

## **Terms often used in general paper essay questions**

The following are some of the common terminologies that make up the structure and phrasing of questions in General paper. Once you carefully understand and interpret their meanings, question approach/interpretation will be done with ease.

**Explain:** Questions of this nature require you to carefully interpret the key words and bring out the facts in support of or against a given case. Quite often, it requires balanced analysis depending on the specific question.

**Account for:** This question requires the candidate to give a satisfactory explanation to the cause of something. It calls you to give reasons/or factors that have created or led to the existing situation.

**Assess:** Requires a student to critically look at the statement. You, therefore, have to analyze, point out or give value judgment, effect or importance of the ideal issue being examined.

When assessing, it needs two sides: positive and negative. Ensure that the ideas/points given are well explained with a convincing style so that the examiner is convinced and that the assessment has been properly handled.

**Argue the case:** This requires you to give elaborate reasons in support of the statement in question and then look at the other factors that are related to or contribute towards.

**Examine:** This term requires the student to be very critical in bringing out facts in support of or against or often a balanced analysis depending on the specific question.

Usually, the question of examine requires two sides but there are some cases when the question needs one side.

**NB:** The two sides may involve positive and negative or advantages and disadvantages

You must therefore understand the subject matter so that you can know whether to give one or two sides depending on the question.

**Discuss:** This term requires the student to argue in an effort to reach/give a convincing level to which other people can agree with him/her.

In General paper, quite often, we avoid setting questions with "Discuss" at the start of the question. The reason is that it makes one very uncertain of the presentation and risks the correct flow of the essay.

Instead, provide quotes and then add discuss at the end; as in

"The age of consent should be reduced to 16 years." Discuss.

**To what extent.** This calls for two sides where a student needs to explain and illustrate the magnitude or scope or limits of application.

A student needs to identify whether to a large or small extent and show case for each side.

**Justify:** This answer for this question must demonstrate correctness of the assertion. The student in this case needs to indicate/show with reasons that something said in the question is right to be what it is. It does not call for the other side-instead give only one side.

**What:** This question requires the student to give the real state of affairs/actual situation or facts about something. In most cases, this question phrasing calls for only one side of the question; unless two issues are asked for.

E.g. "What are the causes and effects of land disputes in Uganda today?"

**Do you agree?** This calls you to make a one sided argument either for or against the assertion or statement. Do not contradict yourself by agreeing then disagreeing.

**Suggest/ what measures:** This involves making proposals of what should be done to address a problem; overcome a situation or correct an anomaly.

**Summarize:** Requires giving the key (main) points or substance of the matter. In such a case, the details and examples are not required. In General paper, it the passage question in section B that requires a student to summarize certain facts in a given number of words.

**How:** This kind of question requires the student too give/ show ways by which things are done or are happening. A detailed explanation must be given to explain how a given situation is so. For instance in the question.

*How can the evil of corruption be reduced in your country?*

## TOPIC ONE

# THE CONCEPT OF PATRIOTISM IN UGANDA

### INTRODUCTION

This topic is of particular interest today more than ever before. Unlike the general partisan views held by many Ugandans about their country, I trust and strongly believe that promotion of patriotism activities should not be understood merely as a presidential initiative. Neither should patriotic clubs in schools be seen as the only basic formal way of imparting patriotic spirits amongst the nationals of this country. As a matter of fact, patriotism is an ideology and a deep sense of national consciousness that every citizen of Uganda or any country should inherently be bound by. It is such a fundamental /basic virtue that all citizens in their individual collective capacity ought to reflect. Each citizen of Uganda and East Africa in general should be seen as depicting a high level of responsibility and national duty.

Therefore, every individual whether peasant or formal is enjoined to perform such nationalistic duties and responsibilities that enhance nationalism. It is through offering national service or engaging in gainful work to promote personal prosperity that eventually aggregates/translates in a nation's development and prosperity.

By being patriotic at a personal level and encouraging patriotism amongst nationals, it is believed each citizen through patriotism, an individual's sense of national responsibility is addressed.

Given the fact that a patriotic spirit is a function of knowledge and an insightful understanding of both the traditions and heritage of the country, this chapter has been carefully enriched with some vital historical information on the socio-political events that have happened since independence. It is largely understood that the universal principles of development in developing patriotism entail sensitizing and teaching citizens the various concerns brought forth in this topic.

Whatever your socio-political understanding and level of education, this chapter features with following aims in mind; To:

- (i) Enable our candidates of A' level class develop a deep sense of maturity and reasoning in the political affairs of their country.

- (ii) Logically, direct debates that are based on honest research and systematic analysts of issues at hand.
- (iii) Blend the teachings that derive from media campaigns and religious institutions for positive social behavior.
- (iv) Help direct future decisions makers in this country in the quest for good governance.
- (v) Carefully reflect on the Uganda motto that states:

“For God and my country”

## INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

As a concept, it has become a major concern in the contemporary international community. It is cited as one of the most catastrophic occurrences which has claimed tens of thousands of life and brought about destruction of property worthy trillions of dollars. For many centuries, terrorism was not known and only perceived by its dictionary meaning and definition.

The oxford dictionary defines terrorism as 'violence committed by a group of people in order to intimidate the population of government into granting to their demands'.

In spite of the dictionary meaning, there has been no common definition of international terrorism. However, the League of Nations defined international terrorism 'as all criminal acts directed against the state, group of people and individuals intended or calculated to create a state of fear in the minds of particular people or the general public'.

Besides, in 1989, the United States of America defined international terrorism as 'pre-determined politically motivated by violence perpetuated against non combatant targets by sub-national groups or **clandestine** agents that operate nationally, continentally and globally'. In order for the 'A' level candidates to write an elaborate essay on the concept of terrorism, one ought to first gain a thorough in depth understanding of vital historical background on this elusive movement.

### **Background/history of terrorism**

The history of terrorism is a history of well known and historically significant individuals, groups and incidents associated whether rightly or wrongly with terrorism. As early as the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the term terrorism may be traced to the **reign of terror: 1793-1794**; during the French revolution in France where the ruling Jacobins and Girondins employed violence against the nobles and the clergy as well as other French men and women in form of mass execution in order to intimidate the regime's enemies and compel obedience to the regime by then. Within that period, approximately 40,000 people are said to have been terrorized. The two groups are said to have referred to themselves as terrorists- hence the beginning of the word "terrorism." Since then, several incidences have propelled in the world and amounted to acts of terrorism and these include;

- The Kuklaxklan (kkk) of 1865 after the American civil war.
- The operations of the Japanese red army between 1971-2000
- The works of the Tamil tigers: 1976-2009 in Sri Lanka who claimed that they were demanding for equal sharing of the national cake.
- The operations of the Al Quaeda across the globe.
- The operations of the Al-Shabab in Eastern Africa.
- The operations of the Isis across the globe
- The operations of Boko Haram in Nigeria. And other small rebel terrorist groups like the Lord's Resistance Army and the Allied Defense Forces in Uganda and her neighbours.

Globally, the USA has suffered the most catastrophic terrorist attack that occurred on September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 by the Al Quaeda. Uganda has also been a victim of the Al-Shabaab who attacked the capital using explosives that went off on 11<sup>th</sup>, July 2010-in Kyadondo Rugby grounds and Ethiopian Restaurant in Kabalagala respectively- killing scores on spot and leaving many injured.

### The Al Quaeda Terrorist Group

Beginning with 1980s, religious groups that committed violent acts in pursuit of their goals were increasing in number. Many of them drew inspiration from the Iran's- 1979 Islamic revolution and a large number of these operated in the Middle East. These include; Hezbollah, the Hamas, the Egyptian Islamic Jihadists and the mighty Al Quaeda. The Al Quaeda as a name stands for "the base or data base." According to one of its founders Osama Bin award bin Mohamed bin Laden (bin means son of), the word Al Quaeda came just by chance, that they used it to refer to the training camps of their freedom fighters known as the Mujahedeens mainly in Afghanistan as the base hence the name.

This organization was created on August 11<sup>th</sup> 1988 following the meeting with several senior leaders of the Egyptian Islamic jihadists. Bin Laden agreed to contribute his troops and other resources to continue Jihad elsewhere after the end of the war against Russia in Afghanistan. It is also true as claimed by circles that the US had a hand in the creation of the Al Quaeda during the struggles in Afghanistan and facilitated the group to fight against the USSR during the cold war politics. The Al Quaeda had a number of objectives but the major one was to create an Islamic caliphate (an area controlled by the caliph-a leader of Islam regarded as a successor to prophet Mohamed) and end foreign influence in Islamic countries. Accordingly, the Al Quaeda believed that Christian-Jewish

alliance was conspiring to destroy Islam and the only way of stopping this was to kill all the non believers through the Islamic Jihad. After the end of the anti soviet operations, Osama bin laden returned to Saudi Arabia and offered to help the Saudi government with protection against the expansionist policy of Saddam Hussein of Iraq. The Saudi government turned down his offer and instead hired the Americans. The deployment of foreign non believer troops on the land of the two mosques such as Mecca and Medina profended sacrade soil. After speaking publicity against the Saudi government, Osama was sent into exile in Sudan. He was expelled by the Sudanese government and went to Afghanistan. He remained in Afghanistan under the protection if the Tereban until when the Tereban were defeated by a combination of the local forces and the United States of America in 2001. After leaving Afghanistan, he began to systematically attack all foreign establishments and interests around the world most especially beginning with the Middle East.

Although many of his attacks came after 2000, he had muster minded quite a number before this time. In 1992, he tried to kill American troops while in Yemen but was in vain. In 1993, an attempted attack was made to destroy the World trade centre albiet the truck full of explosives exploded and the bomb wasn't able to meet the target. Nevertheless, it injured over 1000 people, six people died instantly yet about 3million US dollars property was destroyed! In 1995, a bomb exploded in Saudi Arabia targeting the American contractors and officers. In consequence, seven people were killed, while several tens were injured.

In 1998, the Al Quaeda carried out another attack against the USA establishments in East Africa, targeting embassies in Nairobi and Der-Salam. During the attacks, over 300 people lost their lives mostly locals of these countries. Two years later, the Al Quaeda again attacked the US establishments in Yemen and killed 17 US servicemen. In the following year, Al Quaeda carried out what is believed to be the most devastating terrorist act in the world history. On the morning of Tuesday September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001, 19 hijacking Jackers affiliated with Al Quaeda, took over four passenger liners and deliberately directed them into America's symbols of military and economic power. Two of these commercial jets were flown into the World trade centre complex and the third into the Pentagon, while the fourth plane-flight 93, which was destined for the capital building, crashed into a field in Pennsylvania killing everybody on board.

From then, the US declared a war against terrorism and Osama Bin Laden was hunted until he was killed on 2nd May 2011 in Abbottabad Pakistan. The war against terror, however, seems to have only escalated across the world as each passing day, different losses to both lives and property are reported on the multiple media channels. It must be pointed out rightly that terrorist militants plan very carefully and secretly before unleashing their life threatening bombs. Their targets are numerous and spread in both remote and developed areas. Following their increased deadly terror attacks, a number of security operatives are on a high terror alert mission and deployment in various approaches to counter their efforts.

### **Uganda as a Target of Terrorism**

Uganda was the first country in Africa to take her peace keeping troops under African union mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to help in restoring and maintaining of peace and stability in Somalia as well as restoring the government into power after it had been threatened by the Al Shabaab militants. The Al-Shabaab warned Uganda that it shall be attacked in retained for the support they have accorded to the illegal government in Somalia. For some time, this warning was taken as speculation and probably not expected to happen given the tight security mechanism which Uganda had. However, on July 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010, two explosives went off at Kabalagala and Ethiopian village at the time when football fans were watching the finals of the 2010 world cup between Spain and Netherlands. The explosives at Kyadondo ripped through the unsuspecting public killing scores on the spot and wounded several others. The Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility and promised that they would continue to target Uganda until when she withdraws her troops from Somalia. In a text message sent, the Al-Shabaab noted that they warned Uganda not to deploy troops to Somalia and they ignored them, 'we warned them to stop massacring and they ignored that'. The explosion in Kampala was only a minor message to them. 'We will target them everywhere if they don't withdraw from our land'. Sheik Ali Muhamud Rage. The entire East African region has fallen victim of a number of terrorist attacks by particularly the infamous Somalian based Al-Shabaab militants.

### **Causes of international terrorism**

**Economically, terrorism is caused by the prevailing threat of poverty among people.** When people are deprived of certain resources and opportunities, poverty can create resentment and cause some to turn to terrorism in order to express their outrage. However, poverty has worked hand in hand with other

economic factors such as unemployment, inflation and unequal distribution of resources to drive the deprived and hopeless people who can easily be mobilized into terrorist movements.

**Politically, government deprivation of certain political and civil rights as well as liberties might push them into terrorism.** Repressive and autocratic societies from weak governments that make people to suffer. Persistent human rights abuse through government actions such as the deprivation of the right to life, to property, to family, to education, to political affiliation and participation as well as liberties to association, speech, expression, movement and others may force people into terrorism. Besides, some acts done by a repressive government such as brutalizing of opponents can be referred to as terrorist actions.

**Besides, improvidence of some governments has forced many into terrorist activities.** The deprivation of citizens of the basic needs satisfaction in form of basic social services for survival such as food, water, shelter, education, health, jobs and social security is likely to make them hopeless that political demagogues with selfish interests can easily mobilize them into violent acts that may emanate into terrorism. This can properly explain why people of northern Uganda joined the Lord's resistance army as well as those in south western Uganda as many claim.

**Socially, religious beliefs are other aspects that need to be considered.** Modern terrorism has seen an anonymous increase in religious extremism, the scale of violence has intensified and the global reach has expanded. Religious terrorism as defined as the political violence that is motivated by an absolute belief that for the greater glory of the faith, people partaking in it believe that their acts against non believers of the same religious sect shall be rewarded in the life after death. Extremism is not limited to one religion but the most prominent one is Islam as many terrorist groups are founded on Islamic beliefs such as the Al Shabaab, Al quaeda, Boko Haram and the prominent Islamic State. Therefore, people engage in killing the so called non believers simply because they are brain washed by the theological literature given to them to have hope in wrong.

**Psychologically, people engage in terrorism for reasons based in their own psychological state of mind.** Their motivation may be nothing but hatred and desire for power. For instance in Somalia, the Al Shabaab never liked the government in power, in Nigeria, the Boko Haram have natural hatred for western education and culture yet the Al- Queda was formed to fight the

western culture and influence in Islamic states. Therefore, such psychological hatred and desire for power among individuals drive them into terrorism.

**Ideological differences among people push some to terrorism.** Ideologically, beliefs, values, principles and norms by which people identify their particular aims and goals make them to practice terrorism so as to market their ideology and out compete the other ideologies. For instance, the Irish republican army (IRA) in Sri Lanka, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Baber Meinhoff in Germany. The IRA is motivated by a political ideology to oust the United Kingdom from Ireland and unify United Ireland under one Flag. Similarly, the LTTE seek to establish a separate state for their people just like the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and finally, the Meinhoff in Germany were opposed to capitalism as an ideology and sought for the destruction of German capitalist infrastructure.

**At times, terrorism is attributed to strategic perspectives among perpetrators.** Indeed, terrorism sometimes is seen as a logical extension of political failure. When people seek redress of their grievances through government but fail to win attention to their plight, they may resort to violence. From their point of view, terrorism is the result of a logical analysis of the goals and the objectives of the group as well as their likelihood of gaining victory if it seems unlikely using more traditional means of opposition and demand. For instance, the Al Qaeda decided to use terrorism as a strategic means of making the western world give in to their demands just the way Boko Haram is doing in Nigeria and what the Al-Shabaab did to Uganda to force it withdraw her troops from Somalia. Besides, states can also use terrorism in pursuit of certain goals if they are similar to those of certain terrorist groups. This was seen in Libya during Gadhafi's regime when he supported the hijacking and bombing of a plane 103 that was flying from London to New York as a response to British and USA's bombing of Libya.

- (i) **Ethnic tension and differences can also cause terrorism.** In mostly heterogeneous societies, differences in origin, language, norms, values and beliefs tend to make varying communities collide. If such collisions intensify, they might end up terrorizing each other. This was seen in the Rwanda genocide in 1994 when the terrorist group known as the **Interahamwe** made up of the Hutu youths seriously terrorized the Tutsi basing on the ethnic differences.

## **Motives behind terrorism**

Most of the terrorists under interrogation and media interviews tend to testify the following motives that drive them into terrorist activities.

- i. Theological or religious brain wash has motivated many to join terrorism as people are preached to and promised better rewards in the life after death in case they terrorize others basing on religious believes.
- ii. Economic motives also drive many into terrorism especially when they are promised a lot of economic gains.
- iii. Politically, most terrorists join the movement so as to assume power whenever normal ways of assuming powers have failed.
- iv. Revenging motives push many people into terrorism as this has been common among the Islamic radical groups have decided to commit acts against the USA in a form of revenging over its operations in the Arab world.

## **Effects of terrorism on Africa**

**Terrorism poses a serious law and order problem** that leads to incidents of murder, torture, mutilation, kidnapping, arson and extortion which creates an atmosphere of suspicion, fear and panic among people. Because of these organized crimes by terrorists, a lot of social disharmony and disobedience of the law among the perpetrators is experienced even beyond state frontiers. This has been evident in the East African States as a result or the Al shabaab operations in the region.

**Besides, loss of lives and property is evident with terrorist activities.** Following the operations of extremists in east Africa, many people have lost their lives and property is much destroyed. For instance, following the 11<sup>th</sup> July 2010 explosives that went off in Ethiopian village and Kyadondo Rugby grounds in Uganda, killed scores on spot and wounded several.

**A lot of property in form of buildings, markets, shopping Malls, University infrastructures and others have been destroyed in Somalia, Kenya and Uganda following the activities of the Al Shabaab in the region.**

**Terrorism has affected the transportation system in East Africa.** The terrorist threat on buses, planes, trains and naval transportation means has made many travellers leery of straying too far from home. Events such as subway bombing and plane hijacking serve to hurt the travel sector as well as the hotel and

tourism industry. In so being, many Ugandans have been threatened of freely transporting their goods from the coast of Indian Ocean into the country.

**Economically, terrorist attacks result into destruction of property, freezing of economic activities, cutting off of inflow of foreign investment and international trade.** This has totally affected the gross domestic production (GDP) of East African countries, led to unemployment, with high levels of inflation and less foreign direct investment, poor performance of the stock exchange markets, loss of value of the local currencies, indebtedness and imbalances between the development budgets and the recurrent budgets as much money is allocated to defence and security.

**Terrorism has also created a stereotype perception of certain groups of people.** For instance, Muslims are taken to be extremists across the world and at times, mob justice is committed to them and whenever there are terrorist related attacks and crimes, they are taken to be the first suspects. This has made them to be discriminated by the rest of the people.

**Terrorism has perpetuated international instabilities.** Because of persistent terrorist attacks, many countries are politically unstable, a lot of chaos and havoc as well as unrest. For instance, Nigeria has been generally unstable because of the operations of the Boko Haram, Somalia because of the Al Shabaab, and the Middle East as a result of the Egyptian Islamic Jihadists.

**Terrorism has also discouraged investment in African countries.** In countries like Somalia and Nigeria, it has become hard for both local and foreign investors to risk their resources into such unreliable political economies due to fear of making losing both life and capital. This has kept these economies stunted and underdeveloped.

**Terrorism has led to unbalanced budget performance in many countries.** Due to the desire for countries to strengthen the Coercive abilities so as to counteract the activities and threat of the groups to states, many have prioritized defence and security sector in their budget allocations and security sectors in their budget allocations and leave the other basic sector vulnerable. The governments are appropriating the biggest percentage of their annual budgets into the army, police, prison and intelligence. This has rendered sectors like education, health, agriculture and general infrastructural development under facilitated yet some directly contribute to the gross domestic product (GDP) and the gross national product (GNP) of these states.

### **How can terrorism be dealt away with?**

States through their civil, political and coercive agencies have an obligation to take necessary measures to protect the human rights and freedoms of all individuals within their jurisdiction and neighbours from terrorism so as to ensure the right to life, right to physical integrity and other human rights as well as fundamental freedoms. The following therefore should be done by states to deal with terrorism and its effects.

Governments should put in place mechanisms of preventing men and women from joining terrorist groups and operations. This can be done through civic education and sensitization of people on the dangers of such acts. Besides, the state should ensure legitimacy through democratization, providence and coercion for the polity to be loyal to the government and take it as a legitimate one.

Similarly to the above, free and fair elections should be organized to provide platforms for people to compete for political posts such that they can't opt for more radical means that may emanate into terrorism.

**Strengthening the coercive abilities of countries to counter terrorism** States should highly train, equip and facilitate their civilian police, military and intelligence organs to suit with sophisticated military and policing training should be established so as to carry out sophisticated operations worthy the abilities of terrorists.

**Responding to terrorist attacks through putting in place proportionate measures** to mitigate the impacts of such attacks and assists the victims. Rapid response units should be put in place so as to restore and rescue those that have been victimized.

**Putting in place strict legislations against terrorist activities.** Parliaments ought to pass new laws that can confine perpetrators of terrorism and separate courts put in place to handle their cases. This has slightly worked out for Uganda that established an anti-terrorism court to deal with terrorist suspects.

**States should refrain from providing any form of support to terrorists and terrorist movements.** This can be done through suspending financial and moral aid to terrorists, suppressing the bases for recruitment of terrorists, eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists as well as denying safe havens to those who participate and support terrorism. This will help in leaving terrorists isolated, socially, economically and politically that they can't run their operations.

**Countries should also ensure accountability, legitimacy and trust among themselves in regarding the movement of counter terrorism. Counter terrorism movement can help in reducing the risks of terrorist actions and then boost the ability of states to have total member involvement of the public, civil society, politicians and the coercive arms in countering terrorism. All the above stakeholders should be responsible in the movement.**

**States should destroy terrorists and their organizations. Once terrorists are identified, with no delay the governments should use every resource and tool that they can to disrupt, dismantle and destroy their capacity to conduct acts of terror.**

**There should be interstate cooperation in fighting terrorism. Being an international threat, countries should willingly work hand in hand with another to trace, identify and trample terrorist movements within and across their frontiers. This has to be done through resource sharing such as information, military logistics, human resource as well as technological and financial resources to fight against terrorism. This has yielded much in East African region while fighting against the Al Shabaab.**

**States should enforce the idea of vigilance and neighbourhood watch among the citizens. This is part of community policing strategies that can easily link the gap between the civilian wing of fighting terrorism and the military wing as information can easily flow from civilians to the military officers about terrorists, their camps, resources, victims of terrorism and operations. This has been influential in Uganda and also helped the AMISOM troops in Somalia to hunt down the Al Shabaabs.**

## **REVISION QUESTION**

- 1. Discuss the causes and effects of increased International Terrorism in the world.(50 marks)**