tomorrow morning in order to ensure that this individual is conscious of all parameters of his involvement. Force commander does have certain reservations on the suddenness of the change of heart of the informant to come clean with this information. Recce of armed cache and detailed planning of raid to go on late tomorrow. Possibility of a trap not fully excluded, as this may be a set-up against this very very important political person. Force commander to inform SRSG first thing in morning to ensure his support.

13. [sic] Peux Ce Que Veux. Allons-y.



## President Clinton's Apology to the People of Rwanda Kigali, 25 March 1998

**T**hank you, Mr. President. First, let me thank you, Mr. President, and Vice President Kagame, and your wives for making Hillary and me and our delegation feel so welcome. I'd also like to thank the young students who met us and the musicians, the dancers who were outside. I thank especially the survivors of the genocide and those who are working to rebuild your country for spending a little time with us before we came in here.

I have a great delegation of Americans with me, leaders of our government, leaders of our Congress, distinguished American citizens. We're all very grateful to be here. We thank the diplomatic corps for being here, and the members of the Rwandan government, and especially the citizens.

I have come today to pay the respects of my nation to all who suffered and all who perished in the Rwandan genocide. It is my hope that through this trip, in every corner of the world today and tomorrow, their story will be told; that four years ago in this beautiful, green, lovely land, a clear and conscious decision was made by those then in power that the peoples of this country would not live side by side in peace.

During the 90 days that began on April 6 in 1994, Rwanda experienced the most intensive slaughter in this blood-filled century we are about to leave. Families murdered in their home, people hunted down as they fled by soldiers and militia, through farmland and woods as if they were animals.

From Kibuye in the west to Kibungo in the east, people gathered seeking refuge in churches by the thousands, in hospitals, in schools. And when they were found, the old and the sick, women and children alike, they were killed —killed because their identity card said they were Tutsi or because they had a Tutsi parent, or because someone thought they looked like a Tutsi, or slain like thousands of Hutus because they protected Tutsis or would

not countenance a policy that sought to wipe out people who just the day before, and for years before, had been their friends and neighbors.

The government-led effort to exterminate Rwanda's Tutsi and moderate Hutus, as you know better than me, took at least a million lives. Scholars of these sorts of events say that the killers, armed mostly with machetes and clubs, nonetheless did their work five times as fast as the mechanized gas chambers used by the Nazis.

It is important that the world know that these killings were not spontaneous or accidental. It is important that the world hear what your president just said—they were most certainly not the result of ancient tribal struggles. Indeed, these people had lived together for centuries before the events the president described began to unfold.

These events grew from a policy aimed at the systematic destruction of a people. The ground for violence was carefully prepared, the airwaves poisoned with hate, casting the Tutsis as scapegoats for the problems of Rwanda, denying their humanity. All of this was done, clearly, to make it easy for otherwise reluctant people to participate in wholesale slaughter.

Lists of victims, name by name, were actually drawn up in advance. Today the images of all that haunt us all: the dead choking the Kigara River, floating to Lake Victoria. In their fate we are reminded of the capacity in people everywhere—not just in Rwanda, and certainly not just in Africa—but the capacity for people everywhere to slip into pure evil. We cannot abolish that capacity, but we must never accept it. And we know it can be overcome.

The international community, together with nations in Africa, must bear its share of responsibility for this tragedy, as well. We did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe haven for the killers. We did not immediately call these crimes by their rightful name: genocide. We cannot change the past. But we can and must do everything in





our power to help you build a future without fear, and full of hope.

We owe to those who died and to those who survived who loved them, our every effort to increase our vigilance and strengthen our stand against those who would commit such atrocities in the future—here or elsewhere.

Indeed, we owe to all the peoples of the world who are at risk—because each bloodletting hastens the next as the value of human life is degraded and violence becomes tolerated, the unimaginable becomes more conceivable—we owe to all the people in the world our best efforts to organize ourselves so that we can maximize the chances of preventing these events. And where they cannot be prevented, we can move more quickly to minimize the horror.

So let us challenge ourselves to build a world in which no branch of humanity, because of national, racial, ethnic or religious origin, is again threatened with destruction because of those characteristics, of which people should rightly be proud. Let us work together as a community of civilized nations to strengthen our ability to prevent and, if necessary, to stop genocide.

To that end, I am directing my administration to improve, with the international community, our system for identifying and spotlighting nations in danger of genocidal violence, so that we can assure worldwide awareness of impending threats. It may seem strange to you here, especially the many of you who lost members of your family, but all over the world there were people like me sitting in offices, day after day after day, who did not fully appreciate the depth and the speed with which you were being engulfed by this unimaginable terror.

We have seen, too—and I want to say again—that genocide can occur anywhere. It is not an African phenomenon and must never be viewed as such. We have seen it in industrialized Europe; we have seen it in Asia. We must have global vigilance. And never again must we be shy in the face of the evidence.

Secondly, we must as an international

community have the ability to act when genocide threatens. We are working to create that capacity here in the Great Lakes region, where the memory is still fresh.

This afternoon in Entebbe, leaders from central and eastern Africa will meet with me to launch an effort to build a coalition to prevent genocide in this region. I thank the leaders who have stepped forward to make this commitment. We hope the effort can be a model for all the world, because our sacred task is to work to banish this greatest crime against humanity.

Events here show how urgent the work is. In the northwest part of your country, attacks by those responsible for the slaughter in 1994 continue today. We must work as partners with Rwanda to end this violence and allow your people to go on rebuilding your lives and your nation.

Third, we must work now to remedy the consequences of genocide. The United States has provided assistance to Rwanda to settle the uprooted and restart its economy, but we must do more. I am pleased that America will become the first nation to contribute to the new Genocide Survivors Fund. We will contribute this year \$2 million, continue our support in the years to come, and urge other nations to do the same, so that survivors and their communities can find the care they need and the help they must have.

Mr. President, to you, and to you, Mr. Vice President, you have shown great vision in your efforts to create a single nation in which all citizens can live freely and securely. As you pointed out, Rwanda was a single nation before the European powers met in Berlin to carve up Africa. America stands with you, and we will continue helping the people of Rwanda to rebuild their lives and society.

You spoke passionately this morning in our private meeting about the need for grassroots effort in this direction. We will deepen our support for those grassroots efforts, for the development projects which are bridging divisions and clearing a path to a better future. We will join with you to strengthen democratic



institutions, to broaden participation, to give all Rwandans a greater voice in their own governance. The challenges you face are great, but your commitment to lasting reconciliation and inclusion is firm.

Fourth, to help ensure that those who survived in the generations to come never again suffer genocidal violence, nothing is more vital than establishing the rule of law. There can be no peace in Rwanda that lasts without a justice system that is recognized as such.

We applaud the efforts of the Rwandan government to strengthen civilian and military justice systems.

I am pleased that our Great Lakes Justice Initiative will invest \$30 million to help create throughout the region judicial systems that are impartial, credible and effective. In Rwanda these funds will help to support courts, prosecutors, and police, military justice and cooperation at the local level.

We will also continue to pursue justice through our strong backing for the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The United States is the largest contributor to this tribunal. We are frustrated, as you are, by the delays in the tribunal's work. As we know, we must do better. Now that administrative improvements have begun, however, the tribunal should expedite cases through group trials, and fulfill its historic mission.

We are prepared to help, among other things, with witness relocation, so that those who still fear can speak the truth in safety. And we will support the War Crimes Tribunal for as long as it is needed to do its work, until the truth is clear and justice is rendered.

Fifth, we must make it clear to all those who would commit such acts in the future that they too must answer for their acts, and they will. In Rwanda, we must hold accountable all those who may abuse human rights, whether insurgents or soldiers. Internationally, as we meet here, talks are underway at the United Nations to establish a permanent international criminal court. Rwanda and the difficulties we have had with this special tribunal un-

derscores the need for such a court. And the United States will work to see that it is created.

I know that in the face of all you have endured, optimism cannot come easily to any of you. Yet I have just spoken, as I said, with several Rwandans who survived the atrocities, and just listening to them gave me reason for hope. You see countless stories of courage around you every day as you go about your business here—men and women who survived and go on, children who recover the light in their eyes remind us that at the dawn of a new millennium there is only one crucial division among the peoples of the Earth. And believe me, after over five years of dealing with these problems I know it is not the division between Hutu and Tutsi, or Serb and Croatian and Muslim in Bosnia, or Arab and Jew, or Catholic and Protestant in Ireland, or black and white. It is really the line between those who embrace the common humanity we all share and those who reject it.

It is the line between those who find meaning in life through respect and cooperation and who, therefore, embrace peace, and those who can only find meaning in life if they have someone to look down on, someone to trample, someone to punish and, therefore, embrace war. It is the line between those who look to the future and those who cling to the past. It is the line between those who give up their resentment and those who believe they will absolutely die if they have to release one bit of grievance. It is the line between those who confront every day with a clenched fist and those who confront every day with an open hand. That is the only line that really counts when all is said and done.

To those who believe that God made each of us in His own image, how could we choose the darker road? When you look at those children who greeted us as we got off that plane today, how could anyone say they did not want those children to have a chance to have their own children? To experience the joy of another morning sunrise? To learn the normal lessons of life? To give something back to their people?



When you strip it all away, whether we're talking about Rwanda or some other distant troubled spot, the world is divided according to how people believe they draw meaning from life.

And so I say to you, though the road is hard and uncertain, and there are many difficulties ahead, and like every other person who wishes to help, I doubtless will not be able to do everything I would like to do, there are things we can do. And if we set about the business of doing them together, you can overcome the awful burden that you have endured. You can put a smile on the face of every child in this country, and you can make people once again believe that they should live as people were living who were singing to us and dancing for us today.

That's what we have to believe. That is what I came here to say. That is what I wish for you.

Thank you and God bless you.

### **Secretary of State Colin Powell to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Genocide in Sudan, 9 September 2004**

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, let me thank you for this opportunity to testify on the situation on Darfur, and let me begin by reviewing a little history. The violence in Darfur has complex roots in traditional conflicts between Arab nomadic herders and African farmers. The violence intensified during 2003 when two groups—the Sudan Liberation Movement and the Justice and Equality Movement—declared open rebellion against the Government of Sudan because they feared being on the outside of the power and wealth-sharing agreements that were being arranged in the north-south negotiations, the “Naivasha discussions,” as we call them. Khartoum reacted aggressively, intensifying support for Arab militias to take on these rebels and support for what are known as the Jingaweit [often spelled Jangaweid]. The

Government of Sudan supported the Jingaweit, directly and indirectly, as they carried out a scorched-earth policy toward the rebels and the African civilian population in Darfur.

Mr. Chairman, the United States exerted strong leadership to focus international attention on this unfolding tragedy. We first took the issue of Sudan to the United Nations Security Council last fall. President Bush was the first head of state to condemn publicly the Government of Sudan and to urge the international community to intensify efforts to end the violence. In April of this year, the United States brokered a cease-fire between the Government of Sudan and the rebels, and then took the lead to get the African Union to monitor that cease-fire.

As some of you are aware, I traveled to the Sudan in midsummer and made a point of visiting Darfur. It was about the same time that Congressman Wolf and Senator Brownback were there, as well as Secretary General Kofi Annan. In fact, the Secretary General and I were able to meet in Khartoum to exchange our notes and to make sure that we gave a consistent message to the Sudanese Government of what was expected of them.

Senator Brownback can back me up when I say that all of us saw the suffering that the people of Darfur are having to endure. And Senator Corzine was just in Darfur recently. He can vouch for the fact that atrocities are still occurring. All of us met with people who had been driven from their homes by the terrible violence that is occurring in Darfur; indeed, many of them having seen their homes and all their worldly possessions destroyed or confiscated before their eyes.

During my visit, humanitarian workers from my own Agency—USAID—and from other nongovernmental organizations told me how they are struggling to bring food, shelter, and medicines to those so desperately in need—a population, as you noted, Mr. Chairman, of well over a million.

In my midsummer meetings with officials of the Government of Sudan, we presented them with the stark facts of what we knew



about what is happening in Darfur from the destruction of villages, to the raping and the killing, to the obstacles that impeded relief efforts. Secretary General Annan and I obtained from the Government of Sudan what they said would be firm commitments to take steps, and to take steps immediately, that would remove these obstacles, help bring the violence to an end, and do it in a way that we could monitor their performance.

There have been some positive developments since my visit, since the visit of Senator Brownback, Congressman Wolf, and the Secretary General.

The Sudanese have met some of our benchmarks such as improving humanitarian access, engaging in political talks with the rebels and supporting the deployment of observers and troops from the Africa Union to monitor the cease-fire between Khartoum and the rebels.

The AU Cease-fire Commission has also been set up and is working to monitor more effectively what is happening in Darfur. The general who is in charge of that mission, a Nigerian general by the name of General Okonkwo, is somebody that we know well. He is the same Nigerian general who went into Liberia last year and helped stabilize the situation there—a very good officer, a good commander who knows his business.

The AU's mission will help to restore sufficient security so that these dislocated, starving, hounded people can at least avail themselves of the humanitarian assistance that is available. But what is really needed is enough security so that they can go home, not be safe in camps. We need security throughout the countryside. These people need to go home. We are not interested in creating a permanent displaced population that survives in camps on the dole of the international community.

And what is really needed to accomplish that is for the Jingaweit militias to cease and desist their murderous raids against these people—and for the government in Khartoum to stop being complicit in such raids. Khar-

toum has made no meaningful progress in substantially improving the overall security environment by disarming the Jingaweit militias or arresting its leaders.

So we are continuing to press the Government of Sudan and we continue to monitor them. We continue to make sure that we are not just left with promises instead of actual action and performance on the ground. Because it is absolutely clear that as we approach the end of the rainy season, the situation on the ground must change, and it must change quickly. There are too many tens upon tens of thousands of human beings who are at risk. Some of them have already been consigned to death in the future because of the circumstances they are living in now. They will not make it through the end of the year. Poor security, inadequate capacity, and heavy rains, which will not diminish until later this month, continue to hamper the relief effort.

The United Nations estimates that there are 1,227,000 Internally Displaced Persons in Darfur. In July, almost 950,000 IDPs received food assistance. About 200,000 Sudanese refugees are being assisted by the UNHCR and partner organizations across the border in Chad. The World Food Program expects two million IDPs will need food aid by October.

The United States Government provision of aid to the Darfur crisis in the Sudan and Chad totaled \$211 million as of September 2, 2004. This includes \$112 million in food assistance, \$50 million in non-food assistance, \$36 million for refugees in Chad, \$5 million for refugee programs in Darfur, and \$6.8 million for the African Union mission.

The U.S. also strongly supports the work of the AU monitoring mission in Darfur. In fact, we initiated the mission through base camp set-up and logistics support by a private contractor that we are paying for. The AU mission is currently staffed with 125 AU monitors now deployed in the field, and those monitors have already completed 20 investigations of cease-fire violations and their reports are now being written up and being provided to the AU and to the UN and to the international com-



munity.

The AU monitoring staff is supported by a protection force of 305 troops, made up of a Rwandan contingent of 155, who arrived on August 15, and a Nigerian contingent of 150, who arrived on August 30th. Recognizing the security problems in Darfur, the UN and the United States have begun calling for an expanded AU mission in Darfur through the provision of additional observers and additional protection forces so their presence can spread throughout this very, very large area that is about, oh, 80 percent the size of the state of Texas. It is not a simple geographic or monitoring or military mission. It is very complex. Khartoum seems to have expressed a willingness to consider such an expanded mission.

I am pleased to announce, Mr. Chairman, that the State Department has identified \$20.5 million in FY04 funds for initial support of this expanded AU mission. We look forward to consulting with the Congress on meeting additional needs that such a mission might have.

As you know, as we watched the month of July, as you watched through the month of July, we felt that more pressure was required. So we went to the United Nations and asked for a resolution. And we got that resolution on July 30th, after a bit of debate, but it was 13-0 with 2 abstentions.

This resolution, 1556, demands that the Government of Sudan take action to disarm the Jingaweit militia and bring Jingaweit leaders to justice. It warns Khartoum that the Security Council will take further actions and measures, which is the UN term for sanctions. "Measures" is not a softer word. It includes sanctions and any other measures that might be contemplated or available to the international community. And it warned Khartoum that the UN, through its Security Council, will take actions and measures if Sudan fails to comply.

That resolution urges the warring parties to conclude a political agreement without delay and it commits all states to target sanctions against the Jingaweit militias and those who

aid and abet them as well as others who may share responsibility for this tragic situation. Too many lives have already been lost. We cannot lose any more time. We in the international community must intensify our efforts to help those imperiled by violence, starvation and disease in Darfur.

But the Government of Sudan bears the greatest responsibility to face up to this catastrophe, rein in those who are committing these atrocities, and save the lives of its own citizens. At the same time, however, the rebels have not fully respected the cease-fire and we are disturbed at reports of rebel kidnapping of relief workers. We have emphasized to the rebels that they must allow unrestricted access of humanitarian relief workers and supplies, and that they must cooperate fully, including cooperating with the AU monitoring mission.

We are pleased that the Government of Sudan and the rebels are currently engaged in talks in Abuja, hosted by the AU. These talks are aimed at bringing about a political settlement in Darfur. The two sides have agreed on a protocol to facilitate delivery of much-needed humanitarian assistance to rebel-held areas, and are now engaged in discussions of a protocol on security issues.

These negotiations are difficult. We expect that they may be adjourned for a period of time after these initial agreements and we are some ways away from seeing a political resolution between the two sides. We are urging both sides to intensify negotiations in order to reach a political settlement. And I have personnel from State Department who are on the ground in Abuja on a full-time basis to assist the negotiators in their work.

When I was in Khartoum earlier in the summer, I told President Bashir, Vice President Taha, Foreign Minister Ismail, the Minister of Interior and others, that the United States wants to see a united, unified, prosperous, democratic Sudan. I told them that to that end we are fully prepared to work with them. I reminded them that we had reached an historic agreement on June 5th—an agreement that we had worked on for so long, an agree-



ment between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, the so-called north-south agreement. And this north-south agreement covered all of the outstanding issues that had been so difficult for these parties to come to agreement on, they had come to agreement on.

Since then, the parties have been engaged in final negotiations on remaining details. However, the parties now are stuck on the specifics of a formal cease-fire agreement and have not yet begun the final round of implementation modalities. Special Envoy Sumbeiywo met recently with the parties, but could not resolve the remaining ceasefire-related issues. Khartoum appears unwilling to resume talks at the most senior level, claiming that it must focus on Darfur. That would be fine if its focus were the right focus, but it is not. The SPLM is more forward leaning, but still focused on negotiating details. We believe that a comprehensive agreement would bolster efforts to resolve the crisis in Darfur by providing a legal basis for a political solution and by opening up the political process in Khartoum.

President Bashir has repeatedly pledged to work for peace, and he pledged that again when I met with him earlier in the summer. But President Bush, this Congress, Secretary General Annan and the international community want more than promises. We want to see dramatic improvements on the ground right now. Indeed, we wanted to see them yesterday.

In the meantime, while we wait, we are doing all that we can. We are working with the international community to make sure all those nations who have made pledges of financial assistance and other kinds of assistance meet their pledges. We are not yet satisfied with the response from the international community to meeting the pledges that they have made. In fact, the estimated needs have grown and the donor community needs to dig deeper. America has been in the forefront of providing assistance to the suffering people of Darfur and will remain in the forefront. But it is time for the entire international community to increase their assistance.

The U.S. has pledged \$299 million in humanitarian aid through FY05, and \$11.8 million to the AU mission, and we are well on our way to exceeding these pledges. Clearly, we will need more assistance in the future and we are looking at all of our accounts within the Department to see what we can do. And when we are beyond our ability to do more from within our current appropriations, we will have to come back to the Congress and make our requests known.

Secretary General Annan's August 30th report called for an expanded AU mission in Darfur to monitor commitments of the parties more effectively, thereby enhancing security and facilitating the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The Secretary General's report also highlighted Khartoum's failure to rein in and disarm the Jingaweit militia, and noted that the Sudanese military continued to take part in attacks on civilians, including aerial bombardment and helicopter strikes.

We have begun consultation in New York on a new resolution that calls for Khartoum to fully cooperate with an expanded AU force and for cessation of Sudanese military flights over the Darfur region. It also provides for international overflights to monitor the situation in Darfur and requires the Security Council to review the record of Khartoum's compliance to determine if sanctions, including on the Sudanese petroleum sector, should be imposed. The resolution also urges the Government of Sudan and the SPLM to conclude negotiations, the Lake Naivasha negotiations, on a comprehensive peace accord.

And, Mr. Chairman, there is, finally, the continuing question of whether what is happening in Darfur should be called genocide.

Since the United States became aware of atrocities occurring in Sudan, we have been reviewing the Genocide Convention and the obligations it places on the Government of Sudan and on the international community and on the state parties to the genocide convention.

In July, we launched a limited investigation by sending a team to visit the refugee



camps in Chad to talk to refugees and displaced personnel. The team worked closely with the American Bar Association and the Coalition for International Justice, and were able to interview 1136 of the 2.2 million people the UN estimates have been affected by this horrible situation, this horrible violence.

Those interviews indicated: first, a consistent and widespread pattern of atrocities: Killings, rapes, burning of villages committed by Jingaweit and government forces against non-Arab villagers; three-fourths of those interviewed reported that the Sudanese military forces were involved in the attacks; third, villagers often experienced multiple attacks over a prolonged period before they were destroyed by burning, shelling or bombing, making it impossible for the villagers to return to their villages. This was a coordinated effort, not just random violence.

When we reviewed the evidence compiled by our team, and then put it beside other information available to the State Department and widely known throughout the international community, widely reported upon by the media and by others, we concluded, I concluded, that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the Government of Sudan and the Jingaweit bear responsibility—and that genocide may still be occurring. Mr. Chairman, we are making copies of the evidence that our team compiled available to you and to the public today. We are putting it up on our website now, as I speak.

We believe in order to confirm the true nature, scope and totality of the crimes our evidence reveals, a full-blown and unfettered investigation needs to occur. Sudan is a contracting party to the Genocide Convention and is obliged under the Convention to prevent and to punish acts of genocide. To us, at this time, it appears that Sudan has failed to do so.

Article VIII of the Genocide Convention provides that Contracting Parties may, I will quote now, “may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take action, such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they,” the competent organs of the United

Nations, “as they consider appropriate, actions as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III” of the Genocide Convention.

Because of that obligation under Article VIII of the Convention, and since the United States is one of the contracting parties; today we are calling on the United Nations to initiate a full investigation. To this end, the United States will propose that the next UN Security Council Resolution on Sudan request a United Nations investigation into all violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law that have occurred in Darfur, with a view to ensuring accountability.

Mr. Chairman, as I have said, the evidence leads us to the conclusion, the United States to the conclusion; that genocide has occurred and may still be occurring in Darfur. We believe the evidence corroborates the specific intent of the perpetrators to destroy “a group in whole or in part,” the words of the Convention. This intent may be inferred from their deliberate conduct. We believe other elements of the convention have been met as well.

Under the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which both the United States and Sudan are parties, genocide occurs when the following three criteria are met:

First, specific acts are committed, and those acts include: Killing; causing serious bodily or mental harm; deliberately inflicting conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction of a group in whole or in part; imposing measures to prevent births; or forcibly transferring children to another group. Those are specified acts that, if committed, raise the likelihood that genocide is being committed.

The second criteria: These acts are committed against members of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group; and the third criterion is, they are committed “with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, the group, as such.”

The totality of the evidence from the



interviews we conducted in July and August, and from the other sources available to us, shows that the Jingaweit and Sudanese military forces have committed large-scale acts of violence, including murders, rape and physical assaults on non-Arab individuals. Second, the Jingaweit and Sudanese military forces destroyed villages, foodstuffs, and other means of survival. Third, the Sudan Government and its military forces obstructed food, water, medicine, and other humanitarian aid from reaching affected populations, thereby leading to further deaths and suffering. And finally, despite having been put on notice multiple times, Khartoum has failed to stop the violence.

Mr. Chairman, some seem to have been waiting for this determination of genocide to take action. In fact, however, no new action is dictated by this determination. We have been doing everything we can to get the Sudanese Government to act responsibly. So let us not be too preoccupied with this designation. These people are in desperate need and we must help them. Call it civil war; call it ethnic cleansing; call it genocide; call it "none of the above." The reality is the same. There are people in Darfur who desperately need the help of the international community.

I expect—I more than expect, I know, that the government of Khartoum in Khartoum will reject our conclusion of genocide anyway. Moreover, at this point, genocide is our judgment and not the judgment of the international community. Before the Government of Sudan is taken to the bar of international justice, let me point out that there is a simple way for

Khartoum to avoid such wholesale condemnation by the international community, and that way is to take action—to stop holding back, to stop dissembling.

The government in Khartoum should end the attacks and ensure its people -- all of its people -- are secure, ensure that they are all secure. They should hold to account those who are responsible for past atrocities, and ensure that current negotiations taking place in Abuja, and also the Naivasha accords, are successfully concluded. That is the only way to peace and prosperity for this war-ravaged land.

Specifically, Mr. Chairman, the most practical contribution we can make to the security of Darfur in the short term is to do everything we can to increase the number of African Union monitors. That will require the cooperation of the Government of Sudan.

And I am pleased that the African Union is stepping up to the task. It is playing a leadership role and countries within the African Union have demonstrated a willingness to provide a significant number of troops. And this is the fastest way to help bring security to the countryside through this expanded monitoring presence so we can see what is going on and act to prevent it.

In the intermediate and long term, the security of Darfur can best be advanced by a political settlement at Abuja, and by the successful conclusion of the peace negotiations between the SPLM and the government in Sudan, the Lake Naivasha accords.

Mr. Chairman, I will stop here and take your questions. Thank you.



## Supplementary Resources

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### Books

Bartov, Omer. *Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003). 248 pages.

Carny, Israel W. *Encyclopedia of Genocide* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1999). 700 pages, 2 volumes.

Power, Samantha. *"A Problem From Hell": America and the Age of Genocide* (New York: Basic Books, 2002). 610 pages.

Prunier, Gerard. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (New York: Columbia University, 1995). 398 pages.

Staub, Ervin. *The Roots of Evil: The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). 336 pages.

### World Wide Web

Armenian Articles <<http://www.cilicia.com/armo10c.html>>  
contains newspaper articles covering the Armenian Genocide

Death by Government <<http://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/NOTE1.HTM>>  
filled with statistics and information about murderous governments

Frontline: The Triumph of Evil <<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/evil/>>  
a PBS website addressing the Rwandan Genocide and the role of the West

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) <<http://www.icty.org>>  
the official website of the ICTY

International Criminal Tribunal Rwanda (ICTR) <<http://www.ictcr.org>>  
the official website of the ICTR

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum <<http://www.ushmm.org>>  
documents, photos, virtual tours, educational resources, and other information

Yale Center for International Genocide Studies <<http://www.yale.edu/gsp>>  
background and resources on various genocides

The Choices Program <<http://www.choices.edu/genocide.cfm>>  
updated links, information about Darfur, and an online ballot though which you can make your voice heard



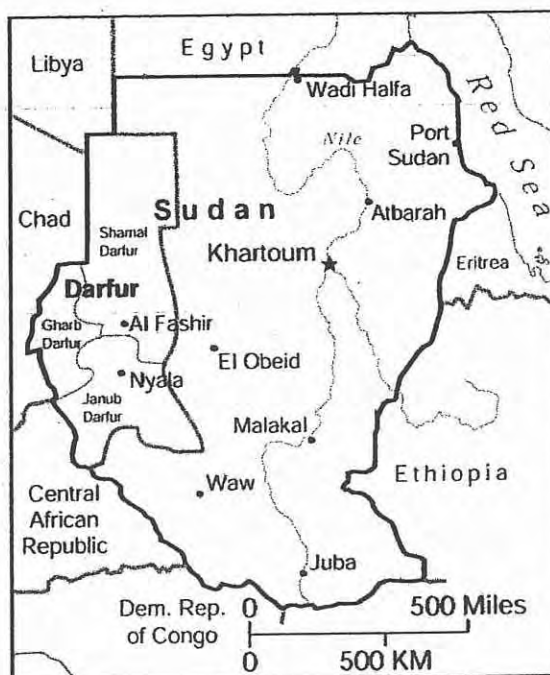
## Violence in Darfur, Sudan

Sudan is the largest country, by area, in Africa and the tenth largest country in the world. Sudan has been embroiled in internal conflicts since independence in 1956. Most recently, a violent conflict involving the central government, armed militias, and several opposition groups has devastated Darfur, the westernmost region of Sudan. Darfur's conflict is complex, involving many factions and spreading into neighboring countries. Some in the international community, including the United States, have called this conflict a genocide. Others have argued that the conflict, although exceedingly violent, cannot be called genocide.

### Conflict in Sudan

The borders of Sudan encompass more territory than all of Western Europe. The country is made up of hundreds of different cultures with diverse ethnic, religious, and geographical backgrounds, and with many languages. Both Christianity and Islam have ancient roots in the area. There are two main ethnic groups in Sudan: black Africans and Arabs. Indigenous Africans have lived in the region since the Stone Age. Arab peoples were prominent traders in Sudan as early as 800 CE and the area was heavily involved in the Arab-African slave trade.

Sudan is made up of two distinct geographic regions. To the north, the area is very dry and is home to part of the Sahara Desert. In the south, the climate is tropical, with lush rainforests and swamps. The majority of the population lives in urban areas in the north. The north is largely Muslim and Arab, and tends to have closer ties to Egypt. African farmers make up most of the population in the south and the majority are Christian or prac-



tice traditional religions. African populations in the west, east, and south tend to have closer ethnic ties to populations in neighboring East African states such as Chad, Uganda, and Kenya. Much of Sudan's population lives in poverty, and the country ranked 146 out of 180 countries in the United Nation's Human Development Index (which measures things like life expectancy, literacy, and average income) released in 2008.

Sudan was a colony of Britain and Egypt in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Britain ruled Sudan as two distinct territories, with separate laws governing the north and south. Upon independence, northern Sudanese nationalists and the British planned to unify these two regions. Even before official independence in 1956, a civil war broke out between the north and south

#### Note:

"Violence in Darfur, Sudan" is an online supplement to *Confronting Genocide: Never Again?* published by the Choices Program. Information on this and other resources from the Choices Program is available online at <[www.choices.edu](http://www.choices.edu)>.



over control of the central government. This war lasted until 1972, and a second civil war, again between north and south, began in 1983. Millions of southern Sudanese were killed or displaced by violence in this second war.

***What caused the second north-south conflict?***

There were a number of issues at the root of the second civil war between north and south Sudan. Northern, Islamic Arabs have retained control over Sudan's central government since 1956. The 1972 peace agreement ending the first civil war granted southern Sudan a great deal of independence from the north. The second civil war began in 1983 when the north-controlled central government broke this treaty and tried to assert more power over the south. That year, the government implemented Islamic law across the entire country, which angered many non-Muslims in the south.

Another source of tension between the two regions was oil, discovered in Sudan in the 1960s. Most of the oil reserves are located in the central and southern regions, and the government controls all oil revenues. The second civil war lasted for twenty-one years, ending with a peace agreement in early 2005. Many argue that the peace treaty has achieved little. There have been occasional violent clashes since 2005 and the two sides still are highly distrustful of each other.

***What is the Islamist National Islamic Front?***

The Islamist National Islamic Front (NIF) is a powerful political party that took over Sudan's government by coup in 1989. Led by Omar Hassan al-Bashir, the current president of Sudan, the NIF controls both the military and the oil reserves. It has instituted an authoritarian government in Sudan. Upon coming to power in 1989, President Bashir dissolved parliament and banned all political parties. Many within the international community believe that the Sudanese government is pursuing an aggressively Islamic agenda. In the 1990s, Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia, which all border Sudan, formed an alliance backed by the United States to limit the influ-

ence of the NIF outside of Sudan.

Today, there is dissatisfaction in many regions of the country. Many Sudanese are frustrated with high levels of poverty and the lack of infrastructure such as paved roads, sanitation, and medical facilities outside Sudan's major towns. Groups in some regions are upset over what they consider to be a lack of representation within the government, while others wish to have a larger degree of self rule. In early 2003, while peace negotiations to end the civil war between north and south Sudan were underway, opposition groups in Darfur, a region in western Sudan, rose up against the government. The government and pro-government militias responded brutally to crush the new opposition. This began a new, even more violent conflict within Sudan.

***What are the origins of the conflict in Darfur?***

The region of Darfur is roughly the size of France. The people of Darfur are predominantly Muslim. There are large populations of both Arabs and Africans. Tensions over land and grazing rights between Arabs, most of whom are nomadic herders, and Africans, who are mainly farmers, have existed for most of the region's history.

More recently, the African population has been frustrated by what it claims is the central government's lack of support during prolonged droughts and near-famine conditions. Many believe the government favors Darfur's Arab population. Opposition groups also say that the African populations of Darfur have long been marginalized by the government. They say that Darfur was left out of the peace negotiations with southern Sudan in which issues such as representation within the government were discussed. The Sudanese government, on the other hand, claims that the conflict in Darfur is rooted in competition for land among various ethnic groups in the region.

***Who is involved in this conflict?***

Initially, there were two main African opposition groups in Darfur: the Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM), also known as



the Sudanese Liberation Army (SLA), and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM). Both of these groups splintered into smaller factions over the course of the conflict. The UN estimates that there are now as many as thirty opposition groups in Darfur. Many of these factions are competing with each other for power and influence.

On the opposing side of the conflict are the central government and pro-government militias, such as the Arab Janjaweed. Most parties in the conflict say that the Janjaweed, a group of armed horsemen, is responsible for the majority of violence. Opposition groups claim that the government supports the Janjaweed and the “Arabization” of Darfur because it wants to eliminate opposition from the black Africans in the region. For its part, the government denies any connection to the Janjaweed and asserts that it only supports government forces fighting rebel groups in Darfur. But many within the international community believe that the Janjaweed has ties to the government. Although the government has called the Janjaweed “thieves” and “gangsters” it has done little to limit the violence of this group.

***What has been happening in this conflict?***

Since the initial rebellion in 2003, violence between rebel forces and government militia and the Janjaweed has spread across the region. The government militia and the Janjaweed have targeted civilians and villages that it claims are harboring rebel forces. Aerial bombing has destroyed numerous villages. Although the government denies its involvement in the bombings, it is the only force in Sudan that owns helicopters and planes. At the same time, the Janjaweed have looted and burned villages and crops, and poisoned water supplies. Tens of thousands of civilians have been killed by various groups in the conflict and many more have been raped. Opposition groups have forced many young boys within refugee camps to join their forces. Fighting among rebel factions occurs both within the camps and outside of them. Other groups, capitalizing on the instability, rob supply convoys and international aid efforts.

By early 2006, the humanitarian crisis was acute. UN officials currently estimate that about 300,000 people have been killed in the conflict through violence, starvation, and disease. Well over two million people have been displaced from their communities and some have fled to refugee camps in neighboring Chad and the Central African Republic (CAR). Refugees are dependent on foreign aid for survival. The majority of victims are farmers, mostly African civilians. But many Arab farming communities also have been displaced by violence from African opposition groups. Humanitarian groups have struggled to access the region because of the violence and lack of government cooperation. Rebel groups have targeted peacekeeping operations and in December 2008, a Senegalese UN peacekeeper was killed in an attack.

There are fears that the violence in Darfur could spread to other parts of the country. It has already spilled across the border into Chad and the CAR, threatening to destabilize the region. Refugees, militia, rebels, and bandit raiders flow across Sudan’s porous borders. Africans in bordering regions of Chad and the CAR have been attacked by armed Arab groups on horseback, similar to the pattern of violence in Darfur. At the same time, some observers believe that the Arab population in eastern Chad is facing persecution as well. By July 2007, more than thirty thousand Chadian Arabs had fled across the border into Sudan and claimed refugee status. Tensions have grown as the governments of Chad and the CAR have accused Sudan of supporting rebel groups in their countries, while Sudan has accused Chad of supporting opposition groups aiming to destabilize its government.

**The Response of the International Community**

There is disagreement in the international community over whether the conflict in Darfur is genocide. In July 2004, the U.S. Congress passed a resolution declaring the conflict genocide. In September 2004, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell made a public statement declaring Darfur a site of genocide.



***“We concluded—I concluded—that genocide has been committed in Darfur and that the government of Sudan and the Janjaweed bear responsibility—and genocide may still be occurring.”***

—Colin Powell, Secretary of State,  
September 2004

In early 2005, the UN released a report saying that although there was massive violence in the region, it could not be called genocide because there was no evidence of intent to kill an entire racial, ethnic, or religious group.

***“The Commission established that the Government of Sudan and the Janjaweed are responsible for serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law amounting to crimes under international law....However, the crucial element of genocidal intent appears to be missing, at least as far as the central Government authorities are concerned. Generally speaking, the policy of attacking, killing and forcibly displacing members of some tribes does not evince a specific intent to annihilate, in whole or in part, a group distinguished on racial, ethnic, national, or religious grounds.***

—UN report, January 2005

Later that same year, U.S. President Bush claimed that violence in Darfur was “clearly genocide.”

Nevertheless, until recently international troop presence in Darfur was minimal. In late 2004, a regional organization called the African Union (AU) sent troops to serve as a small observer mission. The AU force was funded largely by the United States, European Union, and Canada. But with only six thousand troops, the force was too small and ill-equipped to be effective in quelling violence over such a large area. Additionally,

many AU soldiers were targeted in shootings and kidnappings.

#### ***How has the UN responded?***

Starting in March 2006, many in the international community began to call for a UN peacekeeping force to be sent to Darfur. Initially, Sudan’s government was hostile to this suggestion, claiming that the presence of international troops would be tantamount to occupation. After months of negotiations with UN officials, the Sudanese government relented. In July 2007, the UN Security Council unanimously approved a resolution to create a combined AU-UN force of up to 26,000 troops and police in Darfur. The Council approved the use of force for self-defense as well as for the protection of civilians by these troops. The UN, along with the European Union, also pledged to send troops to help stabilize Chad’s eastern border with Sudan.

The African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) has been in charge of all peacekeeping operations in Darfur since December 31, 2007. If the UN deploys all 26,000 troops, it will be the largest peacekeeping force in the world. As of December 2008, only about 60 percent of the troops had been deployed and many critical supplies were still missing. Some point out that even 26,000 troops is too few to cover the large area of Darfur. Others argue that peacekeepers can do little until there is a peace agreement to enforce.

#### ***What are the prospects for peace?***

Thus far, peace negotiations have achieved little. A peace treaty mediated by the AU in 2006 was signed only by the government and one rebel faction. Further negotiations led by the AU and UN in Libya in 2007 also were unsuccessful. Most recently AU and UN officials have worked to organize a new round of talks in Qatar but have struggled to bring representatives from all of Sudan’s many rebel factions to the negotiating table.

A development in 2008 has complicated efforts to mediate the peace process. In July, a



prosecutor at the International Criminal Court (ICC) accused President Bashir of war crimes and genocide. Many in the international community have opposed this measure, fearful that it will further inflame tensions in the region. Some within the UN Security Council have supported a proposal to suspend the case against Bashir in return for his full cooperation in negotiating a peace agreement. Others have argued that suspending Bashir's case would undermine the international criminal justice system. If the UN Security Council does not block the measure, experts believe an arrest

warrant will be issued for President Bashir in early 2009.

Although the Sudanese government claims that the ICC has no jurisdiction in Sudan, the court has charged others involved in the conflict. In early 2007 the ICC issued arrest warrants for a government minister and a Janjaweed leader, both of whom the Sudanese government refused to turn over to the court. In 2008 the ICC also began investigating a number of rebels for their involvement in a 2007 attack on peacekeepers.

# SUDAN

## History of Conflict in Sudan:

### Introduction:

Since the mid-1950s, the Sudanese have suffered through civil wars that have killed more than two million people. To the extent that Americans think about Sudan at all, they know it mostly as the source of those heartbreaking images of parched, skeletal children that sporadically flicker across our television screens. For decades, this dusty plain in Northern Africa, a quarter of the size of the U.S. and home to a population half that of California, has been ravaged by brutal ethnic conflicts that have claimed millions of lives and turned millions more into starving refugees.

### Feudalism and Slavery:

Christianity arrived in Sudan sometime around the 500's, but followers of another new religion, Islam, were also on the march across the Middle East and Africa. But gradually, as Arabs migrated to northern Sudan and became increasingly influential as merchants, Christianity waned. Northern Sudan evolved into a feudal society ruled by a loose-knit confederation of sultans and tribal chieftains, who exacted tribute and armed support from vassals and relied upon slave labor. They found a convenient source of captives in southern Sudan, where the population of farmers and cattle herders continued to live in tribal groups without any central government or army and were easy prey.

### The British:

In the late 1800's, the Ottoman hold on Egypt crumbled, and British troops landed in that country and took control of the government. The British decided to end the occupation of Sudan. But in 1899, the Islamic regime was overthrown by a British-Egyptian army. For the next half-century, the British essentially controlled Sudan, though they nominally shared authority with the Egyptians. The new rulers broke the nation into separate northern and southern colonies, and restricted travel between them. The British concentrated their economic development efforts upon the north, where they promoted Muslim-Arab leaders and political parties, and groomed them for eventual self-rule. In the south, which they envisioned as becoming a permanent part of British East Africa, Islam was discouraged, and Christian missionaries were not only allowed to preach, but also given control of the education system. In contrast to the Arabic-speaking north, classes were taught in English. As a result, differences between black and Arab Sudanese were further exacerbated.

After World War II, the British government abruptly changed its strategy, and decided to reunite the two halves of Sudan as one nation. That arrangement put the southern Sudanese blacks, who had not received the sort of political and economic help that the British had given to the northern Sudanese Arabs, at a major disadvantage when it came time to form a new government. Indeed, when the British turned over administration to the Sudanese in the early 1950s, the great majority of the positions went to northerners.

### Independence and Civil War:

Sudan became independent in 1956, but the good feelings didn't last long. Two years later, the parliamentary government was overthrown by army Gen. Ibrahim Abboud, and for the next four decades, Sudan would alternate between civilian and military rule. Meanwhile, southern Sudanese rebelled against the Arab-controlled government, launching a civil war that lasted until 1972. The conflict led to the deaths of about 500,000 Sudanese, and put hundreds of thousands of southerners in refugee camps. Eventually, Ethiopian Emperor Haile Salassie brokered a peace agreement that called for limited self-rule for the south. The peace lasted through the 1970s, but even so, Sudan's fragile economy failed to recover. The Sudanese government tried to modernize agriculture, investing in farm machines and promoting the export of food crops. But slumping global commodity prices hit Sudan hard. Even as the government found itself struggling to cope with its debts to foreign bankers, it wasted large sums on high-powered military weaponry.

In 1983, the Khartoum government began to institute Islamic law, and non-Islamic southerners again rebelled. This time, the war lasted for two decades, interrupted only briefly by failed peace negotiations in 1989. An estimated 1.5 million Sudanese died, and many more became homeless. The impact of the violence was exacerbated by severe droughts that caused widespread famine. Divisions among the rebels gradually weakened the resistance, and over a period of years in the 1990s and early 2000s, the negotiations to end the conflict dragged on. In January 2005, the Sudanese government signed an agreement with the main rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army, under which southern Sudan would have six years of political autonomy, followed by a referendum on the future of the region.

Even as peace finally seems at hand in southern Sudan, violence still rages in the Darfur region to the west, where two rebel groups have taken up arms against Khartoum. Since 2003, pro-government Arab militias known as "Janjaweed" have waged what humanitarian activists say is an ethnic-cleansing campaign, designed to drive out the non-Arab population. According to a 2004 briefing document by Human Rights Watch, the militias' tactics have included "killing, looting, raping, forcibly displacing and destroying hundreds of villages." But the rebels don't have clean hands, either. The same report accuses them of causing civilian casualties, stealing livestock and other property, and forcing children to fight as soldiers. The conflict has caused an estimated 180,000 deaths so far.



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

The following article looks at a specific case:

### ARTICLE 1

#### **'We Want to Make a Light Baby'**

Arab Militiamen in Sudan Said to Use Rape as Weapon of Ethnic Cleansing

By Emily Wax  
Washington Post Foreign Service  
Wednesday, June 30, 2004; Page A01

GENEINA, Sudan, June 29 -- At first light on Sunday, three young women walked into a scrubby field just outside their refugee camp in West Darfur. They had gone out to collect straw for their family's donkeys. They recalled thinking that the Arab militiamen who were attacking African tribes at night would still be asleep. But six men grabbed them, yelling Arabic slurs such as "zurga" and "abid," meaning "black" and "slave." Then the men raped them, beat them and left them on the ground, they said.

"They grabbed my donkey and my straw and said, 'Black girl, you are too dark. You are like a dog. We want to make a light baby,' " said Sawela Suliman, 22, showing slashes from where a whip had struck her thighs as her father held up a police and health report with details of the attack. "They said, 'You get out of this area and leave the child when it's made.' "

Suliman's father, a tall, proud man dressed in a flowing white robe, cried as she described the rape. It was not an isolated incident, according to human rights officials and aid workers in this region of western Sudan, where 1.2 million Africans have been driven from their lands by government-backed Arab militias, tribal fighters known as Janjaweed.

Interviews with two dozen women at camps, schools and health centers in two provincial capitals in Darfur yielded consistent reports that the Janjaweed were carrying out waves of attacks targeting African women. The victims and others said the rapes seemed to be a systematic campaign to humiliate the women, their husbands and fathers, and to weaken tribal ethnic lines. In Sudan, as in many Arab cultures, a child's ethnicity is attached to the ethnicity of the father.

"The pattern is so clear because they are doing it in such a massive way and always saying the same thing," said an international aid worker who is involved in health care. She and other international aid officials spoke on condition of anonymity, saying they feared reprisals or delays of permits that might hamper their operations.

She showed a list of victims from Rokero, a town outside of Jebel Marra in central Darfur where 400 women said they were raped by the Janjaweed. "It's systematic," the aid worker said. "Everyone knows how the father carries the lineage in the culture. They want more Arab babies to take the land. The scary thing is that I don't think we realize the extent of how widespread this is yet."

Another international aid worker, a high-ranking official, said: "These rapes are built on tribal tensions and orchestrated to create a dynamic where the African tribal groups are destroyed. It's hard to believe that they tell them they want to make Arab babies, but it's true. It's systematic, and these cases are what made me believe that it is part of ethnic



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

cleansing and that they are doing it in a massive way."

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell flew to the capital, Khartoum, on Tuesday to pressure the government to take steps to ease the humanitarian crisis in Darfur. U.S. officials said Powell may threaten to seek action by the United Nations if the Sudanese government blocks aid and continues supporting the Janjaweed. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan is due to arrive on Khartoum this week.

The crisis in Darfur is a result of long-simmering ethnic tensions between nomadic cattle and camel herders, who view themselves as Arabs, and the more sedentary farmers, who see their ancestry as African. In February 2003, activists from three of Darfur's African tribes started a rebellion against the government, which is dominated by an Arab elite.

Riding on horseback and camel, the Janjaweed, many of them teenagers or young adults, burned villages, stole and destroyed grain supplies and animals and raped women, according to refugees and U.N. and human rights investigators. The government used helicopter gunships and aging Russian planes to bomb the area, the U.N. and human rights representatives said. The U.S. government has said it is investigating the killings of an estimated 30,000 people in Darfur and the displacement of the more than 1 million people from their tribal lands to determine whether the violence should be classified as genocide.

The New York-based organization Human Rights Watch said in a June 22 report that it investigated "the use of rape by both Janjaweed and Sudanese soldiers against women from the three African ethnic groups targeted in the 'ethnic cleansing' campaign in Darfur." It added, "The rapes are often accompanied by dehumanizing epithets, stressing the ethnic nature of the joint government-Janjaweed campaign. The rapists use the terms 'slaves' and 'black slaves' to refer to the women, who are mostly from the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa ethnic groups."

Despite a stigma among tribal groups in Sudan against talking about rape, Darfur elders have been allowing and even encouraging their daughters to speak out because of the frequency of the attacks. The women consented to be named in this article.

In El Fasher, the capital of North Darfur, about 200 miles east of Geneina, Aisha Arzak Mohammad Adam, 22, described a rape by militiamen. "They said, 'Dog, you have sex with me,' " she said. Adam, who was receiving medical treatment at the Abu Shouk camp, said through a female interpreter that she was raped 10 days ago and has been suffering from stomach cramps and bleeding. "They said, 'The government gave me permission to rape you. This is not your land anymore, *abid*, go.' "

Nearby, Ramadan Adam Ali, 18, a frail woman, was being examined at the health clinic. She was pregnant from a rape she said took place four months ago. She is a member of the Fur tribe and has African features.

"The man said, 'Give me your money, slave,' " she said, starting to cry. "Then I must tell you very frankly, he raped me. He had a gun to my head. He called me dirty *abid*. He said I was very ugly because my skin is so dark. What will I do now?"

In Tawilah, a village southeast of El Fasher, women and children are living in a musty school building. They said it was too dangerous to leave and plant food.

Fatima Aisha Mohammad, once a schoolteacher, stood in a dank classroom describing what happened to her three weeks ago, when she left the school to collect firewood.

"Very frankly, they selected us ladies and had what they wanted with us, like you would a wife," said Mohammad, 46, who has five children. "I am humiliated. Always they said, 'You are nothing. You are *abid*. You are too black.' It was



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disgusting."

During a recent visit, government minders warned people at the school to stop talking about the rapes or face beatings or death. Minders also were seen handing out bribes to keep women from speaking to foreign visitors. But those at the school spoke anyway. A group of people handed a journalist two letters in Arabic that listed 40 names of rape victims, and wanted the list to be sent to Sen. Sam Brownback of Kansas and Rep. Frank R. Wolf of Virginia, Republicans who were touring the region and pressing the government to disarm the Janjaweed.

"I was sad. I am now very angry. Now they are trying to silence us. And they can't," Mohammad said. "What will people think of all of us out here? That we did this to ourselves? People will know the truth about what is happening in Darfur."

Later that day in Tawilah's town center, Kalutum Kharm, a midwife, gathered a crowd under a tree to talk about the rapes. Everyone was concerned about the children who would be born as a result.

"What will happen? We don't know how to deal with this," Kharm lamented. "We are Muslims. Islam says to love children no matter what. The real problem is we need security. We don't trust the government. We need this raping to stop."

Aid workers and refugees in Geneina said that despite an announcement last week by Sudan's president, Lt. Gen. Omar Hassan Bashir, that the Janjaweed would be disarmed, security had not improved. Janjaweed dressed in military uniforms and clutching satellite phones roamed the markets and the fields, guns slung over their shoulders. Last week, the Janjaweed staged a jailbreak and freed 13 people, aid workers said. They also killed a watermelon salesman and his brother because they did not like their prices, family members of the men said.

A government official, speaking with a reporter, described the rapes as an inevitable part of war and dismissed accusations by human rights organizations that the attacks were ethnically based.

In Geneina, two women told their stories while sitting in front of their makeshift straw shelter. One of the women, a thin 19-year-old with dead eyes, moved forward.

"I am feeling so shy but I wanted to tell you, I was raped too that day," whispered Aisha Adam, the tears rushing out of her eyes as she covered her face with her head scarf. "They left me without my clothing by the dry riverbed. I had to walk back naked. They said, 'You slave. This is not your area. I will make an Arab baby who can have this land.' I am hurting now so much, because no one will marry me if they find out."

Sitting on mats outside the shelter, Sawela Suliman's father talked with village elders about what to do if his daughter became pregnant.

"If the color is like the mother, fine," he said as a crowd gathered to listen. "If it is like the father, then we will have problems. People will think the child is an Arab."

Then his daughter looked up.

"I will love the child," she said, as other women in the crowd agreed. "But I will always hate the father."

Then the rains came. They pounded onto the family's frail shelter, turning their roof into a soggy and dripping clump of straw. Suliman started to shiver as the weather shifted from steaming hot to a breezy rain. She will no longer leave the



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area of her hut to collect straw. She will stay here, hiding as if in prison, she said, and praying that she is not pregnant.

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### ARTICLE 2

## What's to Be Done About Darfur? Plenty

By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF (New York Times)

Published: November 29, 2005

In 1915, Woodrow Wilson turned a blind eye to the Armenian genocide. In the 1940's, Franklin Roosevelt refused to bomb the rail lines leading to Auschwitz. In 1994, Bill Clinton turned away from the slaughter in Rwanda. And in 2005, President Bush is acquiescing in the first genocide of the 21st century, in Darfur.

Mr. Bush is paralyzed for the same reasons as his predecessors. There is no great public outcry, there are no neat solutions, we already have our hands full, and it all seems rather distant and hopeless.

But Darfur is not hopeless. Here's what we should do.

First, we must pony up for the African Union security force. The single most disgraceful action the U.S. has taken was Congress's decision, with the complicity of the Bush administration, to cut out all \$50 million in the current budget to help pay for the African peacekeepers in Darfur. Shame on Representative Jim Kolbe of Arizona -- and the White House -- for facilitating genocide.

Mr. Bush needs to find \$50 million fast and get it to the peacekeepers.

Second, the U.S. needs to push for an expanded security force in Darfur. The African Union force is a good start, but it lacks sufficient troops and weaponry. The most practical solution is to "blue hat" the force, making it a U.N. peacekeeping force built around the African Union core. It needs more resources and a more robust mandate, plus contributions from NATO or at least from major countries like Canada, Germany and Japan.

Third, we should impose a no-fly zone. The U.S. should warn Sudan that if it bombs civilians, then afterward we will destroy the airplanes involved.

Fourth, the House should pass the Darfur Peace and Accountability Act. This legislation, which would apply targeted sanctions and pressure Sudan to stop the killing, passed the Senate unanimously but now faces an uphill struggle in the House.

Fifth, Mr. Bush should use the bully pulpit. He should talk about Darfur in his speeches and invite survivors to the Oval Office. He should wear a green "Save Darfur" bracelet -- or how about getting a Darfur lawn sign for the White House? (Both are available, along with ideas for action, from [www.savedarfur.org](http://www.savedarfur.org).) He can call Hosni Mubarak and other Arab and African leaders and ask them to visit Darfur. He can call on China to stop underwriting this genocide.

Sixth, President Bush and Kofi Annan should jointly appoint a special envoy to negotiate with tribal sheiks. Colin Powell or James Baker III would be ideal in working with the sheiks and other parties to hammer out a peace deal. The



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

envoy would choose a Sudanese chief of staff like Dr. Mudawi Ibrahim Adam, a leading Sudanese human rights activist who has been pushing just such a plan with the help of Human Rights First.

So far, peace negotiations have failed because they center on two groups that are partly composed of recalcitrant thugs: the government and the increasingly splintered rebels. But Darfur has a traditional system of conflict resolution based on tribal sheiks, and it's crucial to bring those sheiks into the process.

Ordinary readers can push for all these moves. Before he died, Senator Paul Simon said that if only 100 people in each Congressional district had demanded a stop to the Rwandan genocide, that effort would have generated a determination to stop it. But Americans didn't write such letters to their members of Congress then, and they're not writing them now.

Finding the right policy tools to confront genocide is an excruciating challenge, but it's not the biggest problem. The hardest thing to find is the political will.

For all my criticisms of Mr. Bush, he has sent tons of humanitarian aid, and his deputy secretary of state, Robert Zoellick, has traveled to Darfur four times this year. But far more needs to be done.

As Simon Deng, a Sudanese activist living in the U.S., puts it: "Tell me why we have Milosevic and Saddam Hussein on trial for their crimes, but we do nothing in Sudan. Why not just let all the war criminals go. When it comes to black people being slaughtered, do we look the other way?"

Put aside for a moment the question of whether Mr. Bush misled the nation on W.M.D. in Iraq. It's just as important to ask whether he was truthful when he declared in his second inaugural address, "All who live in tyranny and hopelessness can know: the United States will not ignore your oppression, or excuse your oppressors."

Mr. Bush, so far that has been a ringing falsehood -- but, please, make it true.

The Pulitzer board gave the Pulitzer Prize to *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof in 2006. They cited his personal courage for on-the-scene coverage about the genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan, which left half a million dead and millions of refugees. The board also praised Kristof's work in Cambodia and Pakistan, and his coverage of individuals who suffered tremendously.



**From Cambodia to Sudan: Breaking Down Wall of Apathy**

By Elie Wiesel

The Forward, March 11, 2005

The international community had just learned the cruel truth about the large-scale massacres of innocent people by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. The press had done its job: No one could say we didn't know about it.

I was invited by the International Rescue Committee as part of a delegation to go on site. We spent some time at the Thai border in an enormous refugee camp. One day during the journey, I needed to observe *yahrzeit* for my father. Where, I wondered, was I going to find nine men to recite the Kaddish? By some miracle, I was able to gather a *minyan*.

I was not, however, the only one saying a prayer for the dead: A young Jewish doctor from Toulouse joined me and repeated it word for word.

Later, I asked him for whom he had recited the Kaddish. For his father? No, he said. For his mother? No, not her either. So, for whom? He held out his arm toward the other side of the border, as if showing the faraway, invisible cemeteries with their missing names: "It's for them."

It struck me as a moving gesture: a Jew praying for the rest of others' souls — for Cambodians whose tragedy had nothing to do with Jews.

This memory came back to me recently, as I observed what seems to be the increasingly inward focus of the Jewish Diaspora, especially in philanthropic circles. We are preoccupied with defending Israel and in fighting against anti-Semitism wherever it appears, as we should be. But in doing so, are we reserving the compassion and generosity that have characterized Jewish mentality and morality for centuries solely for members of our own community?

When our people needed help, or simply the presence of others, 60 years ago, no one was there for us. Can we say to ourselves that we are there for those now in need?

Should we take a stand on injustices from which faraway family and ethnic groups are suffering? Should we help the tsunami victims, or is it enough to help Israel? Should we mobilize our energies to lend a hand to AIDS patients in Africa and to the hungry in Asia, or limit our solidarity to financing hospitals and schools in the Jewish state?

On this point, the answer seems rather simple. The Jew who is concerned with the ethical thing to do can and must take up both Jewish and non-Jewish charitable works. I take this attitude from our talmudic tradition, which says, "*Aniyei ir'ha kodmin*," the poor and needy in your town have priority over others. This is normal: Family comes first. But notice that the text says "*kodmin*," not "*rak*" or "*bilevad*" — in other words, yes to priority but no to exclusivity.

This is more than just an exercise in semantics. One need only look at Sudan, which has become one of the world's capitals of human pain, suffering and agony. The population of Darfur has been subjected, by the regime in Khartoum and by its proxy militias, to humiliation, hunger and death. For a while, the so-called civilized world knew about it and preferred to look away.

Now, though, people know. They have no excuse for their passivity bordering on indifference. Those who try to break the walls of their apathy deserve everyone's support and solidarity.

Remember that our sages desperately try to teach us the value and importance of all human beings. All are children of Adam and Eve, who, after all, were not Jewish. Created in the image of God, everyone has the same right to the same



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

respect, the same happiness, the same hope.

When I see a person fall in the street, I don't look at his or her identification card; I must help the person get up. It's a simple question of decency.

The Bible commands us not to stand idly by the shedding of the blood of our fellow man — "*Lo ta'amod al dam re'akha.*" The term used is not "*akhikha,*" your Jewish brother, but rather "*re'akha,*" thy fellow human being, be he or she Jewish or not. All are entitled to live with dignity and with hope. All are entitled to live without fear and without pain.

We should show compassion for and solidarity with all those who need our sympathy and generosity, be they near or far, prisoners of fate, or victims of society or of nature. Not to assist those in need today would, for me, be unworthy of what I have learned from my teachers, my ancestors and my friends — namely, that God alone is alone; his creatures must not be.

One last thought to consider: If we Jews remain indifferent to the plight of the oppressed, what right do we have to criticize the leaders of the free world for having abandoned us during the Holocaust?

*Translated from the French by Jamie Moore, and reprinted with permission from Mr. Wiesel and the Forward<sup>9</sup>.*

Elie Wiesel was born in Sighet, Romania on September 30, 1928. In 1944 he was deported to the Auschwitz concentration camp during the Holocaust. *Night*, one of his many pieces about the Holocaust. In 1978 he was appointed as Chair of the Presidential Commission of the Holocaust, was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor in 1985, and in 1986 received the Nobel Peace Prize.



## Glossary

**African Union (AU)** : Previously titled the Organization of African Unity. There are about 5500 troops and 850 civilian police from AU member states including: Rwanda, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa. While the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) has been able to provide pockets of security in Darfur, its small size and resources along with limited monitoring mandate in the face of the continued Janjaweed violence and Sudanese government obstruction has resulted in limited effectiveness.

**Darfur Peace Agreement**: was signed May 5, 2006, by the largest rebel group, the Sudan Liberation Movement, and the Sudanese Government. It is an agreement that addresses the long-standing marginalization of Darfur. The agreement requires that the Sudanese Government of National Unity complete verifiable disarmament and demobilization of Janjaweed militia by mid-October 2006 and places restrictions on the movements of the Popular Defense Forces and requires their downsizing. There have been no motions to disarm the Janjaweed since the signing of the Peace Agreement, and reports of an escalation of genocidal attacks in Darfur have increased since the signing of the May 5<sup>th</sup> Peace Agreement.<sup>10</sup>

**President Omar Hassan El-Bashir**: In office since June 30, 1989, the seventh President of Sudan is a member of the National Congress Party. El-Bashir reportedly gives money and governmental support to the Janjaweed militia group, though he continuously denies this. Despite President Bush's requests for El-Bashir to cooperate with humanitarian affairs, El-Bashir shows reluctance in letting outside nations enter Sudan.

**Internally Displaced Person (IDP)** : People forced to leave their homes or traditional living areas through conflicts including war, ethnic cleansing, genocide and other violence. IDPs continue to live in the same state in new locations often referred to as IDP camps or gatherings in contrast to refugees who cross international borders. Janjaweed attacks on IDPs continue and include sexual violence, stealing and at times causing large new displacements as people flee.

**Janjaweed**: The groups of "Arab" militias whose makeup ranges from bandits and common criminals released from jails, Sudanese soldiers, to younger members of "Arab" tribes who are in land conflicts with "African" groups. Sudan's government continues to supply funds, weapons, and military support for the Janjaweed to carry out a scorched earth policy, widespread rape and killings against the "African" tribes in Darfur.<sup>11</sup>

**Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)**: A Darfur opposition/rebel group of fundamentalist Islamic and nationalist make-up with ties to former National Islamic Front (Congress) ideologue Hassan al-Tarabi. JEM's leadership and ranks have fragmented in the last several years over issues of tactics and goals, while internal divisions and violence have increased in recent years.

**Khartoum**: The capital and largest city of *Sudan*, it is specifically located in the east-central part of the country at the confluence of the Blue Nile and the White Nile. Population: 924,505. The current "Arab" government is perpetrating the genocide against the "African" tribes of Darfur, led by President





## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

Omar Hassan El-Bashir is based in Khartoum.<sup>12</sup>

**National Islamic Front (Re-Named Congress):** A radical Islamic Party whose supporters include President El-Bashir and the ruling elite who have been in power since a NIF coup in June, 1989. The Sudanese government is sometimes referred to as the NIF regime. The new Government of National Unity (GNU) is dominated by NIF supporters.

**Refugees:** Under international law, a refugee is a person who is outside his/her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his/her race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion. They are subgroup of the broader category of displaced persons.

**Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM):** Initially referred to as the Darfur Liberation Front as a secularist Darfuri opposition/rebel movement and is currently the largest opposition force in Darfur. The Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) has split into factions over leadership along with issues ranging from whether to be part of the Abuja talks with the Sudanese government to insurgency methods and targets. The SPLA/M was established under the leadership of John Garang in 1983 in Southern Sudan.

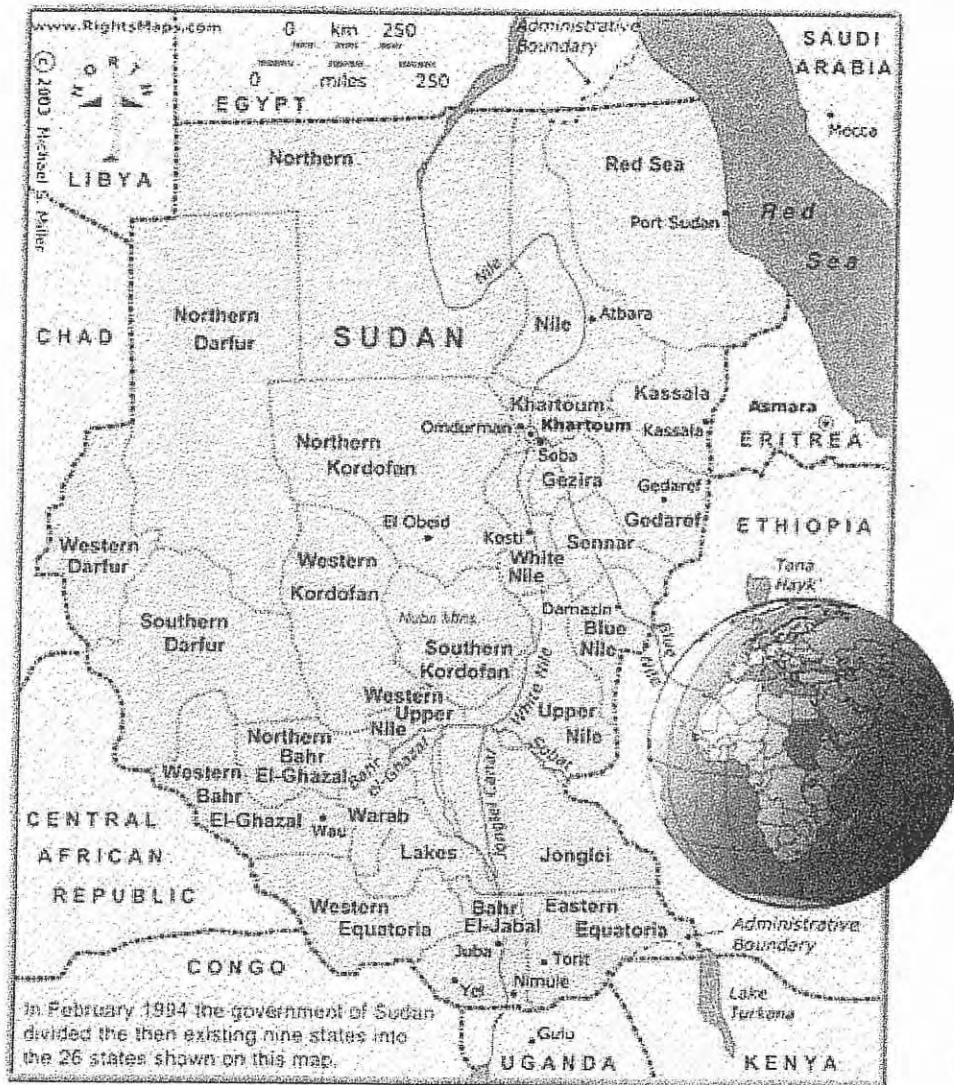
**United Nations Security Council:** is in place to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations. The UN security Council also has the power to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction, and to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement. On June 22, 2006, the council established a report on a mission to Sudan and Chad.<sup>13</sup>





Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

6



15

Sudan as of September 2003

163

## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

### A Timeline of Modern Sudan: A History of Conflict

- 1820:** Sudan is conquered by Turkey and Egypt.
- 1881:** Rebellion against the Turkish-Egyptian administration.
- 1882:** The British invade Sudan.
- 1885:** An Islamic state is founded in Sudan.
- 1899:** Sudan is governed by joint British-Egyptian rule.
- 1899-1955:** Sudan is under joint British-Egyptian rule.
- 1955:** Revolt and start of the civil war.
- 1956:** Sudan becomes independent.
- 1958:** General Abbud leads military coup against the civilian government elected earlier in the year
- 1962:** The civil war breaks out in the southern (mainly Christian/African) parts of Sudan, led by the Anya Nya movement.
- 1964:** The "October Revolution" overthrows Abbud and a national government is established
- 1969:** Jafar Numayri leads the "May Revolution" military coup.
- 1971:** Sudanese Communist Party leaders executed after short-lived coup against Numayri
- 1978:** Large findings of oil are made in Bentiu, southern Sudan. The oil becomes an important factor in the strife between North and South.
- pre 1980:** Intermittent small scale conflict between farmers and nomads. Farmer's crops would often be destroyed by camels and cattle belonging to nomads migrating south in search of water and grazing land. Traditional leaders on both sides would normally resolve disagreements.
- 1983:** Numieri introduces the Islamic Sharia law to Sudan leading to a new breakout of the civil war in the Christian south. In the south the forces are led by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) under command by John Garang.
- Islamic law imposed**
- 1983:** President Numayri declares the introduction of Sharia (Islamic law).
- 1985:** After widespread popular unrest Numayri is deposed by a group of officers and a Transitional Military



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

Council is set up to rule the country.

**1986:** Coalition government formed after general elections, with Sadiq al-Mahdi as prime minister.

**1988:** Coalition partner the Democratic Unionist Party drafts cease-fire agreement with the SPLM, but it is not implemented.

**1989:** National Salvation Revolution takes over in military coup.

**1993:** Revolution Command Council dissolved after Omar al-Bashir is appointed president.

### US strike

**1995:** Egyptian President Mubarak accuses Sudan of being involved in attempt to assassinate him in Addis Ababa.

**1998:** USA launches a missile attack on a chemical plant in Khartoum assumed to develop chemical weapons possibly in corporation with the Al'Qaeda terror network. Civilians are killed in the attack. The Sudanese government denies any link to terror and chemical weapons.

**1999:** Sudan start an export of oil assisted by China, Canada, Sweden and other countries

**2000 September:** Governor of Khartoum issues decree barring women from working in public places.

**2001 April:** SPLA rebels threaten to attack international oil workers brought in to help exploit vast new oil reserves. Government troops accused of trying to drive civilians and rebels from oilfields.

### Peace plan

**2001 October:** US President Bush names Senator John Danforth as special envoy to tackle Sudanese conflict.

**2002 January:** SPLA joins forces with rival militia group, Sudan People's Defense Force, to pool resources in campaign against government in Khartoum.

**2002 July:** After talks in Kenya, government and SPLA sign Machakos Protocol on ending 19-year civil war. Government accepts right of south to seek self-determination after six-year interim period. Southern rebels accept application of Shariah law in north.

**2003 February:** Rebels in western region of Darfur rise up against government, claiming the region is being neglected by Khartoum.

### Darfur crisis

**January 2004:** Government army strikes down on uprising in Darfur region in the Western Sudan. More



## Patterns of Genocide: Darfur Today

than 100,000 people seeks refuge in Chad.

**March 2004:** UN officers reports that systematic killings on villagers are taking place in Darfur. UN official says pro-government "Arab" "Janjaweed" militias are carrying out systematic killings of "African" villagers in Darfur. UN names Darfur as the worst humanitarian currently, but nothing happens. UN fails to take action as Western countries and media has close to no focus on the problems in Sudan. But even the "African" leaders refuse to take action on the problem.

**2004 September:** UN says Sudan has not met targets for disarming pro-government Darfur militias and must accept outside help to protect civilians. US Secretary of State Colin Powell describes Darfur killings as genocide.

### Final peace in Southern Sudan

**2005 January:** Government and southern rebels sign a peace deal. The agreement includes a permanent ceasefire and accords on wealth and power sharing. UN report accuses the government and militias of systematic abuses in Darfur, but stops short of calling the violence genocide.

**2005 March:** UN Security Council authorizes sanctions against those who violate ceasefire in Darfur. Council also votes to refer those accused of war crimes in Darfur to International Criminal Court. United Nations Security Council agrees to send 10,000 peace keeping soldiers to Southern Sudan. Again the decision does not cover the Darfur region.

**2006 April:** Over a hundred thousand people united across America on Sunday, April 30<sup>th</sup>. Washington DC hosted the largest group along with almost 20 smaller rallies held around the country on the same day. A strong silent vigil took place as well in San Francisco with a human chain across the Golden Gate Bridge. The rally registered as the largest public action to date to draw attention to the mass violence and genocide in Darfur

**2006 May:** Khartoum government and the main rebel faction in Darfur sign a peace accord. Two smaller rebel groups reject the deal.



# FAMINE IN AFRICA: THE FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER

People around the world have sent help to the famine victims in Africa. Is enough being done? And what caused this terrible famine?

by Kathy Wilmore



C. Steele-Perkins/Magnum



© Sebastiao Saigado/Magnum

Children often suffer most from famine. Many have been saved by food-aid shipments (bottom), but many others are dying. Mothers sometimes shave all but a tuft of hair from their children's heads (top), to help angels carry them to heaven if they should die.

Millions of Americans have been stunned by photos and TV films of the famine in Africa. To hear that children are starving to death is one thing; to see their suffering is quite another.

2 JUNIOR SCHOLASTIC

The photos stirred people into action. Relief organizations were flooded with contributions and calls from people wanting to help. And in schools across the U.S., students raised money to

help feed the starving children of Ethiopia and other African countries.

Students in Los Angeles, California, launched the "L.A. Kids Make a Miracle" campaign. They raised enough money to send a cargo plane to Ethiopia with 122 tons of food and medical supplies. Two high school students, Sabrina Moore and Oliver Benjamin, went along. They visited several relief camps in Ethiopia.

"I'd seen the films on TV," Sabrina later told JS, "but I really didn't know what to expect. It's shocking to see the people: They're coming up to you, standing right there in front of your face, touching you. They look the way they do in those films, but it's much more personal — and real."

The people in these camps have suffered unspeakable hardship. Many of them were farmers. But then came the drought — three, four, even five



© F. Schenna/Megnum

Life in relief camps can be harsh. Lack of transportation has kept large quantities of food aid from reaching famine victims.

years without rain. The soil dried up, killing crops. People were forced to eat the seed they had saved for the next year's planting.

### Fled Their Homes

When food ran out, millions of people were forced to leave their homes. They set out on foot. Parents carried small children; older children carried baby brothers and sisters. They became *refugees* — people fleeing for their lives.

Some refugees were too weak to reach the relief camps. Others have died in the camps.

Half of the world's refugees are in Africa. The total has been estimated between two and five million, and is growing.

Many children come down with an ailment that causes their legs and bellies to swell, and their hair and skin to lose pigment (color). Their bodies lose the ability to fight infection. "These children," said one relief worker, "have no immune defenses at all. They die from measles, cholera, an infection — just anything that comes along. They die unexpectedly."

### A Continent in Crisis

Relief organizations estimate that famine now affects eight to 10 million of Ethiopia's 36 million people. But Ethiopia is not the only African country facing widespread starvation (see *News Map*, p. 5). In Mali, Niger, Chad, and the Sudan, conditions are almost as bad. Other countries also face serious shortages of food. How did this happen?

The immediate cause of the famine is the long drought. Yet many countries — especially those bordering the Sahara Desert — have suffered long droughts before. Yet never before have so many people died.

Why are so many dying? Experts put much of the blame on a process called *desertification*. In 27 African countries today, once-farmable land is slowly changing to desert. The soil becomes so arid (dry) that food cannot be grown. Lack of rain is not the only reason. Overpopulation is also to blame: there are more people than the land can support.

Africa's birthrate is the highest of all the world's continents — and it is climbing at a rate of about 3 percent a year. To feed all these people, food

production must be steadily increased.

Africa's food production is increasing, but not fast enough. For the last 15 to 20 years, overall food production has risen only 1-to-2 percent a year — too slowly to keep pace with the rising population.

### Race to Modernize

Why did this happen? Part of the answer lies in the recent history of Africa. Most of the nations in Black Africa (those south of the Sahara Desert) gained their independence 25 years ago or less. Since gaining independence, they have tried to modernize, and catch up with industrial nations in the West.

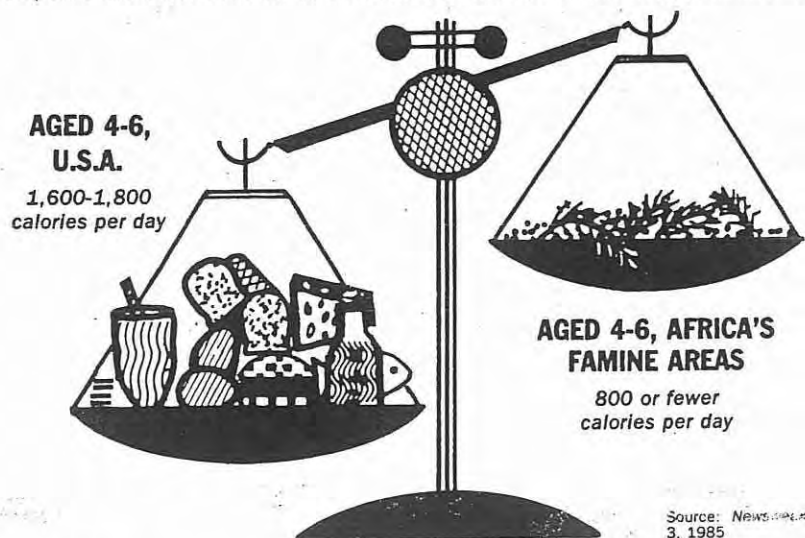
New industries and cities were built. People flocked to the cities to find work. Farmers, however, were left to fend for themselves. They continued to work the land with the same hand tools their ancestors had used.

In many nations, food prices were kept low. Governments didn't want to anger the huge number of new city dwellers. But low prices took away incentives for farmers to grow more food.

In countries like Ethiopia, civil war and other conflicts have

### CALORIES PER DAY: HOW DO WE COMPARE?

Many children in Africa are not getting enough food. This is crucial for the very young, whose bodies are still developing. Nutritionists say that children aged four to six need about 1,700 calories per day for normal development. The graph compares the caloric intake of U.S. children with those in Africa's famine areas.



Source: *Newsweek*, June 3, 1985





Half the world's refugees are in Africa. Many flee from drought, seeking food and water; others from civil wars, political strife.

destroyed crops and led to food shortages. The civil war raging in Ethiopia's northern provinces often keeps food aid from reaching the starving families who live there.

### Will People Forget?

Africa's famine threatens millions of lives. Can anything be done to turn things around, to end the suffering?

Since last fall, when films of Ethiopia's plight were aired on TV news programs, millions of dollars have been raised for Africa's hungry. The U.S. and other nations send regular shipments of food, medicine, and clothing. All-star rock groups such as Britain's Band Aid and USA for Africa have raised millions of dollars for famine relief. Private citizens and corporations have also helped.

This flood of aid, though needed, also causes problems. Said one U.N. advisor: "We're over the first hurdle, which was to get the donors to give the food. But not the second hurdle: to get it out to the people."

Tons of food and other supplies pile up at airports and on docks, far from the people who need them, because there is no way to transport them. Trucks are in short supply; roads are in poor condition.

Despite these problems, aid

efforts are saving thousands of lives each day. But emergency shipments will not solve the long-range problem. What about tomorrow?

In the last few months, rain has returned to some areas. But crops, if they survive, cannot be harvested until November. Meanwhile, rain makes life miserable in the relief camps.

To solve Africa's food problem, ways must be found to irrigate dry land. New types of grain and other crops must be developed that can survive harsh growing conditions. People must learn about the overpopulation danger, to help reduce the birthrate.

Says rock singer Bob Geldof, who created the Band Aid cam-

paign, "It is not enough just to keep them alive. We must give them a life as well."

That will not be easy — or cheap. If Africa's food problem is to be solved, aid efforts must continue even after news of the famine has faded from the headlines.

This must be done to save the current generation of young Africans. Sabrina Moore, one of the L.A. students who visited Ethiopian relief camps, believes it can be done — with hard work, and hope. Her message to JS readers:

"Appreciate what you have, and don't let anything hold you back. The Los Angeles kids made a miracle, and there's nothing stopping you from trying to make a miracle of your own — whether it's helping people in Ethiopia, or becoming President of the United States. There are lots of things that you can do if you keep at it and don't give up hope." ☆

### YOUR TURN

#### Word Match

- |               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| — 1. famine   | a. color         |
| — 2. relief   | b. project       |
| — 3. drought  | c. food shortage |
| — 4. pigment  | d. aid           |
| — 5. campaign | e. lack of rain  |

#### Discussion Questions

1. What are the causes of the current famine in Africa? Why are so many people dying?
2. What can be done to solve Africa's long-term food problem?

## YOU CAN HELP, TOO

If you would like to help Africa's famine victims, the best thing to do is send money to relief organizations working in Africa. They will buy the needed foods, medicines, and other supplies.

You don't have to send big bucks — every little bit helps. How do you raise the money? Kids have held bake sales, car washes, and:

- Some kids put aside part of their allowance, or cut back on lunch to save lunch money.

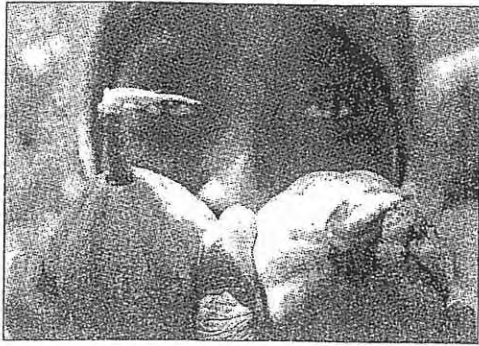
- Young singers, dancers, and other performers have put on talent shows, and donated proceeds from ticket sales.

- Kids have set up walk-a-thons, bike-a-thons, and races, asking others to pledge a set amount of money (1¢ on up) for every mile they walk, ride, or jog.

The number of ways you can raise money is limited only by your imagination. When you're ready to contribute, be sure to send it to a reputable organization. Your teacher has a list. ☆

# Child slavery a bitter ingredient of the chocolate trade

er slave  
Mombi  
Bakayoko, 15,  
holds pods  
containing  
cocoa beans.  
Mombi said  
his master  
paid about  
\$13 for him.



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN  
Knight Ridder Newspapers

## the chocolate trade

THE PRESS DEMOCRAT • MONDAY, JUNE 25, 2001

Small cocoa farms in Africa, squeezed by falling prices, use boys sold or tricked into labor

By SUDARSAN RAGHAVAN  
and SUMANA CHATTERJEE

KNIGHT RIDDER NEWSPAPERS

DALOA, Ivory Coast — There may be a hidden ingredient in the chocolate cake you baked or the can-

dy bars your children sold for their school fund-raiser.

Slave labor.

Forty-three percent of the world's cocoa beans, the raw material in chocolate, come from small farms in this poor West African country.

And on some of the farms, the hot, hard work of clearing the fields and harvesting the fruit is done by boys who were sold or tricked into slavery. Most of them are 12 to 16. Some

are as young as 9.

These children and teen-agers carry 50-pound bags of cocoa beans that are as tall as they are, often as far as a mile. They go shirtless in the tropical heat, and sometimes the rough jute bags scrape holes in the thin skin of their shoulders.

The lucky slaves live on corn paste and bananas. The unlucky ones are whipped, beaten and broken like horses to harvest the beans

that are made into chocolate treats for more fortunate children in Europe and America.

Siaka Traure and Brahima Male went to the little bus station in Sikasso, Mali, two years ago, looking for work. Siaka (pronounced See-AH-ka), who was 14, two years older than Brahima, packed his best olive green shirt because he expected to have "a good time" in Ivory Coast.

## SLAVERY: Ivory Coast cocoa beans prized for quality

CONTINUED FROM PAGE A1

Slave traders hang around the bus station, looking for children who appear lost or hungry. One of them told Siaka and Brahima (Bruh-HEE-muh) that his "big brother" in Ivory Coast would pay them each \$170 a year to be welders or construction workers. He offered to take them there for free.

Instead of a good time, a farmer named Dote Coulibaly was waiting.

He needed two boys to work on his cocoa and coffee farm, and he bought Brahima and Siaka for \$28 each, he said.

Cocoa beans come from pods on the cacao tree. To get the 400 or so beans it takes to make a pound of chocolate, the boys cut 10 pods from the trees, slice them open, scoop out the beans, spread them in baskets or on mats, and cover them to ferment. Then they uncover the beans, put them in the sun to dry, bag them and load them onto trucks to begin the journey to America or Europe.

Most of the boys don't know what cocoa beans taste like after they've been processed and blended with sugar, milk and other ingredients. That happens far from the farms where they work, in such places as Hershey, Pa., Milwaukee and San Francisco.

Americans spend \$13 billion a year on chocolate, but most of them are as ignorant of where it comes from as the boys who harvest cocoa beans are about where their beans go.



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN / Knight Ridder Newspapers

Mombi Bakayoko harvests cocoa pods on an Ivory Coast farm in April. Mombi was freed after a year of work, and returned home June 6.

More cocoa beans come from Ivory Coast than from anywhere else in the world. The country's beans are prized for their quality and abundance, and in the first three months of this year, more than 47,300 tons of them were shipped to the United States through Philadelphia and Brooklyn, N.Y., according to the Port Import Export Reporting Service. At other times of the year, Ivory Coast cocoa beans are delivered to Camden, N.J., Norfolk, Va., and San Francisco.

The largest U.S. processor is ADM Cocoa in Milwaukee, a subsidiary of Decatur, Ill.-based Archer Daniels Midland; followed by Barry Callebaut, headquartered in Zurich, Switzerland; Cargill in Minneapolis; and Nestle USA of Glendale, a subsidiary of the

Swiss food giant

Cocoa company officials say they buy their beans from middlemen and don't know if slaves pick any of the Ivory Coast beans they buy, although some say they will step up their efforts to find out.

The Vienna, Va.-based Chocolate Manufacturers Association trade group has acknowledged a slavery problem exists and has said it strongly condemned "these practices wherever they may occur." This month, the association agreed to fund a survey of child labor practices on Ivory Coast cocoa farms.

A 1998 report from UNICEF cited Ivory Coast farmers as using enslaved children, many of them imported from the poorer neighboring countries of Mali, Burkina Faso, Benin and Togo. A report released June 15 by the Geneva, Switzerland-based International Labor Organization, a workers' rights group, found trafficking in children is widespread in West Africa.

The State Department's Year 2000 human rights report concluded about 15,000 children ages 9 to 12 have been sold into forced labor on the cotton, coffee and cocoa farms in northern Ivory Coast in recent years.

No government or corporate agency monitors the farms, most of them just five to seven acres. Cocoa beans picked by slaves and those harvested by field hands who are paid \$150 to \$180 after a year's work get jumbled together in warehouses, ships, trucks and rail cars, so there is no way of telling which are from slavery farms.

Child trafficking experts say inadequate legislation, ignorance of the law, poor law enforcement, porous borders, police corruption and a shortage of resources help keep slavery alive in the 21st century.

Only 12 convicted slave traders are serving time in Ivory Coast prisons. Another eight, convicted in absentia, are on the lam.

Ivory Coast officials blame immigrant farmers from Mali and world cocoa prices that have fallen from 67 cents a pound in 1996 to 51 cents, forcing poor farmers to use the cheapest labor they can find.

"We cannot blame the farmers for exploiting these workers," said Abdelilah Benkirane, commercial director of the Society of Commercial Agricultural Producers of Daloa, one of Ivory Coast's biggest cocoa and coffee buyers, which exports 80 percent of its purchases to the United States and Europe. "The farmer has no influence on the global system. The system dictates the price."

Ivory Coast government officials concede slaves work on some of the country's cocoa farms. But they believe that slavery is a small—though spreading—problem confined mostly to farms run by foreigners.

Siaka and Brahima have worked on Coulibaly's farm near Daloa, Ivory Coast's cocoa-growing center, for two years without pay. When Siaka tried to run away last year, Coulibaly beat him, Siaka said.

"He tied me behind my back with rope and beat me with a piece of wood," the boy said.

Coulibaly (COO-lee-baa-lee) denied beating Siaka. But he didn't apologize for intimidating and bullying the boys.

"If I let them go, I'm losing money because I spent money for them," he explained.

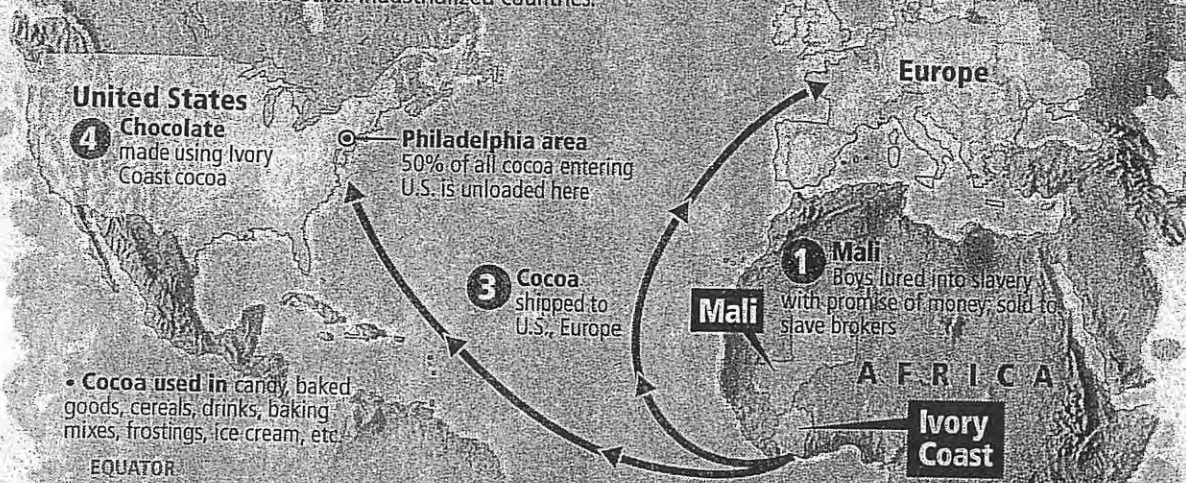
He told the boys he intends to pay them, but falling cocoa prices and unexpected expenses keep getting in the way. Maybe at the end of this year, he said.

Until then, at least, Siaka and Brahima are slaves. They never venture far from Coulibaly's farm.

"Daloa is Paris to us," said Brahima, sitting beside a big red termite hill and watching Siaka work in his best olive green shirt, now in tatters.

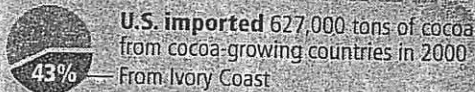
# How slave-grown cocoa gets into chocolate

Cocoa grown and harvested by slave boys in Ivory Coast makes its way into the chocolate products sold in the United States and other industrialized countries.



• Cocoa used in candy baked goods, cereals, drinks, baking mixes, frostings, ice cream, etc.

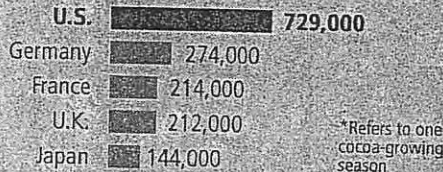
EQUATOR



**2 Ivory Coast**  
 Brokers sell boys to cocoa farmers; U.S. estimates 15,000 slaves working on cocoa, coffee and cotton farms

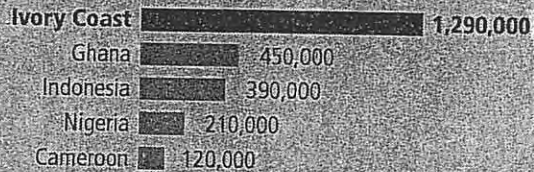
## U.S.: Biggest cocoa consumer

Top consumers of world's cocoa beans and processed cocoa products, 1999-2000\* in tons:



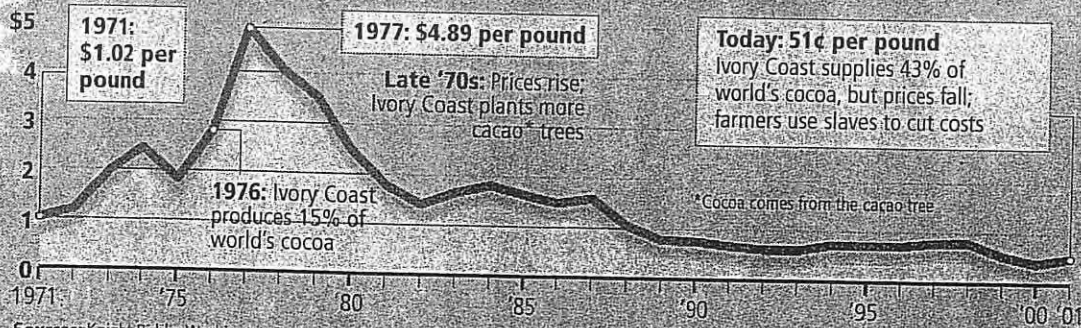
## Ivory Coast: Top cocoa grower

Top growers of world's cocoa beans, 1999-2000\* in tons:



## Falling global cocoa prices put pressure on farmers

Average daily price per pound of beans on world market, in U.S. dollars adjusted for inflation:



Sources: Knight Ridder Washington Bureau, International Cocoa Org., U.S. Agriculture Dept., LMC International consulting group

## What it takes to make chocolate

### On the farm

#### Harvesting

Young farm workers use a long-handled knife to reach and cut melon-sized pods from cacao trees. Workers split woody pods with machete; scoop out beans; a pod yields about 40 beans

#### Fermenting, drying

Workers cover beans with burlap or leaves to ferment them; after about a week, beans are spread out to dry, then put into large bags for delivery to buyers

### At the factory

#### Blending, roasting

Beans cleaned; different types blended to recipe specifications, then roasted; shells removed, leaving the meat or "nib"

#### Grinding

Nibs ground to release cocoa butter, creating non-alcoholic cocoa liquor that solidifies into cakes

#### Chocolate

Cakes pressed to remove butter, then pulverized into cocoa powder; chocolate made by mixing cocoa powder with cocoa butter, sugar, milk, nuts and other ingredients

Sources: Knight Ridder Washington Bureau, KRT Photo Service

It takes about 400 cocoa beans to make 1 lb. of chocolate

### Child Slavery and the Chocolate Trade Review Q's:

1. Where is most of the world's cocoa grown? Who imports the most cocoa?
2. How do boys get lured into becoming slaves?
3. What are the living and working conditions for the slaves? (give specific details)
4. Why don't the slaves know how the final product (cocoa – chocolate) tastes?
5. What is the response from cocoa companies re: the alleged slave labor system?
6. What steps are being taken to alleviate this problem?
7. What factors allow for the continuance of slave labor?
8. What is your reaction to all of this?
9. Who's responsibility is this?