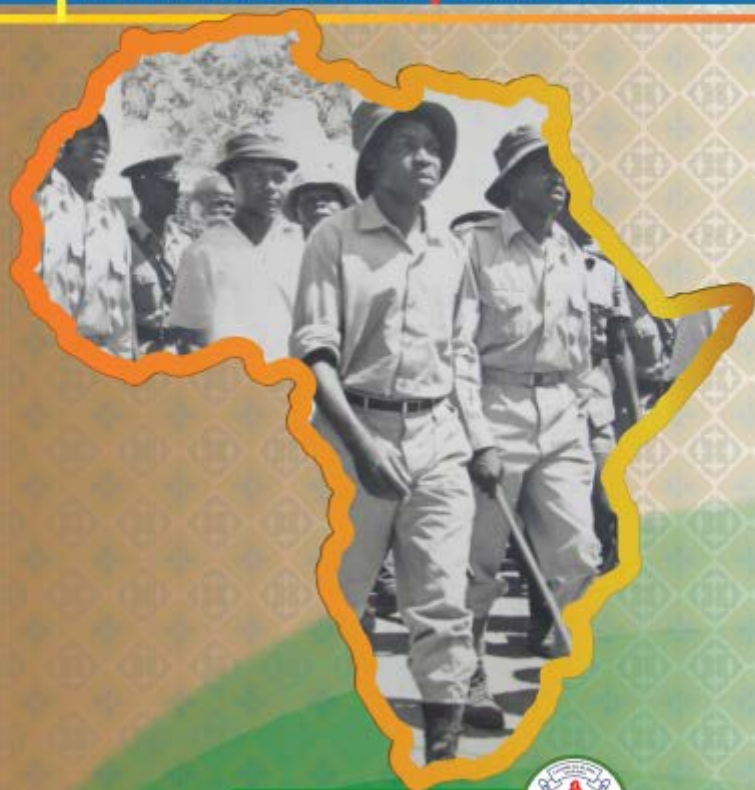


Advanced History

for Secondary Schools

Student's Book Form Five



Tanzania Institute of Education



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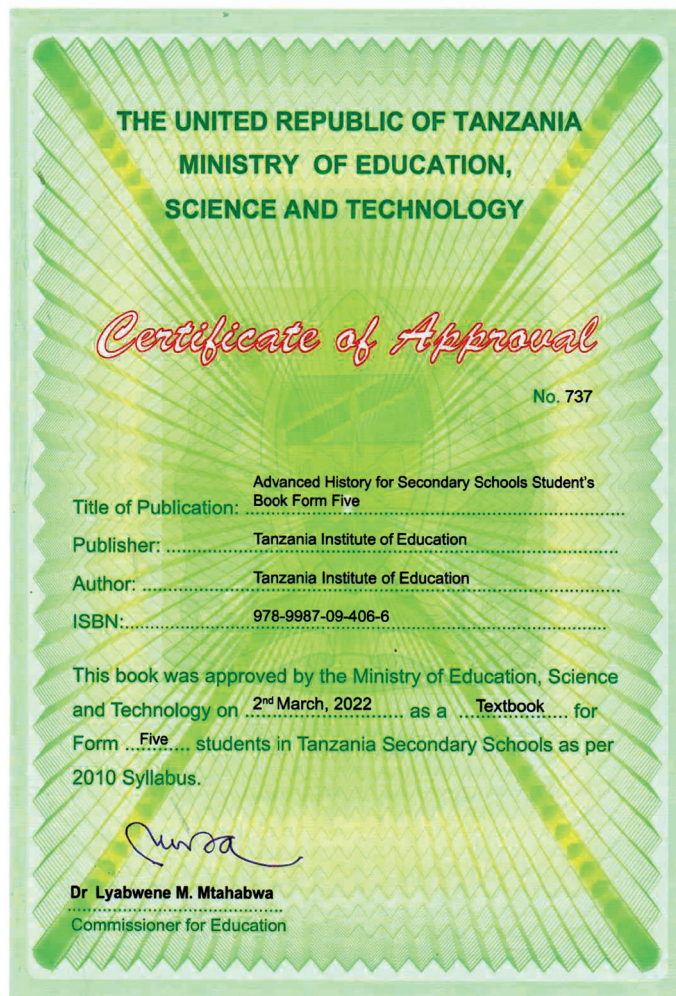
Form Five

Student's Book

Advanced History for Secondary Schools

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Tanzania Institute of Education

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Published 2022

ISBN: 978-9987-09-406-6

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
ASP	Afro-Shiraz Party
BCE	Before Common Era (formally known as BC - Before Christ)
BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CE	Common Era (formally known as AD - <i>Anno Domino</i>)
CDW	Colonial Development and Welfare
CFAO	<i>Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale</i>
COINTELPRO	Counter Intelligence Programme
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPP	Convention People's Party
CRDB	Cooperative and Rural Development Bank
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
EAC	East African Community
EAHC	East African High Commission
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EIT	Export-Import Trade
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FLN	<i>Front de Libération Nationale</i>
FRELIMO	<i>Frente de Libertação de Mozambique</i>
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INC	Indian National Congress
ISIs	Import-Substitution Industries
KANU	Kenya African National Union
MNC	<i>Mouvement National Congolais</i>
MoEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

MPLA	<i>Movimento Polular de Libertação de Angola</i>
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NEC	National Executive Committee
NESP	National Economic Survival Programme
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PCCB	Prevention and Combating of Corruption Bureau
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADF	South African Defence Forces
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCOA	<i>Soci'et'e Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain</i>
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
SILABU	Sisal Labour Bureau
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TAZAMA	Tanzania Zambia <i>Mafuta</i>
TAZARA	Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority
TFL	Tanganyika Federation of Labour
TIB	Tanzania Investment Bank
TRA	Tanzania Revenue Authority
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UFI	Ubungo Farmers' Implements
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i>
UNO	United Nations Organisation
UN	United Nations
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Agency
ZZK	<i>Zana Za Kilimo</i>

Acknowledgements

Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) would like to acknowledge the contributions of all the organisations and individuals who participated in designing and developing this textbook. In particular, TIE wishes to thank the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy (MNMA), School Quality Assurance (SQA) Department, teachers' colleges and secondary schools. Besides, the following individuals are acknowledged:

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TIE also appreciates the participation of the secondary school teachers and students in the trial phase of the manuscript. Likewise, the Institute would like to thank the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology for facilitating the writing and printing of this textbook.



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Director General
Tanzania Institute of Education

Preface

This textbook, *Advanced History for Secondary Schools*, is written specifically for Form Five students in the United Republic of Tanzania. It is written in accordance with the 2010 History Syllabus for Advanced Secondary Education, Form V-VI, issued by the then Ministry of Education and Vocational Training.

The book consists of seven chapters, namely Pre-colonial African societies, Africa and Europe in the 15th century, People of African origin in the New World, The colonial state and agricultural system up to 1914, Changes in the colonial economy and social services after the Second World War, Nationalism and decolonisation in Africa, as well as Political and economic development in Tanzania since independence. Each chapter contains texts, illustrations, activities and exercises. You are encouraged to do all the activities and exercises, as well as other assignments that your teacher will provide. Doing so will enable you to develop the intended competencies.

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Chapter One

Pre-colonial African societies

Introduction

Pre-colonial African societies existed in Africa before colonial rule. The societies had their own socio-economic and political ways of life. They had reached a considerable level of socio-economic and political development by the time colonialism started in Africa. In this chapter, you will learn about the pre-colonial social formations and political organisations that existed in Africa. You will also learn about pre-colonial education and culture. The competencies developed will enable you to maintain the good socio-economic systems that existed in pre-colonial Africa, for future generations.



Think of the society of which you are a member. Can you trace its origin?

Social and political organisations in pre-colonial Africa

Different points of view are given on the nature of African societies before colonialism. These are the Afro-centric and the Euro-centric views. Afro-centric scholars argue that, before the coming of the colonialists, African societies were dynamic in all aspects of life, including politics, culture, economy and technology. Euro-centric scholars, on the other hand, argue that, before the coming of Europeans to Africa, Africans were barbaric, static and uncivilised. However, the Euro-centric point of view is misleading

because pre-colonial African societies displayed remarkable socio-economic and political transformation. That transformation was manifested in social, political and economic structures, which were very complex and dynamic.

The dynamic nature of pre-colonial African societies was the result of many factors. The factors included the development of production systems, the growth of population and the development of trade. However, in order to understand these pre-colonial social formations, it is important to define some of the key terms used

in history. The terms include labour, human labour, objects of labour, means of labour, relations of production, productive forces and modes of production.

Labour

Labour refers to the physical and mental ability used in production. Human beings need to produce to meet their basic needs, namely food, shelter and clothing. Thus, material production is the basis of human existence. Labour may also be defined as a purposeful activity directed towards the production of specific objects and essentials of human life. It is a form of social activity that brings people together and facilitates different levels of human cooperation. This means that humans' productive activities and the struggle against nature always take place within the framework of material conditions and specific social relations.

Means of labour

Means of labour refer to all the things human beings use in the process of production. With the aid of such things, human beings act upon objects of labour and transform them. Means of labour are also known as instruments of labour. They range from simple to complex tools and play a vital role in material production. They act as the extension of a human's natural organs such as hands, legs, eyes and the brain. Examples of means of labour include

the hand hoe, machete, tractor and computer. In short, means of labour help humans to simplify work. Without them work becomes difficult.

Object of labour

An object of labour refers to everything on which humans' labour is applied. They are the resources upon which human labour is applied to produce. Such resources are mostly found in their natural environments such as land, rivers and forests. That means human beings need objects of labour to work. Otherwise, work becomes impossible. For example, you may have a good fishing instrument, but you will not fish unless there is a river, an ocean, a lake or a water pond in which fish are found.

Means of production

Means of production refer to the combination of means of labour and objects of labour. They are necessary in the production of goods and services. They are capital and labour. When left on their own, the means of labour have no value in life. Therefore, human labour must act on objects of labour using instruments of labour to make material production a reality. As they interact in the process of material production, people use their knowledge, skills as well as experience to produce things to meet their basic needs. In the process, they develop technology, which is a significant factor of production.

Productive forces

Productive forces result from the interaction between human labour and the means of labour. The principal elements of productive forces in any society are people, intelligence and experiences. Productive forces are dynamic. They grow, multiply and change with advancements in human skills and production experiences. Therefore, the level of the development of productive forces is an indicator of humans' mastery of nature.

Relations of production

Relations of production are those into which human beings enter during a production process. It is the relations of production that show whether a relation is exploitative or non-exploitative. For example, capitalist social formation, relations of production refer to a relationship between those who own the means of production (the bourgeoisie) and those who do not (the proletariat). Thus, under this system, the relations of production are always exploitative. According to Karl Marx, the only way the bourgeoisie can make a profit is by exploiting the proletariat by giving them low wages and making them work for a long time.

Modes of production

A mode of production consists of productive forces and relations of production. The mode of production of a particular society should meet

people's needs. Each society has an organisation called the superstructure. The superstructure consists of non-productive institutions such as the judiciary, religious beliefs, customs and traditions. A society's mode of production and the superstructure constitute a social formation. In categorising a mode of production, one has to ask oneself questions about who owns the means of production, how production is organised and how the fruits of labour are distributed. For example, under a communal mode of production, the major means of production are collectively owned by the community and the fruits of labour are distributed more or less equally within the community.

Exercise 1.1

- (a) Conduct a library research and write an essay on the pre-colonial African system of property ownership. State clearly who owned the means of production and why.
- (b) Explain how products were distributed in any pre-colonial society of your choice.
- (c) Who owns the means of production such as land in your society today and why?

Modes of production in Africa

By the beginning of the 19th century, many African societies were still under the communal mode of production. A few societies were under the feudal mode of production and some were in transition from the communal mode of production to the feudal mode of production. The transition from one mode of production to another was largely influenced by the local environment and the development of productive forces.

Primitive communal mode of production

According to Karl Marx, this was the first mode of production all human societies experienced. Primitive communalism was the earliest system of social relations that preceded all the modes of production. It was the first, non-antagonistic mode of production of the stone, bronze and iron ages. Relations under this mode of production were egalitarian.

In Africa, primitive communalism existed for a much longer time than any other mode of production. It emerged more than one million years ago. In some societies, especially in hunting and gathering societies, the primitive mode of production is still practised. At the beginning of colonialism, the communal mode of production was found in some parts of Africa, especially in the dense equatorial

forests as well as in the arid and semi-arid regions. These were regions which could hardly support livestock keeping or crop cultivation. Agricultural communities which practised shifting cultivation also fell into this mode of production. Examples of African societies that led a communal life include hunter-gatherers such as the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest of eastern Congo, the San of the Kalahari Desert, the Sandawe and Hadzabe of north-central Tanzania and the Khoikhoi of South Africa. Other examples include pastoralist communities like the Fulani of northern Nigeria in West Africa, the Galla and Somali of north-eastern Africa, the Teso of Uganda and Kenya, the Karamojong of Uganda, and the Ndorobo of Tanzania and Kenya.

Characteristics of primitive communalism

Primitive communalism had several defining features. One of the most common features was a low level of science and technology. At first, most of the tools available were made of stones. There were three phases of the Stone Age, depending on the type of stone tools used. The first phase was the Old or Early Stone Age. The second phase was the Middle Stone Age and the third phase was the New or Late Stone Age. In the first two phases, humans lived by hunting and gathering, while in the last phase humans started to domesticate plants and animals. Given the low

level of science and technology, the communal economy could not support a large population.

Moreover, primitive communalism was characterised by a simple division of labour, which was mainly based on age and sex. For example, it was common for men to participate in hunting and fishing activities, while women participated in gathering roots and fruits and took care of children.

Under the communal mode of production, there was no private ownership of the means of production. All such means were collectively owned by the community. That is to say, the objects of labour such as land, rivers and forests were shared by all community members. Likewise, everyone was free to use the means of labour but with specific community rules.

Furthermore, under this mode of production, there was no exploitation of man by man. There was no suppression of individuals or families. Whatever was produced was equally shared among community members. This tendency discouraged exploitation, since there was no class stratification. All society members were relatively equal.

Additionally, people lived in bands or families and small kinship groups. This form of social formation was based on blood relationships, in that

community members traced their origin to the same ancestor. Each group was separated from another by large areas of land, and each group had its own territory. Members of the same community shared beliefs and spoke the same dialect. However, in their continuous search for food, a member of one group could enter the territory of another group. Thus, wars broke out. In addition, wars could break out as a result of the need for revenge. There were no standing armies. Instead, during a war, a whole group would be involved in it and when the war was over, they would resume production.

There was also a certain level of democracy under this mode of production. This means that all decisions would be made by all adult members of the group, regardless of their sex. Furthermore, elders governed by consensus. They had no coercive power and exercised their power purely through respect and need. Under this mode of production, there was hardly any powerful ruler or chief to exercise absolute power.

Under the communal system, production was only for subsistence purposes. There was no surplus production in communal societies because of the low development of the productive forces. Whatever was produced was for consumption.

Because of the low level of science and technology, the tools used were very

crude and were often made of stones, sticks and bones. Such tools made the production of food and other things difficult. Thus, there was no production for exchange.

Nevertheless, during this mode of production, humans continued to struggle to control nature to increase their productivity. This, finally, led to the domestication of animals and plants. The domestication of animals and plants came to be known as the Neolithic Revolution in the latter part of the Stone Age. The Neolithic Revolution, which is also called the Agricultural Revolution, was a great shift from depending on hunting and gathering to depending on agriculture and animal domestication. This shift marked a significant step in human history. Ways of living were greatly transformed as some people became pastoralists and others crop cultivators. The Neolithic Revolution led to radical changes in human life because it transformed scattered dwellings of hunter-gatherers into permanent farming villages. This transformation had far-reaching consequences for the social, political and economic evolution.



Activity 1.1

There are various social classes in modern African societies. Discuss in pair the advantages and disadvantages of the social classes in any society of your choice.

Slave mode of production

The slave mode of production was the earliest exploitative mode of production in human history. It was a socio-economic system based on private ownership of the means of production, including slave labour. According to Karl Marx, slavery was the crudest form of exploitation in human history. This mode of production pre-dominated in Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt, India and China in the 4th millennium BCE. In Greece, the slave mode of production reached its peak between the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, while in Rome it reached a climax from the 2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE. In addition to Ancient Egypt, other societies in Africa such as the Kongo Kingdom experienced domestic slavery.

The development of the slave mode of production involved complex processes, including improvement of productive forces, the rise of private ownership of property such as land and the production of surplus wealth by those who owned the means of production.

Under this mode of production, a slave was an essential means of production as the slave master perpetually exploited and appropriated his labour. The slave master owned the means of production and the slave himself/herself.

The origin of slavery in pre-colonial African societies

Slavery was a mode of production in different parts of the world which started after the stone-age period. There has been a debate on whether slavery as a mode of production existed in Africa or not. In fact, there were a few societies that developed a slave mode of production, while the majority of African societies did not. However, the slave mode of production in Africa did not emerge as a distinct economic system, since it co-existed with some elements of communalism or feudalism.

The major factors for the emergence of slavery in pre-colonial African societies were technological development and social division of labour. For example, during slavery, societies learnt to use iron tools in farming and other economic activities. Furthermore, pre-colonial African societies were not homogeneous. They varied from one place to another in terms of development. Some ethnic groups in slave-owning societies specialised in crafts and farming, while others specialised in trade. This division of labour caused inequality, hence the rise of social stratification in societies.

The earliest people to develop slavery in Africa were Ancient Egyptians, who did so in about 3500 BCE. The reason the Ancient Egyptians developed slavery

was the increase in surplus production. The desire to reduce surplus wealth necessitated having slaves who could help families to cope with the increased amount of work. Those who controlled surplus wealth became slave masters because such wealth gave them power over those without. War became the most reliable means of obtaining slave labour. The war captives would be used as slaves, instead of being killed. With time, this tendency became common and prompted the development of the slave mode of production.

Slaves were used to build cities and large structures such as pyramids, dams and irrigation systems in Ancient Egypt. However, it should be noted that slavery co-existed with feudalism in Ancient Egypt. Therefore, in Africa slavery was only partially practised as a mode of production, except in places like Ancient Egypt, West Africa and along the coast of East Africa.

Characteristics of the slave mode of production

As a mode of production, slavery was characterised by the following features:

Under the slave mode of production, population was divided into freemen and slaves. Freemen had civil, property and political rights, while slaves were deprived of all the rights and could not join the ranks of freemen. Freemen included large landowners, who were also slave owners.

The slave mode of production was characterised by the class contradiction between slaves and slave owners. With the development of the slave mode of production, slave labour became the main means of production and the contradiction between slaves and slave masters became the basic contradiction in society. Slave masters' exploitation of slaves was the main cause of this contradiction.

This mode of production was also characterised by the rise of the state. The rise of class stratification in society led to the rise of the state. With the growth of the social division of labour and the development of exchange, separate clans and ethnic groups united. The character of clan institutions changed. The institutions were converted into organs of dominance and oppression. The elders and military clan leaders became kings and princes, while other people, especially the poor, were subjected to slavery.

Moreover, the slave mode of production was characterised by improvement of productive forces. The improvement of productive forces initiated the production of surplus and the division of labour. In Africa, the state emerged when societies could produce surplus. At this stage, there emerged people who were detached from the process of production and who naturally became rulers. The following are examples of the pre-colonial African societies that practised slavery.

Ancient Egypt

Archaeological evidence reveals that the transition from hunting and gathering to the cultivation of crops and the domestication of animals happened in Ancient Egypt in 5000 and 4000 BCE. The development of food production led to an increase in population in Ancient Egypt owing to the abundance of food. Population growth called for further development of agriculture. To develop agriculture, the Egyptians harnessed the annual flood of the Nile waters and distributed the waters over large tracts of land to enhance crop cultivation and animal husbandry. The need to control the Nile waters compelled different kinship groups to come together to construct dams and irrigation canals. The aforesaid activities made some people specialise in managing the public, while others did manual work. Such a division of labour resulted in the formation of a class of rulers on the one hand, and a class of labourers on the other.

The control of the Nile waters also required proper knowledge of floods. Therefore, some people specialised in observing the movement of stars in relation to the occurrence of floods. This led to the discovery of the astronomical calendar and the emergence of people who were entirely involved in the production of scientific knowledge. The need to keep records led to the

invention of writing and, hence, a group of recorders emerged. This eventually led to the development of abstract sciences such as mathematics and astronomy. These groups of scientists and supervisors or rulers withdrew from direct production. Those who engaged in mental work had little time to interact with land, thus marking the beginning of classes.

Moreover, the development of abstract sciences resulted in further development of the productive forces which, in turn, led to material development in fields like architecture, sculpture, design and pottery. These achievements led to the construction of pyramids and temples, the casting of life-size bronze and stone statues of human beings, household goods and animals. Thus, as the productive forces developed in Ancient Egypt during and after the Neolithic period, communalism gradually collapsed.

Egyptian society was divided into several classes. There was a ruling class which consisted of the nobility, religious leaders, military commanders and intellectuals on the one hand, and the labouring class, which consisted of peasants and slaves, on the other.

This division of society into antagonistic classes went hand in hand with the separation of towns and the countryside. The upper class concentrated in towns and cities,

while the lower class was mainly in the countryside. The lower class in the countryside fed those who lived in the towns.

Sudanic zone

The Sudanic zone in West Africa was another part of Africa where slave-owning societies emerged. The zone stretches from the Atlantic coast eastwards to the area around Lake Chad. Activities such as crop production, animal husbandry and iron-smelting had been well developed in this region by 3000 BCE.

The relationship between crop cultivation and animal husbandry was symbiotic. Animal provided manure and other products to crop cultivators. In return, the cultivators produced crops like beans and cereals, which were exchanged for animal products. At the beginning of the first millennium CE, the people in the region had developed crafts and techniques of different kinds. The techniques included cotton-weaving, iron-smelting, the construction of houses made of dried bricks and the making of ornaments, including bronze, golden and silver articles.

The development of crafts led to the development of commodity production and exchange within and between communities. The expansion of these economic activities led to the development of the long distance

trade between the Forest Zone and North Africa. The trade between West and North Africa was referred to as the Trans-Saharan Trade. Camels became the major means of transport across the Sahara Desert because they could endure the hard conditions of the desert. As trade expanded, camel caravans increased in number and permanent trade routes were established. Important trading centres such as Walata, Timbuktu, Gao and Kano emerged as a result of this trade.

Between the 4th and 19th centuries CE, large states emerged in the region, including Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Kanem-Bornu and the Hausa states. One of the reasons for the rise of states in this region was certain people's desire to control trade routes and trade centres. Thus, there was a direct link between the development of the Trans-Saharan Trade and the growth of the Sudanic states. Other factors for the growth of the Sudanic states were the early development of agriculture and population growth. The development of productive forces also made the production of surplus in agriculture, mining and industry possible. Similarly, the introduction of Islam into North and West Africa intensified commercial activities in the countryside.

The socio-economic development in the Sudanic zone was accompanied by

the emergence of three major social classes. First, there was the ruling class, which consisted of the military aristocracy and merchants. The military groups became dominant because of the fear that they might be invaded by their northern neighbours (Berbers) and of the need to acquire slaves from the neighbouring communities.

The second class consisted of cultivators and livestock keepers. It was made up of families which produced their means of existence individually, but which owned the means of production communally. The third class was that of slaves who had been captured either for sale or for domestic production. It appears, therefore, that slavery was prevalent in many West African societies before and during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. As indicated earlier, when the West African states entered into conflicts for political or economic motives, the rulers and warlords enslaved the captives from other groups because they viewed them as outsiders.

Moreover, the rise of the plantation and mining economy in America between the 16th and 18th centuries remarkably expanded slaving activities in West and Central Africa. Slaves were bought and sold in extremely large numbers and exported to the Americas to work on plantations and in mines.

East Africa

Slavery was practised along the coast of East Africa. For example, some Arabs from Mrima and Omani as well as Swahili traders practised slavery. Although the relations of production, which developed between 1000 CE and 1800 CE, had some elements of the slave and feudal modes of production, in East Africa slavery started around the 6th century. It was started by the Arabs. In the urban areas around the coast, production was done using slave labour. The ruling class and merchants owned the land on which slaves and tenants worked.

In addition, the slaves that the Asians obtained from East Africa were taken to India, Lebanon and the Persian Gulf. They went there to work as doorkeepers and domestic servants. However, the Portuguese and the French used them on their sugar plantations in Brazil and in Réunion, as well as on the Mauritius Islands. The French had opened sugar plantations in the areas. Nevertheless, the Arabs were the major actors in the slave trade done in East Africa.

The reasons many African societies did not develop a slave mode of production

Many pre-colonial African societies were communal. Only a few areas developed a slave mode of production, but that does not mean that Africa passed through slavery as a mode of

production. The following made it difficult for African societies to develop the slave mode of production:

- (a) Africans had a strong belief in equality. This had its origins in the communal social system. Elements of communalism were common almost everywhere in Africa. Collective labour in many parts of Africa encouraged communal ownership, of the means of production, hence the absence of social stratification, which could have subjected some society members to slavery. The communal system also provided equal access to land and equal distribution of social wealth, both of which discouraged the emergence of slave social relations. Africans' tendency to live together became an integral part of the African way of life. People regarded themselves as relatives; hence, no captives of war were sold as slaves;
- (b) There was a high rate of slave absorption into kin groups. For example, female slaves gradually became wives of their masters. Similarly, it was difficult for some African societies to develop slavery because slaves had a special role to play in the host societies. For example, slaves were used as soldiers, blacksmiths or boat paddlers. Thus, slavery

- was used as an institution for recruiting labourers, and not as a socio-economic formation or a mode of production in Africa;
- (c) The number of slaves in many pre-colonial African societies depended on the social and economic formations in the societies. The demand for slaves was not uniform, since not all societies needed slaves. For example, there were no slaves among the shifting cultivators and pastoralists while among the societies where the long distance trade was conducted many slaves were used as porters;
 - (d) There was low surplus production in many African societies because of using poor productive forces. Therefore, production for exchange was also low and could not support the development of classes and a slave mode of production;
 - (e) In Africa, there were no slave masters who could own slaves as their means of labour. The absence of strong slave masters who could possess other people as slaves limited the development of slavery;
 - (f) Slavery co-existed with feudalism. In areas like Ancient Egypt, where there were elements of slavery, there was also a strong feudal society at the same time. This co-existence limited the development and predominance of slavery as a mode of production;
 - (g) In Africa, slaves did domestic activities. There were no large plantations in Africa where slaves could work and produce surplus; hence, the few slaves obtained only did domestic work; and
 - (h) The African slave mode of production did not develop from internal dynamics and was practised in a few parts of Africa like Ancient Egypt, the coast of East Africa, the Sudanic zone and the Maghreb region.

Exercise 1.2

Slavery existed in many forms and styles. On the basis of the practice of slavery in pre-colonial Africa, could you say there are still some elements of slavery in modern African societies? Support your argument with relevant examples.

The feudal mode of production

Feudalism was the second exploitative mode of production in which land was the major means of production. Under this mode of production, there were two classes of people. The first class consisted of the feudal lords who owned the major means of production and appropriated the surplus. The other class comprised the serfs and tenants who were given pieces of land to cultivate. In return, they paid rent to the feudal lords. In many parts of Africa, feudalism was associated with certain elements of slavery.

In East Africa, the emergence of feudalism began in the 15th century. The system existed until the second half of the 19th century. In this region, feudal communities were common in the western part of the interlacustrine region, namely Bunyoro, Nyankore, Karagwe, Burundi and Rwanda. The economy of this sub-region combined crop cultivation and animal husbandry. There was also the eastern part of the interlacustrine region which consisted of the kingdoms of Buganda, Busoga and Buhaya. The economy of this sub-region was predominantly based on agriculture, especially banana cultivation. Banana became their main food crop.

The banana economy encouraged permanent settlements because banana is a perennial crop. The economy also led to the development of exploitative relations of production in which some

clans took control of productive land and became politically dominant. For instance, among the Haya, the ruling clan (*Abakama*) seized control of the banana-producing land and divided it into large estates known as *nyarubanja*. The *nyarubanja* estates were given by the *bakama* as a reward for service and loyalty to the people whom they had appointed as *bakungu*. The rulers also gave *nyarubanja* estates to relatives and friends. The landlords of the *nyarubanja* estates became known as the *batwazi* and the tenants the *batwara*. The former owners from whom land was seized by the *bakama* became tenants and clients of the new owners, the *batwazi*.

The tenants and clients living in the *nyarubanja* estates did not pay tribute directly to the *bakama*. They provided goods and services to their landlords, the *batwazi*. In that way, the various officers of each *mukama* were maintained. Besides, the *bakama* continued to receive tribute directly from peasants who were still living in clan owned-land.

In the western part of the interlacustrine region, there was an economy of mixed farming and pastoralism. Each of these sectors of the economy was the monopoly of one social group. The pastoralists were known as the *bahima* in Bunyoro, Nyankore, Mpororo and the *buhweju* states, and as the *batusi* in Rwanda, Burundi and Buha. The

agriculturalists were known as the *bairu* in the former group of states and as the *bahutu* in the latter. Besides being cattle-owners, the pastoralists formed the ruling class called the *sebuja* and the agriculturalists constituted the subject class called the *bagabire*.

Characteristics of feudalism

As a mode of production, feudalism had the following features:

- (a) The feudal mode of production permitted private ownership of the major means of production, especially land. Therefore, land was privately owned and controlled by feudal lords. Those who owned land were economically and politically powerful as they could do anything to get their interests without the consent of the landless (serfs). However, in some societies like those of the Hutu and the Tutsi, livestock was owned privately and defined the feudal relations in the societies concerned;
- (b) There were exploitative relations of production through which the feudal lords exploited the serfs and peasants who paid various kinds of rents such as labour rent and rent in kind. With respect to labour rent, for example, peasants and serfs were given plots of land by the landlords and were supposed to work on their plots and on those of their landlords using their own

implements. Rent in kind was also another form of payment; serfs and peasants were supposed to give part of their harvests to the land owners. The last type of rent was money rent; serfs were obliged to sell their harvests and give some amount of money to the landlords;

- (c) The productive forces in the feudal mode of production were more advanced than those in the preceding modes of production. In the feudal mode of production, iron tools were widely used. That is why there was relatively high production. Therefore, advancements in productive forces created surplus which supported other economic sectors such as trading, mining, agriculture and handcraft industries;
- (d) The feudal system developed centralised political organisations in which power was vested in absolute kings. Therefore, the political organisation was controlled by the landlords to protect their interests. Examples of the feudal states which emerged in Africa included Ethiopia and the interlacustrine states like the Buganda Kingdom;
- (e) Agriculture was a predominant activity during feudalism, although other economic activities were also carried out. For example, in the western Sudanic states yams and

cassava were grown as major food crops. Likewise, in the Buganda Kingdom and in other parts of the interlacustrine region, banana and cassava were cultivated as food crops. In both cases, trade was also practised and complimented agriculture and other economic activities;

- (f) Feudalism was characterised by the presence of antagonistic classes, namely landlords and serfs or tenants. The landlords were the ruling class. The ruling classes in these states had political power and collected tributes from the subject peasantry; and
- (g) The feudal system permitted the division of labour and specialisation. People specialised in different activities like agriculture, fishing, rain-making, pastoralism and industries. This division of labour and specialisation was the result of surplus production.

Feudal relations in East Africa

Feudalism existed for many centuries in the world in different forms. For example, by the 19th century, East African societies had witnessed the development of different forms of feudal relations as follows:

Nyarubanja

This was a feudal system that developed in Karagwe and Buhaya, where small

pieces of land (plots) were owned by the ruling class (*batwazi*) and given to serfs (*batwara*) after agreements on the payment of tributes and loyalties had been reached. The supreme title under the *nyarubanja* system was known as *omukama*, while the royal class was known as the *abakungu*.

Busulo/Mvunjo

This feudal system developed in Buganda and Bunyoro (Uganda), where landless people submitted themselves to land owners for a piece of land to work on in return for the labour services rendered. For example, the *obusulo* system consisted of the *Kabaka*, *Bakungu*, *Balangira* (princes), *Batongole* (loyal supporters), *Bakopi* (serfs) and the *badu* (slaves). *Kabaka* was the political title given to the ruler of the Buganda Kingdom.

Ubugabire

This feudal system developed in Rwanda, Burundi and Buha (Kigoma in Tanzania). The Hutu and Tutsi people of Rwanda and Burundi, and the Ha of Kigoma developed *ubugabire* as a form of feudalism based on cattle. The feudal relationship in these regions revolved around cattle ownership. Being the lower class the Hutu went to the Tutsi (who were called the *sebuja*), requesting a portion of the lords' huge herd to take care of or to rent. The Hutu became herdsman, firewood collectors, water fetchers and cultivators of the

landlords' farms for a given time. *Mwami* was the political title given to the wealthy rulers among the Ha and *bagabire* was given to the exploited class.

Furthermore, in Rwanda, every district had a land-chief and a cattle-chief for administrative purposes. The land-chief controlled the agricultural population and was responsible for collecting tribute in agricultural products. He also requisitioned labour services from every household. The cattle chief was responsible for administration among the pastoralists and for extracting dairy products from them. All the administrative officials involved in tribute collection at village and district levels retained a portion of the goods and services for themselves and forwarded the rest to the king.

Umwinyi

This system of feudalism developed along the East African coast, particularly on Zanzibar Island. In this system, the landlords and the ruling classes were known as *mamwinyi*. They possessed the land and turned other society members into serfs otherwise known as *watwana*. The serfs paid tributes to *mamwinyi*. *Mamwinyi* were engaged in the production of cloves and coconuts. The production and tributes that the *watwana* paid enabled *mamwinyi* to become powerful economically and politically, and to

engage in long-distance trade with the interior societies as well as with the Europeans and Asian traders.

In Zanzibar, *umwinyi* was under its own system. *Mwinyi Mkuu* was the overall leader of Zanzibar. The second position was that of the *sheha*, who ruled Unguja and the *diwani* who ruled Pemba. *Mamwinyi* occupied the third position and were the landlords. They allowed serfs to work on their land in exchange for labour and tributes. The last political position was held by *mwinyi mkuu*'s workers who collected tributes from serfs and recruited workers to work for him.

Ntemiship

Ntemiship was a form of semi-feudal relations that developed in the central part of Tanzania. It was practised by the Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Kimbu and Gogo. The leader's power was based on his control of the producers. The ruling class under *ntemiship* monopolised all political power and collected tribute from the subject peasantry. *Mtemi* was the political title given to the ruler. The *Mtemi* controlled and mobilised labour. This system experienced a mild form of feudal relations compared to other parts of East Africa, partly because of poor soil and marginal rains that inhibited surplus production. Thus, the *ntemiship* system had mixed features of communalism and feudalism.

The African feudal relations which other scholars call a tributary mode of production were sanctioned by customs and traditions. In many instances, people willingly supported this system as it was part of their culture. Thus, peasants sometimes found that it was an honour to pay tribute to their kings. Likewise, chiefs assisted their subjects (people) in times of calamities such as floods, drought and diseases.

Exercise 1.3

If you were to choose a kind of feudalism to live in, which one would you choose out of those just mentioned and why?

Reasons for the differences in feudal practices in pre-colonial African societies

While feudalism emerged in some parts of pre-colonial Africa, it did not develop in other places. Historians have proposed several reasons for this situation.

Climate and soil influenced the emergence of feudalism in some parts of pre-colonial Africa. Many people migrated to areas where the environment would support such economic activities as fishing, farming, animal keeping and hunting. As people mastered their environment, production became more advanced than

in societies with a hostile environment. Favourable environments included the areas occupied by the Zulu of South Africa; the Tutsi, Hutu, Baganda and Bunyoro of East Africa; and the Mandinka and Yoruba of the Savannah and the forest region in West Africa. The fertility of the soil made people engage in agriculture, which led to the development of production and exchange in societies. Thus, increased production led to social stratification in some societies. As a result, feudalism emerged in such societies, while the areas with a hostile environment did not develop feudalism.

Another reason was the improvement in productive forces during the transition from primitive communalism to the feudal mode of production. The transformation did not happen in societies where productive forces were low, particularly in hunter-gatherer and pastoral societies. Conversely, the transition from primitive communalism to feudalism happened in societies that managed to improve upon their productive forces.

Population growth was also another reason for the difference. The increase in population led to a shortage of land, which further resulted in the class struggle between the landless and those who owned land. Eventually, a few people owned land privately and the rest became serfs. On the other hand, the increase in population within a

given society ensured the availability of labour for doing different economic activities. This transformation, however, did not happen among the hunter-gatherer and pastoral societies.

The emergence of specialisation was also the reason for the disparity. Specialisation influenced some African societies to evolve into a feudal mode of production. This forced people into different professions such as farming, rain-making, iron-smelting, hunting and fishing. The system intensified production and differentiation; thus, exchange became inevitable.

Another reason was calamities such as floods and drought. Calamities such as floods and drought necessitated the existence of personnel who could deal with such challenges. Such personnel later became specialists and leaders of the society, hence the formation of a state in a particular area. A good example of this comes from Ancient Egypt. The areas in which there were no such specialised individuals remained under a communal mode of

production.

Moreover, the transition from a communal mode of production to feudalism was also the result of the abundance of food. The availability of surplus food, in turn, promoted trade, which added value to land and encouraged people to settle permanently in certain areas, hence the need to form states. In areas where trading activities did not take place, societies depended on what nature offered them and this made centralisation very difficult.

The areas in which trade had developed enabled communities to acquire various items, which enabled them to develop feudalism. For example, the empires of Buganda, Nyamwezi, Ghana and Mali developed as a result of the acquisition of various items from trade. Generally, pre-colonial Africa developed different modes of production in relation to different economic, political and environmental situations. Figure 1.1 shows the location of some of the areas in pre-colonial Africa where there were different modes of production.

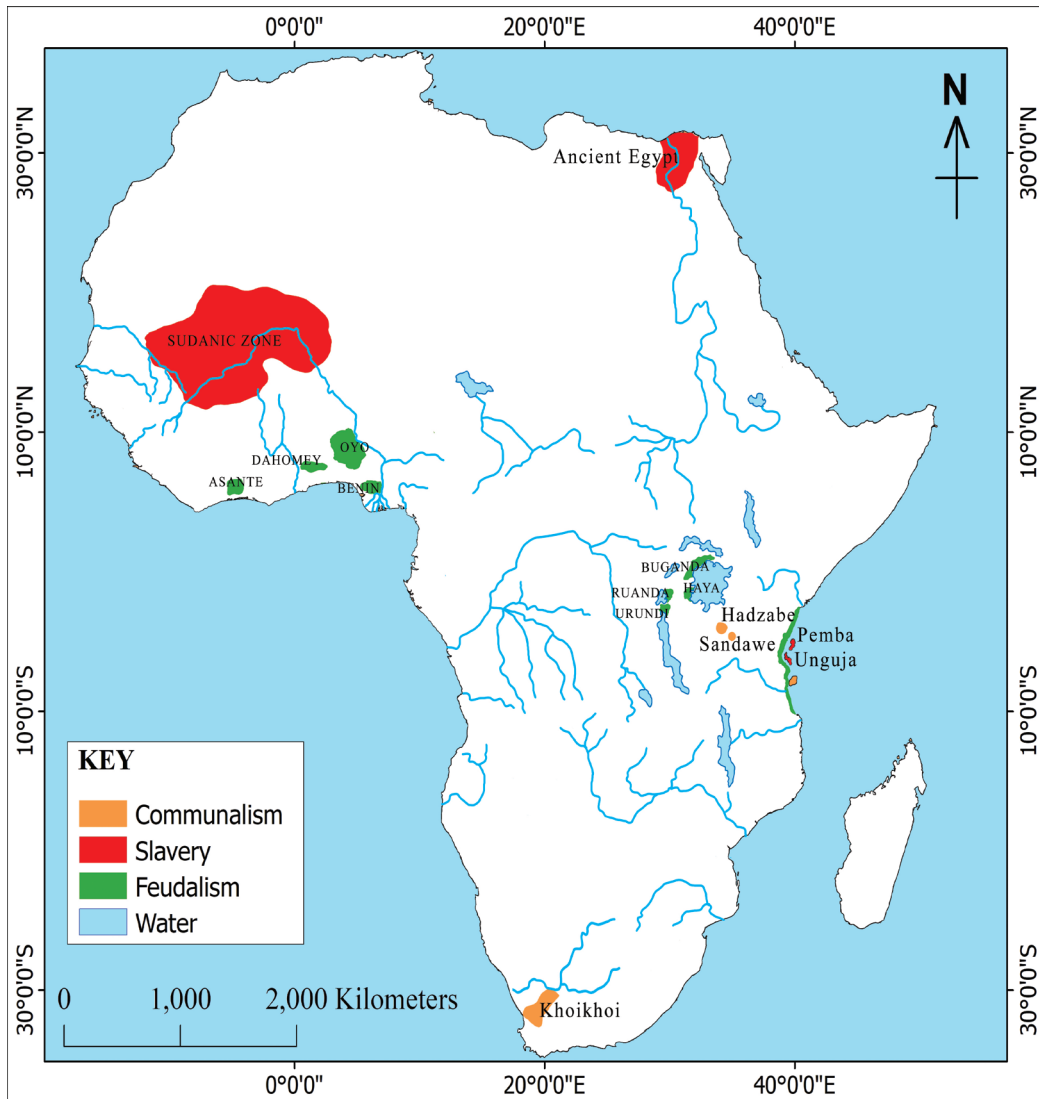


Figure 1.1: Some of the areas in pre-colonial Africa where there were different modes of production



Activity 1.2

Draw the map of Africa and then locate three communal and three feudal communities, apart from those shown in the map provided.

Political organisations in pre-colonial Africa

In the Afro-centric view, pre-colonial African societies were not static. Before the advent of European colonialism, African societies had reached different levels of political development. Thus, Africans knew how to rule themselves, how to settle their disputes and how to choose their leaders. By 1500 CE, African societies had built four major types of social and political systems. The systems were clan (kinship) organisation, age-set organisation, decentralised state organisation (*ntemiship*) and centralised state organisation.

Clan (kinship) organisation

A clan is a unit of social and political organisations comprising several related families sharing a particular ideology. In many cases, clan members descend from the same ancestors, but in other cases they do not. While clans were organised under clan heads, the major means of production were owned communally. The functions of the clan leader were to settle disputes, distribute land, counsel the youth, protect and preserve customs and traditions, preside over religious and cultural ceremonies, besides choosing spouses for those intending to get married. The clan head also controlled the surplus produced and determined its redistribution among clan members.

The societies which practised clan organisation involved themselves in mixed farming as their main economic activity.

Many clan-based communities were found in savannah and woodland environments. Rainfall was usually seasonal but sufficient for growing seasonal crops like finger millet, sorghum, beans and maize. The soil was not very fertile and would get exhausted after only a few years of cultivation. Following this exhaustion, shifting cultivation became inevitable for such societies. Examples of societies that practised clan organisation were the Gogo, Fipa, Nyamwezi, Yao, Makonde, Matumbi, Mwera, Ngindo, Ndonge and Pogoro of Tanzania. Many clan-based communities lived a communal life by sharing the means of production and distributing the produce to their members.

Two main types of clan organisation were practised in Africa, namely patrilineal and matrilineal clan organisations.

Patrilineal clan organisation

This was a system of social organisation in which clan heritage was based on the father's clan. The children bore the name of the father's clan. The husband paid the bride price to get a wife. Some of the societies which adopted the patrilineal mode of life in East Africa included the Nyambo, Haya, Hehe, Chagga, Matengo, Sukuma and Kurya.

Matrilineal clan organisation

This was a system of social organisation in which clan heritage was based on the mother's clan. The uncle had to make all important decisions concerning the children and nephews of their sisters. The societies which adopted the matrilineal clan organisation in East Africa included the Makonde, Mwera, Makua and Yao of Tanzania.



Activity 1.3

Read various sources on the practice of both matrilineal and patrilineal organisations and then write an essay on the socio-economic advantages and disadvantages of each system in modern African societies. Use examples from Tanzania.

Age-set organisation

This is a mode of social and political organisation characterised by the distribution of work based on age grades. The age-set or grade was first determined by initiation ceremonies, but people transformed into another age-set or grade through the performance of rituals. This system of socio-political organisation was common among the pastoral and agro-pastoral societies like the Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Karamojong and Teso of Uganda, as well as the Fulani of West Africa.

The local environment in arid and semi-arid areas favoured pastoralism as the main economic activity. In Africa, pastoralist societies were of two types. The first group comprised the nomadic pastoralists who moved from one place to another in search of water and pasture. Their main foods were milk, meat and blood. They also ate vegetables and grain, obtained through exchange with their neighbours who grew crops. Examples of nomadic pastoralists were the Berbers and Tuaregs of North Africa, the Fulani and Hausa of West Africa, the Somali of North-Eastern Africa, the Karamojong of Uganda, the Maasai of Tanzania and Kenya, and the Khoikhoi of Southern Africa.

The second group of pastoralists was that of the sedentary pastoralists. The great Maasai expansion southwards along the Rift Valley led to the emergence of two distinct groups, namely the Iloikop or Wakwavi, who were both agriculturalists and pastoralists, and the Maasai who were pastoralists per se. The Wakwavi did not move from one place to another. They settled in one area and undertook their economic activities in that specific area. They also kept fewer animals. The Rendille of Kenya were also sedentary pastoralists.

The division of labour and social responsibilities under this political organisation was based on age and sex.

Society was divided into different age groups. The first group consisted of young children aged 1-8. These were regarded as non-producers. They stayed at home with their mothers. The second group comprised the youth aged 8-18. These were responsible for attending to and grazing calves, and assisted women in milking cows. The third group consisted of the *Moran*, a group which comprised adult males aged 18-35. These were the warriors and protectors of the society. *Morans* had many other responsibilities such as looking for new grazing areas and sources of water for their livestock. They also increased cattle herds by raiding cattle belonging to neighbouring societies. The last group consisted of elders aged 40 and above. The most senior elder was called the *Laibon* and he was responsible for presiding over the religious and ritual activities of a specific group.

However, it should be noted that the functions of various age groups overlapped sometimes and the transition from *moran*-hood into “elderhood” and senior “elderhood” was possible after performing certain rituals. For example, in times of prolonged drought and of lack of pastures, *morans* and some junior elders participated in grazing cattle in distant areas. In the pre-colonial period, although cattle raiding was carried out by *morans*, it was sanctioned by elders and sometimes blessed by the mothers

of the raiders. Women were sometimes involved in conflict resolution and peace-building.

Decentralised state organisation (*ntemiship*) in Tanzania

A decentralised state is one in which political power is centred in various units of government. Under decentralised states, power was not at the centre. In addition, leadership was not hereditary, but rather it was determined by a council of elders, as illustrated by the Nyamwezi of Tanzania and the Igbo of south-eastern Nigeria.

The *ntemiship* system was a decentralised form of state organisation that emerged among the Bantu farming communities in western and central Tanzania between 1000 and 1800 CE. Before the formation of this system, the region was inhabited by Bantu-speaking people who lived in small independent communities. Some of the areas that practised the *ntemiship* system were Unyamwezi, Ukimbu, Usukuma and Ugogo. Under this system, many people lived in villages and a village was viewed as a self-sufficient unit capable of providing for itself. In some societies, the *ntemi* system emerged during difficult times, especially when people faced security threats. Therefore, villages would unite to form larger and stronger groups.

The leaders of these groups came to be

known as the *batemi*, a word derived from the word *kutema*, meaning cutting down trees or clearing the bush in a given area. They were given the name *batemi* because they directed bush-clearing operations in their areas. By the 18th century, the system had spread to areas like Usangu, Ubena, Ukimbu, Uchagga and Uhehe. Among the Sukuma and Nyamwezi of central Tanzania, the leader was called *mtemi*. Among the Hehe, Sangu and Bena of Southern Highlands in Tanzania, the leader was called *mtwa*. In many societies, the *watemi* were highly respected and feared, since they were thought to be associated with the spirit of former chiefs and were believed to possess powerful rituals and war medicine.

Ntemiship was practised in woodland and grassland savannah areas, where mixed farming was carried out. Because of the absence of permanent rivers and enough rainfall in such areas, very few people lived in the areas. Thus, people practised shifting cultivation. Under this system, rulers were chosen by a council of elders. The *mtemi* was chosen based on his wisdom, experience and bravery. The council had political power and could remove the *mtemi* from his position.

The *ntemi* system involved many small communities, mainly of the same lineage or ancestor. For example, in Usukuma, there were about 30 small

ntemi states before the introduction of European colonial rule. There was about the same number in Unyamwezi and a slightly greater number in Ugogo. There were numerous small states because different ruling clans in different parts of the region formed their chieftains. Moreover, because land was plenty, those societies could practise shifting cultivation. Finally, the limited surplus produced could not support larger ruling classes. These factors caused the whole region to be characterised by the formation of many small states with small ruling classes.

The *mtemi*'s judicial functions included settling disputes; hearing cases of murder, treason and witchcraft; and administering traditional and customary law. Spiritually, the *mtemi* acted as a bridge between people and their ancestors. Therefore, the responsibility for presiding over the community's rituals was vested in him. The *mtemi* also supervised the distribution of land and enforced its proper use. Furthermore, he collected tributes from his subjects in the form of grants, for example agricultural produce or livestock. The *mtemi* also preserved food that could be used to reward his followers and distribute to those affected by natural disasters like drought.

Societies that had the *ntemi* system cultivated millet, rice, sorghum and other kinds of grain. In this type of

farming, land was left unplanted for a certain period so that it could regain its fertility. Thus, farmers were obliged to practise shifting cultivation. However, this kind of political organisation was relatively larger than clan organisation, but smaller than state organisation. Figure 1.2 represents the organisation structure of the *ntemiship* system.

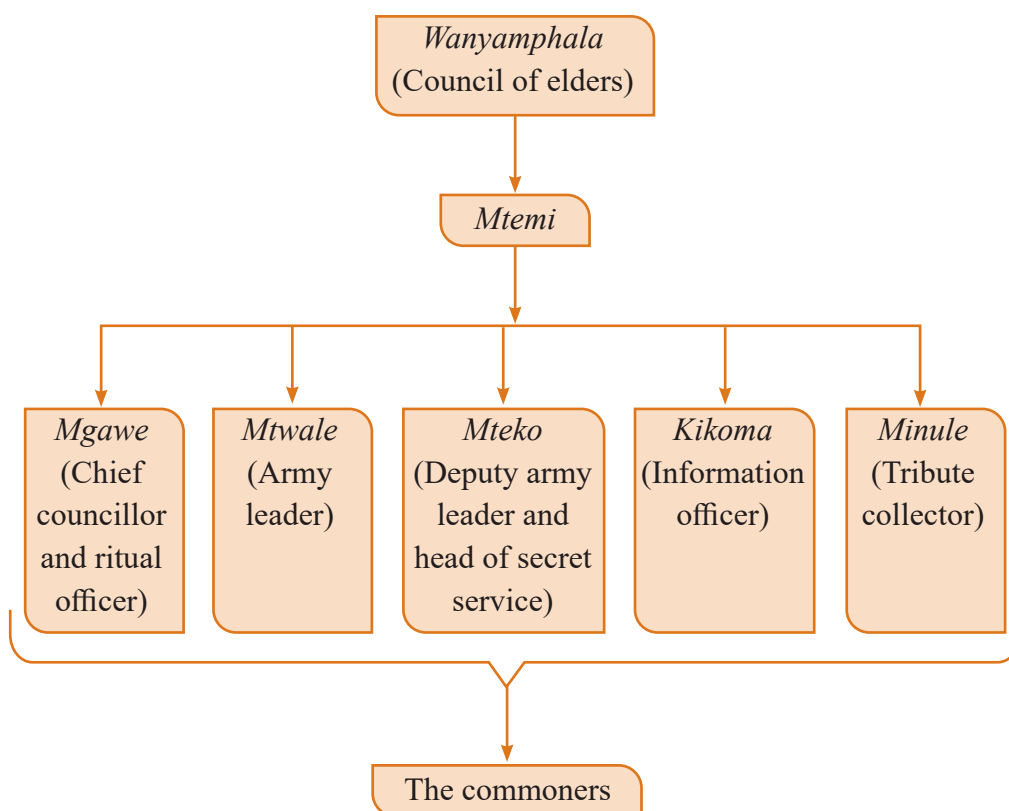


Figure 1.2: Organisation structure of *ntemiship*

Centralised state organisation

A centralised state refers to a political entity which has defined boundaries and centralised political power and which is headed by a king or ruler. It is an institution that has administrative machinery with judicial duties and the power to make decisions and collect tributes. States emerged in different

areas of Africa at different times. In East Africa, for example, states mostly started to emerge in the 15th century. The favourable climatic condition played a vital role in the formation of states in Africa. For example, the equatorial region, which had fertile soil and which received heavy rainfall throughout the year, supported the

growth of crops such as yams, bananas and palms. This, in turn, led to an increase in population, which required a complex political organisation.

States emerged in different parts of Africa. They included the West Sudanic states such as Ghana, Mali and Songhai; the Forest states of West Africa such as Oyo, Benin, Asante and Dahomey; the Kongo-Zambezi states in Central Africa, namely Mwenemutapa, Luba, Lunda, Congo and Maravi; the Zulu state in southern Africa and the interlacustrine states such as Bunyoro and Buganda.

Characteristics of centralised states

Centralised states had various features, which distinguished them from decentralised ones. Centralised states were characterised by expansionism. Leaders used to conquer neighbouring societies to expand their kingdoms to obtain wealth and labour. This was possible because of the existence of strong armies in such states. Leadership under centralised states was hereditary. A successor had to come from the royal family, mostly the son of the chief or king, and could be named by a king or chief before his death. Centralised states also had well-defined boundaries that covered a large area with a large population. Most of the centralised states had a system similar to a parliamentary system. For example, kings made decisions following the advice of their assistants, who acted as

parliament. For example, the *Lukiiko* of Buganda acted as a parliamentary organ under the Kabaka administration. Under centralised states, power was in the hands of a single person. At the centre of administration was a king, who had absolute authority to make all major decisions regarding social, political and economic matters.

Factors for state formation in pre-colonial African societies

In pre-colonial Africa, state formation began around the 1st millennium CE. For example, Ghana Empire existed between the 7th and 13th centuries CE, Mali Empire existed between the 13th and 16th centuries CE, and Songhai Empire existed between the 15th and 17th centuries CE, Mwenemutapa emerged between the 15th and 17th centuries CE and the Buganda Kingdom rose between the 14th and 19th centuries CE. The emergence of states in pre-colonial Africa was due to the interplay of many factors.

One of the factors was the development of agriculture, which was associated with favourable climatic conditions and reliable rainfall. The availability of enough food and surplus led to an increase in population, which made some of the centralised organisations administer production and maintain security. For example, states like Karagwe, Buganda, Rwanda and Burundi emerged in the interlacustrine region.

The rise of Islam was another factor for state formation in pre-colonial Africa as Islamic ideology acted as a unifying factor. For example, Islam was responsible for state information in West Africa, where Uthman dan Fodio used Islamic ideology to conquer the surrounding smaller states. The states created under *Jihad* movements had a well-organised administrative structure. The best example of a state which rose because of Islam was the Sokoto Caliphate.

Moreover, some states in pre-colonial Africa grew owing to the development of the long distance trade. Through the long distance trade, some societies obtained weapons and used those weapons to conquer weaker societies. The rulers who controlled trade routes became very wealthy because they obtained tributes from traders. In East Africa, for example, Mirambo controlled the trade route from Tabora to Ujiji. Arab traders were obliged to pay tribute when using that route. Mirambo also obtained guns directly from the coast. In West Africa, the Trans-Saharan Trade enabled the rulers of Ghana, Mali and Songhai to obtain swords, guns and horses from North Africa to strengthen their armies.

State formation in Africa was also facilitated by the presence of strong standing armies on the continent. The use of armies enabled the rulers to conquer weaker societies and

consolidate the security of their societies. In Tanzania, some rulers used armies to expand their domains and sometimes to establish new domains outside their localities. Mirambo of Unyamwezi and Nyungu ya Mawe of Ukimbu are some of the pre-colonial rulers who used military power to establish and control their states. For instance, in the 1860s, Mirambo used the Nguni military techniques and *ruga-ruga* mercenaries to subdue several states such as Uyowa, Uvinza, Tongwe, Nyaturu, Iramba and Sukuma.

A geographical location was another factor for the emergence of states in pre-colonial Africa. The societies found in a favourable environment could form centralised states more easily than others. Generally, states tended to develop in areas of environmental diversity where there were important resources, but which were unevenly distributed. Therefore, states emerged in such places so that they could control the production and distribution of various goods and resources. A good example was the interlacustrine region in East Africa. That region allowed the conduct of diverse activities such as agriculture, livestock rearing, iron-smelting, bark-cloth making, fishing and trade.

The existence of various economic activities and the division of labour among community members intensified the process of class formation and

stratification. As a result, there was a need to form an organised body to supervise various economic activities. Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro, Karagwe and Buganda are examples of the states formed in the interlacustrine region.

The discovery and use of iron technology contributed enormously to the emergence of states in pre-colonial Africa. This technology led to the improvement of agriculture and helped to ensure that food and surplus wealth were available in communities. It also helped in making weapons such as arrows, spears and axes. Such weapons were used to conquer weaker societies and to provide defence against enemies. The states that developed as a result of iron technology included Karagwe, Pare and Buganda in East Africa; Mwenemutapa in Zimbabwe; Manganja in Malawi; Nubia in Sudan; and Axum in Ethiopia.

The role of Islam in state formation during the 19th century

The formation of Islamic states in West Africa was initiated by the Fulani and Dyula traders between the 18th and 19th centuries. These traders wanted to consolidate the Islamic faith which, according to them, was being contaminated by the *pagans* who did not abide by Islamic teachings or values.

The spread of Islam in West Africa in the 19th century was associated with religious movements known as *Jihads*.

The West African *Jihad* movements are interpreted by historians as religious, political and economic movements. The leaders of the movements sought to revive the basic teachings and practices of Islam. The spread of Islam in West Africa before the 19th century was mainly due to commercial contacts between West Africa, North Africa and the Middle East. However, state formation in West Africa during the 19th century was particularly the result of the *Jihad* movements.

Emergence of *Jihad* movements

The *Jihad* movements began in the 18th century following the overthrow of indigenous rulers of Futa Jalon (Guinea) by Islamic activists who were under Alfa Ibrahim bin Nuhu. A similar movement occurred in Futa Toro, a state found west of Futa Jalon and on the southern bank of the River Senegal, when the activists, under Suleiman Bal, declared a *Jihad* against the non-Muslim rulers of the state in 1769. The non-Muslim rulers were overthrown and an Islamic state was established in 1776.

A *Jihad* was a holy war that Muslims started against non-believers to reform and restore the Islamic faith. The proponents of this war based their appeal on several Quranic verses, traditions of the Prophet (*hadith*) and the consensus of Islamic jurists (*sharia*). There were a number of *Jihad* movements in West Africa. The most notable movements

included those of Uthman dan Fodio of 1804, of Muhhamadu Bello of 1818, of *Al-Haji* Ummar of 1851 and of Maba Diakhrou of 1867.

Causes of the *Jihad* movements

The *Jihad* movements were primarily motivated by religious, political and economic reasons. Some of the causes included the following:

- (a) The socio-economic and political problems that were common in Hausaland before the *Jihad* movements caused the movements. The *Jihad* revolts were waged against the heavy taxation imposed on the commoners by the ruling class. For example, the ruling class lived a luxurious life, but the majority were living a miserable life. Such problems forced the commoners to support Islamic scholars like Uthman dan Fodio, Seku Hamad and *Al-Hajj* Umar, who were against the evils. The movements also emerged because of the need to control important trade routes and centres so as to accumulate wealth. For example, Muslims wanted to dominate the Bilmar salt mining centre, which was under the Hausa state;
- (b) Misunderstandings among Muslim scholars also led to the outbreak of the *Jihad* movements in West Africa. Islam says that all people are equal before God.

This teaching was contrary to what existed in that society. For example, there was widespread corruption in urban areas. In rural areas, Muslims insisted that all people should be guided by Islamic laws. As a result, the Muslims won the support of the commoners. Therefore, frictions began and led to the emergence of the *Jihad* movements; and

- (c) The influence of Uthman dan Fodio of Sokoto and *Al-Hajj* Umar of Tokolor led to the emergence of the movements. These leaders contributed to the rise of consciousness among Muslims so that they could fight for their religion and against the evils that arose in their communities. Dan Fodio and Umar sought to create a happy world under Islamic law (*sharia*). People understood them and many joined them, hence the start of the *Jihad* movements.

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the *Jihad* movements begin out of socio-economic and political motives. Islam was only used to mobilise the West African people to express their grievances against injustices such as heavy taxation, corruption and inequalities. Thus, one could argue that the *Jihad* movements were caused by social, political and economic motives rather than religious consciousness alone.



In your opinion, how can religion promote or distort peace and order in a society?

Influence of the *Jihad* movements on state formation in West Africa during the 19th century

Islam played a significant role in the growth and development of states in West Africa. The following are some of its contributions:

- (a) Islam acted as a unifying factor in some states in West Africa. For example, Islam was an official ruling ideology of the state throughout Hausaland. Muslims were united and were strong enough to maintain and defend their political and material interests;
- (b) The Jihad movements influenced the expansion of trade, for they led to the re-establishment of order and good governance over a wide area. This situation enabled traders to move from one place to another more peacefully. As a result, the commoners were encouraged to engage in various kinds of economic activities like trade. The movements transformed some non-trading centres like Adages into centres of ideas and trade;
- (c) The Jihad movements also played a great role in the establishment of strong armies, which were later used in expanding empires. The ruling class and rich merchants established strong armies, which were responsible for conquering and absorbing the weaker states into their own states. One of the strong states that emerged as a result of the Jihad movements was the Sokoto caliphate in 1846. Similarly, Samori Toure, who was the King of the Mandinka and a Dyula merchant led a Jihad movement in the 1870s, which resulted in the establishment of Mandinka Empire in present-day Guinea. This empire was located roughly between Sierra Leone and Liberia in the west, Ivory Coast in the south, Mali in the north and the River Volta in the east;
- (d) The Jihad movements succeeded in bringing about judicial adjustments in West Africa. Before the movements started, West Africa was administered in accordance with a traditional law, which was not only out of date, but also confusing. After the *Jihad* conquest, Islamic law was adopted to replace the judicial confusion that was evident in West Africa. In this way, Islamic law and order replaced the earlier chaos and civil conflicts;

- (e) The movements led to the change of administration systems; a class of Islamic scholars replaced the former noble class because the noble class was corrupt and unfairly treated the commoners. In areas such as Gobir, the Fulani took up leadership and established political offices;

The new system was run in accordance with Islamic law. The Fulani, who were migrant subjects, became the masters since they were knowledgeable

about Islamic law; and

- (f) The *Jihad* movements led to the reformation of administration, maintenance of peace and stability, and the expansion of trade. All these positive effects played a significant role in the formation of states. However, the movements also had certain negative effects as many people died and lost their property during the wars. Figure 1.3 shows the West African states involved in the *Jihad* movements.

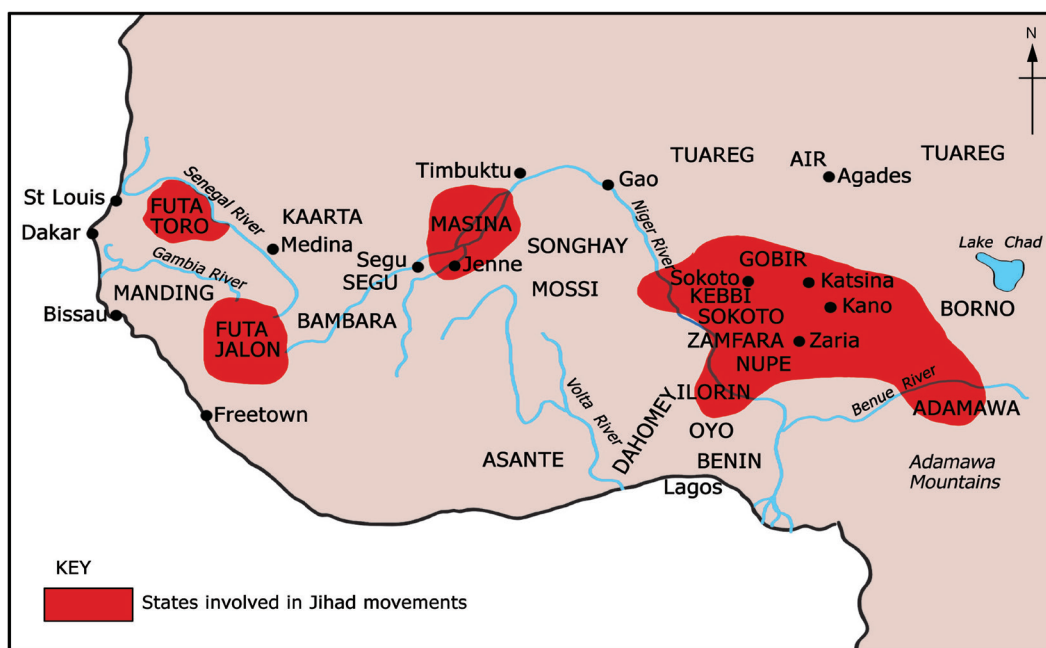


Figure 1. 3: West African states involved in the *Jihad* movements in the 19th century



Activity 1.4

- Conduct a library research on the importance of religion to development.
- Compare the role of religion in pre-colonial Africa with its role in modern Africa.

Present your findings in class for discussion.

Influence of *Mfecane* on state formation during the 19th century

The word *Mfecane* was derived from the Nguni language. It means scattering, forced dispersal or forced migration. It refers to the wars and disturbances that were accompanied by the rise and growth of the Zulu state under Shaka from 1818 to the 1860s.

Mfecane is described as a social and political upheaval that destroyed and, at the same time, reconstructed the existing state systems in Southern Africa and the neighbouring societies. During the early 19th century, a series of wars took place among the northern Nguni peoples of South-Eastern Africa. By the 1820s, the Zulu Kingdom had become strong enough to dominate other states in the region. During the 1820s and 1830s, armies and refugees from these wars spread warfare and destruction over larger areas of

Southern and Central Africa. This incident has become known among the Nguni people as *Mfecane*. The war started in Zululand and gave rise to a chain of movements that affected many areas, including the south-western part of present-day Tanzania. *Mfecane* played a great role in state formation during the 19th century, as follows.

- The frequent wars necessitated the formation of efficient armies, which facilitated the rise of many small states. With the development of these states, the age-set systems were transformed into age-set regiments which were dedicated to professional warfare. The regiments were composed of highly trained and disciplined soldiers, who fought at close quarters using short stabbing spears and complex military formations. A good example was Shaka, a great Nguni leader who turned age-set regiments into powerful military forces for conquering neighbouring communities. As a result, bigger states were formed. A similar process was adopted by Thulare, leader of the Sotho-speaking Bapedi people in the north-eastern Transvaal, Moshoeshoe in Lesotho and other kings of the Nguni-speaking people such as Sobhuza, Zwide and Dingiswayo;

- (b) The growth of social cohesion and unity was also one of the outcomes of *Mfecane*. Many states were established along the lines of the Zulu Kingdom. For example, they borrowed the Zulu military techniques and political organisation and modified them to suit their needs and circumstances. Such states were often formed from diverse cultural and linguistic groups, but from these diverse groups there emerged powerful unified states with a common language, culture, ruler and government. The languages of the dominant group became the languages of the newly-created trans-tribal states. The states included the Zulu, Swazi, Basuto and Ngoni;
- (c) *Mfecane* resulted in the spread of Nguni-speaking peoples to Central and East Africa with various names such as the Ngoni in Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi; the Matebele in Zimbabwe and the Kololo in Zambia. Since these communities experienced defeat, they united to form new states to safeguard their social, economic and political interests;
- (d) The Zulu were divided into multi-ethnic states of varying sizes, including the Ndebele state in Zimbabwe and the Shangani state in present-day Mozambique. This was the result of the spread of the Zulu type of military system to those areas. As they moved northwards, the Zulu destroyed the pre-existing states such as the Rozvi state in Zimbabwe.
- (e) Furthermore, *Mfecane* influenced the emergence of strong leaders who played a leading role in the formation of different states in Southern and Central Africa like Shaka of the Zulu Kingdom, Mzilikazi of the Ndebele and Mashoeshoe of the Sotho; and
- (f) *Mfecane* influenced the migration of some societies to Southern, Eastern and Central Africa, where they developed into strong states. For example, the migration of the Nguni groups led to the emergence of states like the Ndebele state under Mzilikazi, the Sotho state under Mashoeshoe and the Swazi Kingdom under Sobhuza.

Exercise 1.4

In your opinion, what is the importance of studying pre-colonial African societies in modern Africa?

Pre-colonial education and culture

In order to understand pre-colonial education and culture, it is important to define the two concepts. Culture is defined as the way of life of a particular social group. It includes their beliefs, arts and technology that new generations inherit from their ancestors. By contrast, education is a process which involves acquiring and transmitting knowledge, skills, values, morals, beliefs and habits from one generation to another. Before the imposition of colonial rule on Africa, Africans had their own culture and education. Pre-colonial Africa was rich in its total way of life, which differentiated one society from the other.

Pre-colonial education

Pre-colonial education is defined as a life-long process of transmitting and imparting the knowledge, skills, values, norms and experiences of a given society from one generation to another before the colonial era. Pre-colonial education was delivered through active participation and observation. During the pre-colonial period, each adult participated in transmitting knowledge. The system did not require people to build complex facilities and professional teachers. Youth training depended on the experience of the trainer in a certain field. For example, the knowledge of midwifery could be imparted to some women, who would

later train young girls in how to assist each other during pregnancy. Likewise, young men and women were taught parental and marital responsibilities by adults through *jando* and *unyago*.

Objectives of pre-colonial education

Pre-colonial education was aimed at imparting social values and transmitting good morals and norms to new generations to prepare them for their future careers. For example, Africans were taught to do various economic activities such as fishing, farming and hunting. This went hand in hand with equipping the youth with the basic knowledge and skills related to particular economic activities. In that way, pre-colonial education developed a sense of belonging in learners and encouraged them to participate actively in performing family responsibilities. Boys learnt skills by observing their fathers performing certain duties, while girls learnt from their mothers. In this area, girls were taught how to take care of their husbands and children. By contrast, boys were taught how to head and protect their families. They both learnt through apprenticeship.

Pre-colonial education was intended to develop children's character, together with their physical strength and intellectual abilities. Children were given practical skills and taught how to develop a sense of self-dependence. In order to achieve this, specific vocational skills and training were

inculcated in them.

Moreover, pre-colonial education was aimed at promoting peace and security in a society. It trained the youth to defend their societies against enemies. For instance, in Maasai society, the *Morans* were responsible for peacekeeping. They were also taught how to defend their community and protect their livestock from thieves and wild animals, as well as to conquer their neighbouring communities to expand their herds of cattle.

Pre-colonial education also prepared the youth to take over after the end of the existing governments in their societies. This duty was important because administrative knowledge was at the very heart of social, political and economic development. Well-prepared young leaders could enhance the stability of society across generations.

Pre-colonial education was also aimed at making the youth patriotic. It was the duty of elders to impart a sense of patriotism to the youth so that they might be proud of their people, environment and resources. In pre-colonial societies, there were different antagonistic states. Therefore, a sense of patriotism was very important among the youth to discourage conspiracy against the welfare of their societies.

Types of pre-colonial education

There were two types of education during the pre-colonial time, namely

informal and formal education. Informal education was the mode of learning in which knowledge, skills, norms and experiences were largely based on local experiences. Informal education was provided through life experiences. It was mostly obtained through observation and practice. The youth acquired new knowledge and skills by observing their parents, relatives or other members of society. Informal education did not include any theoretical knowledge of books. It was gained under the influence of the society.

Informal education was relevant to Africans, since it taught them how to engage in cultivation, hunting and fishing. Individuals were also taught how to make iron, leather and clay tools. Teaching and learning were done through work. For example, a young man would accompany his father on a hunting trip and, in the process, he would learn hunting skills.

Formal education was a mode of learning organised in such a way that people attended formal classes. It involved specific programmes and a conscious division of responsibilities between teachers and learners. Like informal education, formal education was directly connected to the purpose of serving a society. In practice, formal education dealt with different issues, depending on the needs of a particular society. For example, the youth learnt

things like house construction, farming and hunting. In addition, formal education was conducted through literacy classes. Examples of areas where formal education was practised in pre-colonial Africa included along the Nile Valley, North Africa, Ethiopia, western Sudan and the coast of East Africa. In some cases, literacy was connected to religion. Muslims provided *Quranic* education from the primary level to the university level. For instance, Fez University in Morocco, Al Azhar University in Egypt and Timbuktu University in Mali offered *Quranic* knowledge. Significantly, pre-colonial African education taught much about Africa and Africans. This is because it was mainly aimed at preparing Africans to be good and useful members of their societies.

Characteristics of pre-colonial education

Pre-colonial education was practical. For example, the youth were taken to the seas, oceans, rivers and lakes, where they were taught how to fish. A similar thing was done among the agricultural communities, who taught young people how to farm. Moreover, those interested in black smithery or industries were practically taught how to make iron or other industrial goods.

Pre-colonial education was not class-biased. That means this kind of education was not discriminatory. It

was provided to all society members, regardless of one's wealth or status. The only difference was that sometimes boys were taught military techniques, while girls were not. This was influenced by the way informal education was given. As a result, pre-colonial education did not create any classes in society. Although pre-colonial education did not lead to the creation of any classes, it promoted specialisation as reflected in diviners or healers' activities.

This type of education was not financially motivated. During the pre-colonial era, every society member considered themselves as having great responsibilities to fulfil in the society. Thus, instructors were not paid. To motivate instructors, the community gave them gifts in the form of domestic animals or crops, depending on what was available in the community at the time.

Pre-colonial education emphasised good morals and good social conduct. The learners were taught good character. Elders made sure that good values and behaviour such as "hardworking" traits were imparted successfully, while undesirable behaviour like theft and prostitution were strongly condemned.

Pre-colonial education lacked uniformity. It varied from one society to another, depending on the economic, social and environmental conditions in a given society. Each society had its own customs and traditions. For example, the customs and traditions of

the societies that lived in the arid and semi-arid climate differed from those of the societies found around rivers and lakes.

Pre-colonial education was characterised by both formal and informal systems. In informal education, knowledge was imparted to the youth through verbal transmission, observation and apprenticeship. In formal education knowledge was imparted by a recognised trainer, with specified programmes in specific settings.

The roles of pre-colonial education in Africa

Pre-colonial education enabled children to learn and preserve the culture of their societies. For example, children were taught how to greet elders and how to dress. Thus, pre-colonial education moulded young people so that they could practise and perpetuate the customs and traditions of their societies.

Pre-colonial education helped the youth to develop a sense of harmony, unity and understanding among themselves and with other society members. The youth were also taught how to keep peace in society and how to respect each other. Thus, the system of education was not biased.

Pre-colonial education enabled the youth to develop knowledge and skills in various areas such as pottery, basketry,

iron-smelting, crop cultivation and livestock keeping. Since the mode of education was practical, it equipped people with the tools necessary for the economic development of the entire society.

Moreover, pre-colonial education enabled individuals to become good leaders. For instance, the chief's sons were given special skills which would enable them to inherit the throne after the death of their father.

Pre-colonial education enabled societies to produce traditional medical doctors and midwives. The traditional doctors handled medical cases such as malaria, stomach ache, snake bites, bone fractures and dislocations. Similarly, they obtained some knowledge of the traditional medicine that cured common childhood diseases. Elderly women shared the general knowledge and skills that enabled them to perform midwifery roles.

Furthermore, pre-colonial education provided special education on social and sex roles that benefited the whole society. For example, at puberty, boys and girls were not allowed to share sleeping rooms. Likewise, mothers taught their daughters how to sit or talk before elders. This, in turn, helped to promote good interpersonal behaviour that benefited the whole society.

In many African societies, there were initiation ceremonies through

which a certain age-group would get special instruction before they become members of the next age-group. An illustration of that may be taken from the initiation ceremonies among the Kurya ethnic group in Tanzania which are popularly known as the *Saro* and which prepared the youth for adulthood. Likewise, the Makonde and other societies of eastern and southern Tanzania had initiation ceremonies called *jando* and *unyago*. The skills and knowledge acquired enabled the youth to learn the responsibilities of motherhood and fatherhood. For example, males were taught to be good fathers and how to take care of families, while females were taught how to cook and to take care of the house and children. This practice was intended to produce good citizens, who would fit well in the society.

Strengths of pre-colonial education

Pre-colonial education taught Africans various economic activities. The youth were taught how to do various economic activities. For example, the youth were taught fishing, cultivation and trade. These economic activities acted as a catalyst for development.

Pre-colonial education was not static. It changed, depending on the circumstances and the mode of production in a particular society. For example, when societies changed from communal to feudal modes of production, new patterns of education

emerged as the development of technology necessitated specialisation and division of labour. This led to the development of a new system of education, through which the skills and techniques of iron-working, leather-making, cloth-manufacturing and pottery-moulding were imparted.

Furthermore, pre-colonial education was practical. This practicability enhanced the knowledge and skills imparted to learners. For instance, children attended various social gatherings to learn about different aspects of their lives. Children had to demonstrate their knowledge before elders so that their level of understanding would be assessed.

Pre-colonial education instilled among the youth appreciation of cultural values, customs and traditions. Elders insisted on protecting their culture as it was their symbol. Therefore, pre-colonial education was a good custodian of the culture of a given society.

The education provided was collective and inclusive; it did not have any element of discrimination. Children were taught the same type of education in their particular age and sex groups. Boys and girls attained education in accordance with the needs of their societies. They were equipped with knowledge for mastering their environment. They were also prepared to take care of their parents and elders.

Pre-colonial education instilled a sense of patriotism in children. It made them feel proud of their societies. For example, during the imposition of colonial rule on Africa, some rulers such as *Mtwa* Mkwawa and *Mangi* Sina of Iringa and Kibosho were too loyal and patriotic to betray their fellow Africans, although they were persuaded by the white intruders to surrender.

Exercise 1.5

Is informal education still practised in modern Africa? How useful is it in the current generation? Argue with relevant examples.

Weaknesses of pre-colonial education

Although pre-colonial education had several strengths, it also had a number of weaknesses, as shown below.

First, pre-colonial education did not involve the skills of writing or recording the knowledge imparted to learners. Very few areas provided writing skills, for example Timbuktu in West Africa, Fez in Morocco and Egypt in North Africa. As a result, its success depended largely on one's ability to remember what one had learnt. Thus, once people with such knowledge or skills died, their knowledge also disappeared.

Furthermore, the content of pre-colonial education included certain customs and traditions that were unnecessary. In many cases, it undermined the rights of women. For example, a woman who lost her husband was not allowed to inherit the wealth left behind by the husband. Moreover, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), which is said to have detrimental effects on health, was encouraged in some ethnic groups. In some societies, women were not allowed to eat certain types of food such as eggs, milk and some parts of animal meat such as the liver. Similarly, among the iron-working societies, women were not allowed to learn iron-working.

Additionally, pre-colonial education heavily relied on the economic activities of a particular society. For example, in agricultural societies, the youth could not learn about pastoral activities, and vice versa. This kind of specialisation, deprived young men and women of an opportunity to expand their knowledge. People could not fit in other societies.

Pre-colonial education lacked a specific syllabus. This affected consistency and a regulated flow of knowledge. There was no uniformity, with respect to the knowledge or skills learnt in the society. Each instructor could use his own approach and personal preferences to deliver the knowledge.

Exercise 1.6

To what extent was pre-colonial African education relevant to learners environment?

Pre-colonial culture

Pre-colonial culture refers to Africans' way of life, which existed before the advent of European colonialism. It was a system of education, traditions, languages, customs, arts and craft. Pre-colonial education, therefore, was a means through which people learnt and acquired the culture of a given society.

Objectives of pre-colonial culture

Pre-colonial culture was aimed at imparting knowledge, skills and values to society members through the word of mouth, and also by directly involving learners in different activities like fishing, carpentry and painting; in most cases it was learning by doing. Parents fulfilled their responsibilities by directing their children to behave well. The younger generation was taught to behave as Africans in the environment they lived in.

Pre-colonial culture was used to entertain people during difficult times such as funerals, wars and calamities through songs and traditional dances. It also used to entertain people during happy moments when people gathered and celebrated by dancing and singing.

The Matengo people, for instance, celebrated the harvest season by dancing *mganda*, a dance for men, and *sioda*, a dance for women.

Pre-colonial African culture was aimed at speeding up economic development. It instilled a spirit of hard work in Africans. In African societies, lazy men and women were not allowed to marry and some societies denounced lazy people by sending them far away so that they could not influence the youth. Thus, since ancient times the African youth were taught by their parents not to be parasitic and to be self-reliant. Therefore, pre-colonial culture prepared the youth to be productive and self-reliant adults of the future.

Pre-colonial culture unified community members. Culture brought people together via various traditional fora for the youth, elders, leaders and the common people. For example, Matengo elders and leaders had their forum known as *pasengu*, during which leaders from different clans met and discussed on the development and well-being of their people. Through *pasengu*, the leaders got information from different clans and families that helped them to make good decision.

Pre-colonial culture was also aimed at preparing good members of society. It is through culture that good morals, values and beliefs were transmitted to the younger generation. Through

culture, parents and elders taught their children good behaviour. For example, among the Sukuma, girls and women had to kneel down while greeting their elders, as a sign of respect and obedience.

Pre-colonial culture showed African identities. Every society had its own set of customary practices. In order to distinguish one society from the other, the members of each society had to display some uniqueness in their cultural etiquette. The uniqueness of customs and practices helped to show how one community differed from another.

Moreover, pre-colonial culture promoted development by imparting practical knowledge and skills to people. It was the foundation of

technological innovation, which was the basis for industrial, agricultural and commercial development. For example, the Makonde engaged in wood carving.



Activity 1.5

In small groups, organise a classroom exhibition on pre-colonial African culture based on various cultural practices. The exhibition should focus on the following cultural aspects:

Language, food, dressing styles, traditional dances, medicine, cultural ceremonies, traditional leadership styles, arts and crafts.

Revision exercise 1

1. “Supernatural powers did not impose states in pre-colonial African societies. Rather, states were produced by the material conditions which existed in such societies.” Discuss.
2. Using specific examples, show how African societies evolved from communalism to the feudal mode of production in the period between 1000 and 1800 CE.
3. With vivid examples, examine six main features of pre-colonial African societies.
4. “The slave mode of production and the feudal mode of production are one and the same thing.” Comment on this contention.
5. Differentiate between antagonistic and non-antagonistic modes of production.
6. Explain why some African societies did not develop a feudal mode of production.
7. To what extent was the Neolithic Revolution a revolution among the people of pre-colonial Africa?
8. “Slavery never existed in pre-colonial African societies.” Argue for or against this statement.
9. What are the similarities and differences between *umwinyi* and *nyarubanja*?
10. With examples, explain the different forms of feudal relations that existed in East Africa.
11. Examine the characteristics of pre-colonial education.
12. What was the impact of *Mfecane* in East, Central and Southern African societies?

Chapter Two

Africa and Europe in the 15th century

Introduction

By the 15th century, Africa and Europe had achieved almost the same levels of development in terms of technology, politics and economy. The difference between the two continents could be seen in the development of maritime technology, of which Western Europe had made a remarkable achievement. In this chapter, you will learn about systems of exchange which existed in Africa and Europe, and about the levels of political, scientific and technological development which had been achieved by the two continents by the 15th century. You will also learn about the rise of the development gap between Africa and Europe from about the 15th century onwards. The competencies developed will enable you to suggest strategies that African societies could employ to develop economically and technologically.



How is the trade relationship between Africa and Europe today?

The concept of development

Development is a broad concept. At the level of an individual, development means an increase in skills, capacity, greater freedom, creativity and self-discipline. It also means increased responsibility and the material well-being of an individual. This suggests that development is a relative term, in the sense that it means different things to different people. At the community or societal level, the term development

refers to the improvement of the quality of human lives in political, social and economic respects.

Many scholars define development in relation to underdevelopment, but it should be pointed out that the concept of underdevelopment does not imply the absence of development. That means people necessarily have developed in one way or another, regardless of their state of underdevelopment. Therefore, underdevelopment or

development makes sense when two or more countries are compared. This is because there is uneven development between nations. Some nations are poor and others rich. Like development, the concept of underdevelopment is a relative term.

Studies have shown that capitalism is the major cause of underdevelopment in Africa. It is argued that the development of capitalism in Europe led to uneven development in Europe and Africa. This is because, before the 15th century, African societies developed independently, but this process of development was disrupted when the Europeans arrived in Africa in the 15th century. From an Afro-centric point of view, African societies had already developed in areas of science and technology, trade, industry, agriculture, religion, education and politics when merchant capitalism began. Historians like Walter Rodney have argued that Africa was virtually at the same level of development as Europe in the 15th century. On the contrary, Euro-centric historians refute this argument, claiming that there was no development at all in pre-colonial African societies. To them, Africa was static, classless and stateless, and therefore development and civilisation in Africa are the result of the whites' activities such as colonialism.



Activity 2.1

Debate the meanings of development and underdevelopment. Then, use the points discussed to assess the validity of the Afro-centric interpretation of development in relation to pre-colonial African societies.

Systems of exchange in Africa

Trading activities existed in Africa before it came into contact with Europe in the 15th century CE. Africans operated trade and exchange relations at local, regional, interregional and world levels. Local trade existed everywhere in Africa; traders hawked goods from house to house or village to village. Unequal distribution of resources contributed to the rise of trade and exchange relations not only in Africa, but also in other parts of the world. The main goods in these exchange relations were salt, iron ore, iron tools, copper, clay pots, livestock and livestock products, bananas and grain, especially sorghum and millet. Other items of exchange were weapons such as poisoned iron-tipped arrows and spears used for hunting wild animals and for fishing. Generally, before the 15th century trade in Africa was mainly done to solve the problem of scarce goods, and not to create or acquire wealth. This type of exchange

was supervised by the producers themselves. There were hardly any middlemen or specialised traders. Thus, this exchange was not motivated by profit making.

As time went on, Africa developed regional and long distance trade to get scarce items such as salt and iron tools. Regional trade was common in Central Africa, where the prominent trade items were iron tools from the Venda people in Southern Africa which were exchanged with grain from the neighbouring societies. In East Africa, regional trade developed between the Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Ha and the people of Katanga in Central Africa. The main trade items were salt from Uvinza, copper from Katanga and grain and iron tools from Sukumaland. In West Africa, salt was also an important trade item. It was mined at Taoden, Bilma and Taghaza. It was used in food and for curing diseases. However, the trade was intensified during the 17th and 18th centuries.

The dominant system of exchange in both cases was the barter trade which involved the exchange of commodities for commodities. The barter system was practised in most pre-colonial African societies in the 15th century. The common products exchanged in East Africa were grain, livestock and livestock products, salt, gold, copper, ivory and iron tools. However, as time went by, some commodities were used

as a medium of exchange or money. Such commodities included salt, gold and cowry shells. In West Africa, animals like donkeys and camels were used as means of transport, which facilitated the development and expansion of the Trans-Saharan Trade.

Long before the 15th century, people along the coast of East Africa had been in regular commercial contacts with people from the Mediterranean world. In the first century CE, Greek and Egyptian traders from the Roman Empire traded with the people of the East African coast. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* describes navigation and trading opportunities from Egyptian ports like Berenice located along the coast of the Red Sea, the Horn of Africa, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, the Indian Ocean in the Sindh region of Pakistan and the southwestern regions of India. The *Periplus* was a commercial guide that contained sailing routes; and commercial, political and ethnologic details about the ports visited. Before maps started being used, they functioned as a combination of atlas and travelers' handbooks.

The main trading items from the Mediterranean world were clothes, incense, ointment, knives and wine, while Africa supplied mangrove poles, gold, tortoise shells and rhinoceros horns. This trade collapsed after the demise of the Roman Empire in the 5th

century CE. Figure 2.1 shows the trade items involved and the routes from the East African coast, the Roman Empire, the Arabian Sea to the Far East.

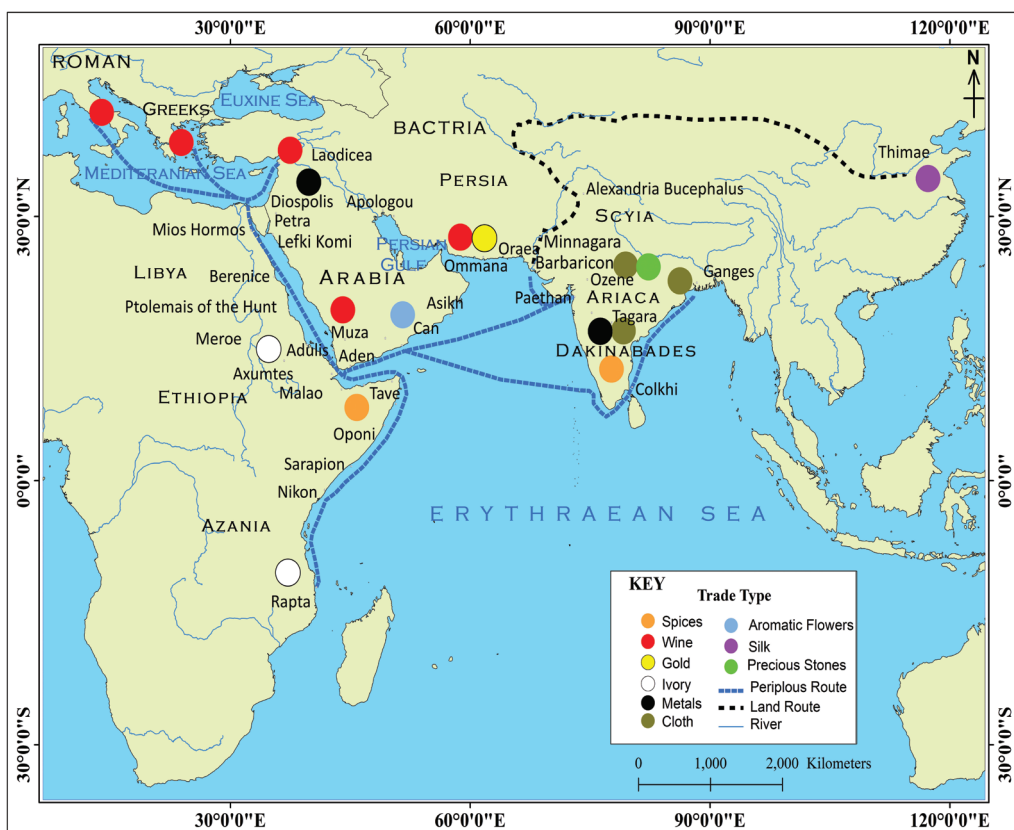


Figure 2.1: Trade between the East African coast, the Roman world, the Arabian Sea and the Far East

The people of the East African coast developed trade relations with the Indians and Chinese in the first Millennium. In this Trade, the Chinese and Indians brought cotton and silk, clothes, porcelain, spices, beads, ornaments, daggers and ceramics. From the East African coast, the Indians and Chinese took ivory, gold, copper, slaves, beeswax and honey.

The people of the East African coast also developed trade relations with the Arab world from about the 7th century CE. Arabs brought swords, beads, dates and porcelain and silk clothes. They exchanged these goods with gold, ivory, iron, mangrove poles and tortoise shells. Gold was mined in Mwenemutapa and transported by caravans to Sofala, where Arab

traders bought it. Between the 9th and 13th centuries, trading towns grew throughout the coast. These were Mogadishu, Kismayu, Lamu, Malindi, Pate, Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Kilwa and Sofala. The trade was disrupted in the 15th century by the Portuguese, who shifted the roots to Europe and the New World.

Similarly, West Africa developed trade relations with Southern Europe through the Mediterranean Sea before the rise of Islam in the 7th century CE. Several centuries before the rise of the Roman Empire, the Greek historian Herodotus (c. 484-425 BCE) wrote about the peoples of Africa. Herodotus wrote that many of the peoples of the Nile Valley were black Africans and suggested connections between the people of the Nile Valley and other people further to the west. The rock art of Dar Tichit in West Africa shows the existence of wheeled chariots south of the Sahara, which suggests a connection with the Mediterranean world. The Berber and Arab traders sold ivory and gold from Ghana and Mali, as well as salt from the Sahara desert to European merchants. Gold was mined in the Bambuk and Bure mines in Ghana. Copper was mined at Takedda in Sahara. The media of exchange were gold, salt and clothes. It was predominantly barter trade.

Moreover, North Africa developed trade relations with the Mediterranean

world, which include Southern Europe. Berber farmers supplied grain, mainly wheat and barley, to Southern Europe. From Southern Europe, North Africa received olive oil, clothes and iron tools. The form of exchange was also barter.

Significance of trade in Africa

Trade contributed to the growth of powerful empires such as Ghana, Mali and Songhai, and the rise of an Islamic kingdom in Morocco, and centres of learning based in Cairo, Alexandria, Carthage, Tripoli and the Middle East. It also contributed to the expansion of urban centres such as Tekrur, Wadan, Agades, Ghadames and Kano. By the 10th century CE, a large number of North African traders who were visiting West Africa had contributed to the emergence of separate settlements for those practising African religions and those practising Islam in Ghana Empire. Therefore, trade led to the spread of Islam in West Africa between the 11th and 15th centuries CE. Later on, the spread of Islam intensified trade between West Africa, the Mediterranean world and the Middle East. The spread of Islam also increased the use of the Arabic language in administration.

The trade in gold influenced commerce in the Mediterranean area. Gold was the major trade item in the Trans-Saharan Trade. West African gold was first minted for markets in Europe around 1000 CE. Gold made the early Arab

traders develop interest in West Africa because West Africa was known to them as 'the golden country.' The influence of the Trans-Saharan gold trade on European societies can be seen in the derivation of the Spanish word for a gold coin in the 15th century, *maravedi*, from the *Almoravid murabitun* dinar. By the 11th century, West Africa had already been connected to North Africa and Southern Europe via the Mediterranean Sea through trade. The exports from the Mediterranean world were books, writing paper and cowries. Cowries became the main currency throughout West Africa, except for Bardo. Similarly, sugar, spices, jewellery, perfumes, mirrors, razors, needles, knives, carpets and beads were also imported into West Africa from the Mediterranean world.

The caravan trade contributed to the rise of trading centres along the trade routes. Some of the centres were Awdaghost, Taghazza, Bilma, Taoden, Jenne, Niamey, Gao, Walata, Sijilmasa, Ghat, Marrakesh and Fez.

Goods were carried by horses and later on by camels. Marrakesh, Fez, Algiers and Carthage linked sub-Saharan Africa and Saharan Africa to Southern Europe. These urban centres were vital to the organisation of the Trans-Saharan Trade. They developed complex infrastructure for providing services to long distance traders. By the 15th century, each of such cities had resting places for traders and clearing houses for collecting taxes. A huge stock of grain like millet, sorghum and wheat, and another of dried meat were sold to the traders crossing the Sahara. Timbuktu became a learning centre to the scholars who accompanied the caravans. Other exports from West Africa were tobacco, dates, gum, ostrich feathers and kola. By the 15th century, when the Atlantic Trade began, the Trans-Saharan Trade had already flourished and shaped the rise, fall and consolidation of many West African states and societies. Figure 2.2 shows the trade routes across the Sahara Desert.

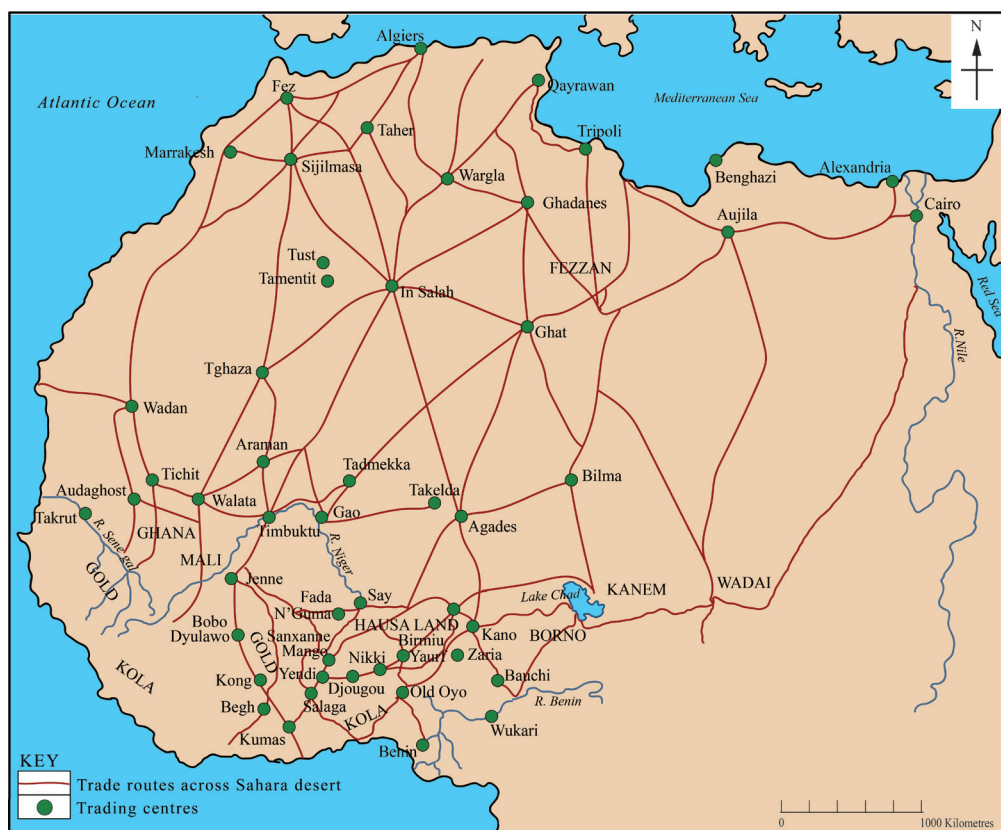


Figure 2. 2: *North-West Africa Trans-Saharan Trade routes*

Africa also developed its own industries, in which local manufacturers were at this time manufacturing items of comparable, if not superior, quality to those of pre-industrial Europe. Because of advances in local technology, the iron smiths in some parts of sub-Saharan Africa were producing iron of a better grade than that of their counterparts in Europe. Similarly, the highly developed West African textile workshops produced fine clothes for export long before the arrival of European traders. There were also salt industries in East and Central Africa.

Other industries were basket-making, gold-mining and copper and iron-smelting, and the making of bronze and various kinds of decorations.

The merchants from Britain, France, Portugal and the Netherlands who began trading along the Atlantic coast of Africa encountered a well-established trading population regulated by experienced local rulers. European companies quickly developed mercantile ties with the indigenous powers and erected fortified “factories” or warehouses in coastal areas to store goods and

defend their trading rights from foreign encroachment. Independent Portuguese merchants called *lançados* settled along the coasts and rivers of Africa from present-day Senegal to Angola, where they were absorbed into African society and served as middlemen between European and African traders.

The goods imported into Africa in considerable volumes included woolen and silk clothes, jewelry, beads and alcohol. It is also worth noting that, Catholic countries such as Portugal were forbidden through a Papal injunction from selling items with potential military use to non-Christians, although it is unclear how closely this order was observed. In exchange for their wares, the Europeans returned with textiles, carvings, spices, ivory, gum and African slaves. Therefore, trade had a significant impact on Africa up to the 15th century.

System of exchange in Europe

While Africa developed its trade relations within and outside, Europe also developed its trade and exchange system. Like Africa, the system of exchange in Europe operated at different levels. The North Sea had an extensive history of maritime commerce, resource extraction and warfare among the people and nations on its coasts. In addition, there was the migration of people and the transfer of technology between continental Europe, England,

Scotland and Scandinavia. The earliest records of Roman explorations of the sea began in 12 BCE. Southern England was formally invaded in 43 CE and gradually assimilated into the Roman Empire, which sustained trade across the North Sea and the English Channel. The Germanic Angles, Saxons and Jutes from Frisia and Jutland began the next great migration across the North Sea during the Medieval Period, conquering, displacing and mixing with the native Celtic population in Britain. The Viking Age began in 793 CE and for the next two centuries saw a significant cultural and economic exchange between Scandinavia and Europe as the Vikings used the North Sea to colonise England, Scotland, France, Iberia and parts of the Mediterranean world.

From the Middle Ages until the 15th century CE, before the development of good roads, maritime trade on the North Sea connected the economies of northern Europe, England and Scandinavia, as well as those of the Baltic and the Mediterranean regions. The Hanseatic League, a confederation of merchant families and market towns, dominated the sea trade in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, establishing settlements in all major ports and stimulating the growth of maritime trade in Northern Europe. The main trade items were wool and woolen clothes from Britain, while iron came

from Arctic Scandinavia. By the 830s CE, trade in the southern North Sea zone was already diminishing, while Dorestad, London and Southampton were in stagnation.

After the Black Death (1348-1450), a well-developed land market among small-scale farmers emerged in England in which some of the small-scale farmers managed to rise above their neighbours and begin to constitute a class of yeomen in the 15th century. Although England remained a predominantly agrarian society, significant development and changes occurred in the towns. London continued to grow, thus dominating the southeast.

Elsewhere, the development of the woolen industry brought about major changes. Halifax and Leeds grew at the expense of York, and West Riding at the expense of the eastern part of Yorkshire. Suffolk and the Cotswold region became important in the national economy. As trade in clothing grew in importance, so did the association of the Merchant Adventurers. The merchants of Staple, who had a monopoly on the export of raw wool, did less well. Italian merchants in Venice, Genoa, Florence and Milan prospered in the 15th century. The major means of transport was marine transport along the North Sea and the northern Atlantic Ocean. Most of the trading towns were located along

the sea. During the Viking Age around the 9th century CE, Arctic Scandinavia was the source of exquisite furs, downs, walrus ivory and other commodities that were in high demand in England and on the continent.

Up to the 15th century, education was controlled by the Catholic Church. The 15th century CE was an important age in the foundation of schools and colleges. Some schools were set up as adjuncts to chantries, some by guilds and others by collegiate churches. For example, Henry VI founded Eton College in 1440 and King's College in Cambridge in 1441. Other colleges were also founded in Oxford and Cambridge in this period. Likewise, the influence of the Italian Renaissance in learning and culture was very limited before 1485, although there were some notable patrons such as Humphrey and the Duke of Gloucester, who collected books and supported scholars interested in new learning. The printer also emerged in 1476. William Caxton set up his press to publish English works for the growing reading public. One of the great collections contained family correspondence and those of the Pastons, Stonors and Celys.

While Europe developed its formal education, Africa also developed its own education institutions such as Azhar University in Ancient Egypt and Timbuktu in Mali. Books were printed on papyrus paper. The Arabic language

was used as a medium of instruction in the universities. Different professionals were trained in the universities such as scribes, teachers, record keepers, masons and others.

From the 10th century onwards, Europe developed trade relations with the Middle East and the Oriental world in Asia and China. The Italian city-states of Rome, Milan, Genoa, Florence and Venice became a link between Europe and the Middle East, Asia and the Far East. European merchants travelled to Asia in search of silk clothes, porcelain, ceramics, gold and spices. The overland ancient route from Europe to the Far East through the Middle East was known as the Silk Road. The Silk Road is a name given to the many trade routes that connected Europe and the Mediterranean world with the Asian world between the 10th and 14th centuries. The route was over 6,500 km long. It got its name because the early Chinese traded in silk along with it. China, for example, supplied West Asia and the Mediterranean world with silk, while spices were mainly obtained from South Asia, particularly India. The Silk and Spice Routes were the main routes of contact between the various ancient empires of the Oriental world. The cities along these trade routes grew rich, providing services to merchants and acting as the international market places. The

trade routes were the communication highways of the ancient world. New inventions, medicines, religious beliefs, artistic styles, languages and social customs were transmitted. Goods and raw materials were transported by people moving from one place to another to exchange them for other goods. Although silk was the main trading item, many other goods were transported along the Silk Road between Eastern Asia and Europe.

Over time, medicines, perfumes, plants like banana and rice, spices and livestock moved between the continents. Trading along the Silk Road became strong again between the 13th and 14th centuries, when the Mongols controlled Central Asia. During the age of explorations, the Silk Road lost its importance because new sea routes to Asia had been discovered. The Silk Road was one of the first trading routes that connected the European world with the Asian world. It played a major role in the development of international trade. This was because this road facilitated the cultural and technological transmission that linked the merchants of Europe with Persia, India and China for almost 300 years. Europe also learnt much from the development of science and technology, astronomy, mathematics, calendar and medicines in China, India and the Middle East.

Thus, because of the development of maritime technology in Europe in the 15th century, European merchants organised trading activities within Europe and beyond. The Europeans found an alternative sea route to Asia and the Far East following the crusade involving Christians and Muslims in the 11th century CE which led to the closure of the overland route from Europe to Asia through the Middle East. Unlike their African counterparts, the merchants from Europe could travel to different parts of Africa, Asia and America, doing overseas trade. It was during the 15th century that Portuguese, Spanish and English merchants began to dominate international trade. Barter trade existed both in Europe and Africa. Europe exchanged goods for goods like gold, silver, clothes and alcohol.

The discovery of maritime technology enabled European merchants to sail to different parts of the world for trading purposes. They exchanged European products like linen, gun-powder, needles, wine, glass, beads and muskets for such items as precious metals, slaves and spices, which were highly needed in Europe during the mercantile era. The coming of the European merchants to Africa led to the integration of Africa into the world capitalist system of exchange in which African traders exchanged slaves, minerals and tropical products for imported European products.

Exercise 2.1

Compare the trading and exchange relations between Africa and Europe in the 15th century with the contemporary neo-colonial relations. What changes do you see?

Significance of trade and exchange in both Africa and Europe

The system of exchange influenced the expansion of towns as it made people from various parts of Africa settle in towns for trading purposes. As a result, many small towns grew to become important trading centres. For instance, trade across the Saharan desert influenced the expansion of towns such as Timbuktu, Jenne, Walata and Gao in West Africa. In East Africa, several trading towns emerged before the 13th century CE. These were Zanzibar, Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, Pate and Lamu. Those East African coastal towns were economically linked together, but they were politically independent under their local rulers. The development of the trade contact between East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula contributed to the growth of those towns in East Africa. Likewise, in Europe, international trade and the exchange systems influenced the growth of towns such as London, Liverpool, Amsterdam, Paris, Rome, Milan and Florence, most of which

grew to become major trading centres during mercantilism.

Trade facilitated the spread of Christianity as well as Roman and Greek civilisations in North Africa. The spread of Christianity in Africa in the first century CE played a major role in the development and expansion of trading relations in North Africa. The Roman Empire dominated Egypt, Carthage, Tripoli, Benghazi, Tunisia and Cyrenaica as its provinces up to the 5th century. Trading centres developed on the coast of North Africa, which acted as a link between the Mediterranean world and Saharan and sub-Saharan Africa. However, in rural areas, where Africans remained with their traditional religions, trade was based on the barter system and its various media of exchange.

The trade relations between Arabia and Africa also contributed to the spread of Islam to North Africa, West Africa (Western Sudan) and East Africa between the 7th and 10th centuries. As most of the traders came from the Middle East, they contributed to the spread of Islam and its civilisation, including Arabic culture, to North Africa, West Africa and East Africa. The Arab traders observed the Islamic laws guiding trade in the trading centres.

Moreover, the trade and exchange relations also influenced the expansion

of political units in both Africa and Europe. The collection of tributes led to the rise, consolidation and expansion of the ruling aristocracy in some African societies. With the development of trade, some states emerged. Their economic strength relied heavily on trading activities. Most of these states such as Ghana and Mali developed along the major trading routes as they were located at strategic routes in the Trans-Saharan Trade. The expansion of trade intensified other economic activities like agriculture and the production of goods in industries. This, in turn, enabled states to accumulate wealth and establish standing armies with which they could fight wars of expansion. In West Africa, the expansion of Ghana Empire and Mali Empire was highly influenced by the desire to control strategic trade routes so as to participate in trade and to extract tribute from traders for running the empires. Likewise, in Europe, several nation-states like Spain, France, England, Italy and the Netherlands rose because of their trading activities.

Evidence from East African societies also indicates that interregional trading relations played a major role in spreading ideas and cultures among societies. The knowledge of cultivation and iron technology, for instance, could spread from one society to another through trade contacts. For example, some pastoral societies like the

Mbugwe of Tanzania acquired some knowledge of agriculture from the Pare and Shambaa through trade relations. In the 1480s, Christianity was also introduced in the Kongo Kingdom by Portuguese missionaries, merchants and explorers. Likewise in West Africa, Christianity began when the Portuguese established trade contacts with the coastal societies in the 15th century. New trade items, technology and a new medium of exchange were introduced into Africa.

Additionally, the coming of the Portuguese marked the beginning of the adoption of new cultural values from Europe such as the construction of houses, singing, dressing and eating styles. In East Africa, the Bantu spoke the Kiswahili language before the contacts with the external world began. With the trade contacts along the coast, many Arabic words and some Portuguese words were adopted and started being used in the Kiswahili language. The legacy of the Portuguese presence in East Africa can be seen in words like *mvinyo* (wine), *leso* (handkerchief), *gereza* (prison) and *meza* (table).

The introduction of European mercantilism into Africa integrated Africans into the European-dominated trade relations. The exchange system transformed Africa and Europe in many ways. The trade between Africa and Europe in the 15th century introduced

various commodities into Africa such as clothes, guns, gunpowder, alcohol and beads from Portugal and Spain. From Africa, the Portuguese took slaves, gold and ivory. They also introduced new crops such as maize and cassava from South America. Moreover, new banana and rice species were introduced into East Africa from India. Arab traders introduced coconut trees on the East African coast in the 10th century. All these crops were acclimatised and became common in Africa.

The impact of trade on African political systems

The impact of trade on African political systems was two-fold. First, trade contributed to the consolidation and expansion of centralised or large-scale political organisations. For example, Ghana emerged as a small kingdom by controlling some of the Trans-Saharan Trade routes. Secondly, leaders extracted tribute, which enabled them to run the state and build permanent standing armed forces, which were used to conquer strategic areas such as the Wangara and Bure gold mines. Similarly, Mali Empire started as a small Kangaba kingdom in the 14th century. Kingdom grew to become Mali Empire as a result of controlling the trade routes passing through Jene, Gao, Walata and Timbuktu.

According to John Iliffe, the pre-colonial trade contacts in Africa

developed communications and created wealth for central governments. This was done through the collection of tributes and the establishment of standing armies to ensure the security of the traders. Secondly, trade caused some states to collapse. For instance, Ghana Empire, which prospered and expanded as a result trade exchange relations, began to collapse in the 12th century CE. The Kangaba Kingdom expanded and controlled some of the trade routes lost by Ghana Empire. The number of pre-colonial states in Africa declined during the period of mercantilist capitalism in the 15th century.

In the 15th century CE, the rise of mercantilism brought some changes to West Africa. New trading ports began to develop along the Atlantic Ocean coast out of the European commercial activities. They were Axim, Elmina, Christiansburg, Goree, Bissau, Whydah, Lagos and Calabar. This led to the beginning of the collapse of inland trading towns such as Jenne, Gao, Walata, Tekrur and Sigilmasa. The new trading ports prospered because of the Trans-Atlantic Trade. The trading ports along the coast began to support the growth of new states which served European mercantilist trade interests. The new states were Fante and Ashanti, which extracted tribute from the caravans travelling from the interior to

the coast, supplying slaves, ivory, gold and pepper to the European merchants who stayed along the coast.

Some of the Sudanic states of West Africa collapsed following the diversion of trade routes caused by the coming of the European traders. The collapse of Mali Empire in the 15th century CE was due to the rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which diverted most of the trade routes which went northwards and turned them southwards. Monopoly over the Trans-Saharan Trade declined with the presence of Europeans on the West African coast. In East Africa, coastal city-states such as Mombasa and Kilwa lost their commercial supremacy with the coming of the Portuguese merchants at the end of the 15th century (1498). Kilwa was attacked by Portuguese forces in 1505. The Portuguese controlled trade in the Indian Ocean, which was being controlled by the Swahili and Oman Arab traders.

The trade between Africa and Europe up to the 15th century was through the Trans-Saharan Trade in which Africa had indirect trade relations with Europe through the Arab merchants of North Africa. In the 15th century CE, Africa came into direct contact with Europe. The relations began in West Africa, but later spread to Central Africa, Southern Africa and East Africa through mercantalism.

The impact of exchange and trade on economic systems in Europe

The development of the trade and exchange relations between Europe and Africa accelerated the development of the European economy. Through mercantalism, European merchants began to accumulate capital, which facilitated the establishment of new industries in Europe. Thus, trade played a great role in the future development of industries in Europe. The accumulated capital was also used to improve European social and physical infrastructure like roads, railways, buildings, and water and power supply systems. Infrastructural development contributed to the growth of towns such as Amsterdam, Manchester, Liverpool, London, Paris and Lisbon. Maritime technology was improved as more and larger ships for carrying bulky tropical goods were built. Moreover, the exchange relations enabled Europe to acquire raw materials, which were important for industrialisation. Africa lost most of its wealth by exchanging its valuable resources for cheap products from Europe.

The merchants gained huge profits from the unequal trade. The Portuguese, who had established themselves along the West African coast since the 1470s, exchanged clothes and other items for gold from the Akan gold fields.

Moreover, through primitive accumulation of capital mercantilism

led to the establishment of financial institutions and insurance companies, which continued to finance commercial activities in Europe. For instance, Barclays Bank had its origin in mercantalist activities which involved enslaving Africans and acquiring overseas colonies.

The profit obtained from trade as well as the mastery of navigational technologies enabled Europe to expand to other parts of the world in the 15th and early 16th centuries. The Europeans were looking for precious metals and overseas colonies. The merchants also conducted wars of plunder in America and Africa thereby accumulating massive wealth in the form of gold, silver, copper, ivory and pepper.



Is there any need for Africa to have trade relations with the outside world now? Give reasons.

The impact of trade on social and economic systems in Africa

The development of trade activities in Africa promoted the expansion of economic activities like agriculture and mining. Africans started practising agriculture long before the 15th century. Archaeological evidence indicates that agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa began on the fertile plains of the area lying between present-day Nigeria and Cameroon. Archaeological sources

also show that Africans started to domesticate animals earlier than they started crop cultivation. As pointed out earlier, the period when man started to cultivate crops and keep animals is called the Neolithic Revolution. This period in Africa started around 5000 BCE. Early African farmers grew millet and sorghum. In East Africa, the Bantu arrived around 1000 BCE, bringing with them the knowledge of agriculture. By 500 BCE, the domestication of plants and animals had spread to various parts of Africa. The earliest crops cultivated in Africa were root and fruit crops. As time went by, other crops were introduced. In West Africa, yams and palm oils were cultivated. By the first Millennium CE, grain crops such as millet and sorghum had already been adopted in various areas such as in the interlacustrine region. As already mentioned, banana culture, which is associated with the Bantu-speaking people is believed to have started in the same Millennium CE.

By the 15th century, African societies had developed various farming techniques such as shifting cultivation, mixed farming and irrigation, which were largely practised in the Nile River Valley in Egypt and Axum Empire. The nature of agriculture was mainly subsistence, although some harvests were exchanged for other commodities from non-agricultural communities.

African farmers and pastoralists had

also developed methods of dealing with pest invasions like locust and tsetse fly invasions. For example, pastoralists avoided tsetse fly-infested belts. They used traditional herbs to treat trypanosomiasis, a disease that is transmitted by tsetse flies. However, by the 6th century CE, iron hoes were widely used in the Savannah region. Iron technology enabled societies to produce sufficient food for consumption and exchange. In Mali Empire in West Africa, for example, agricultural production was well organised so that the emperors appointed leaders called *Babili-Farma* as ministers of agriculture.

Furthermore, the trading activities promoted irrigation technologies in other places of Africa like Engaruka and the Pare Mountains in East Africa. This went hand in hand with the development of construction technologies such as stone masonry technologies. Terracing and irrigation technologies thrived in different societies in East Africa. They involved the building of canals and ditches used to supply water to irrigated areas. Irrigation technology helped dry areas and areas with insufficient rain like Parelant to be productive. It also led to the development of intensive agriculture in Africa.

By the 15th century, Africa had already set up industries. In East Africa iron industries had existed since the 1st Millennium CE. Some of the famous

iron sites in Africa were found in Axum (Ethiopia) and Meroe (the Sudan). The technology of making and using iron hoes also developed among the societies of East Africa. It started in 1500 CE in Engaruka and Ugweni among the Pare in modern Tanzania. The presence of iron led to the production of iron tools which, in turn, improved farming activities thus leading to more production of food crops. Technological innovations in agriculture were encouraged by the development of trading activities in Africa. Foodstuffs were exchanged with other products.

The development of trade in Africa went hand in hand with the development of mining activities. Mining activities and the knowledge of metal working existed in different African societies before the coming of the Europeans. For example, with the discovery of iron ore, iron smiths forged iron tools. Meanwhile, salt was extracted at Bilma and Taghaza in West Africa and gold at Bambuk, Bure and Akan in West Africa. Another example of mining centres was Katanga, which was rich in copper deposits. The areas where mining activities were done experienced the development of trade and improvement of agricultural production, hence the rise of states. Good examples were Ghana Empire and Mali Empire formed in the Savannah region in West Africa.

The trade and exchange systems had some negative economic effects on Africa. For example, the rise of mercantilism and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Africa in the 15th century had certain negative effects. Slaves were taken from Africa in large numbers and sent to Americas. As a result, Africa lost its energetic people, who would have contributed towards its development. This was also the beginning of unequal trade and exchange relations between Africa and Western Europe. The value of the commodities exchanged differed considerably. For example, African labour and other goods were of higher value than the commodities imported from Europe. The slave trade led to the stagnation of African technologies and production.

Most of the slaves were captured from the Guinea coast to the south of the Kongo Kingdom. For example, the Kongo Kingdom became the major source of slaves for Portuguese traders and other European powers. The Cantino world map of 1502 mentions the kingdom as the source of slaves for the island of São Tomé. The slaves were sold to Portuguese merchants. Most of the slaves exported to the Portuguese farms were war captives from the kingdom's expansion campaigns. Every year, Portuguese slave traders would come with 12 to 15 ships for carrying back between 5 000 and 10 000 slaves.

The penetration of Christianity and European culture such as dressing and eating styles into Africa undermined African culture. The Europeans began to despise Africans' aspects of life such as medicine, religion and hygiene. They regarded them as backward. They wanted Africans to imitate their culture. The Portuguese explorer Diogo Cão was the first European to visit the Kongo Kingdom. He visited the kingdom in 1483. The kingdom rose in the 14th century CE. The Portuguese Jesuit missionaries began to convert Africans to Christianity. In 1491, some Roman Catholic priests and soldiers went to the Kongo Kingdom. They baptised King Nzinga Nkuwu and his principal nobles, starting with the ruler of Soyo, in the coastal province. Other Kongoleses followed the example and were converted to Christianity as well. At the same time, a literate Kongo citizen returning from Portugal opened the first school in the kingdom. King Nzinga Nkuwu took the Christian name of João I in honour of Portugal's King at the time, João II. King João I ruled until his death in 1506 and was succeeded by his son Afonso Mvemba Nzinga. The penetration of Catholicism into the Kongo Kingdom divided the royal family into Catholics and traditionalists. In 1509, instead of the usual election involving the nobles, a hereditary European-style succession led to the African King, Afonso I, succeeding his father, João I.

After taking over the throne, King Afonso Mvemba Nzinga faced a serious challenge from his half-brother, Mpanzu a Kitima. The king defeated his brother in a battle waged at Mbanza Kongo. Inspired by this event, he subsequently designed a coat of arms for Kongo which was used by all the kings who came later in official documents and royal paraphernalia. While King João I later returned to his traditional beliefs, Afonso I adopted Christianity as the religion of his Kingdom. King Afonso I introduced a version of the Roman Catholic Church into Kongo.

The Africans who were Christianised were seen as more civilised than those who retained their traditional beliefs. The two identities continued to struggle for the throne and later on this contributed to the collapse of the Kongo Kingdom. Thus, European culture and Christianity contributed to the collapse of the Kongo Kingdom.



Activity 2.2

Hold a debate in your class or with a neighbouring school on the motion that Africa was primitive, classless and stateless before the coming of the Europeans to the continent. Summarise and record the main issues raised in the debate for your own revision.

Political systems in Africa and Europe by the 15th century

A political system is defined as a set of formal legal institutions that constitute a government or state. It is usually compared to the legal, economic and social systems. By the 15th century, Africa and Europe had developed various political organisations. Although Africa and Europe had developed political organisations, the level of political organisation differed from place to place, depending on the level of the development of productive forces and the mode of production of a particular society.

The political systems in Africa by the 15th century

Pre-colonial African societies practised communal and feudal modes of production at different times, depending on the nature of their environment. For example, societies that lived in areas endowed with natural resources developed state organisations under feudalism. Likewise, societies which lived in grassland areas and arid and semi-arid areas developed clan and age-set organisations, which existed side by side with communalism. The states formed were accompanied by the existence of military forces which defended the society and conquered neighbouring societies.

Moreover, African societies developed various laws which governed the

payment of tribute and leadership roles. For example, the *Mtemi* was responsible for distributing land to his subjects, settling disputes and leading other in spiritual matters.

Nevertheless, some African societies developed a relatively formal parliamentary system. For example, the Buganda Kingdom in East Africa had the *Lukiiko*, which was the parliament of the Buganda Kingdom. Members of the *Lukiiko* were elected directly from the countries under the Buganda Kingdom. Some were appointed by the Kabaka. The *Lukiiko* advised the *Kabaka* (King) on political, social and economic matters. It also made laws. In some societies, religion was the central part of state operation. Despite performing their political responsibilities, leaders also performed religious functions. They were believed to be in direct contact with their ancestors (gods).

The political system in Europe by the 15th century

In the 15th century, almost all European societies had developed feudal systems which co-existed with state a formation process. For instance, the existence of states like Saxon, Vanetia and Frankish proves the validity of this statement, since these states were already under the authority of kings. Moreover, the states were more decentralised, since they had land manors or feudal lords who were sovereign.

However, after the 15th century, movements emerged in Europe which sought to weaken the manors' sovereignty. Kings gained power using soldiers (knights) to break manorial walls. As a result, the kings took steps to own, organise and control the army. This situation or example, the Roman Catholic (clergy) took over many functions in the government, including law-making. The Roman Catholic Church was predominant in Medieval Europe.

Similarities in the political systems of Africa and Europe by the 15th century

The political systems of Europe and Africa shared certain elements. Both Europe and Africa developed centralised states. Europe had monarchies, in which power was centralised and the decisions the kings made were final. Likewise, in Africa, centralised states were governed by kings or queens who were the decision-makers. A good example was King Joao I (Zinga Nkuwu) of the Kongo Kingdom.

Leadership was hereditary in both Europe and Africa. The European royal families had a tendency to pass power to the son of the outgoing king. Africans also passed power to the son of the outgoing king. For example, after the death of Zinga Nkuwu of Kongo, his son Zinga Mbemba (Don Affonso I) took over. Likewise, in the Buganda Kingdom leaders followed the lineage

of the Kabaka. In England, the monarch was hereditary and the royal family was the source of the next monarch. A good example was the house of Tudor, an English royal dynasty of Welsh origin, which gave five sovereigns to England from 1485 to 1603.

Africa and Europe developed military forces, which were used to conquer neighbouring societies and to acquire wealth and labour. The army was also used to defend the territory against foreign invasions and to keep peace.

The political institutions in Europe and Africa were directly involved in trading activities inside and outside their empires. For example, kings in empires like Ghana and Mali supported the long distance trade between West African societies and North African societies. Likewise, European states, especially mercantilist states, supported and protected their merchants domestically and internationally.

Both European and African kings involved themselves directly in trade. They guarded the trade routes that passed through their territories so that they could collect taxes from merchants. For example, Prince Henry, the Navigator of Portugal, sponsored the search for sea routes to India for trading purposes. Similarly, Tunka Manin of Ghana, Sundiata and Mansa Musa of Mali and Askia Mohamed of Songhai were involved directly in the Trans-Saharan Trade. Another

good example was Queen Isabela of Spain, who sponsored Christopher Columbus' Voyages for commercial purposes. Furthermore, political rulers in Portugal, The Netherlands and England encouraged their merchants to establish trade empires in North America, the Far East and other parts of the world, especially in Africa. Likewise, in East Africa, the kings who ruled the Buganda Kingdom supported trade with coastal Arabs and Swahili traders.

European and African politics were both characterised by expansionist tendencies. That is, stronger states used to conquer weaker states to get wealth and increase the size of their kingdoms. A good example was the Kingdom of England, which was established when the West Saxon kings extended their power over Southern England in the 10th century CE. In Africa, the Mwenemutapa Kingdom of present-day Zimbabwe conquered its neighbouring societies such as the states of Uteve, Barwe and Manyika in the 1480s. Likewise, Ghana Empire grew out of conquering the small kingdoms of Diara, Silla and Tekrur.

Religion was at the centre of the political systems of both Europe and Africa. In Europe, for instance, the kings in France and England had divine rights to rule. For the Catholic Church, the Pope was both a religious and political leader. Similarly, in Africa,

political leaders were believed to have some spiritual power; hence, they were given the right to organise spiritual matters such as religious ceremonies and sacrifices.

Differences in the political systems of Africa and Europe by the 15th century

Despite the similarities regarding the political systems of Western Europe and Africa, there were also some slight differences between the two political systems.

The political systems that existed in Europe around 1200 CE moved further ahead of African ones. Europe started to establish absolute nation-states ruled by despotic kings. The kings ruled their nation-states, bending on the "Divine Right of the Kings" principle, which stipulated that the kings were directly chosen by God. Hence, they were only accountable to God, who had put them on the throne. This principle caused Europe to have oppressive kings. Examples of the nation-states that rose in Europe were Spain, France and Holland.

On the contrary, Africa never developed nation-states like those of Europe in the 15th century. The political system was based on both centralised and decentralised states. However, there were very few societies that established centralised states. This was due to the presence of strong leaders, strong armies and geographical factors

in such states. Examples of centralised states in Africa include Ghana Empire and Mali Empire. The societies that did not fall under centralised states formed political systems that were based either on kinship or clan organisation or age-set organisation.

The two political systems had also a slight difference in the feudal organisation. Although both Africa and Europe practised feudalism, European feudalism was at its mature stage and was in transition to capitalism. By contrast, African feudalism was reported to be in its initial stages of development and was practised by a few societies.

In Africa, the ruler (king) had much power over the people and controlled all the major means of production. Nothing could be done without his consent. However, in Europe much power was vested in the church, which controlled a large tract of land. The power of the church was supported by formalised laws that guided relationships in the feudal societies.

Moreover, the political structure of the ruling class was another thing that differentiated the political systems of Europe and Africa. Europe possessed a broad-based political structure that comprised monarchs, dukes, bishops, knights, landlords and serfs. The political structure in Africa was very brief as it comprised kings and royal advisors.



Activity 2.3

Organise a debate in your class or with a neighbouring school on the motion that Africa had better and organised political systems than Europe up to the 15th century. Summarise and record the main issues raised in the debate for your own revision.

Development of science and technology in Africa and Europe up to the 15th century

The concepts of science and technology are interlinked. Science refers to a body of the knowledge obtained through observation and experimentation with the forces of nature (the physical world) and by which the theories explaining the behaviour of such forces are developed. In other words, science is the knowledge acquired from careful study of the structure and behaviour of the physical world through observation, measurement and experimentation aimed at arriving at some generalisations or development of scientific theories. Technology is defined as the application of scientific knowledge to solving social problems. It appears, therefore, that science and technology are inseparable. This section explains the development of science and technology in both Africa and Europe in the period up to the 15th century. The main argument is that, by the 15th century, African and

European societies had achieved some comparable levels of scientific and technological development.

Before the 15th century, Africa had developed in the areas of science and technology. For example, pre-colonial African societies had already acquired construction or architectural knowledge. Archaeological pieces of evidence indicate, for example, that massive stone walls were constructed in the Mwenemutapa Kingdom of present-day Zimbabwe for defence purposes.

The ancient structures of the Great Zimbabwe also constitute an important architectural site in Africa. Similar massive structures, but not necessarily

made of stones, also existed in Ethiopia, Ancient Egypt and Timbuktu. In Tanzania ancient stone structures have been discovered in Engaruka, where a unique technology of “dry stone building” thrived. The technology of using stones, which is also known as stone masonry technology, was widespread in pre-colonial African societies. The massive Ancient Egyptian pyramids provide another piece of evidence that African societies had construction knowledge. Thus, the pyramids in Ancient Egypt and Great Zimbabwe and other construction styles show that Africa had developed its own construction technology by the 15th century. Figure 2.3 shows an Egyptian pyramid.



Figure 2. 3: *Egyptian pyramid*

Europe had also developed in architectural technologies. During the Middle Ages, for example, Europeans erected huge magnificent church buildings. In Germany, for instance, massive church buildings were built in the famous Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages. The Basilica of Constantine in Rome is a huge structure. It is 260 feet long, 82 feet wide and 115 feet high. It was built in the 15th century CE.

Furthermore, the discovery of the calendar was one of the technological breakthroughs in Africa. For example, Ancient Egypt had developed its calendar by around 3000 BCE. The Ancient Egyptian calendars like solar and lunar calendars enabled the Egyptians to control the River Nile floods, which affected them frequently. They used sticks to measure flooding intervals in the River Nile and its basin. That way, they could determine the beginning of the year. They used the calendar to control the floods and thus regulate agricultural activities.

Africa also developed her own technology of preserving corpses. Ancient Egypt developed the embalming technology used in preparing corpses before their disposal or burial. The embalming technology was used to prevent corpses from decomposing. Africa had also developed technology for preserving food. Foodstuffs and fish were preserved through salting, smoking and sun-drying.

Archaeological evidence indicates that Africa had begun doing metal work by the 15th century. The technology enabled them to produce various tools. The tools made of bronze, for example, were widely used among the Ife, Benin and Oyo in West Africa. The major iron-working sites were located in Meroe, Axum, Nok and Futa Jalon. In Europe, the early bronze and iron-working centres were Aegean, Novochechask and Hallstatt. Archaeological records indicate that the iron-working technology in Africa and Europe evolved concurrently around 1000 BCE.

Moreover, Africa and Europe had developed several handcraft industries independently. In Africa, for example, there existed carpenters, basket-weavers, pot-makers and bark-cloth makers. Moroccans produced red leather clothes called Moroccan leather, which was comparable to that of Europe during the Middle Ages. In Congo, local clothes were made from barks and palm fibres, which had almost the same quality as velvet. The making of bark clothes was widespread in Buganda and Ufipa in East Africa. The cotton clothes manufactured in Guinea appeared to be better than those imported from Manchester. It should be noted that the major raw materials used to manufacture clothes in Europe were linen and wool. Africans used barks, cotton and plant leaves to make clothes. Like iron work, cloth-

making was done by guilds similar to those of Europe. In Tanganyika, for example, guilds existed in metal-working societies like those of Ufipa and Ugweno. Examples of guilds were also found among Iwebo, Ibiwe and Iweguae societies in Benin. In essence, on both continents, craftsmanship was a noble specialisation that involved a few skilled persons, although it was very strict in Europe and a bit flexible in Africa.

Both African and European societies had developed irrigation technology by the 15th century. Scientific agricultural systems existed both in Africa and Europe. A good example is the use of irrigation farming, which was practised along the River Nile Basin in Ancient Egypt. The Egyptians used *sakia* and *shaduf* (also called *shadoof*) methods of irrigation. Similarly, European societies applied green manure onto their farms, practised animal cross-breeding and used the enclosure system to increase production. Similarly, Africans used traditional methods of fertilising farms. Specifically, they used constructed terraces to control soil erosion and practised shifting cultivation and mixed agriculture. Societies with the culture of banana consumption, for example, fertilised their banana groves using cow dung. In African societies mixed agriculture began to evolve during the first Millennium CE.

By the 15th century, there was no much

difference in the means of transport used in Africa and Europe. In Africa, rafts, canoes and dhows were the major means of water transport. The use of dhows and canoes was wide-spread among the societies found along the Indian Ocean coast and among most of the societies found along the water bodies such as rivers and lakes. In Africa, donkeys, camels and oxen were commonly used as means of transport. Donkeys were used to carry goods across the Sahara before they were replaced by camels in the 3rd century CE. Europeans also used donkeys and horses as means of transport. In Europe, donkeys were used to pull carts and loads. The discovery of the wheel accelerated the development of transport in Europe as it marked the beginning of animal-driven carts and wagons.

Africa and Europe had also attained a considerable level of development in the field of medicine. In Africa traditional medicines were used to cure various kinds of tropical diseases. Traditional healing was the major preoccupation of African traditional healers or doctors who acquired the knowledge of healing diseases through inheritance or training. The healers existed in all African societies and were accorded respect and honour on account of their healing activities. They knew different medicinal plants which were used to cure snake bites and numerous tropical diseases.

By the 15th century, Europe was yet to record huge improvements in the field of medicine. Although attempts at modernising healing practices in Europe go back to the ancient period, the major improvements happened in the 19th century. For example, modern medicine did not start until the 19th century when germ theory was developed. In general, by the 15th century medieval medicine in Europe had not yet achieved a high level of scientific development. European societies relied on traditional medicine and used various measures to prevent the spread of epidemics. The use of quarantine, for example, started during the Black Death in 1350. Quarantine was maintained in Europe throughout the 14th and 15th centuries CE.

In warfare technologies, Europe and Africa had achieved comparable levels of advancement worth examining. Africans used various traditional warfare methods like the use of arrows, bows and spears. They also used defensive mechanisms like fortifications, trenches and bolt holes. The weapons and tactics of warfare improved with time. The use of cavalry, which involved soldiers fighting while sitting on horses, for example, was adopted in the Mali Empire in 15th century.

Although Africa and Europe had achieved similar levels of scientific and technological development in certain

aspects, Europe had excelled more in certain aspects because of the discovery of marine science and technology. Likewise, in the field of warfare technology, the Europeans adopted gunpowder, which revolutionised warfare in Europe. The adoption of gunpowder from China in the 13th century, for example, transformed warfare methods in Europe. Gunpowder was used to manufacture crude guns such as cannons and muskets. It was also used as an explosive on battlegrounds. The exploding shells of artillery, for example, could kill many people at once. The diffusion of firearms like rifles came much later in Africa. In the field of medicine, Europe was far ahead of Africa.

Although Africa had also developed in the area of literacy, Europe appeared to be far ahead of Africa in this area as well. Through monasteries-built universities, the Catholic Church offered different specialisations, mainly religious studies, typing, history, philosophy and mathematics. Africa had also developed its own education system. The education offered was practical as it was used to solve various problems. There were the universities of Timbuktu in Mali Empire and Azhar in Ancient Egypt.

Therefore, Africa and Europe had attained major achievements in the field of science and technology by the 15th century. Africa made these

achievements independently of Europe. Although Africa was almost at the same level of scientific and technological development as Europe, the situation changed drastically in the subsequent centuries.

Exercise 2.2

Are Africa's handcraft industries relevant in modern Africa? Substantiate your answer.

Rise of the development gap between Africa and Europe

Various historical, linguistic and archaeological pieces of evidence show that Africa was almost at the same level of development as Europe in the 15th century. However, after the 15th century the development gap between Africa and Europe started to widen. Europe began to develop much faster than Africa. There were several reasons for this situation.

Slavery is one of the major reasons for that. Through the slave trade, a substantial number of able-bodied men and women were taken from Africa so that they could work on European-owned plantations and in the mines in the Americas. This situation led to depopulation and, hence, stagnation of African economies and technologies. Africa was robbed of its healthy working people. Added to this problem was the insecurity caused

by enslavement-related activities that took place in Africa at the time. This insecurity could not allow production and trading activities to continue smoothly. Thus, African economies were completely disrupted, thereby marking the beginning of Africa's underdevelopment.

Unequal exchange was also another reason for the widening of the gap between the two continents. The trade relations between Africa and Europe were unequal and unfair to Africans. For instance, Europe brought valueless items to Africa such as mirrors, gunpowder, beads, clothes and alcohol. These items were exchanged for valuable items from Africa such as slaves, gold, silver and ivory. Similarly, there was also unequal exchange during the legitimate trade in the 19th century, after the abolition of the slave trade. Europeans brought manufactured goods with low value and exchanged them for African natural products like cocoa, rubber, latex, sisal and groundnuts. Therefore, unequal exchange benefited Europe, but impoverished Africa.

Moreover, maritime technology was another important reason for Europe to be far ahead of Africa. Investment in science and technology in Europe continued in the subsequent centuries. It contributed to the development of industries. With the development of maritime technology, the European

powers could sail to distant areas in Africa, America and Asia, looking for sources of raw materials and precious metals. In addition, with the help of maritime vessels, European merchants waged wars of plunder and looted Africa. This enabled them to accumulate much wealth.

Furthermore, African political leaders became allies of European merchants. Although they benefited from participating in trade, the destructive effects of the trade were bigger than the benefits. Africans who tried to resist European activities were killed or their kingdoms were weakened and they subsequently collapsed. The collapse of the Kongo Kingdom shows how the presence of Portuguese merchants and slave traders in Africa intensified royal rivalries and contributed to its collapse.

Colonialism also contributed to the widening of the gap between Africa and Europe. Colonialism meant that African societies were politically, economically and culturally under the European powers. This domination resulted in the exploitation of African resources such as land, labour, forest and minerals. The best fertile land was alienated for European settler estates; African labour was used in colonial economic undertakings. African forests and their products such as ivory, animal skins and hides were harvested for Europeans. All these accelerated the development of Europe at the expense

of Africa. Furthermore, the African political and cultural systems left Africans powerless, therefore affecting their steps towards development.

Again, neo-colonialism and globalisation have also contributed to the development disparity between Europe and Africa. Under neo-colonialism, Europeans have maintained unbalanced terms of trade, since they control the world market. The prices of African goods (raw materials) are low, while the prices of European manufactured goods are high. Europe also destabilised Africa politically and planted on the continent puppets through whom they could exploit African resources.

It could, therefore, be argued that Africa could not keep pace with Europe because the latter had accumulated much capital by the 15th century and had invested it in developing science and technology. The merchant capital accumulated through the slave trade was later invested in industries. The development of industrial production in Europe made Africa a source of raw materials and a market for European goods. Thus, African economies declined because of these European capitalist trade relations. The system of exchange between the two continents was unequal. For instance, Europe provided Africa with less valuable industrial goods, as mentioned earlier. From Africa, the Europeans took

valuable commodities such as gold, copper, slaves, animal skins, hides and ivory. The exploitative nature of the trade relations largely contributed to the development of Europe on the one hand, and the underdevelopment of Africa on the other. This also contributed to the widening of the development gap between Africa and Europe.

Exercise 2.3

Give evidence showing how Europe developed at the expense of Africa from the 15th century onwards.

Impact of the development gap between Europe and Africa

By the 15th century, Africa had achieved almost the same level of development as Europe. Nevertheless, it is erroneous to think that the African continent lacked examples indicative of development in the pre-colonial period as Euro-centric historians claim. Rather, African societies had developed in the areas of economy, political organisation, science, technology and culture. However, the societies could not develop as expected following the integration of African economies into the world capitalist trading relations

which were extremely exploitative. The widening development gap between Africa and Europe had adverse effects on the African continent, as shown below.

Europe robbed Africa of its resources necessary for the development of African people. Africa lost its labour power and raw materials. The capital accumulated in this unequal exchange was invested in European industries, hence facilitating the emergence of the Industrial Revolution. Africa gave Europe valuable goods like ivory, gold, spices and slave labour, while Europe imported into Africa manufactured goods of low quality such as gunpowder, alcohol and utensils. With industrialisation came colonialism, which underdeveloped Africa further.

The slave trade led to the decline of the African population. Many energetic Africans worked on the European plantations and in the mines in the New World (the Americas and the Caribbean Islands) as slaves. Africa lost its significant work force. For example, the Kongo Kingdom provided many slaves, who were taken to the New World, especially to the Portuguese colony of Brazil.

Moreover, the development gap made the European nations destabilised the African political systems. The Europeans interfered with African

political systems, thus causing political instabilities, particularly in societies where they had some economic interest. Examples of the countries whose political systems were disturbed were Libya, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Tunisia, Egypt, Algeria and Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, the development gap has made Africans economically dependent on Western Europe, the USA and Canada. African countries increasingly borrow money from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB) and donor countries. The loans are accompanied by with hard conditions, which sustain Africa's underdevelopment. The development gap has also caused technological stagnation in Africa. This has resulted in gross dependence on foreign technology.

Exercise 2.4

- (a) Do you think that the early trading contact between Africa and Europe has something to do with the current state of underdevelopment in most African countries? Justify your argument.
- (b) Using the knowledge you have gained from this chapter, suggest measures that should be taken by African countries to get rid of the exploitative trade and exchange relations with the outside world.
- (c) Apart from colonialism and the slave trade, what caused Africa's underdevelopment?

Revision exercise 2

1. What is development? Analyse the social, political and economic levels of development that African societies had reached by the 15th century.
2. Explain the importance of trade and exchange systems to Africa and Europe by the 15th century.
3. Compare and contrast the levels of political development reached by Africa and Europe by the 15th century.
4. Discuss the impact of the exchange and trade relations on the socio-economic systems of pre-colonial African societies.
5. How had trade led to state formation in Africa by the 15th century?
6. “By the 15th century, Africa and Europe had reached similar levels of scientific and technological development.” Discuss.
7. Examine the factors for the development disparity between Africa and Europe beginning in the 15th century.
8. Examine the impact of the Portuguese mercantilist activities on Africa’s social, political and economic systems.
9. To what extent did the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade disrupt, or rather changed, the pre-colonial systems of exchange and trade relations in West Africa?
10. Discuss the consequences of the different levels of development between Africa and Europe which began after the 15th century.
11. Discuss critically the levels of agricultural development that the African continent had reached by the 15th century.
12. Explain the various technological innovations that Africa had made by the 15th century. What is their significance to the development of African countries today?
13. In what ways did the slave trade retard African economies?
14. What should Africa do to develop?
15. In your opinion, why did Africans surrender to colonialism?

Chapter Three

People of African origin in the New World

Introduction

There are people of African origin in the New World. Such people are linked to the history of the development of capitalism in Europe. The European discovery of marine technology facilitated the coming of Europeans to Africa which, in turn, fuelled the migration of African people to the New World through slave trade as an alternative source of labour. In this chapter, you will learn about the legacy of slavery and the slave trade, Black Solidarity and the Back-to-Africa Movement. You will also learn about Pan-Africanism and the Civil Rights Movement in America. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate the initiatives taken by African Americans to eradicate the myths of white supremacy in America and the entire world. It is expected that you will also value and respect human dignity and identity in the world.



Have you ever thought of living outside your country?

Background to the people of African origin in the New World

The term New World is used to refer to North and South America and the West Indies (the Caribbean Islands). Most people of African origin in the New World are descendants of the former slaves who were forcefully taken from Africa by Europeans and sent to the Americas to work in mines and industries, and on plantations between

the 15th and 19th centuries. Most of the slaves were taken from West and Central Africa, especially Senegal, Nigeria, Benin, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Gabon. The slave trade is directly associated with the development of merchant capitalism or mercantilism. Interestingly, slavery had its contribution to the development of capitalism which, in turn, brought the slave trade to an end.

The concepts of slavery and slave trade

Slavery is a situation in which a person is owned and treated by another as an object of labour. It is an ancient form of exploitation and oppression. Slaves were deprived of their rights as they were bought and sold like commodities. Sometimes, slave masters could kill their slaves without anyone questioning them. Slaves owned nothing, except their labour. In America, African slaves were intensively exploited as they worked for long hours on plantations and in mining centres.

The slave trade was the process of capturing, selling and buying human beings as a commodity. The Atlantic-Slave Trade is an example of what the slave trade was. The main participants in the slave trade were Europeans, Arabs and some African rulers.

Historically, the Portuguese were the first to take slaves from West Africa, whereas Antao Goncalves was the first Portuguese sailor to buy Africans along the western coast of Africa in 1441. The trade gained momentum in the early 16th century when many slaves were shipped to the New World, especially the West Indies. During the voyages slaves suffered humiliation and deprivation, and most of them died. As a result, there was a serious decline in Africa's population in Africa. For example, it was estimated that the population of the whole of Savannah

and the Horn of Africa declined by about 10 to 15 per cent, which was equivalent to over three million people. Further estimates show that the population of sub-Saharan Africa would have been nearly one hundred million instead of fifty million by 1850.



Think of the social system in your community that contains elements of slavery. Does it resemble the one practised by Europeans? Show how.

Origins of slavery and the slave trade

Slavery and the slave trade can be traced to as far back as the 14th century when Europe was disturbed by the bubonic plague, famine and epidemic diseases. These disasters killed many people, thereby causing severe shortages of labour in the agricultural sector. Some European empires started looking for slaves in Eastern Europe and Russia. However, with the rise of Sultan Mohamed II of the Ottoman Empire (1451-1481) whose regime disrupted the slave trade in Europe, European slave traders could no longer access sources of slaves within Europe. Africa was, therefore, the only continent that could best serve that purpose. As a result, Western European people turned to Africa for slaves. The slave trade flourished owing to, among other factors, the development of marine technology, which transformed navigation technology.

At the beginning of the 15th century, European slave-trading activities were generally confined to along the West African coast. The Portuguese and African local chiefs acted as the key actors. As early as the 15th century, the Portuguese had established sugar plantations in São Tomé and Príncipe which relied on the African slave labour obtained from along the coast of West Africa. Slaves started to be transported from West Africa to America after the establishment of similar sugar plantations in the West Indies or the Caribbean Islands, and silver mines in South America.

There were various reasons for the Europeans' preference for African slave labour. The following are some of them:

- (a) The Red Indians' immunity to tropical diseases such as smallpox and malaria was weaker than that of Africans;
- (b) Europeans' labour was proved to be unreliable owing to its limited supply and its high mobility. For example, European labourers such as indentured labourers worked on contract terms, which meant that they were free to leave their employers when the contracts expired;
- (c) Red Indians could escape from the slave masters because they were familiar with the environment,

while Africans tended to remain in their locality because they did not know much about the environment;

- (d) African slaves were financially cheaper than European slaves and indentured labourers. European-indentured labourers were to be paid at the end of their contracts, usually in the form of a piece of land or a precious metal (gold and silver). Moreover, European slaves were criminals who were serving their sentences and, therefore, they were to be released at the end of their sentences, while African slaves were tied to their masters indefinitely; and
- (e) Europeans preferred African slaves because West Africa was nearer to America; hence, it was easy to transport slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to America.

The rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade started following the activities of European merchants and geographers who saw Africa and America around the 15th century. The Italian sailor and explorer Christopher Columbus, who was working for Queen Isabela of Spain, discovered the New World (America) in 1492. His discovery prompted the Europeans to open up various economic projects such as mines, plantations and trade in

America. These projects were a precursor to the development of mercantilism. The Portuguese established themselves in Brazil, the Spanish settled in various parts of South, Central and North America, while the English, the Dutch and the French settled in the Caribbean Islands and North America. European activities in these areas demanded massive labour power.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which is also called the Triangular Slave Trade or the great circuit, involved three continents, namely Africa, America and Europe. The items of trade from Africa included slaves, gold, ivory, timber, dye-hoods, gum, beeswax, animal skins and spices. America supplied raw materials like tobacco,

cotton and sugarcane to European industries. Europe provided managerial organisation and manufactured goods. The major participants in this trade were African local chiefs, the Dutch, the English, the Portuguese as well as the French. In West Africa, slaves came from the areas stretching from the Gold Coast (Ghana) to Cameroon. Other slaves were obtained from as far interior as Congo and Angola. Slaves were transported from the interior to the coastal centres or ports. Among these famous ports are Axim, Elmina, Bissau, Whydah (Benin), Lagos, Bonny and Old Calabar. Figure 3.1 shows the interconnection of the Triangular Trade between Europe, Africa and the New World.



Figure 3.1: *Triangular Slave Trade*

The emergence of African Americans in America

As explained earlier, the people of African origin in the New World were descendants of ex-slaves.

The shipping of Africans to the New World began early in the 16th century and continued until the last quarter of the 19th century. It should be noted that, at the beginning, the European capitalists depended on indentured labourers, criminals, political refugees, religious non-conformists and wanderers. The Europeans resorted to using Africans because of their advantage. They could not keep European slave labourers because it was difficult to control them. For example, they could no longer hire their fellow Europeans when the contracts expired. Europeans were entitled to land as part of their working contract, but Africans were denied this right. For example, by 1645 there were 11200 white farmers owning 5680 African slaves. Later in 1667, these small white farmers were replaced by only 745 big capitalist farmers owning 8203 African slaves on the Barbados Island.



Activity 3.1

- In pairs, conduct a library research to distinguish between slavery and the slave trade.
- How far was slavery profitable to Europeans?
- Share your findings with the rest of the class.

Africans' life in the New World

Millions of Africans who were shipped to America starting from the early 16th century faced various problems, especially after the Virginia Assembly of 1619. The assembly passed a resolution that black servants in the New World should be slaves forever. That meant that they had no right to marry and own property, or they did not have any civil rights. The resolution made Africans face serious economic, social and political problems, as explained in the following section.

Political problems

The people of African origin in the New World faced various problems related to political exclusion. They were denied the right to vote or to be voted for. This denial was legalised by the resolutions of the assembly. Africans did not have the right to vote for people who would represent their interests. African Americans were subjected to harsh conditions which limited their opportunity to obtain their political rights. In order for one to vote, one had to pass a literacy test, which most Africans could not pass, since they did not attend school and, therefore, they could not read and write. This trick was used to put African Americans in a disadvantaged position and the situation did not change even after the attainment of independence. It appeared, therefore, that the anti-colonial campaigns and

the solidarity which accompanied the wars of independence did not mean equality between whites and blacks.

Furthermore, African Americans were deprived of the right to join trade unions. It was feared that, through trade unions, African Americans would challenge the capitalist system. They would demand higher wages, better working conditions and retirement benefits.

However, on 1st January 1863, President Abraham Lincoln initiated movements to abolish slavery. From there, the status and respect for African Americans were somehow elevated. The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln on 14th April 1865 led to the increase in political discrimination against African Americans. They were not allowed to assemble or hold any meetings. This was done to prohibit them from organising liberation movements in the form of strikes and demonstrations.

Social problems

Having lost their language, customs, traditions and homeland as a result of the slave trade, in the diaspora Africans were subjected to acts of enslavement, persecution as well as racial discrimination. On the plantations and in the mines, for example, African slaves were treated badly and were oppressed compared to their European counterparts. Laws that were passed in various states like Virginia and

Maryland were aimed at oppressing Africans socially.

African Americans were also racially segregated in the provision of public services such as health, electricity, water and transport. For example, American bus services separated African seats from European ones. This was evident in the second half of the 20th century. Whenever African Americans violated this racial arrangement, they were arrested. For example, Rosa Park, a 42-year-old woman, was arrested after refusing to follow the bus driver's order to leave a seat for the white person who had missed a seat in the first ten seats, which had been reserved for whites. She was arrested on 1st December 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama. Similar racial arrangements were evident in churches, where wooden benches for African Americans were separated from those of White Americans. As a result, African Americans decided to start their own churches.

African Americans were segregated in schools. They were only allowed to join schools designed and reserved for them. These institutions were called "slaves' schools". For instance, in 1957, nine African American students, who had been selected to join Little Rock Central High School, were chased away by the head of the school, who said that they could cause violence and bloodshed if they were allowed to join the school.

Economic problems

African Americans were deprived of the right to own land. They had no right to access decent employment or any supervisory and administrative work. All these were reserved for whites. African Americans were supposed to do manual work like cleaning. African Americans were not allowed to own any property, but White Americans had the right to own the major means of production like land, companies and financial institutions such as banks. As a consequence, African Americans were relegated to low-paid jobs. Therefore, they were generally paid low wages.

Exercise 3.1

Show why the people of African origin in the New World faced socio-economic and political problems in the period between the 17th century and 19th century.

Liberation struggles by African Americans

African Americans resisted capitalist exploitation and this came to be known as Black American Nationalism. Their struggle started with the Virginia Assembly of 1619 and was accelerated by the American war of independence between 1775 and 1783. They adopted different forms of struggle.

The forms of struggle they adopted ranged from small-to large-scale

struggles. Small-scale struggles included escape; slaves escaped from their slave masters and hid in the forests, mountains and swampy areas. This form of struggle also involved demonstrations. African Americans destroyed equipment like hoes, rakes and machines; burnt plantations; killed slave masters; or committed suicide.

The large-scale struggles included mass participation in the campaigns to abolish slavery and the slave trade. African American intellectuals, activists and international communities spearheaded the struggle. Although Great Britain spearheaded the abolition of the slave trade and consequently banned the trade in 1807, the shipment of African slaves to Brazil and Cuba continued until the 1860s. Thus, the movements to abolish the slave trade became part of African Americans' struggles in the United States of America. The anti-slavery movements were well intensified during the American civil wars, which began in 1861 and ended in 1865. At the beginning, the anti-slavery coalitions used non-violent means to liberate African Americans from capitalist exploitation. The anti-slavery movements were supported by African American leaders or activists, namely Frederick Douglass, Booker Taliaferro Washington, Marcus Aurelius Garvey, Martin Luther King Junior, Malcom Little Early (popularly known as Malcom X), Edward Wilmot Blyden and William Du Bois, whose contributions are explained below.

(a) Frederick Douglass (1818-1895)

Douglass was an African American social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer and statesman. He was born as a slave and worked in Maryland as a slave, before he escaped and became a national leader of the abolitionist movement in Massachusetts and New York. Douglass concentrated his efforts on programmes meant for complete emancipation of African Americans. He was an integrationist who wanted African Americans to be integrated into American society politically and economically. After the proclamation of the abolition of slavery in the USA, Douglass struggled for political equality between the people of African origin and others. His efforts bore some fruit as a few African Americans got voting rights. A few African Americans representatives were also elected to various state legislatures. For example, some African Americans were elected as congressmen and one was promoted to the position of senator. However, this political success was short-lived because in the 1880s and 1890s the whites in the south became reactionary.

(b) Booker Taliaferro Washington (1856-1915)

Washington was an African American educator, author and orator. He was born into slavery and rose to become a leading African intellectual of the 19th century. He was also the

founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (now the Tuskegee University) in 1881 and the National Negro Business League, two years later. He also served as adviser to several presidents of the United States. Between 1890 and 1915, Washington was the most dominant leader in the African American community. Originally, he was a slave in the south, but later fought for his education to the point of becoming an activist, fighting for the rights of African Americans. He advocated economic progress through the attainment of industrial vocational skills. He was convinced that the black people had first of all to acquire economic power as a prelude to acquiring political rights. He also believed that this could be achieved through the provision of industrial education.

(c) William Du Bois (1868-1963)

Du Bois was a prominent African American sociologist, historian, author and editor. He was an important leader in the African Americans' struggles in the USA during the first half of the 20th century. He wanted African Americans to attain political power, which was the first step towards the integration into American society. He formed an organisation known as the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People. He wanted African Americans to struggle for their civil rights and to be part and

parcel of American society. He was an integrationist whose organisation wanted to use constitutional means to attain African Americans' civil rights. Later, he was engaged in organising Pan-African Congresses, including the Manchester Conference of 1945. His organisation was an elitist one and did not get mass support from the African American community. Figure 3.2 shows a picture of William Du Bois.



Figure 3.2: *William Du Bois*

(d) Marcus Mosiah Aurelius Garvey (1887-1940)

He was a Jamaican from Black Nationalist and leader of the Pan-Africanism Movement, which sought to unify and connect the people of African descent worldwide. Garvey attended school in Jamaica until he was 15 when he left St. Ann Bay and went to Kingston, where he worked as an apprentice in a print shop. He did not

advocate the integration of black people into American society. He wished to build a separate culture and power for the black people worldwide. His desire to establish a separate identity and culture for African Americans explains his adoption of the slogan “Back to Africa”. Garvey believed that Africa was black people’s original homeland and thus an ideal place for their emigration. His organisation, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), was formed in 1916 and lasted until 1927. Like Du Bois, Marcus fought so that black people could achieve political and economic prospects. He set up negro economic enterprises, including negro factories and a shipping line known as the Black Star Line for conducting trade between North America and West Africa. Marcus Garvey was jailed in 1923 after he was found guilty of forgery. In 1925 he was released, after being pardoned by the president of the USA. He was deported to Jamaica in 1927.

(e) Dr Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912)

Blyden was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Island. He was a Liberian educator, writer, diplomat and politician, who was primarily active in West Africa. Having felt the impact of racial discrimination, he joined the waves of black immigrants who migrated to Liberia in 1850. He dignified African personality and condemned white

superiority and the exploitation of black people. He wanted the people of African origin to dismantle the white race superiority complex by showing their ability to manage themselves. He published on Pan-Africanism and campaigned for the Back-to-Africa Movement.

Riots, revolutions and demonstrations constituted another category of large-scale struggles by African Americans. Riots against slavery happened in the USA and in other parts of the New World. In Brazil, for instance, slaves revolted against their slave masters and ended up establishing their own state called the *Palmares*, an African state. Palmares lasted for one hundred years before the Portuguese slave masters destroyed it. Similarly, in Jamaica frequent slave revolts were reported during the 18th and 19th centuries. The revolts taught the European slave masters that slavery was increasingly becoming unsafe and expensive to maintain. For instance, a group of slaves known as the *Maroons* revolted against their British masters. They established and maintained their own self-governing farming community before they were defeated by their masters. However, the biggest event in the form of a revolution happened in Haiti. French slave masters owned sugarcane plantations on the Saint-Dominique Island, currently known as Haiti.

In Haiti, Toussaint L’ouverture led his fellow slaves to revolt against the

French masters in 1791. Many French slave masters were killed by the slaves. These frequent revolts worried Britain and France, which organised navies to suppress them in 1803. Surprisingly, their navies were defeated by the angry slaves. Consequently, the slaves established their independent republic of Haiti. This incident was referred to as the Haitian Revolution. As a result, government leaders and bankers in France and Britain gradually stopped supporting slavery and the slave trade. This was a major achievement for the slaves in the New World.

In addition, demonstrations were staged by African Americans. For example, in 1955, there were demonstrations in Montgomery, the capital city of Alabama to condemn racial segregation. African Americans started breaking the rules made by the white government. For instance, they violated the racial rules that prevented them from accessing the public services provided to whites such as stores and restaurants. Similarly, they protested against racial discrimination in public transport. For example, protests against racial discrimination in the American transport sector were sometimes referred to as transportation protests; they were common in the United States in the 1920s. Events involving protests against segregation in the transport system are widely documented in American history books. During the 1850s, African Americans were strictly

forbidden to board buses which bore huge signs that read “Colored Persons Not Allowed.”

Exercise 3.2

Why were African slaves involved in the American civil war of 1861-1865?

African Americans also used conferences as a form of struggle. Conferences were held to create awareness and unite people to eliminate racial segregation, oppression, humiliation and exploitation. Examples of such conferences included the London Conference of 1900, the Pan-African Congress of 1919, the New York Congress of 1927 and the Manchester Conference of 1945. Details of these conferences are in the section on Pan-Africanism.

Furthermore, African Americans used songs, poems and slogans as techniques for raising and instilling consciousness in themselves. The slogans were like “We shall overcome” by Martin Luther and “It is better to die than to live as slaves” by Frederick Douglass. They fostered black solidarity.

Another form of struggle was the formation of African American churches. Segregation in churches forced Africans to establish their own churches. For example, in 1794 Richard Allen founded the first independent black denomination

called African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), which was established in Philadelphia, and the African Episcopal Methodist Zion (AMEZ). These independent churches enabled the African Americans to get rid of racial oppression.

Moreover, African Americans used secret codes, languages and rituals in their struggle against slavery and other forms of oppression. For example, testimonies from oral traditions confirm that the earliest form of struggle was called the *Underground Railroad Quilt Code*, which slaves used to navigate the Underground Railroad. In places of work, they also formulated some forms of dances, spirituals, code words and phrases which enabled them to communicate in ways their white masters could not understand. Quilts had patterns labelled “wagon wheel,” “tumbling blocks,” and “bear’s paw”. These carried secret messages meant for the slaves.

In 1833, the blacks living in southern USA formed the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, known as the *Union League of the Blacks*. Its members organised detachment of rifle practices, accompanied by violent demonstrations.

The movement demanded immediate banning of the slave trade. In due course, the European capitalists in Northern America supported the cause of the people of African origin. This

was because they had invested much in the industrial sector, so they wanted to get access to cheap free labour as opposed to slave labour.

On 22nd September 1862, the American government attempted to end slavery and the slave trade. That is the introduction of the Emancipation Proclamation or Emancipation Act by President Abraham Lincoln. The law demanded abolition of slavery and the slave trade in all American states. The law declared slavery and the slave trade illegal. The proclamation had to be implemented by 1st January 1863.

Another attempt was the introduction of the Confiscation Act of 1861. This law was passed by the American Congress during the Civil War. The law was aimed at freeing the slaves who were still being held in the southern states. Moreover, the law authorised the confiscation of any confederation property, including slaves, by the Union Forces. The confiscated slaves were then set free. The whole scene divided the Americans. There was a clash of interests between the southern planters, whose economy solely depended on slave labour, and the capitalists in the north who ran industries and needed cheap labour. Eventually, the clash of interests led to the outbreak of the American Civil War of 1861-1865.

The abolitionists formed the Emancipation League in 1861. It drew membership from both the industrialists

in the north and the slaves in the south. The league called for a mass uprising of slaves in the south. The league was aimed at bringing about emancipation throughout the USA by supporting the war on slavery until it put to an end the interstate slave trade and protected the fugitive slaves from kidnappers, who wanted to take them back to bondage. During the war, the economy of the USA declined drastically as agricultural and industrial production fell and trade was disrupted.

These are some of the problems that forced the government to carry out political reforms in favour of the people of African origin. Thus, as pointed out earlier, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Decree in 1862. The decree abolished slavery and the slave trade throughout the USA. An anti-slavery coalition was formed by African Americans and White Americans. Some African Americans started to move to the north and secure jobs in factories. Those who remained in the south formed the main base of the anti-secessionists. They boycotted work on the plantations and burnt the property and farms belonging to their masters. Thousands of them fled to the north. About 340,000 blacks from the south joined the Union Army.

Despite the issuance of the Emancipation Decree, there were still many shortcomings. For example, the decree stated that all freed African Americans in the USA would be

transferred to other parts of the world, especially to Africa. However, that promise was not followed up with action. Moreover, it did not state clearly how the government would assist about one million slaves who had rebelled against their masters. It did not even provide strategies to enable the freed slaves to get land. It did not state explicitly that slaveholding was illegal. It did not guarantee the freed slaves any civil and political rights. The snags made the Emancipation Decree an empty promise. However, the final blow to the hopes of the ex-slaves came through the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln on 14th April 1865.

The assassination of President Lincoln was plotted by White American planter elites living in the south of the USA (the southerners), who passionately advocated the slave system. They did not like abolitionists like Lincoln. The incident was followed by massive efforts to undo the achievements of the Lincoln era, most especially those related to ex-slaves. His successor Andrew Johnson, a former slaveholder, restored to the former slave owners all the property that had been confiscated during the war. The white planter elites in the south revenged bitterly on the people of African origin and their white supporters in the north. They murdered many people of African origin. Others had their bodies mutilated, ears cut off and skulls fractured by the secret organisation known as the *Ku-Klux*

Klan, formed by young whites in the south.

The introduction of “Black Codes” and the formation of the *Ku-Klux Klan* during the presidency of Andrew Johnson prevented African Americans from emancipating themselves from the institution of slavery, although the black people never gave up. They began to devise new methods of the struggle for freedom and rights. Movements were organised under the name of Black Solidarity. The champions of Black Solidarity were Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Martin Delaney Luther.

Black Solidarity and the Back-to-Africa Movement

Black Solidarity refers to the spirit of cooperation and togetherness among the oppressed and exploited people of African origin in America. These people were united by common forms of capitalist exploitation. A collective black identity was essential in the struggle against racial oppression.

Back-to-Africa Movement

The Back-to-Africa Movement was African Americans’ collective movement for liberating themselves from American oppression, discrimination, humiliation and exploitation. It encouraged them to go back to their original homeland. The emigration of African Americans to Africa was considered a solution to the problems they were facing in the diaspora.

The Back-to-Africa Movement mobilised thousands of African Americans who wished to go back to Africa, beginning in the late 1800s. In the 1880s and 1890s, a substantial number of African Americans migrated to Liberia, although such migrations started as early as 1820. The migration was organised by the American Colonisation Society (ACS), which was based in Washington DC. The ACS founded the Republic of Liberia in 1847. Most African American ex-slaves migrated to Liberia. It was Marcus Garvey who founded the The Back to Africa Movement in 1916. He also formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities Imperial League (ACIL). Figure 3.3 shows a picture of Marcus Garvey.



Figure 3.3: *Marcus Garvey*

Garvey believed that the blacks in the New World could find a true home in

Africa. To him, the duty of the people of African origin in the New World was to find ways to return to Africa. In Africa, they could work together with their fellow Africans and build a free and mighty nation. The Back-to-Africa Movement was generally aimed at establishing colonies for the ex-slaves from America.

The Back-to-Africa Movement gained momentum with the formation of the American Society for Colonising the Free People of Colour or American Colonisation Society in 1816. The first attempt to take slaves to Africa was made in 1820 when some ex-slaves were taken to Sierra Leone. However, they died of tropical diseases.

Objectives of the Back-to-Africa Movement

The movement intended to promote a sense of cooperation among black people all over the world. The Back-to-Africa Movement believed that all the black people in the New World and Africa were one; as such, they should unite and fight for their rights. The idea was that the Africans in the diaspora should support their fellow Africans to fight for independence. In order to build a sense of unity among Africans, Garvey established some connection with some political leaders in Africa such as Abd el-Karim of Morocco and established a parliament in the form of an international convention, where members from different parts

of the world discussed their common problems and strategies for overcoming them. The Back-to-Africa Movement emphasised the need to utilise Africans for the benefit of African people. Moreover, the movement sought to bring together all black people from the Caribbean Islands, America and Europe, who shared a common history, race and dignity. The African race should be respected by people all over the world. All black people faced the same problems caused by capitalist exploitation and, to resolve them, they had to work together.

Garvey emphasised much separate development between whites and blacks and said that that could only happen if Africans struggled for economic and political sovereignty. The whole idea was, therefore, to liberate African Americans from the bondage of slavery.

The Back-to-Africa Movement also sought to preserve the culture and beliefs of Africans, who had suffered oppression in America. African culture was considered worthy and, as such, deserved to be preserved. Therefore, the Back-to-Africa Movement was thought to be the best way of protecting African culture.

The movement worked hard to eradicate all the forms of segregation that African people had been subjected to. In an effort to liberate the people from racial oppression, the leaders

frequently called on African Americans to be more unified for social change.

The philosophy of Black Solidarity led to the formation of such movements as the Back-to-Africa Movement, the Pan-Africanist Movement as well as the Civil Rights Movement. These movements are explained in the subsequent section

The success of the Back-to-Africa Movement

The movements succeeded in repatriating some of the African Americans who were willing to go back to Africa. They were transported by the Black Star Shipping Company, which belonged to Marcus Garvey. They settled in Liberia and Sierra Leone. They were given fertile land to cultivate and to establish new settlements on. By 1847, 3000 ex-slaves had been shipped to Liberia.

The Back-to-Africa Movement inculcated in Africans a sense of unity and love through slogans like “Africa for Africans”. This made Africans feel that they came from the same ancestor, so they had to help each other in their struggle for equality. For example, through an international convention that was initiated by Marcus Garvey, it was possible to establish a spirit of brotherhood that assisted in promoting independent African nations.

The movement improved the economic conditions of African Americans. Marcus Garvey raised about US\$ 2,000,000 that he used to establish

various facilities such as public libraries, cinema halls, fire stations, cultural centres, schools and technical colleges in different cities such as Monrovia. Having high economic status helped African Americans to access employment and education, but, most importantly, to escape from white oppression, segregation and exploitation.

Another important achievement of this movement is that it laid a foundation for the philosophy of Negritude, as reflected in Garvey's idea of "pride no shame in black skin". The movement influenced further movements of emancipation in Africa such as the *Kimbangu* Movement in the Belgian-Congo and African (black) trade unions such as the Industrial and Commercial Union founded in 1919 by Clements Kadalie in South Africa.

Problems which faced the Back-to-Africa Movement

In 1923, Marcus Garvey was jailed for five years, but he was pardoned in 1925. Later in 1927, he was deported to Jamaica. Since Garvey was the initiator of the movement, his absence caused fear in his fellow African Americans, who found it very difficult to sustain the movement without him. Moreover, he was the main sponsor of the movement. As a result, the people who were left behind could not afford the expenses of running the movement. The shipping company (Black Star) needed money

to do its activities like supplying basic needs like food and other necessities. Eventually, the movement became very weak.

Worse still, the colonial governments in Africa refused to accept the African Americans from America, fearing that they might initiate anti-colonial movements on the continent. The new arrivals found themselves in a very precarious situation as they were now also unwanted in what they believed to be their original home. Only two countries in Africa (Liberia and Sierra Leone) received immigrants from America.

There was also an ideological difference between Marcus Garvey and William Du Bois on matters concerning the Back-to-Africa Movement. This caused confusion among other African Americans, who eventually got divided. Garvey believed that, in order for African Americans to be free, they needed to go back to their motherland because America was a source of the problems they were facing. It was so because America was not their homeland. However, Du Bois believed that, if Africans wanted to fight for their rights, they had to fight while in America. He once said, "If it happens that Africans should return to Africa, I will be the last." These two differing views left African Americans divided on how to go about fighting for their rights.

In addition, the Back-to-Africa Movement received very strong opposition from the American government. The government believed that African Americans were crucial to the development of American capitalism. African Americans were needed in the industries as workers. Having seen the potential of African Americans, the government was reluctant to let the movement continue and, therefore, the solution was to frustrate the movement. This is evidenced by the imprisonment of Marcus Garvey and his final deportation to his motherland, Jamaica.

Another problem that faced the Back-to-Africa Movement was tropical diseases, which affected African Americans in Africa. As already mentioned, African Americans, who were shipped to Sierra Leone, were wiped out by tropical diseases.

Likewise, some African Americans were reluctant to migrate to Africa because of a lack of knowledge about Africa. A few of them were prepared to go back to Africa. The majority chose to remain in America, where they suffered oppression and exploitation.

Exercise 3.3

Explain why the Back-to-Africa Movement was important to African Americans.

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is the belief that African people have much in common, something that deserves notice and even celebration. The belief in Pan-Africanism is based on the uniqueness and spiritual unity of the people of African origin. Pan-Africanism had its roots outside Africa as it was started by the people of African origin in the New World. Thus, Pan-Africanism is a worldwide movement that encouraged and strengthened the solidarity of all black people. The movement brought Africans together so that they could fight against the evils of imperialism.

Pan-Africanism was founded by Edward Wilmot Blyden and later strengthened by Henry Sylvester Williams (1869-1911). The latter was a lawyer from Trinidad. He convened the first Pan-African Conference in London in 1900. The conference was attended by a few representatives from Africa and a big number of delegates from America and the West Indies. It was also attended by students like Dr Du Bois, who later became a famous Pan-Africanist. In 1910, he formed the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), through which he advocated Pan-Africanism.

Objectives of Pan-Africanism

The objectives of Pan-Africanism were to spread democracy all over the world and to lead struggles on

how Africans could regain freedom and dignity worldwide. As a result of the triangular trade and slavery, Africans were scattered in many parts of the world. Moreover, they faced several economic, political and social problems. To overcome the problems, Africans wanted to form an organisation that would be a hub for coordinating and uniting Africans from different places.

Pan-Africanism started as a movement geared towards achieving African dignity and freedom in the New World, but later turned out to be a worldwide movement that protested against all forms of imperialist domination and oppression. The major objective of Pan-Africanism was, therefore, to liberate Africans from imperialism. This would be achieved by establishing global black solidarity.

In America, the Pan-Africanist Movement was geared towards attaining Africans Americans' rights and equality. The American Pan-Africanists were fighting for the total liberation of African people within and outside America. In Africa, Pan-Africanism focused on the liberation of African countries. This goal was made clear during the Manchester Pan-African Conference of 1945, which called for African solidarity to end imperial rule. No wonder that Accra was chosen as the headquarters of Pan-Africanism after Ghana became

independent in 1957. This meant that, by this time, the Pan-Africanist activities had virtually shifted to Africa.

Challenges that faced Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism encountered the strong hand of Anti-African movements. The whites in the USA did not want to see African Americans liberate themselves; thus, they used various forms of sabotage against their movements. For instance, the *Ku Klux Klan* was used to suppress the movements through the assassination of the leaders of African Americans.

There was also a shortage of funds. Most of the members of Pan-Africanism were too poor to financially support the movement to carry out activities such as organising meetings. For example, the conferences held in Britain, France and the USA were attended by a few people because the majority could not meet transport costs. Lack of reliable sources of income made the organisation ineffective.

Activity 3.2



In groups, discuss the major challenges facing African people in the diaspora in today's world.

Pan-Africanist strategies

Pan-Africanism operated through international meetings and

conferences. Several conferences were held in various parts of the world. Six congresses were held from 1900 to 1945 and most of them were held in Europe. Some of the conferences were the following:

The London Conference of 1900

This was the first Pan-African conference held in London from 23rd to 25th July 1900. The conference was organised by the Trinidadian lawyer Henry Sylvester Williams. It was attended by various people of African origin including Dr Du Bois. The London conference had various aims, including bringing people of African origin together. It also acted as a forum for protesting against colonial exploitation in Africa. The conference coined the concept of “Pan-Africanism”. The conference was attended by Du Bois, who popularised Pan-Africanism afterwards. It appealed to the British government to protect the people of African origin from imperialist exploitation and called for solidarity among Africans in the diaspora.

The Paris Congress of 1919

This congress was organised by Du Bois and Ida Gibbs Hunt. It was held in Paris in 1919 just after the First World War, when African Americans demanded the Versailles Peace Conference that was held in France to address Africans’ problems as well. It was attended by 57 delegates. Thus, the congress appealed

to the Versailles Peace Conference to adopt a policy of mandate for the former colonies of Germany, which were Togo, South West Africa (Namibia) and German East Africa (Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi). This petition was eventually adopted by those who attended the Versailles Peace Conference. The resolutions passed included enacting a code of laws for providing international protection to the natives of Africa, abolishing slavery and the slave trade, enforcing universal education for African children and upholding the rights of Africans to own land.

The Brussels Congress of 1921

This congress brought together 113 delegates. Africa alone had 41 delegates, most of whom came from the French colonies. At the congress, Blaise Diagne of Senegal opposed the resolutions passed by his fellow Africans. This is because Diagne continued to advocate an African role in France. In short, he was a beneficiary of French colonialism in Senegal. However, the congress, especially Du Bois, harshly condemned him for his lack of commitment to Africans’ interests. Generally, the congress condemned racial segregation and demanded equal rights for all people of African origin. It also condemned colonialism and called for self-determination for all African nations. It endorsed a document called the

“Declaration to the World”, which stipulated that “equality of all races was the absolute foundation of human advancement in the world whether politically, socially or economically.”

The Lisbon Congress of 1923

The congress was held in Lisbon, Portugal, for two purposes. The first was to express its dissatisfaction with Garveyism. Garvey advocated the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities Imperial League, in which he declared himself a provisional president of Africa. Some of his fellow Pan-Africanists objected to his declaration. The second was to protest against the suppression of Pan-Africanism. At the end of the congress, various resolutions were reached. Africans should have a voice in their governments, should own land and enjoy its resource, should have access to free education and should have a fair trial under an established process of law. Generally, the congress demanded the black people in the world to be treated as human beings.

The New York Pan-African Congress of 1927

The congress was held in New York, USA. It discussed the threats to world peace caused by the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany and Japan. Specifically, it was rumoured that Italy was planning to invade and colonise Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia.

Following this, the congress formed an association called the International African Friends of Abyssinia. This association had two main purposes, namely to arouse sympathy and support for the victims of the fascist aggression in Ethiopia, and to help the people of Ethiopia to preserve their territorial integrity and political independence.

The Manchester Congress of 1945

The congress was a turning point in the history of Africa, since it was attended by some African students studying abroad in the 1940s. These included Jomo Kenyatta, JB Danquah, Kwame Nkrumah, DWB Dubois, George Padmore, Magnus Williams, Peter Abrahams, Otto Mackonnell and Nnamdi Azikiwe. The conference led to the formation of the Pan-African Federation of West African States, which vowed to struggle for independence using non-violent means. The West African delegates also founded newspapers to spread the decisions of the congress. One of the newspapers was the *International African Opinion*.

The congress attacked some of the colonial constitutional reforms in their countries, saying that they were irrelevant to the needs of the African people. It also attacked the indirect rule system, calling it an instrument of oppression and exploitation. It condemned the segregationist laws and practices in South Africa

and the *Kipande* system in Kenya. The congress declared the national liberation struggles throughout Africa as the main goal of Pan-Africanism. It declared that Africans would use violent means if the imperial powers refused to grant them independence. The congress also expressed support for the liberation struggles in India, China, Indonesia and Vietnam.

In general, Pan-Africanism united the people of Africa and African Americans in the struggle for their rights. This was achieved through pamphlets published and circulated throughout Africa, Europe and the New World. After the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress, African nationalists began to form mass political parties. On top of that, the congress published the Atlantic Charter and the British West Africa, which proclaimed the principle of self-determination advocated by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt of the USA.

Exercise 3.4

On the basis of what you have learnt so far, what is your opinion on better ways of solving conflicts and chaos caused by inequality and oppression in a community?

Relationship between the Back-to-Africa Movement, Black Solidarity and Pan-Africanism

The Back-to-Africa Movement, Black Solidarity and Pan-Africanism were closely related movements. All sought to eliminate all forms of racism and oppression.

Each movement had its own way of achieving this goal. For instance, the Back-to-Africa Movement focused on encouraging Africans in the diaspora to go back to Africa, where they could live freely. Black Solidarity awakened Africans so that they could fight against racism using riots and demonstrations. Pan-Africanism used conferences to propagate African solidarity for liberation purposes. All the movements, therefore, were intended to emancipate Africans and eradicate all the imperialists' evil practices. Generally, the movements focused on total liberation of Africans within and outside America. They were fighting against a common enemy, namely capitalistic imperialism. The lesson we learn from these movements is that, whenever there is exploitation or oppression, the exploited or oppressed should use every means possible to get rid of such exploitation or oppression or any other kind of injustice.

The Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement refers to the struggle organised by African Americans to protest against legalised racial discrimination, segregation

and all forms of exploitation, mainly between the 1950s and 1960s. African Americans used these movements to demand their legal rights within the federal structure of the US. The Civil Rights Movement was highly influenced by Martin Luther King Jr who, in 1955, was involved in his first major civil rights campaign in Montgomery Alabama. He mobilised the African American community in Montgomery to boycott public transport and demand equal rights for all citizens on public transport. Generally, the movement sought to abolish racial discrimination in many areas, including public transport, employment, voting and education. The other prominent figures involved in the movement were William Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, Rosa Park and Malcom X. These early civil rights activists campaigned for African Americans' rights using non-violent means. Figure 3.4 (a) and (b) shows pictures of Rosa Park and Martin Luther King Jr, American activists.



Figure 3.4: (a) *Rosa Park*



Figure 3.4: (b) *Martin Luther King Jr*

Objectives of the Civil Rights Movement

The ultimate goal of the Civil Rights Movement was to achieve equality between African Americans and other Americans. African Americans fought for equal social, political and economic rights such as the right to intermarriage, the right to better social services, the right to integrate with people of other races, the right to vote and be voted for, freedom of association and movement, the right to own property and the right to better jobs.

The Civil Rights Movement generally aimed to force the government to grant equal employment opportunities to blacks and whites.

Causes of the Civil Rights Movement

There were many long-term causes of the Civil Rights Movement; they date back to the 19th century. However, the immediate cause of the movement was the mistreatment of two high-level students in Montgomery, Alabama. On 1st December 1955, two African American women, Claudette Colvin and Rosa Park, refused to give their seat to a white passenger on a public bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Thereafter, they were arrested, something that culminated in riots and demonstrations. This action led to the bankruptcy of some bus companies because most of the passengers were African Americans.

Another cause was the coming to power of President John F. Kennedy. When he was a presidential candidate for the Democratic Party for the 1960 presidential elections, Kennedy promised he would exercise moral leadership in restoring civil rights to African American citizens. As a result, African Americans overwhelmingly voted for him. As president, he promoted employment for African Americans in federal-supported programmes and established an equal employment opportunity committee that was expected to look into this issue. He promoted African American affairs, but he was assassinated in November 1963.

Forms of struggle adopted by the Civil Rights Movement

During the struggle for civil rights in America, African American civil rights

activists used different methods and approaches that differed according to circumstances and time. The activists demanded political, social, economic and cultural rights for African Americans as citizens of the USA.

Non-violence was one of the methods adopted by the Civil Rights Movement activists. This method was advocated by Martin Luther King Jr. It comprised peaceful demonstrations and boycotts. The movement carried out transport boycott campaigns in Montgomery, Alabama, between 1955 and 1956, to protest segregationist laws in public transport and the arrest of Rosa Park for violating such laws. In 1960, they started a “sit-ins” campaign at Greensboro in North Carolina to enforce racial integration in hotels and restaurants. The most important turning point of the non-violence movement was the “match of Washington” in August 1963. The rally was attended by over 200,000 people and addressed by US President John F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr, who delivered an inspiring and memorable speech called “I have a dream”. The movement attracted support from some white Americans.

The use of violence and black militants was another form of struggle that African Americans adopted. During the civil rights struggle, some African Americans believed that it was almost impossible for the white people in

America to change their racial attitudes towards black people. They considered the movement that used non-violence as meaningless in a society where African Americans were facing extrajudicial killings, torture and intimidations. They pointed out that White Americans had institutionalised the segregationist system that denied African Americans civil rights. Examples of famous violent or militant groups included the Black Muslims led by Malcolm X, who called for African unity and total separation between whites and blacks, arguing that the white people would never change their attitude. There was also the Black Panthers. This was another militant civil rights group formed by the followers of Malcolm X after he was assassinated in 1965. This group was established by P. Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, who believed that a revolution was necessary for African Americans to secure their civil rights. Another group was Black Power, led by Stokely Carmichael, H Rap Brown and others, who had defected from the non-violence movement after the assassination of James Meredith, the first black student to be admitted to the University of Mississippi. Thus, they organised themselves for self-defence and campaigned for black pride.

Moreover, African Americans struggled for civil rights by writing books and publishing journals, newspapers and pamphlets to raise consciousness and awareness among blacks and whites.

The most famous writers were James Weldon Johnson, Langstone Hughes, Nela Larsen, Claude Mackey, and Jean Tommer from Harlem in New York City. Others were Richard Wright and Gwendolyn Brooks, who wrote about the problems of racial segregation and the need for Black Nationalism. Their writings and publications helped to raise consciousness and awareness among African Americans about the question of racial equality. Likewise, some of the white people who read the publications changed their opinion about racial segregation.

Other civil rights activists used constitutional and judicial means. This group believed that there was nothing wrong with the US constitution and that the 13th, 14th and 15th constitution amendments had fully guaranteed the black people civil rights. Hence, they decided to challenge the laws of some of the states in court. For instance, the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People (NAACP) led by WE Du Bois filed several cases in the Supreme Court to oppose the violation of the US constitution. For instance, the 1954 supreme court ruling in the case “Mr Brown against Topeka Board of Education became the basis for desegregation in schools and public services thereafter. In addition, the civil rights case, Baker against Carry, helped to introduce a system of one man one vote.

African Americans extended their struggle for civil rights by participating in arts, games and sport. They played a leading role in the music industry, basketball, boxing, baseball, American football and the film industry. For instance, Sidney Poitier (1928-2022), a famous black actor who won an Oscar Award, was a great opponent of racism. Others were Tomie Smith and John Carlos, who gave the Black Panther salute during the medal ceremony organised during the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City and earned worldwide recognition. African Americans' participation in culture, games and sport became a major source of their earnings, since the circumstances did not allow them to get better employment. Their competence in these fields also won them respect in America, which facilitated the struggle against racial segregation.

Achievements of the Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement enabled African Americans to attain some political rights. This was reflected in the Civil Rights Act of 1965 (Voting Rights Act of 1965), which allowed and protected the right to vote for African Americans. This law was put in place during the reign of President Andrew Johnson. The law allowed African Americans to exercise their political rights. In 1975, there were 18 African Americans in the American

Congress. Thomas Bradley was elected as the first African American Mayor of Los Angeles. Harold Washington became the Mayor of Chicago in 1983 and Condoleezza Rice became the first woman to be Chief National Security and Adviser to the President of the United States of America, in 1989, and later served as Secretary of State during the reign of President George W. Bush. Likewise, in 2008 Barack Obama was elected president of the United States, the first African American to hold that office. In 2020, Kamala Devi Harris became the first African American vice president and the highest-ranking female official in the US.

In addition, the right to education for African Americans came after the enactment of the Education Act of 1954. The law declared the separation of schools on a racial basis illegal. The law gave African Americans an opportunity to get an education in the schools that had been reserved for whites. Increased educational opportunities for African Americans led to massive advances in their educational attainment. However, the enrolment exercise was still characterised by racism. For example, from 1970 to the 1980s, college enrolments among African Americans rose from about 600 000 to 1 300 000.

Moreover, the Civil Rights Movement brought freedom of movement. African Americans could now move without any restrictions in any town in the

USA. Hence, this right promoted the mobility and interaction of African Americans inside and outside the USA.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968, commonly known as the “Fair Housing Act,” provided equal housing to all racial groups. In essence, this law banned housing discrimination in both sales or rentals.

The Civil Rights Movement ended racial segregation in public buses in 1956. Following a one-year African Americans’ boycott of Alabama bus services, which caused the bankruptcy of bus owners, the High Court banned racial segregation in all the buses operating in Alabama.

Again, in 1978, the Civil Rights Movement led to the introduction of a government-supervised programme for promoting the minority groups in America, most particularly African Americans. The programme, which was otherwise called Affirmative Action, was intended to reduce the economic gap between African Americans and White Americans by extending more employment and educational opportunities to the former. The implementation of Affirmative Action enabled some African Americans to be admitted to American medical schools and universities, opportunities which had been reserved for White Americans. It should, however, be noted that this arrangement was met with strong resistance from White Americans.

Challenges that faced the Civil Rights Movement

Despite the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement, the conditions of African Americans did not improve drastically for most of them. The movement led to the assassination of some Civil Rights Activists like Martin Luther King Jr, Fred Hampton, Malcom X and Mark Clark. It also led to the assassination of President John F Kennedy, who had pioneered constitutional reforms to promote civil rights for African Americans. Following the black riots which accompanied these movements between 1963 and 1965, hundreds of thousands of people of African origin were either arrested, tortured or killed.

Moreover, the majority of African Americans remained uneducated. It was estimated that about 99 per cent of the people of African origin could neither read nor write. This made them vulnerable to exploitation on plantations, in mines and in industries. It was very hard for the leaders to mobilise them because they lacked civic education.

Furthermore, government officials did not support the struggle and those who did were strongly opposed or assassinated. For instance, on 26th September 1962 an African American student James Meredith was prevented from joining Mississippi University. The person who was responsible for

this was Ross Barnert who did not want African Americans to mix with White Americans. Likewise, the US government launched a programme called Counter Intelligence Programme (COINTELPRO). It was intended to disrupt the efforts to unite black militant groups such as the Black Panther Party (BPP).

Activity 3.3



In groups, read various publications on African Americans in the New World and then write an essay for presentation on the relationship between the diaspora and the African continent from the 19th century to the present.

Revision exercise 3

1. With vivid examples, trace the origin of the African Americans who are in the New World.
2. Explain the historical events that led to the enslavement of African Americans in the New World during the mercantile period.
3. Why did African Americans form the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s?
4. Highlight five major attempts made by African Americans to liberate themselves.
5. Explain six causes of the Civil Rights Movement.
6. Describe three objectives and three techniques used in the struggle for civil rights in the USA.
7. How did African Americans develop solidarity with other African people through Pan-Africanism?
8. Discuss the similarities between Black Solidarity, the Back-to-Africa Movement and the Civil Rights Movement.

9. Assess the achievements of and the challenges that the Civil Rights Movement faced.
10. What lessons have you learnt from the history of African Americans in relation to the 19th century (the 1800s) and the 20th century (the 1960s)?
11. Through the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), African Americans struggled to have a home in Africa, but this idea did not materialise. However, the Jews, who had suffered in Europe, managed to establish the Jewish state in 1948. Why did the African Americans fail to establish their own state in Africa?
12. The Civil Rights Movement was a struggle for genuine reasons. Account for six problems that it faced.
13. Explain three prejudices that faced the people of African origin in the New World and show their legal struggles which brought about equal education.
14. To what extent did the Back-to-Africa Movement achieve its goal?

Chapter Four

The colonial state and agricultural systems up to 1914

Introduction

The colonisation of Africa passed through three major phases. The first phase was characterised by the arrival of colonial agents in Africa. Their arrival was more vivid from the early 19th century to the second half of the 19th century. The second phase was during the scramble for and partition of Africa in the last quarter of the 19th century. The last phase was the establishment of colonial rule, which was cemented by the establishment of the colonial state. In this chapter, you will learn about the meaning, objectives, nature, characteristics and functions of the colonial state in Africa. You will also learn about different colonial agricultural systems, their characteristics as well as the reasons for their adoption. The competencies developed will enable you to transform the colonial oriented type of production into a sustainable type of agriculture.



Why didn't the colonial state strengthen the agricultural sector up to 1914?

The colonial state

The colonial state refers to the colonial government introduced in Africa by the European colonial powers to safeguard their interests in the colonies. The colonial state was a geographical extension of the metropolitan state. The main aim of the metropolitan state in the metropole was to promote and protect bourgeois interests. The colonial state served the same function when the imperial capitalist powers established

colonies in Africa. Thus, the colonial state did not develop as a result of Africans' initiatives and wishes. It was rather imposed on Africans by the capitalist powers who wanted to safeguard their interests. Essentially, among other things, the colonial state wanted to establish a proper colonial economy, which would directly respond to the economic needs of metropolitan capitalists. Thus, immediately after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, the European colonial powers set up

colonial states in Africa as one of the manifestations of the Doctrine of Effective Occupation. The establishment of the colonial state was also associated with the setting up of state apparatus such as the army, police, court and prisons. Figure 4.1 shows German colonial *askaris* in German East Africa.



Figure 4.1: *German colonial askaris*

The state apparatus was used to supervise and facilitate the undertaking of the colonial economy on behalf of the metropolitan governments. Thus, the creation of the colonial state and its coercive apparatus was the major strategy for facilitating efficient exploitation of the colonies to meet the needs of the metropolitan government.

As already pointed out, one of the important roles of the colonial state was to establish a colonial economy in the colonies. The establishment, of the colonial economy, however, involved restructuring pre-colonial African economies so that Africans could produce raw materials and also be a market for European

manufactured goods. Thus, the pre-colonial economy, which was largely subsistent but self-sufficient in the long run, was negatively transformed through the introduction of new forms of an economic system such as money. This transformation and undermining of the pre-colonial economy was aimed at integrating African colonies into the world capitalist industrial economic system.

Objectives of the colonial state

The colonialists established colonial states in Africa. The establishment of the colonial state was an important step towards realising the capitalists' goal. The colonial state wanted to achieve several objectives.

First, the colonial state aimed to suppress African resistance against colonial rule. The suppression of African resistance was aimed at ensuring that there was a peaceful and conducive environment for the establishment and running of the colonial economy. A conducive environment would ease the exploitation of African resources and facilitate smooth running of the colonial economy. That is why African resistance such as the *Maji maji* war in German East Africa and the Nama and Herero war in South West Africa had to be suppressed by the German colonial state.

The suppression of resistance was vivid from 1885 to 1910. During this period, many Africans died on the battlefields, while others were either hanged or died from famine. In addition, the colonial state confiscated a lot of livestock for food. This weakened the economic stability of African societies, to whom livestock keeping was the major source of livelihood. The same was witnessed among farming societies, whose crops were burnt to weaken them.

The colonial state was also supposed to provide a link between the metropolitan capitalists and the colonies by making sure that all the economic needs of the capitalist industries were met at the cheapest cost possible. The needs included cheap raw materials such as cotton, tea, sisal, coffee and timber. The colonies also had to be markets

as well as areas in which to invest. The colonial state was also expected to exploit minerals like gold and copper. These valuable minerals were found in areas like Belgian-Congo, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. Gold was used as an international currency, while copper was used as a raw material in electrical industries in Europe. The coal from Wankie in Southern Rhodesia was used as a source of power in South African industries.

The colonial state was also expected to ensure a constant supply of cheap labour in mines, on plantations and in other colonial projects. The colonial state was supposed to make sure that there was abundant cheap labour force in the colonies. Labourers were obtained through various techniques such as taxation, land alienation and labour laws such as the Masters' and Native Servants' Amendment Ordinance of 1921, which popularised the *Kipande* system in Kenya. Likewise, taxes had to be paid in cash. Africans were forced either to produce cash crops or to sell their labour power in the colonial projects to earn money for paying taxes. However, when there was a serious shortage of labour in some colonies, a tax could be paid in the form of labour.

The colonial state was supposed to construct transport infrastructure to open up the interior of the African continent so as to exploit it. For

instance, they constructed roads, railways, airports and harbours that facilitated the transport of European manufactured goods from the coast to the interior and raw materials from the production areas to the coast for shipping to the metropole. In addition, the construction of infrastructure was for transporting migrant labourers from the labour reserve areas to the production areas. For example, in German East Africa, the central railway was used to transport labourers from Kigoma and Tabora, labour reserves, to the plantations in Morogoro and Tanga. Another prominent railway line was the Uganda railway line from Mombasa to Kampala. The transport networks would also transport the colonial administrative staff and soldiers to and from different parts of the colonies. Thus, the transport facilities were meant to make the implementation of colonial projects efficient and profitable.

The colonial state was expected to provide social services such as education and health. Such services were important to the colonial state and the economy. As for education, the colonial administration expected to get subordinates who would do low-ranking jobs such as being clerks, foremen, watchmen and ward attendants. Health facilities such as dispensaries, health centres and hospitals were equally important as they facilitated smooth running of the colonial economy. Apart

from serving the colonial officials and the rest of the European population in the colonies, the colonial health facilities were important in maintaining the health of African peasants and migrant labourers.

The colonial state was also expected to maintain law and order in the colonies. The colonial laws were used to ensure that the interests of the metropolitan capitalists were protected. For instance, laws related to land alienation and taxation were meant to ensure effective exploitation of African resources. Therefore, such laws were enforced in the colonies by whatever means.

Nature and character of the colonial state

The achievement of the aforementioned objectives influenced the nature and character of the colonial state. The colonial state behaved in such a way that it could easily fulfil its functions. Thus, the colonial state had the following characteristics:

The colonial state was violent. It used violence in performing most of its responsibilities and pursuing its objectives. In this respect, the colonial state established the colonial coercive apparatus such as the police, army, court and prisons to suppress those who were against the colonial interests. Coercion was also used to destroy African handicraft industries. Throughout the colonies, such industries were declared

illegal. In Belgian-Congo, for example, Africans who continued working in traditional industries after the colonial prohibition were violently punished; their hands were chopped off. This was done under the leadership of King Leopold II of Belgium. The gross impact of all this was that African economies lost their technological base. This was done so that Africans would be forced to import industrial products from Belgium. Thus, Africa was turned into a market for European manufactured goods and the African people were forcefully integrated into the money economy.

The violent nature of the colonial state was also evident at the time of colonial conquests. During the conquests, violence was common almost everywhere as colonial troops opened fire against Africans, who resisted the colonial intrusion. In German East Africa, for example, the Germans fought with the Hehe under Mkwawa, the Yao under Mchemba and the Nyamwezi under Isike. In West Africa, the French used force to subdue Samori Touré of Mandinka, while in Southern Rhodesia the British South African Company used force to conquer the Shona and Ndebele. However, Africans were not passively conquered. They actively resisted the conquests. Armed resistance, for instance, occurred at the beginning of the colonial conquests, that is, when the European colonialists

entered Africa without Africans' consent. This made Africans resist colonial intrusion even more. African resistance was also inevitable as the colonialists evicted Africans from their fertile land so as to establish settler farms, plantations and mines, and to construct infrastructure like roads, ports and railways. Africans would subsequently be settled in infertile land so that they could continue providing cheap labour. This happened in Kenya, Algeria, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.

The colonial state used violence to compell Africans to produce cash crops. Force was used when Africans did not respond positively to cash crop production. African chiefs and headmen were ordered to force their fellow Africans to produce cash crops. In some instances, Africans were forced to work on plantations without being paid. Forced labour was one of the reasons for Africans' resistance against colonialism. For example, in German East Africa, the Germans forced the cultivation of cotton in the Rufiji River Valley. The forced cultivation of cotton was one of the reasons for the outbreak of the *Maji maji* war of 1905-1907.

Moreover, violence was used in collecting taxes. The colonialists imposed heavy taxation, which became a big burden to Africans. Examples of such taxes were the head tax and the hut tax. The heavy taxation imposed on

Africans made them live a miserable life and become the source of labour to the colonial economic projects. Because Africans were reluctant to pay the taxes imposed on them, the colonial state used force to maximise tax collection.

Similarly, violence was also used by the colonial state in the construction of physical infrastructure such as roads and railways. Africans were forced to offer their labour power in building railways. For example, Kenyans were forced to work on the Uganda railway line from Mombasa to Kisumu between 1895 and 1899. The railway served the interests of the British in the colony. It was the duty of the colonial state to create a conducive environment for smooth exploitation of resources. Such physical infrastructure was also intended to serve administrative and religious purposes. They were mainly constructed with funds obtained from taxation and from the metropole.

The colonial state was exploitative and oppressive. It was characterised by intensive exploitation of Africans through various ways such as land alienation, forced labour and heavy taxation. For instance, the Kikuyu in Kenya were forcefully evicted from their land, which turned them into landless labourers. That was also the case with the labourers, who worked in profitable colonial projects but who were paid very low wages. Some

Africans were also forced to work in the colonial projects. At the same time African labourers were forced to work for long hours. All the operations associated with colonial exploitation and oppression were supervised and controlled by the colonial state.

Furthermore, the colonial state was based on racial prejudice. It was heavily preoccupied with the racial supremacy syndrome. It believed in the superiority of the white race over the black race. Therefore, its operations were associated with preference for Europeans to Africans because Europeans were believed to be mentally and culturally superior to Africans. In the administrative sector, for example, high-ranking positions were held by Europeans, while Africans held low-ranking positions. The provision of social services was done along racial lines. Europeans received the best quality services such as water, housing, electricity, education and health, while Africans received very low quality services. This was common in Apartheid South Africa, where the Afrikaner regime provided separate services for whites and blacks. The former received better health and education services than the latter.

Generally, the colonial state was guided by the capitalist ideology, which showed that African culture was barbaric and primitive. Thus, according to Europeans, African

culture was supposed to be destroyed and replaced by Western culture. The French colonial state, for instance, implemented the assimilation policy for the purpose of destroying African values and glorifying French values. Europeans had the duty to civilise Africans. However, this was a Eurocentric view used to undermine African socio-economic systems. Africans had developed and undergone social transformation before the advent of colonialism. Such Eurocentric views were used to justify the Europeans' plan to colonise Africans.

Moreover, the colonial state created a regional imbalance; the most productive areas were provided with social services such as health and education, but other areas were not. For instance, in Tanganyika, such production areas as Kilimanjaro, Bukoba and Mbeya were provided with health and education services, while labour reserves such as Kigoma, Tabora, Singida, Dodoma, Lindi and Mtwara were not. Therefore, the colonial state was discriminatory and this caused a regional imbalance in terms of social and economic development.



Activity 4.1

In pairs or groups, conduct a library research on the following:

- (a) Meaning of the colonial state; and
- (b) Similarities and differences

between the colonial state and the post-colonial state.

Then, present your findings in class for further discussion.

Functions of the colonial state

As already indicated, the colonial state was established to meet the interests of the metropolitan capitalists in Europe. In order to realise the interests, the colonial state had to perform the following functions:

The colonial state made sure that there was a constant supply of labour to all sectors of the colonial economy such as agriculture, mining and industry, as well as to the construction of transport infrastructure and public buildings. To make sure that there was a constant supply of labour to European settler farms, the colonial state alienated Kenya Highlands to make the Kikuyu landless and force them to sell their labour-power for survival. For example, the British East Africa (Kenya) colonial state enacted the Master and Native Servant Ordinance in 1906 which required Kikuyu young men to provide labour to European settlers' farms for 90 days per year. In 1918 the colonial government enacted another Master and Native Servant Ordinance which required the Kikuyu young men to work on European settlers' farms for 180 days a year. Moreover, in 1921 the colonial government enacted another

Master and Native Servant Ordinance, which introduced the *Kipande* system into Kenya. The Kikuyu were forced to work for the European settlers and every person was required to carry an identity card, popularly called the *Kipande*, wherever they went. The *kipande* showed whether someone had worked and paid tax or not. Those who did not work or pay tax were severely punished. They were fined and sentenced to prison or both. This was the mechanism that the colonial state used to force the African people in Kenya to work on settler farms and in colonial projects such as public works.

The colonial state worked to protect the interests of European settler farmers in Kenya Highlands and planters along the coast. For example, the colonial state prohibited the Kikuyu from growing Arabica coffee. This prohibition was aimed at eliminating competition between the European settler farmers and small-scale African farmers. In Tanganyika, the Bena of Njombe were prohibited to grow pyrethrum. Only European farmers were allowed to grow such crops. They also enjoyed monopoly of marketing the crops.

The colonial state suppressed any African resistance using its coercive instruments like the police and the army. For example, in the southern part of German East Africa, the Matengo, Pogoro, Zaramo, Matumbi, Luguru and Ngindo were organised by Kinjekitile

Ngwale against German colonial rule in 1905. That resistance was suppressed by the German army in 1907. Similar resistance movements such as Taita and Nandi were suppressed by the British in Kenya. The Kabarega resistance of 1894 was crushed by the colonial state in Uganda. Likewise, in British West Africa, the Ashanti resistance was crushed by the British forces in 1890. The Ndebele uprising of 1894, led by Lobengula, and the Shona-Ndebele resistance of 1896-1897 were crushed by the colonial state in Southern Rhodesia. All European powers faced resistance across the continent. The suppression of African resistance was aimed at preparing a good atmosphere for colonial administration and for the establishment of colonial economies.

Moreover, the colonial state was charged with responsibility for supervising tax collection in the colonies. During this period, taxes were supposed to be paid in cash. Taxes were important in two ways; they financed the running of the colonial government such as paying government officials and they forced Africans to either provide labour on the farms and plantations, and in the mines or engage in cash crop production. Colonial taxes compelled villagers to work for wages, or else the police would arrest them. The Southern Rhodesian mining industry largely depended on this method, that is, from the 1910s to 1920s about 40 000 African

workers were recruited each year. After the imposition of taxes on Africans, the colonial state supervised their collection. In some instances, the state used low-ranking leaders to assist in the collection of taxes. In German East Africa, for example, the Germans used *Akidas* and *Jumbes* to collect taxes. Similarly, the British colonial state used Emirs in Kano, Katsina and Kaduna in northern Nigeria to encourage their subjects to pay taxes. Emirs also settled disputes, maintained law and order, recruited labour for public works and eliminated practices which were not acceptable to the British.

The colonial state also supervised the construction of infrastructure in the form of harbours, roads, telegraph lines, railways and others. Therefore, the colonial government was obliged to construct or supervise the construction of infrastructure. These infrastructural facilities were important for smooth running of the colonial economy and administration, which in the long run benefited the metropolitan capitalists. The transport networks such as roads and railways were necessary for transporting raw materials from the interior to the coast (harbours) for shipment to the metropole. It was important for transporting European manufactured goods from the coast to the interior. They were also used to transport colonial officials and troops as well as labour in different parts of

the colony. For example, between 1905 and 1914, the Germans constructed the central railway line from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma in German East Africa to, among other things, transport labourers from Kigoma and Tabora to Morogoro and Tanga.

Moreover, the Benguela railway line was opened in 1905. The railway linked the port of Lobito in Angola and Tenke town in the Lualaba province of Belgian-Congo. Tenke produced copper and cobalt. Moreover, the railway line from Lagos to Kano transported groundnuts and cotton from northern Nigeria. The railway line from Port Harcourt to Maiduguri and Jos Plateau also transported palm oil and tin, whereas the railway line from Douala to Mount Cameroon transported timber, cotton, coffee and sisal. The Uganda railway line reached Kampala in 1931. It was used to transport cotton and coffee from Uganda to the port of Mombasa in Kenya before being exported to Britain.

Generally, the colonial state ensured that all the needs of the metropolitan capitalists were cheaply met in the colonies. Thus, it violently suppressed the Africans who resisted colonial rule. However, as argued before, all Africans were defeated and the colonial state established a colonial economy that directly responded to the needs of the metropolitan capitalists.

The establishment of the colonial economy in Africa took a number of years. It involved transforming African subsistence economies to make them inferior using de-industrialisation practices and laws such as coercion, land alienation, imposition of a money economy and taxation. Since the colonies were meant to produce raw materials, the main sectors emphasised were agriculture and mining. Thus, a detailed description of colonial agriculture in Africa is given in the following section.



Activity 4.2

The colonial state made considerable efforts to expand agricultural production within the colonies. Yet, the agricultural sector remained technologically backward. Conduct search in a library and explain the reasons for this?

Colonial agricultural systems

By 1914, the imperialist nations had almost finished dividing the Africa continent among themselves. The next major step was establishing and consolidating the colonial economy. One of the major economic sectors established in the colonies was agriculture. Agriculture formed the backbone of the colonial economy. This was because it provided agricultural raw materials such as sisal, cotton, coffee, tea, pyrethrum and

tobacco, which were highly needed by metropolitan industries. Agriculture also involved producing food crops that included cereals such as maize and rice, as well as fruits such as vineyards, pineapples and oranges for feeding the European population in Africa and African labourers. Cocoa and groundnuts were important food crops to the European food market. The Europeans invested in agriculture as it facilitated the maximisation of profit by buying African crops at low prices and paying low wages to the labourers who worked on settler or plantation farms. Thus, there were three types of colonial agriculture developed in African colonies, namely peasant, settler and plantation agriculture. The details of each type are presented below.

Peasant agriculture

Under this type of agriculture, the colonial state allowed Africans to cultivate both cash crops and food crops. This type of colonial agriculture involved small-scale production of cash crops by individuals to earn money and to get food for domestic consumption. Peasant agriculture was mostly practised in Uganda, the Gold Coast, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Ivory Coast, Senegal, the Gambia and northern Nigeria.

In the process of setting up the colonial economy, the colonial state alienated African land. Part of the land was given to African chiefs as in the case of the *Mailo* system in Buganda through the

Buganda Agreement of 1900, while the rest of the land was declared crown land. In 1895, the colonial state in German East Africa issued a decree, which declared all unoccupied land crown land. Such land could be given under the consent of the Governor to land applicants, especially German settlers. The land occupied by indigenous Africans could also be appropriated by the Governor for public use, for example building a school or mining; Africans could be evicted from their land after being given a small amount of money as compensation.

At first, it was difficult for the colonial state to compell Africans produce cash crops. However, the missionaries collaborated with the colonial state in persuading Africans to produce cash crops. The missionaries taught their converts that Christianity and the production of cash crops were inseparable. They encouraged them to grow coffee, tea and cocoa with three goals. The first was to subsidise their income. The second was to discourage the slave trade and encourage Africans to participate in the money economy and the third was to enable African converts to get money for making the church self-reliant and for buying manufactured goods from Europe.

Consequently, by the beginning of the 20th century, Christian converts had begun to grow cash crops. Therefore, it was not by accident that the people

who lived in areas where missionaries had built their mission stations started to cultivate cash crops. This tactic, however, did not yield the quantities of cash crops needed. As a result, the colonial state used force to destroy African economies. African chiefs and headmen were ordered to force Africans to produce cash crops. Seeds and seedlings were distributed and their planting was supervised. Peasants were expected to produce both cash crops and food crops. They were also required to produce both raw materials for metropolitan industries and food for their families. For example, the Ashanti in the Gold Coast began to grow cocoa as a cash crop and continued to grow yams as their food crop. Similarly, in Uganda, the Baganda and Basoga began to grow cotton as a cash crop, while the Banyoro and Batoro began to grow coffee around Mount Ruwenzori. All these continued to grow banana as a food crop. However, the prices of cash crops were low.

Moreover, industrialisation and the use of advanced technology were discouraged in the colonies. The colonies were told to produce raw materials for export to the metropole. Thus, peasants continued to use the hand hoe. Labour organisation remained pre-capitalist so that the family continued to be the unit of production. This limited the amount of land that could be cultivated. Thus, the more the time spent on producing

cash crops, the less the time one spent producing food. Likewise, the more the time one spent producing food crops, the less the time one spent producing cash crops. Furthermore, the failure to revolutionise the productive forces meant that agricultural productivity remained low.

The colonial state also intervened in determining producer prices. At the beginning of the colonial period, Asians and Arabs in East Africa and Syrians and Lebanese in West Africa were middlemen for African producers and metropolitan bourgeoisie, taking the lion's share of the money the latter paid. This discouraged Africans from increasing production on the one hand, and encouraged their agitation against exploitation on the other. Therefore, the colonial state set producer prices so as to solve the two problems without reducing the profit margins of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and their trading companies.

Exercise 4.1

- (a) Why was the colonial state considered violent?
- (b) In what ways was the colonial state influential in the development of agriculture in colonial Africa?

Features of peasant agriculture

From an economic point of view, peasant agriculture was economically profitable to the colonial state and European trading companies. This was because the cost of agricultural production and management was shouldered by peasants.

Peasant agriculture was characterised by the cultivation of cash crops for sale and food crops for domestic consumption. However, the colonial state placed greater emphasis on the cultivation of cash crops, which were needed as raw materials by capitalist industries in the metropole. Some of the cash crops produced by the peasants were cotton, cocoa, coffee and groundnuts. The emphasis on cash crop production had a negative implication for food production, in that, it caused frequent food shortages, which in some instances led to famine among peasants.

Peasant agriculture was characterised by the use of relatively poor tools of production. Walter Rodney argues that peasants entered into colonialism with the hand hoe and got out of it with the same hoe. With colonial peasant agriculture, there was no major change in peasants' tools of production. Peasants used the same tools they had used during the pre-colonial period. Thus, pre-colonial tools like *pangas* (machetes) and hand hoes were still in use. Despite using poor tools,

sometimes peasants produced enough food crops for consumption and cash crops for sale. This was achieved because they used agricultural inputs such as improved seeds and fertilizers, and followed the advice given by agricultural experts. Thus, peasant production increased. For example, there was high production of cotton in Uganda.

Under this form of colonial agriculture, the family remained the basic unit of production. In most cases, peasant agriculture reduced the cost of production because it rarely used hired labourers. In this kind of agriculture, all family members participated in production under the leadership of the father, who was the head of the family. The use of family members in production produced super profit for the Europeans. However, in some areas, rich peasants paid migrant labourers so that they could work on their farms. For example, Sene-Gambian groundnut farming attracted seasonal labourers from the hinterland of Senegal and the River Niger, while Ugandan coffee growers drew labourers from Ruanda and northern Uganda. Cocoa growers in the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast drew migrant labourers from Upper Volta.

Moreover, traders and trading companies exploited peasants. Trading companies throughout Africa safeguarded their interests by refusing to compete among themselves, while

middlemen like Asians in East Africa and the Lebanese in West Africa set prices and conditions to limit African peasants' options in terms of prices of their produce. Thus, inequality was a common feature in the trading process between the middlemen and the peasants.

In many instances, peasant agriculture was practised in densely populated areas. The Gold Coast and northern Nigeria are good examples of such areas. It is argued that such areas could easily attract strong resistance if settler or plantation agriculture were adopted because the two forms of agriculture were associated with massive land alienation. Thus, alienation could anger the peasants and they would thus react against the state. In order to avoid this unnecessary clash, most of the densely populated areas were allowed to continue practising peasant agriculture.

In principle, colonial peasant agriculture involved small-scale farming. Peasants cultivated small portions of land because they had an amount of capital which could not support extensive cultivation. Therefore, they could not buy modern agricultural implements such as tractors and they had no power to hire a big number of labourers. Thus, with their meagre capital, they cultivated only small portions of land to produce both cash and food crops. In other words, peasant agriculture was

financed with a low level of capital investment and simple technology.

Factors that favoured the adoption of peasant agriculture

A number of factors determined whether a specific colony had to adopt peasant agriculture. The factors included the presence of traditional leadership, population density, pre-colonial experience in cash crop production and diseases.

The areas which had put up strong resistance against colonial occupation and had strong leadership such as the Buganda Kingdom and the Bunyoro Kingdom were allowed to practise peasant agriculture because it was not easy to alienate their land. Therefore, peasant agriculture was predominant in areas with strong centralised political systems. In such areas, African societies could not guarantee the security and protection of the European colonialists in the plantation and settler estates. Thus, the colonial state found that peasant agriculture was the only option. Apart from Buganda in Uganda, the other areas where peasant agriculture was highly encouraged were northern Nigeria and Ashanti in the Gold Coast.

Highly populated areas were also suitable for peasant agriculture. This is because land alienation was difficult in such areas. Therefore, the best way to sustain the colonial economy was to adopt peasant agriculture. For example, the French introduced peasant farming

into Senegal, Guinea and Ivory Coast because it was impossible to alienate land as the areas were densely populated. In the Gezira plains of Sudan, the British colonial government supported a vast irrigation scheme to promote African peasant cotton production. Cotton was highly needed by British textile industries.

Poor climatic conditions and the prevalence of diseases were other factors that favoured the adoption of peasant agriculture in colonial Africa. Areas with such features threatened the health of the colonialists. For example, peasant agriculture was introduced around the lakeside areas of Buganda, Bunyoro and Bukoba because of the presence of sleeping sickness, smallpox, malaria, influenza, meningitis and jiggers, which were a big health challenge to white settlers. Similarly, Europeans could not settle in areas with hot climate. In this regard, peasant agriculture was adopted as it could be handled by Africans, who were used to living in such areas.

The pre-colonial African experience in cash crop production played an important role in the introduction of peasant agriculture. Before the imposition of colonial rule, some societies in Africa produced cash crops. For example, in West Africa, palm oil was produced by peasants before colonialism. In Uganda, the indigenous people used to grow local species

of cotton on small plots of land. The willingness of these societies to grow important cash crops on their farms was influenced by their experience in crop cultivation. Thus, such societies were allowed to continue with peasant cash crop production. The colonial state introduced into Uganda new species of cotton, which were more productive than the local species. Similarly, in some areas missionaries introduced cash crops long before the establishment of colonialism; hence, Africans were used to producing cash crops. Therefore, the colonial state decided not to change the system of production. A good example was coffee production in Kilimanjaro and Kagera.

The preference and arrangements of colonial masters was another factor that influenced the establishment of peasant agriculture. In some cases, the colonial state decided that a given colony should practise a certain type of agriculture. For example, the British, who had many colonies in Africa, decided on the form of agriculture that should be practised in their colonies. For example, Nyasaland had to produce tea.

Governors' preference also influenced the development of peasant agriculture. For instance, in Uganda, while Chief Justice William Morris Carter preferred settler agriculture, Governor Sir Henry Hesketh Bell encouraged the development of peasant agriculture

in the early 1900s. As a result, cotton was grown for commercial purposes in Buganda and Busoga. By the mid-1920s, cotton exports enabled the Uganda government to fund its budget without receiving grants or aid from Britain. This happened after Governor Bell passed the Cotton Ordinance, which resulted in high quality American cotton seeds replacing the wild seeds in Uganda. He also banned hand ginning and instead opened new ginneries to process cotton. The government also encouraged peasants in Bunyoro and Toro in south-western Uganda to grow cotton in the early 1900s. Coffee thrived very well in these areas. As a result, by the 1930s, coffee had become Uganda's second largest export.

Settler agriculture

This type of agriculture was controlled by Europeans, who had come to live in the colonies. They established large farms in various African countries like Kenya, South Africa, Algeria, Mozambique, Angola and Southern Rhodesia. The settlers had close links with their mother countries and had strong influence on the colonial state. Thus, the colonial state's policy had to consider their interests, namely capital, land and labour. Initially, many settlers had neither the expertise nor the capital with which to start large-scale agricultural production. Thus, they acquired capital through government assistance and bank loans at very low

interest rates. As for the acquisition of land, the state carried out extensive land expropriation. The land was given to the settlers and planters freely or at a very cheap price. The colonial state enacted laws that compelled Africans to provide labour to the settlers.

In most cases, the settlers did not use all the land. In the first place, they lacked enough capital to develop all the land they had acquired. In the second place, extensive land was acquired for speculative purposes. This meant that a settler could sell part of the land at a higher price at a future date.

Characteristics of settler agriculture

Settler agriculture was one of the important agricultural systems under the colonial agricultural sector. It was large-scale farming under the European investors. In other words, it was owned by Europeans who permanently settled in Africa. This type of agriculture had the following characteristics:

Settler agriculture went hand in hand with massive land alienation. To alienate land, the colonial state enacted land ordinances that legalised private ownership of land and legitimised the alienation of African land for the settlers. In 1903, for example, the colonial government in Kenya gave large pieces of land to the settlers in the Naivasha Valley in the Central Rift Valley, thereby evicting 5000 African land owners. Thus, Africans were pushed into reserves where they could

not produce enough for themselves. To supplement their produce, they had to sell their labour power to the settlers. In South Africa, the 1913 Land Act prohibited Africans from owning the land which had been reserved for European and Afrikaner settlers. It also barred squatters from farming European-owned land. This was done at a time when the African-European ratio was 4 to 1. In 1906, about 1.6 million hectares (3.52 million acres) of land were transferred to European ownership in Algeria.

Moreover, settler agriculture was based on forced labour, since it was a labour-intensive type of agriculture. Thus, the colonial state devised various laws and strategies to make sure that there was an abundant and constant supply of labour in the settler estates. In Kenya, for example, the Masters and Native Servants Ordinance of 1906 stipulated that a squatter had to work for the settlers for 90 days a year at a nominal wage. Thus, the colonial state made sure that Africans provided labour power to the settlers. Apart from law enforcement, the colonial government imposed land alienation and various taxes to force Africans to provide their labour power to the settlers.

Settler agriculture was characterised by the colonial state protecting settlers' interests. This was shown during the conflicts between peasants and settlers. In 1903, for example, the government

policy in Kenya stated that whenever the interests of the settlers collided with those of the Africans, those of the former would prevail. The same was emphasised in the 1923 Devonshire White Paper. However, in the event of a conflict between the settlers and the metropolitan bourgeoisie the latter used a populist ideology, that is, they pretended to uphold Africans' interests to exert power over the settlers. Essentially, both the metropolitan bourgeoisie and the settlers had agreed to exploit Africans, but they differed on the method of exploitation and the distribution of the loot.

Settler agriculture was characterised by improved infrastructure like roads and railways. This infrastructure was very important to the transport of raw materials from the interior to the coast. To a great extent, the areas in which settler agriculture was practised were favoured by the colonial state and, therefore, they were provided with better economic and social infrastructure, as well as security. This was done to make settlers to invest in agriculture. For instance, in Kenya, railways were built from Mombasa in 1895 to Kisumu in 1899, and from Nairobi via Thika to Nanyuki in 1918 to serve the European settlers around Kenyan Highlands. Moreover, the railway line from Bulawayo to Salisbury (Harare) served the European settler farms on which maize, coffee and tobacco were being grown and

the dairy farms in Matebeleland in Southern Rhodesia. Portuguese settlers also occupied the Bie Plateau (1520m to 1830m) with cool climate and high rains to grow coffee, maize, rice and sugarcane. The Benguela railway line served the settlers by transporting their crops to the port of Lobito for export to Portugal and Western Europe.

Furthermore, settler agriculture was based on crop production, preferably cash crops. In most cases, settler agriculture concentrated on the production of crops that were raw materials for metropolitan industries. Crops such as coffee and tea were favoured in Kenya. Tobacco and coffee were grown in Southern Rhodesia and Angola. Settlers also engaged in commercial dairy farming so as to export milk, meat and hides. Settlers in Southern Rhodesia grew maize and established dairy farms to feed the food market at the Rand mining and commercial area in South Africa. Similarly, settlers in Northern Rhodesia produced maize and milk to feed the food market in the copper belt.

Settler agriculture was also characterised by large-scale farming. Settlers cultivated very large tracts of land for commercial purposes. Therefore, settler agriculture was a capital-intensive type of farming. Heavy capital was needed to buy modern agricultural implements such as tractors and other machines, pay labourers and buy other necessary inputs.

Factors that favoured settler agriculture

Settler agriculture was practised in areas with a kind of climate similar to that of Europe. Hot climate was not suitable for Europeans; hence, they opted to settle in highland areas such as Kenya Highlands, Bie Plateau and Matebele Plateau.

Areas with plenty of labourers also favoured settler agriculture. This was because settler agriculture was a large-scale undertaking, which required a large number of labourers. Additionally, the preferences of the colonial masters and governors influenced settler agriculture. Governors like Sir Charles Eliot of Kenya was interested in settler agriculture; hence, Sir Eliot promoted its establishment in Kenya.

Moreover, settlers were motivated to settle in areas where the colonial state had established good transport and communication networks. The availability of roads and railways motivated settlers to settle in such areas. It was easy for them to transport cash crops from the production areas to the cities or ports. A good example is the Uganda railway, which made settlers establish farms in Kenyan Highlands and some parts of the Rift Valley. Infrastructure also made Portuguese settlers settle on Bie Plateau in Angola and British settlers on Matebele Plateau in Southern Rhodesia.

Furthermore, this type of agriculture was dominant in areas with less or without strong resistance from Africans. Since settler agriculture involved cultivating huge tracts of land, strong resistance would occur if such areas had strong centralised societies with strong armies. This was because settler agriculture needed huge pieces of land. Europeans opted to establish settler agriculture in areas with less resistance such as Kenya, Angola, South Africa, the north-eastern part of Northern Rhodesia, Cholo and the areas around Mount Mlanje in Nyasaland.

How the colonial state supported settlers

The colonial state supported settlers in various ways. For example, it exempted them from paying taxes. This was done to allow them produce more cash crops so as to get raw materials for industries in Europe. For example, in Kenya, tax exemption enabled settlers to accumulate massive wealth.

The colonial state also forced Africans to provide cheap labour to settlers in different ways. This happened in South Africa, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The alienation of African land in the early 20th century was intended to make Africans landless, thus forcing them to work on settler farms as labourers.

Moreover, the colonial state constructed transport infrastructure in the colonies.

For example, in Kenya, the Uganda railway line was constructed by the colonial state. In South Africa, railway lines were constructed to link certain parts of South Africa with Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia. These infrastructural facilities were used by settlers to transport labourers and crops.

The colonial state created an enabling environment for settlers to do agricultural activities smoothly. For example, European settlers were given the right to own land for 33, 66 and 99 years and to grow certain cash crops. For example, in Kenya, Africans were forbidden to grow Arabica coffee, the country's most profitable cash crop. Thus, Europeans produced much coffee and, by 1913, coffee exports had enabled the Kenyan colonial state to fund its budget without receiving subsidies from Britain. In Nyasaland, Africans were excluded from growing the most lucrative varieties of tobacco. They were prohibited from growing flue-cured Virginia tobacco, a key constituent in blended cigarettes from 1908. They were also banned from growing burley tobacco, another lucrative and profitable variety. These were reserved for European settlers. Africans were denied the right to own land and grow important cash crops like coffee, tea and pyrethrum. Moreover,

settlers received marketing assistance and cash subsidies from the colonial government.

In addition, settlers were given security by the colonial government. The colonial apparatus like the police and army maintained peace and security to protect the settlers and their property.

Plantation agriculture

Plantation agriculture was another type of agriculture established in various colonies in Africa. This type of agriculture involved opening large farms that needed large tracts of land. Many owners of plantations lived in Europe and employed farm managers to supervise production. Each company specialised in the production of a specific cash crop. Plantation agriculture was practised in German East Africa, Belgian-Congo, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Cameroon and Liberia. For example, whereas German East Africa produced sisal, Mauritius specialised in sugarcane production and Liberia produced rubber. By contrast, Ivory Coast and Madagascar specialised in coffee production and Sudan in cotton production. Some plantations were opened in Uganda. Asians opened sugarcane plantations in Lugazi and Kakira near Jinja. Other Asian planters grew rubber. Figure 4.2 shows a sisal plantation in German East Africa.



Figure 4.2: *Sisal plantation in German East Africa*

Characteristics of plantation agriculture

Plantation agriculture was characterised by large-scale farming. Planters' interest was in producing a large quantity of raw materials for European industries. The nature of such crops as sisal, rubber, sugarcane and cloves demanded large pieces of land.

Furthermore, plantation agriculture needed huge capital. Money was needed to pay labourers, clear the land, buy fertilizers and buy advanced agricultural equipment like tractors and sisal decortication machines. Money was also used to build infrastructure such as irrigation systems, fire control systems, paths and others. Thus, this type of agriculture was capital intensive.

Plantation agriculture was monoculture in nature. This kind of farming was commonly based on the cultivation of one crop in large estates. It focused on the quantity and quality of one crop needed in metropolitan countries. For instance, in German East Africa areas like Tanga and Morogoro specialised in sisal production whereas Mauritius produced sugarcane. Similarly, Zanzibar concentrated on clove production. This specialisation was aimed at increasing the production of a given crop in the colony to meet the industrial needs of the metropole.

Plantation agriculture preferred using migrant labour. This form of agriculture was associated with the development of migrant labourers. Being labour-intensive, plantation agriculture needed

a large group of unskilled labourers to work on the newly established sisal and sugarcane plantations. The European managers and supervisors of plantations used several methods to persuade or force unskilled Africans to enter into labour contracts with them. Recruiting institutions were given the right to recruit labourers from certain zones. The main task of the institutions was to hire a large amount of unskilled labourers and give them the lowest possible wage. For example, the sisal plantations in Tanga and Morogoro depended on migrant labourers from Kigoma and Tabora during German colonial rule. The preference for migrant labourers was based on the fact that migrant labourers were very cheap and that they were not a threat to the planters as they came from different ethnic groups.

Factors that favoured plantation agriculture

The establishment of plantation agriculture depended on many factors. Some of the factors are:

A good climate, fertile soil and reliable rainfall made colonial companies establish plantations in certain parts of Africa. For instance, Belgian-Congo was one of the areas which had good climatic conditions that attracted the Belgians to establish rubber plantations there. In German East Africa, the climate of Tanga and Morogoro

favoured sisal production. In Mauritius, the climate was suitable for sugarcane cultivation. However, in German East Africa the attempt to establish rubber plantations failed in 1913 as the rubber produced was of low quality compared to the rubber produced in Malaysia, Belgian-Congo and Brazil.

Plantation agriculture also depended on effective management and supervision by European managers. The famous plantation companies that operated in Africa were Unilever's palm oil estate in Belgian-Congo and Mozambique Company Sugar Plantation in northern Mozambique. These companies employed European managers to run their plantations. Production on the plantations was fairly inefficient because there was little investment in research, technology and transport. Therefore, the plantations heavily used violence to force Africans to provide labour.

Another factor for the thriving of plantation agriculture was the existence of a less centralised African political organisation. Plantation agriculture was practised in areas with less centralised political systems. This is because in such areas there were relatively less organised societies that could not strongly resist land alienation. In areas that had no strong resistance, including some parts of German East Africa, plantation agriculture flourished.

Plantation agriculture needed a big number of labourers. Most of the labourers were recruited from distant labour reserve areas. Therefore, plantation agriculture developed in the colonies where there was assurance of sufficient and constant supply of labourers, preferably migrant labourers. For example, in German East Africa, the southern regions, Tabora and Kigoma supplied labourers to the sisal plantations in Tanga, Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.

Exercise 4.2

If you were asked to choose between peasant and plantation agriculture, which one would you choose and why?

Reasons for adopting different colonial agricultural systems

Agriculture was the backbone of the metropolitan economies. It produced agricultural raw materials to meet the needs of European industries. The capitalists adopted three types of agricultural production in the colonies: peasant, settler and plantation agriculture. Each type was established, depending on the material conditions obtaining in a particular colony.

However, there is a debate regarding the introduction of different types of agriculture in the colonies. The debate

involves European scholars and their critics. According to the former, many of whom are apologists for colonialism, some of the colonies in Africa developed peasant agriculture because they had high temperatures, which discouraged Europeans to develop either settler or plantation agriculture. They also argue that tropical diseases such as malaria and bilharzia prevented settler plantation and agriculture. They also mention other factors such as strong African political systems and the status of a colony, that is, whether it was a settler colony or a protectorate. The same historians advance the issue of a huge African population, which always caused land pressure. They cite Uganda, which had strong feudal relations which the British colonialists could not break. Finally, the British trusteeship policy adopted in some West African colonies is said to have prevented the establishment of settler and plantation agriculture in such colonies.

The critics, however, critique the above Eurocentric views. They say that the Eurocentric views ignore the role of the colonial state in determining the type of colonial agriculture that should be developed in a colony.

The Eurocentric argument that malaria and other tropical diseases were obstacles to the development of settler or plantation agriculture does not hold water either. Logically, the

European colonial administrators and missionaries could not have remained permanently in such colonies or areas, fearing that they might die of diseases such as malaria. For example, the question of hot temperatures and tropical diseases such as malaria and bilharzia did not prevent the Germans from establishing three types of agriculture in German East Africa. Settler agriculture was developed in Iringa, Rungwe, Arusha, Tukuyu and Lushoto. Peasant agriculture thrived in Kilimanjaro and Kagera. Sisal plantations thrived in Morogoro, Dar es Salaam, Lindi and Tanga. Attempts were also made to introduce rubber plantations in Nachingwea, Rufiji and Morogoro. Yet, German East Africa was one of the African colonies which faced the problems of malaria and high temperatures.

In West Africa, the British, French and Germans attempted to establish either settler or plantation agriculture. For example, the British businessman, W. H. Lever, attempted to establish plantation agriculture in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the Gold Coast before his death in 1925. Indeed, he almost succeeded in developing settler agriculture in Lagos and Accra, which were very hot places.

In Central Africa, especially in Gabon, Belgian-Congo and Congo-Brazzaville, peasant agriculture would thrive just as it did in Uganda

because all these countries had similar climatic conditions, but the colonialists developed plantation agriculture in the colonies because it was favoured by the colonial state.

Therefore, hot temperatures and tropical diseases did not prevent the introduction of settler or plantation agriculture in Africa. Thus, there is a need to find the factors from economic, political and African initiative perspectives. The factors are explained in the following section.

The colonial state policy determined the type of agricultural system introduced in a given colony. For instance, in German East Africa, the colonial state favoured all three types of agriculture. However, the British, who took over the colony after the First World War and renamed it Tanganyika, did not want to make Tanganyika a settler colony. The government feared that making Tanganyika a settler colony would force Africans to provide labour to settlers and would involve alienating more land from Africans, which would cause another *Majimaji* war.

Likewise, between 1915 and 1920, the colonial state set up two commissions in Uganda to decide whether Uganda settler agriculture should introduce or peasant agriculture should continue. The few European settlers in Uganda wanted the colonial state to introduce new policies that would enable them to start settler agriculture. Two reports

proposed that Uganda should develop settler agriculture. The Chief Justice, William Morris Carter, supported the idea. However, Governor Hesketh Bell and the Secretary of State for Colonies (Colonial Secretary) in London rejected the two reports. As a result, Uganda remained a peasant colony. However, in 1902, Governor Charles Eliot of Kenya sought permission from the Office of the Secretary of State for Colonies in London so that he could declare Kenya a settler colony. Following the discovery of Kenyan Highlands. He was given the go-ahead. As a result, Kenya became a settler colony.

African initiatives also determined the type of agriculture adopted by the colonialists. In some colonies, the Africans who wanted to improve their living standards planted cash crops like coffee, cocoa and cotton. For instance, in the early 1900s, a few European settlers in Kilimanjaro planted over one million coffee trees. Some Chagga peasants who planted coffee trees became successful and began to compete with a few European settlers who had hoped to use the Chagga as their labourers. In 1907, the settlers asked the German colonial state to ban the growing of arabica coffee by the Chagga. The German colonial state, however, did not take any action against the Chagga peasants. As a result, the settlers experienced a shortage of migrant labourers. The

settlers were finally eliminated by the Chagga peasants. As a result, peasant agriculture flourished in Kilimanjaro. By 1913, over three-quarters of the coffee produced in the colony was produced by African peasants.

A similar experience happened to the West African peasants who, by the 1890s, had already entered the cash crop export economy. They were producing export crops like palm oil, cocoa and groundnuts. Hence, the colonial state felt that, if it encouraged settler or plantation agriculture, it would interfere with the traditional land rights, thus causing resistance. The state also feared that Africans would not be ready to work for the settlers, while they had their own plots of land to work on. The few Africans, who would have volunteered to work, would have demanded high wages, something that the European settlers and planters were totally against.

The high production costs influenced the type of agriculture established in a given colony. In many African colonies, settler and plantation agriculture were not developed because of high production costs and the long time the crops took to mature. For instance, Europeans feared to open cocoa plantations in Ivory Coast and the Gold Coast because the plant takes 15 years to mature. Thus, the Europeans did not want to grow that crop. After all, they were not familiar with the crop.

The presence of transport and communication networks in a colony was a factor for introducing a given type of agriculture. Settler agriculture and even peasant agriculture were introduced in areas that had reliable transport and communication systems like railways and telegraphic services. For instance, the construction of the Uganda railway line from Mombasa to Kampala favoured the establishment of settler agriculture in Kenya and peasant agriculture in Uganda. The cash crops that the settlers produced were easily transported to the coast, ready for shipment to Europe and other parts of the world. Similarly, the cotton, coffee and tea that African peasants produced in Uganda were transported to Europe via the port of Mombasa. The railway line eased transport, reduced costs and opened up the interior in Kenyan Highlands.

In addition, with the expansion of peasant farms and plantations in Uganda, Governor Hesketh Bell encouraged the importation of bicycles and lorries to ease the transport of goods from remote areas. He also expanded the construction of railway lines from Kampala to Port Bell, Jinja and Namasagali to open up the remote areas by linking them with the Uganda railway line.

Plantation or settler agriculture flourished because of the availability of migrant labourers. For instance,

sisal plantations became successful in German East Africa because of the availability of cheap migrant labourers from Rukwa, Kigoma, Ruvuma, Lindi and Mtwara.

The availability of capital and labourers also determined the nature of the agricultural system introduced in a colony. Between the 1890s and early 1900s, French firms established some plantations in Ivory Coast and Dahomey, but when the French colonial authority refused to give them concession, the firms collapsed and plantation agriculture ended. Moreover, the availability of labour was key to the specific agricultural system introduced. For example, settler agriculture was established in Kenya partly because of the presence of African labourers, who were forced to work for the settlers under the *Kipande* system.

Exercise 4.3

What do you think was the impact of the colonial land policy on Africans after independence? Draw examples from Kenya and Zimbabwe.

Importance of agriculture during the colonial economy

Agriculture was an important sector of the colonial economy. The importance of agriculture to the colonial economy is shown below.

It stimulated the construction of transport infrastructure such as ports, roads and railways in different parts of Africa. For instance, in German East Africa roads and railways were constructed to connect the production areas with the harbours and ports. The infrastructural facilities facilitated the transport of European manufactured goods from the coast to the interior markets in the colonies. They also, facilitated the transport of raw materials from the interior (production areas) to the coast for shipment to the metropolitan countries.

Agriculture was a good source of tropical raw materials for metropolitan industries. The raw materials produced in colonial Africa were rubber in Belgian-Congo, cotton in Sudan and Egypt, coffee and sisal in German East Africa, cloves in Zanzibar, sugarcane in Mauritius and cocoa in the Gold Coast. All these raw materials were needed in European industries. Thus, colonial agriculture helped meet one of the needs of the metropolitan capitalists. It also stimulated further industrial development in the metropole.

Agriculture was also a source of employment for both Europeans and Africans. For example, many people in Europe lost their means of survival when machines took their place after the Industrial Revolution. The surplus population came to do farming activities in Africa, for example in Southern

Rhodesia, South Africa, Kenya and German East Africa. On top of that, colonial agriculture absorbed many Africans as peasants and agricultural labourers.

Agriculture stimulated improvement of the quality of health services in Africa, including the setting up of dispensaries and hospitals, especially in the highly productive areas. For example, in German East Africa, the colonial state improved the quality of health services in Moshi, Arusha and Morogoro to treat labourers and colonial officials so as to increase their efficiency.

Europeans acquired markets for their goods in Africa. For instance, in Uganda, Kenya, German East Africa and Southern Rhodesia, Africans produced cash crops and sold them to Europeans. Manufactured goods were later imported into Africa.

Colonial agriculture influenced the colonial exploitation of Africa through colonial taxes and human labour. For instance, to force Africans to cultivate cash crops, the colonial state imposed taxes on them. Since paying taxes was compulsory, Africans had to work on the colonial plantations. Likewise, colonial agriculture led to the exploitation of African peasants by buying their crops at low prices.

Generally, the development of colonial agriculture in Africa was not intended to benefit Africans. Thus, colonial

agriculture had a very minimal positive impact on Africans. Therefore, one can argue that colonial agriculture contributed to the underdevelopment of Africa. It destabilised the African self-sufficient economy. Since then Africa has forced famine and starvation because of food shortages.

Activity 4.3



In pairs, assess the legacy of colonial agriculture in modern African counties?

Share your findings with your fellow students in class.

Revision exercise 4

1. Explain six objectives and six characteristics of the colonial state.
2. Show how the colonial state consolidated colonialism in Africa.
3. To what extent was peasant agriculture an African affair in colonial Africa?
4. How did the colonial state support settler agriculture? Use either Kenya or Southern Rhodesia as a case study.
5. Compare and contrast settler and plantation agriculture in colonial Africa.
6. Discuss six factors that determined the variation of agricultural systems in the colonies.
7. Give five points to show the role of agriculture in promoting the colonial economy.
8. Examine six characteristic features of plantation agriculture.
9. Why was the colonial state reluctant to support settler or plantation agriculture in some colonies?

10. Using concrete examples from Africa, explain the mechanisms that the colonialists used to transform indigenous African economies into capitalist economies.
11. With respect to the measures taken by the colonial state to consolidate the agricultural sector, what is your opinion about agricultural development in Africa?
12. Why did the British establish settler agriculture in Kenya?
13. To what extent was the colonial state violent?
14. How were African societies affected by the establishment of various colonial agricultural systems?

Chapter Five

Changes in the colonial economy and social services after the Second World War

Introduction

After the Second World War, such European colonial powers as Britain, France, and Italy experienced an economic crisis as a result of the war. The crisis forced the European powers to formulate policies that would assist them in recovering from the economic woes. In this chapter, you will learn about the changes in colonial agriculture, industrial policies and trade, as well as labour policies in colonial Africa made after the Second World War. You will also learn about the changes in colonial transport and communication infrastructure, as well as the changes in social service policies. The competencies developed will enable you to participate in the process of bring about socio-economic changes at family, societal and national levels.



How exploitative were the colonial agricultural projects established after the Second World War?

The concept of colonial economy

The concept of colonial economy refers to the systems of production, distribution and consumption which were introduced into Africa by the European colonialists to meet the industrial needs in the metropole. The industrial needs stemmed from the Industrial Revolution, which took place in Western Europe in the 19th century. The European industrial economy made Africa a supply of agricultural raw materials and minerals, as well as a market for European manufactured

goods. European colonial governments also imposed colonial economies in Africa. Thus, by the 1900s the colonial economy had set its foot in the colonies. Sectors like agriculture, mining, trade, infrastructure and labour were in motion. However, the outbreak of the Second World War caused the collapse of the European economy. For example, during the war the industrial, agricultural and commercial sectors, as well as the trade and transport sectors were severely affected by heavy bombings and the depletion of the treasure used to finance the war.

Features of the colonial economy

The colonial economy was an extension of the European capitalist economy in the colonies. It responded to the needs of the imperial colonial powers in Western Europe. The major aim of the European imperialists was to acquire raw materials for their industries and markets for their industrial goods. Thus, the colonies were for meeting the economic needs of Western European imperialism.

In some parts of Africa, the colonial economy was monocultural, in that it heavily depended on the production of a single cash crop. For example, the Gold Coast produced cocoa, Mauritius produced sugarcane and Liberia specialised in rubber production. Similarly, Zanzibar produced cloves, Northern Rhodesia and Belgian-Congo produced copper, while Algeria produced grapes and olives.

The colonial economy was based on coercion. Africans were forced to produce for export rather than for their consumption. The emphasis placed on the production of cash crops left Africans with little time to produce sufficient food crops; hence, frequent food shortages occurred in the colonies. Similarly, many Africans were not ready to work on colonial plantations and farms, and in mines because they were paid low wages and worked for long hours under harsh and poor working conditions. Thus, force was

used to make them work. The workers who did not observe working laws and regulations were punished severely by their masters or supervisors.

Moreover, the colonial economy was export-import oriented. It was characterised by the production of exportable raw materials for metropolitan industries while finished manufactured goods were imported into the colonies. Therefore, the colonial economy served the interests of the European capitalists. The capitalists acquired raw materials such as cotton, sisal, animal skins and hides, tobacco and minerals at low prices from the colonies, while the colonies bought industrially manufactured goods such as clothes, mirrors, drinks and shoes at high prices. This was a type of economy in which Africans consumed what they did not produce and produced what they did not consume.

The colonial economy was also characterised by semi-processing and import substitution industries. The semi-processing industries found in Africa after the Second World War were meant to reduce the bulkiness of raw materials to reduce the cost of transporting them to Europe. Import-substitution industries were set up so that they could produce consumer goods like cigarettes, beverages, butter and soap to meet the needs of the colonial officials and commercial elites. Significant development

of the industrial sector, especially the manufacturing industry, was discouraged to make Africa a market for European industrial products and a source of raw materials for European industries. This created economic dependence, in that African colonies exported raw materials to earn foreign exchange that was used to buy manufactured goods such as clothes, machines, automobiles, oil, spare parts and medicines from Europe.

The colonial economy was exploitative in nature. Africans were exploited in various ways. The hut and poll taxes introduced contributed to the development of the colonial economy by forcing young men to work as migrant labourers to earn money for paying taxes. In Kenya, for example, the Nandi were evicted from their arable land and became landless. Landless Africans and those who lived as squatters in settler-dominated areas were compelled to provide cheap labour on colonial farms and plantations, and in mines. For example, the Kikuyu in Kenya were forced to work on settler farms in the Kenyan Highlands. The Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo also worked as migrant labourers on sisal and coconut plantations in coastal Kenya. Others sold cash crops and livestock at low prices so as to pay taxes.

Another feature of the colonial economy was the use of one currency in the colonies and the mother country.

Moreover, any transaction between one colony and another involved using the currency of the colonising power. For example, in British East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar used the same currency called the shilling. In French West Africa, all French colonies used the French franc in all commercial and financial transactions. Furthermore, whatever was earned in the colony was deposited in the metropolitan banks, which contributed to the development of the metropolitan economy. For example, during the cocoa boom of the 1950s, African cocoa farmers from the Gold Coast complained that their money had been deposited in banks in London, instead of being deposited in the banks in Accra. The major European banks opened branches in the colonies to facilitate trade between the colonies and the metropolitan countries. For example, the Barclays Bank Dominion, Colonies and Overseas Departments (DC) enabled British traders to buy cocoa, coffee, tea, sisal, pyrethrum, palm oil, cotton and minerals from British Africa. The Paris Bank also provided loans to French companies. By 1930, the French *Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO)* and *Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, (SCOA)* and *Compagnie du Sénégal et de la Côte occidentale d'Afrique* (in English known as Company of the Senegal and of the West Coast of Africa) were involved in the palm oil

trade and controlled between two-thirds and three-quarters of trade in French West Africa. The British United Africa Company (UAC), owned by Unilever, controlled trade in the British West African colonies of Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Gambia and Sierra Leone. The UAC was the biggest of the three companies; it controlled about 50 per cent of trade in the 1930s and was active also in East Africa. Smith Mackenzie was the largest company in colonial East Africa doing import and export trade. Companies used metropolitan currencies to trade in colonial Africa. However, the value of the metropolitan currency was higher than the value of the colonial currency. This led to unequal exchange between the colonies and the metropolitan countries. Therefore, the colonial economy was characterised by a money economy. All the transactions and exchanges involved using money.

Besides, the colonial economy was characterised by the construction of roads and railways to facilitate colonial exploitation of African resources. They facilitated the transport of resources from the interior to the coast for shipment to Europe. It is not surprising that colonial railways and roads ran almost perpendicular to the coast. In Nigeria, the British colonialists constructed a port in Lagos from which railway lines radiated to northern Nigeria so as to transport groundnuts and cotton. The railway line also transported palm oil from central and

eastern Nigeria to Port Harcourt. In Tanganyika, the central railway line was extended from Tabora to Mwanza in 1928, from Manyoni to Kinyangiri in Singida in 1932 and from Kaliua to Mpanda in 1949. The central railway line was used to transport cotton from the Lake Zone to the port of Dar es Salaam before being exported to Britain. In West Africa, the construction of railways took place between 1880 and 1914. In 1914, a railway line was constructed to connect the palm oil belt of Sierra Leone to the coast. Other railways were built to connect mining centres to the coast, for example the 83-km line connecting Marampa and Pepel in Sierra Leone. Apart from that, the colonial transport infrastructure was used to transport manufactured goods from the coast to the interior. The colonial transport infrastructure also facilitated the transport of labourers from labour reserve areas to production areas.

Methods used to establish the colonial economy in Africa

The introduction of the colonial economy in Africa met with resistance from Africans, who were reluctant to conform to the demands and strategies of colonial production. Since the colonies were to produce raw materials for metropolitan industries, the colonial governments employed various techniques to achieve their aims. The colonialists transformed pre-

colonial African economies through preservation, creation and destruction methods.

The colonialists preserved traditional tools of production like the *panga* and the hand hoe. These tools remained the main instruments of production that Africans used. As the basic unit of production, the family was also retained. They also preserved peasant agriculture as one of the major sources of raw materials. Peasant production was preserved in colonies such as Uganda, Tanganyika and Nigeria. In such areas, production was left in the hands of Africans who were supervised by local rulers on behalf of the colonial state. This was done to reduce production costs. Furthermore, in the British colonies, indirect rule was used; local rulers and traditional political institutions retained their positions but implemented the colonisers' instructions. This helped to reduce resistance, administration costs and the costs of running the economy.

The creation method consisted of different mechanisms such as the introduction of new methods of running the economy such as the use of money, taxes and the cash crops needed by European industries. The creation method was used to compel Africans to produce for the colonialists. The introduction of a money economy forced Africans to work for their colonial masters. For example, taxes

were imposed on Africans and had to be paid in cash. There were two main reasons for introducing taxes. First, taxes enabled the colonies to meet administration costs. Secondly, taxes compelled Africans to enter into the money economy by producing raw materials and supplying cheap labour to colonial enterprises. Thus, barter trade had declined in many parts of Africa by the 1920s.

The European colonialists also used the destruction method to destroy certain elements of pre-colonial economies which contradicted the colonial interests. For example, they discouraged local industries like handicraft industries. For example, in Belgian-Congo, the indigenous Congolese who engaged in handicraft activities had their hands chopped off by the Belgians. In addition, local trading networks like long distance trade were discouraged so that the money economy could grow. The money economy enabled European traders and their companies to do business without any competition.

Exercise 5.1

Why do you think that the agricultural sector was more important than the other sectors of the colonial economy after the Second World War?

Colonial economic reforms after the Second World War

The Second World War ruined the European economy. Europe witnessed heavy destruction in various sectors such as industries, agriculture and transport. The destruction caused the decline of the European economy. Likewise, the imperialist powers sunk much money into the war, which left them economically exhausted. Thus, after the Second World War, the colonialists came up with various economic plans and strategies to revive their economies. The strategies included reforming agriculture, industry, labour policies, transport and communication and commerce, as well as adopting long-term development plans.

Changes in colonial agriculture

Agriculture continued to be the backbone of the colonial economy in Africa throughout the colonial period. This was because colonial agriculture was important to the survival of the metropolitan industries. Owing to the economic impact of the Second World War, the colonialists made several changes in agricultural production to increase agricultural output for export. For example, Britain and France introduced several policies aimed at improving agricultural productivity.

One strategy for increasing agricultural production was the establishment of progressive farmers. After the war, the

Europeans found that African farming methods and skills could not produce enough cash crops. Thus, there was a need to establish progressive farmers. Such farmers received training from colonial agricultural officers in how they should use modern farming methods. The colonial agricultural officers introduced modern farming methods to African farmers, hoping that agricultural production and productivity would increase. The methods included the use of tractors and fertilizers, the control of soil erosion and the control of pests that destroyed crops. For example, in all British colonies in East and Central Africa, the nurturing of progressive farmers became an official policy during the 1940s and 1950s. In Kenya there were the Land Consolidation Programme of 1953 and the Swynnerton Plan of 1954. These were intended to develop independent farmers. In Northern Rhodesia there was the African Farming Improvement Scheme, mainly in the southern and eastern provinces. There were similar projects in Uganda and Tanganyika.

The establishment of agricultural schemes was another strategy aimed at deepening the exploitation of Africans. The colonial governments introduced agricultural schemes to recover their economies, which had been destroyed by the Second World War. The schemes encouraged African farmers to adopt modern farming techniques to increase

productivity. Agricultural schemes concentrated on, among other things, crop production, soil conservation and animal husbandry.

Another strategy was the establishment and expansion of marketing boards. The colonialists established marketing boards to control and supervise the production and marketing of cash crops in Africa. For example, a cocoa board was established in the Gold Coast in 1947. The West Africa Produce Control Board was also established to purchase cocoa from all West African countries. In other areas in Africa, the marketing boards and cooperatives established in the 1920s and 1930s experienced massive expansion during this time.

Furthermore, the colonialists introduced settlement and population schemes. The schemes were aimed at getting arable land for agriculture. For instance, after the Second World War, in Southern Rhodesia people were moved from densely populated areas to less populated areas so that agricultural activities could be expanded, especially maize farming and dairy farming.

The colonialists also introduced changes in labour recruitment to increase production. The expansion of agricultural activities went hand in hand with the growing need for labourers, hence the need for a labour-recruitment system. For example, in 1947 the indigenous people aged between 18 and 55 in the Portuguese colonies were

forced to work for six months on the Portuguese plantations. In Tanganyika, migrant labour was intensified and the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was introduced to recruit labourers for sisal plantations. As already pointed out, migrant labourers came from Kigoma, Tabora, Singida, Songea and Mbeya.

Objectives of introducing progressive farmers

Many African farmers did not have enough capital for buying farming tools and equipments such as tractors, fertilizers, improved seeds and irrigation equipment. These were used at various stages of farming from soil preparation, ploughing to harvesting. Consequently, in 1945, the Europeans identified a few places in Africa in which to open demonstration farms for progressive farmers. Progressive farmers, also called master farmers, would be taught modern agricultural practices like the use of pesticides, insecticides, fertilizers, extension services and tractors. Moreover, they were given technical assistance. Other peasants or farmers were expected to learn the modern farming practices from the progressive farmers.

One of the objectives of promoting progressive farmers was to control the problem of soil erosion in the colonies. Soil erosion reduced productivity in many areas in Africa during the expansion of crop production. For example, peasants expanded the

production of cotton in Geita and Kahama in Sukumaland in Tanganyika in the 1930s and 1940s, which led to soil erosion. Overgrazing intensified soil erosion in Mbulu, the Lake Zone and the Central Province in Dodoma and Singida in Tanganyika. Progressive farmers planted trees and constructed terraces to control soil erosion. Apart from using fertilizers, they used manure on their farms. Mulching was also used to keep the soil moist and damp, hence improving crop production.

Another objective was to train progressive farmers who would transmit their modern knowledge of agricultural production to other farmers who, according to the Europe and were still primitive. The colonial government established agricultural colleges to train African agricultural field and extension officers who would disseminate the knowledge gained to progressive farmers. The latter were expected to transmit the knowledge gained to their fellow Africans who did not have it. The main objective was to improve agricultural production in the colonies. In Tanganyika, for example, several agricultural colleges were established for this purpose. They included Ukiliguru in Mwanza, which researched on cotton, Lyamungo in Moshi, which specialised in coffee research, Ilonga in Kilosa, which researched on cotton research, maize and other kinds of grain, and Tumbi in

Tabora, which specialised in tobacco research. These colleges produced hybrid or improved seeds and trained more agricultural extension officers to assist progressive farmers.

In Tanganyika, progressive farmers were found at Oldeani in Mbulu, where they cultivated wheat, Rungwe, where they grew coffee and tea, Isimani, where they grew maize, and Sukumaland, where they grew cotton. They were also found in Nachingwea and Kongwa, where they grew groundnuts and Urambo, where tobacco was produced. The notable agricultural innovation during this period was mechanisation, which came with tractors. Agricultural mechanisation increased as the growing number of African progressive farmers who owned tractors increased. In addition, many African peasants engaged in ox-ploughing in the Lake Province, west Kilimanjaro, the Mount Meru area and the Southern Province.

Despite their achievements such as the rise in production, mechanisation and soil conservation, progressive farmers experienced certain problems. For example, African peasants accused progressive farmers of exploiting them as progressive farmers owned large pieces of land and needed to exploit labour from poor peasants. This system also led to the emergence of classes among the peasants. Thus, progressive farmers formed a class of rich peasants.

Agricultural schemes

The period after the Second World War witnessed an increase in the colonial government's involvement in agriculture. The colonialists introduced large-scale agricultural projects in their colonies to increase agricultural production. The agricultural schemes were aimed at increasing and controlling the production and marketing of cash crops, particularly cotton and groundnuts. Thousands of acres of land were used to grow cotton in Mwanza and Shinyanga, as well as groundnuts in Nachingwea and Kongwa. The following were some of the agricultural schemes introduced in Tanganyika:

Kongwa, Urambo and Nachingwea agricultural schemes

After the Second World War, there was a severe shortage of edible fats and oil in Britain. Samuel Frank, the Director-General of United Africa Company, a subsidiary company of Unilever Company which manufactured soap and margarine like Blue Band, asked the British Labour Government to start groundnut schemes in Kenya, the Rhodesias and Tanganyika. The project was expected to cost around £24 million, which would be provided by the British government in London. In Tanganyika, the John Wakefield Commission was formed in 1946 to study the establishment of schemes. It was recommended that such schemes

should be established in Kongwa and Urambo in central Tanzania and Nachingwea in southern Tanzania. Corporations were formed to manage the schemes. First came Overseas Food Corporation in 1948 and Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, which replaced the former in the 1950s. Implementation involved land clearing using heavy types of machinery such as bulldozers, graders and planters. Up to the end of the 1950s, the schemes had cost £35 million. That amount exceeded the government expenditure for 1946 and 1950.

Effects of agricultural schemes in Africa

Agricultural schemes increased the demand for forced labour. Africans had to spend much time implementing the projects. The schemes contributed to food shortages as Africans in some places were forced out of their land to give way for the implementation of the projects. Much time was invested in the production of cash crops at the expense of food crops. The schemes left Africans on barren land or made them landless.

Moreover, the schemes increased the number of migrant labourers. Most young men from Nachingwea, Urambo and Mpwapwa migrated to the places where agricultural schemes were being implemented to search for wage labour. As a result, the labour reserve areas were deprived of their labour and

the result was that the areas became underdeveloped.

The agricultural schemes also led to the occurrence of resistance in areas like Kongwa, Urambo, Usambara and Ukiliguru. In such areas, Africans expressed their discontent through boycotts, demonstrations and strikes. They were unwilling to surrender their land to the Europeans and to be forced to work in the agricultural schemes.

In general, the agricultural schemes were expected to boost agricultural production, thereby increasing raw materials for European industries and food production in the colonies. The modernisation of agricultural production was, therefore, inevitable. The modernisation process favoured a small class of African peasants (progressive farmers), but the majority were victims of forced labour, destocking, land appropriation and forced cultivation of cash crops. Africans were not only forced to work in the schemes, but also lost their fertile land. The majority of peasants in different parts of Tanganyika protested against the colonial projects, which meant that the colonial system was increasingly becoming weak towards the 1960s. The protests were part of the larger nationalist struggles in Africa.

Impact of the agricultural schemes

The undertaking of the schemes yielded some good results. They included

the construction of infrastructure, the building of dams, environmental conservation and improvement of the quality of health services. The agricultural schemes in Kongwa, Urambo and Nachingwea led to the improvement of the railway lines and roads to facilitate the transport of labourers to the farms and raw materials to the coast ready for shipment abroad. The port of Mtwara, for example, was built to simplify the transport of raw materials to Britain. Health facilities were also built by the British colonialists after the Second World War because the colonialists needed healthy labourers. In the 1950s, the colonial government built more hospitals and dispensaries to maintain the health of those working in the schemes.

The Europeans introduced environmental conservation measures that involved protecting wildlife and forests, and controlling soil erosion. The conservation efforts were not intended to improve the quality of Africans' lives. Rather, they were introduced in the interest of the colonial masters. Reforestation took place in different parts of Tanganyika, especially in areas that had been seriously affected by soil erosion. The areas included Morogoro, where the Uluguru Soil Conservation Scheme was introduced. Reafforestation also took place in Dodoma. In Sukumaland, the British introduced the Sukuma Land Development Plan in 1947. It

dealt with destocking to control soil erosion.

Failure of the agricultural schemes in Africa

Despite the achievements discussed above, the implementation of the agricultural schemes was not an easy task on the part of the colonial officials. Hence, by the early 1950s, almost all the schemes had died for several reasons.

African peasants generally opposed the schemes. The enforcement of compulsory agricultural practices and orders caused resistance. The colonial officers who supervised the schemes used force and threats during the implementation of the schemes. They frequently fined and even imprisoned Africans who did not cooperate with them. Generally, African peasants were against the schemes.

For example, the Luguru refused to support the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme for three reasons. First, they thought that the scheme was not adding any value to production. For them, rice was doing very well in areas without terraces. Secondly, the implementation of the schemes was tedious and demanding in terms of labour and time. Thirdly, the traditional chiefs who supervised the work oppressed their fellow Africans. In 1955, when the British continued to attempt using forced labour in the

Uluguru scheme, the Luguru reacted by rioting. Similar riots occurred in the Usambara Highlands in 1957. The Sambaa resisted compulsory ridging and terracing. As a result, the schemes were abandoned by the British colonial authority.

In Sukumaland, the colonial government introduced compulsory legislation and cattle destocking. The government imposed a compulsory cattle tax, cattle dipping fees and compulsory cultivation of cotton. The Sukuma refused to comply with any one of these regulations. The colonial government reacted by arresting some peasants. The peasants organised riots in 1953 and 1954, which forced the colonial government to abandon the development schemes.

Above all, Sukuma peasants regarded the new agricultural changes as a threat to their economic security and culture. As far as destocking was concerned, for example, the Sukuma were required by the law to slaughter a certain number of cattle annually to reduce the number of cattle. This law also demanded that livestock keepers give hides to the local government officers to show that they had slaughtered the cattle. Destocking was, however, highly opposed by the Sukuma as it interfered with their culture. Economically, a person was considered wealthy if he owned a large herd of cattle. Socially, the Sukuma had for many years used

cattle as dowry. The introduction of the schemes interfered with their cultural practices. They interpreted the changes as attempts by the colonial government and the chiefs to rob them of their cattle for Tanganyika Packers Factory in Dar es Salaam. The factory was established in 1949 to facilitate the export of tin-packed meat and to feed the growing urban population in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Mwanza. Like the Sukuma the peasants in Iringa refused to use cattle dipping services owing to the difficulty in taking cattle to the dip centres. The payment of fees to get the service also angered Africans who, as a result, rose against it.

Finally, African peasants opposed land alienation, which went hand in hand with the implementation of the schemes. They opposed resettlement schemes that accompanied the agricultural projects. A good example was the Meru land question which involved evicting about 3000 peasants from Engare-Nanyuki following the recommendation of the 1947 Wilson Report. The Meru were forced out of their land. They strongly resisted this and commissioned Japhet Kirilo to go to New York in 1952 to make their complaints before the United Nations. The outcome was that UNO sent a Special Commission to Tanganyika to hear the case. The Meru won the case and the British colonial government called off the resettlement project.

The schemes were financially expensive and the British government did not have sufficient funds to finance them. For example, Britain had set aside £24 million for cultivating 60 000 hectares of land in Kongwa, Nachingwea and Urambo. By the end of 1949, only 20 000 hectares of land had been cultivated and this work had consumed £35,870,000, which exceeded the original budget.

Moreover, poor planning by the colonial bureaucracy also contributed to the collapse of the agricultural schemes. For example, the areas around Korogwe had salty soils, which did not support the growing of cotton or rice. Similarly, the soil of Kongwa was clay, thus not appropriate for groundnut production.

Furthermore, there was no enough research done before the implementation of the schemes. The Colonial Agricultural Officers neither conducted thorough research on the type of soil suitable for the types of crops they wanted to cultivate nor did they study the weather of the areas where the schemes were introduced. They also ignored indigenous knowledge of crop cultivation. For example, soon after the British had finished establishing the Kongwa Groundnuts Scheme, they realised that the area received very little rainfall. This situation hampered the progress of the schemes. In other places, however, the Europeans constructed dams

for irrigation purposes. Dams were constructed in Tanganyika in places like Mlalo in Tanga and Unyanyembe in Tabora.



Activity 5.1

Organise a class discussion on the reasons for the failure of the agricultural schemes established in colonial Tanganyika.

Cooperatives and marketing boards

The colonial government set up marketing boards to regulate the buying and selling of cash crops in the colonies. Likewise, African peasants formed cooperative societies to encourage cash crop production. The colonial governments established most of the cooperatives and marketing boards in the 1930s and 1940s to supervise and regulate crop production and marketing in Africa. The institutions were established to solve two major economic problems which were facing African peasants. The first problem related to the price of the cash crops produced by peasants. The second problem related to the question of markets for the crops produced. To address the problems, the colonial government set up marketing boards and cooperatives. They, for example, fixed and harmonised the prices of the cash crops produced by African peasants.

In order to facilitate the workings of cooperative societies in Tanganyika for instance, the colonial government passed the first cooperative law in 1932. After that, many cooperatives were established, especially after the Second World War. Examples of the cooperatives and marketing boards introduced were the Bukoba Coffee Control Board under Clemens Kiiza (established in 1941), the Cocoa Marketing Board established in Ghana in 1948 and the Coffee Marketing Board established in Uganda in 1956. Other examples of cooperative unions were the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) founded in 1930 by Charles Dundas, the British District Commissioner of Moshi, which was registered in 1933, the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative registered in 1936 and the Lake Province Growers Association, which later changed its name to the Victoria Federation of Cooperative Unions. It was founded by Paul Bomani in 1950. These cooperative unions bought coffee and cotton from African farmers who were registered members and sold both to other traders. The main aim of the cooperative was to undermine the position of middlemen like Indians and Arabs, who were paying Africans very little money. The cooperatives also controlled price fluctuation.

Despite the importance of the marketing boards and cooperatives, they were accused

of exploiting peasants. This happened when the boards and cooperatives set low prices. A good example of this came from the Bukoba Coffee Board, which in 1947 signed a seven-year contract at £65 a tonne to sell coffee to the British Ministry of Food and Supply. The ministry, in turn, subcontracted the buying of coffee to private British agencies and in 1950, when the price of coffee rose to £132 a tonne, African peasants continued to be paid £65. The remaining amount was taken by the agencies rather than the peasants.

Changes in the colonial industrial policies

The industrial sector was not given sufficient consideration as other sectors such as agriculture. However, some industries were established in colonial Africa. The European colonial state encouraged the establishment of two types of industries in the colonies. The first form was that of extractive industries. The industries mainly extracted or processed minerals like gold, diamond, limestone and caustic soda. The second form was that of agricultural processing factories such as sisal decortications, cotton ginneries, coffee hulling machines and tobacco curing industries. These industries were built to reduce the cost of transporting the products from the interior to the ports and then onto Europe. All agricultural processing industries were aimed at reducing the

bulkiness of agricultural raw materials before being exported to Europe.

The industries depended on African labourers, who were paid low wages, although they worked for many hours. This was done to maximise profits and minimise production costs. A small number of Europeans were employed in industries as administrators and supervisors. During the Second World War, the European nations got affected. The war prevented European commercial ships from transporting consumer goods such as soap, cosmetics, sugar, shoes, textiles, blankets, cheese, butter, margarine, whisky, wine, cigarettes, tinned meat and mattresses to the colonies. The goods were largely consumed by the European officials and settlers who lived in the colonies. The scarcity of consumer goods forced the colonial state to establish import-substitution industries (ISIs). The industries replaced those of Europe which produced similar consumer goods.

Another change that happened after the war related to the international institutions, companies and firms that financed import-substitution industries. For example, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (now the World Bank), which was formed in 1946, began to sponsor major economic projects in some African colonies with the purpose of expanding industrial production. For example, the bank sponsored the construction of the

Kariba Dam to produce hydroelectric power for many import-substitution industries in Salisbury (Harare) in Southern Rhodesia. It also funded copper mining in Northern Rhodesia.

In Uganda, in collaboration with the colonial state, Frobisher's Company constructed a hydro-electric power plant at Owen Falls, near Jinja, in 1954. With a steady supply of electricity, a textile factory was established in Jinja. Meanwhile, electricity was also supplied to the copper industries in Kasese and Kilembe in western Uganda. Surplus electricity was sold to Nairobi, Kenya, where most of the import-substitution industries had been opened. However, import-substitution industries were unevenly distributed within and between the colonies. In East Africa, most of such industries were established in Kenya. Tanganyika had very few import-substitution industries. The few industries built in Tanganyika included Tanganyika Meat Packers, Tanganyika Cigarette and Bata Shoe Factory. Most of these were located in Dar es Salaam.

Characteristics of import-substitution industries

Many import-substitution industries (ISIs) were located in towns. For instance, in Kenya the ISIs were located in Mombasa and Nairobi. In Tanganyika, the ISIs were located in Dar es Salaam. The ISIs were located in the towns where many consumers lived.

The ISIs dealt mainly with the production of simple consumer goods like juice, biscuits, sweets and cigarettes. There were no textile industries. Manufacturing industries hardly existed in Africa. Only light industries were established. Examples of the light industries established in the 1940s included soap manufacturing industries in Nigeria, Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, the Gold Coast and Ivory Coast. In the 1950s, brick-making and copper smelting industries were established in Belgian-Congo and oven-making industries in Southern Rhodesia.

The ISIs depended on African labourers. In Tanganyika, for example, labourers were mainly obtained from various labour reserve regions such as Rukwa, Kigoma and Mtwara. In Nigeria and Ivory Coast, the migrant labourers working in both processing and extractive industries, as well as on plantations came from the interior colonies of Niger, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and French Sudan. African labourers did unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, while Europeans did skilled jobs like supervision and administration.

Moreover, simple technology was used in the industries. For example, a soap-making industry needed a simple machine and raw materials. Similarly, no formal training was given to the workers so that they could operate the machines. African workers only received training when they were at the operational centres.

Location of colonial industries

There were various factors that influenced the location of the industries established in colonial Africa. The factors are explained in the following section.

The choice of the location of industries in colonial Africa depended on the availability of raw materials. For example, industries were located in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and Tanga in Tanganyika because of the availability of sisal. Moreover, the availability of labourers was another factor that influenced the location of industries. For instance, Kenya had many industries because of its good system of recruiting labourers through the *Kipande* system. Likewise in Tanganyika, SILABU ensured a constant recruitment and supply of labourers to the sisal estates. Labourers were very useful in the running of the colonial economy, particularly in the agricultural and industrial sectors.

Furthermore, colonial industries were also located in areas which had markets for European manufactured goods. For instance, productive areas like areas with mines and plantations acted as markets for European manufactured goods. In such areas the labourers were potential consumers of manufactured goods.

Furthermore, colonial industries were located into areas which had good transport systems. For example, in

Tanganyika industries were located in Dar es Salaam, Morogoro and Tanga, while in Kenya industries were concentrated in Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. In Nigeria, industries were concentrated in Lagos, in the Gold Coast industries were built in Accra and in Southern Rhodesia industries were located in Salisbury.

Although the colonial state introduced major changes in the industrial sector, the sector was not treated with the same importance as the agricultural and mining sectors. This was done to limit competition with European industries. Africa had to continue being a producer of raw materials and a buyer of European manufactured goods.



Activity 5.2

Prepare the points that you will use either to support or oppose the proposition that the changes made to the colonial industrial policy benefited Africans after the Second World War.

Changes in the colonial trade

The colonial trade was one of the important economic sectors which created wealth for European imperialists. The imperialists imposed their own system of trade on Africans, while at the same time distorting Africa's commercial interests. It is clear that the pattern of colonial trade in African colonies was geared towards

the export-import system (EIS) of exchange. The colonies exported raw materials to Europe, in return for the European manufactured goods they received.

The colonial commercial sector was dominated by such European companies as Smith Makenzie in East Africa, United Africa Company in British West Africa and SCOA and CFAO in French Africa. These companies dominated over 60 per cent of the import-export trade in the colonies. In British East Africa and British Central Africa, Indians acted as middlemen by supplying the European goods they obtained from European commercial companies to the rural areas, where Arabs and Africans had established retail shops. In British West Africa, the Lebanese and Syrian merchants served as middlemen.

The colonial state formulated policies which enabled European merchants to dominate the trade. European merchants owned capital and, therefore, they were the main beneficiaries of the exchange system. Apart from European traders, Indians, Lebanese and Syrians were given licences to buy cash crops directly from African peasants and sell them to European commercial companies. This situation denied Africans the opportunity to participate either in the wholesale or the retail trade.

Before 1945, the colonial trade policy explicitly stated that Africans should

not be given trade licences. Africans had to remain suppliers of labour in various colonial economic sectors and producers of raw materials. After 1945, however, the colonial state introduced some changes into the commercial sector. One of the major changes made was allowing Africans to have access to and to apply for trade licences. However, they lacked capital, experience and entrepreneurial skills for undertaking trade and commerce. As noted earlier, the import-export trade remained under European companies.

By the 1950s, some African peasants in East and West Africa had begun to invest in retail trade using the capital they had accumulated after selling cash crops. Successful African businessmen raised their share of the import-export trade, which previously had been dominated by European trading companies. For example, in Nigeria, the African share of the export-import trade (EIT) rose from 5 per cent in 1949 to 20 per cent in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The changes made to the colonial trade policy were also accompanied by high rates of exploiting African peasants by European merchants and Asian businessmen. The marketing boards became a major tool for exploiting Africans. The boards set low prices for the cash crops produced by African peasants. In colonial Tanganyika, for example, in 1951, Africans who produced cotton were not paid the

same amount as non-African cotton producers. While Africans received 34 cents a pound, non-African producers received 68 cents a pound. In many colonies, Africans remained poor even after 1945. This was due to the fact that European commercial companies had invested money in their businesses to maximise profit.

Changes in colonial labour policies

European economic activities depended on African labour. Labourers were needed on plantations, in mines and in the construction of roads and railways. In essence, the structure of colonial labour that had been established before 1945 remained almost the same. This was because the colonialists did not change the colonial economic sectors after the Second World War. Thus, colonial plantations, farms and mines continued to depend on migrant labour. However, minor changes were made to the labour policies owing to the growing demand for labourers during and after the Second World War. Hence, the colonial governments came up with some new policies to appropriate the changing colonial economic system.

Migrant labour

As pointed out earlier, migrant labour involved people moving from their homes and going to production areas to work in colonial economic projects such as mines and plantations. Migrant labourers were divided into two

categories. First, labourers moved from one place to another within a given colony. This was referred to as intra-territorial migrant labour. For example, labourers moved from Kigoma to Morogoro. In the second category, labourers moved from one colony to another. For example, they moved from Belgian-Congo to Tanganyika or from Niger to Nigeria. This was referred to as inter-territorial migrant labour.

Migrant labourers were usually paid very low wages. Most of them were either unskilled or semi-skilled. The low wages paid forced them to continue working in colonial economic projects for a long time. Besides, they lived in compounds belonging to the companies they were working for. For example, migrant labourers lived in houses belonging to the sisal companies in Morogoro, Kilosa and Tanga, and this made them work for a long period. Thus, migrant labour was cheap. Furthermore, migrant labour was safe. The capitalist preferred using unskilled migrant labourers because they could not demand their rights. So, they could easily be exploited.

Furthermore, migrant labourers worked under very poor conditions, including poor safety facilities or protective gear. For example, miners worked without personal protective gear. They suffered from whooping cough and tuberculosis (TB) because they inhaled large amounts of dust and worked in an

unsafe environment. In addition, they lacked basic social welfare. Generally, migrant labourers had no right to social services like education. They also lacked reliable health services.

Methods used to obtain labourers

There were a number of methods which the colonialists used to get labourers. One such method was recruiting labourers from distant places, especially from non-productive areas. The colonial governments thought that by getting labourers from far away it would be difficult for the labourers to escape and return home. Moreover, the environment and surroundings would be too alien for them to organise any kind of revolt.

Another way of obtaining labourers was the use of force. Forced labour appeared in different forms. It was not very much different from slave labour. In both cases, force was used and a labourer was not paid. The difference was that under forced labour the labourer was not owned. In this case, a number of villages were allocated to a settler. Each day, the village headman had to provide a specific number of labourers to the settler. There were many instances of forced labour in Africa. In Belgian-Congo, for example, villagers were forced to collect wild rubber. In 1947, the Portuguese forced adult males aged between 18 and 55 to work on their plantations.

The eviction of Africans from their land and taking them to reserves or barren land was also a mechanism for obtaining labourers. Africans were evicted from fertile land and taken to reserves or overcrowded areas as squatters. The capitalists grabbed fertile land for opening farms and plantations, as well as mines to extract precious metals like gold, diamond, copper and silver. Africans had no option but to sell their labour power to the colonialists for their survival. By the end of the colonial period, for example, the amount of land expropriated in Kenya was 7.68 million acres of the most fertile land. In Northern Rhodesia, about 10.4 million acres of land had been expropriated.

Another method was establishment of organisations for recruiting labourers. For instance, in Tanganyika, there was SILABU. SILABU recruited many people from various districts for sisal plantations. Thus, by the 1940s the Makonde and Yao labourers formed the backbone of the Tanga sisal industry. There were also many labourers from Rwanda and Burundi on the sisal plantations located along the coast of Tanganyika. In the 1940s and 1950s, the South African Witwatersrand Native Labour Agency (WNLA) had branches in Nyasaland and Tanganyika and recruited a large number of labourers from Nyasaland and the Southern Highlands of Tanganyika for the gold mines in South Africa.

The colonial state also introduced various taxes which were supposed to be paid in cash. For example, in Tanganyika there were head and hut taxes. Likewise, in Kenya and Uganda there were similar taxes. This situation forced Africans to work on the colonial plantations and in the mines to get money for paying taxes.

The colonialists also created labour reserve zones. For instance, in Tanganyika labour reserve zones were established in areas such as Kigoma, Tabora, Rukwa and Dodoma. These areas were considered less productive; hence, they had to supply labour to the colonial economic activities.

Reasons for using migrant labourers

The colonialists preferred using migrant labourers because migrant labourers could not escape from the production centres. This is because they worked in a new environment, which was very far from their homes. They were also new to the areas. That is why it was very difficult for them to hide or escape. Migrant labourers were also preferred because they could work for a long time and were always available. They lived in the camps found near where they worked.

Migrant labourers were preferred to other labourers because they could not resist easily and, therefore, they were politically safe. Migrant labourers came from different areas with

diverse ethnic origins and historical backgrounds. It was difficult for them to organise themselves because they were not familiar to each other. Migrant labourers easily accepted the demands of the colonialists because of their economic and social conditions.

The colonialists also preferred using migrant labourers because they were also a market for European manufactured goods. For instance, the South African Boers used migrant labourers from Southern Rhodesia, Mozambique and Namibia who were a source of market for their finished goods. Generally, migrant labourers served as a lucrative market for European goods such as clothes, shoes, drinks and bicycles.

Migrant labour was also preferred because it was cheap. This is because labourers were paid low wages and sometimes the wages were paid by installment. In this respect, it was profitable to the employers.

Exercise 5.2

- (a) Why was migrant labour preferred to other forms of labour in colonial Africa?
- (b) Does the same prevail in the post-colonial African economies?

Expansion of labour and labour migration after 1945

After the Second World War, there was a need to increase the number of migrant labourers on the colonial plantations and in the mines. Before the Second World War, migrant labourers in Tanganyika mainly came from Kigoma and Tabora, but after the Second World War they came from Rukwa, Ruvuma, Mbeya, Singida and Dodoma.

The post-war period also witnessed the expansion of technical infrastructure, including roads and railways that facilitated the transport of migrant labourers in Africa. In Tanganyika, for example, infrastructure was expanded following the establishment of various schemes in Nachingwea, Kongwa and Urambo. Thus, massive labour was needed in the construction of roads and railways in order to facilitate the transport of the crops produced in the schemes.

The establishment of agricultural processing and import-substitution industries needed labour. Examples of processing industries in Tanganyika were Tanganyika Packers Limited in Dar es Salaam and cotton ginneries in Shinyanga and Geita. The establishment of these industries increased the demand for more labourers, who were needed to revamp the economy, which had been destroyed by the Second World War.

The establishment of agricultural schemes led to a high demand for migrant labourers. In Tanganyika, the colonial government established many projects, including those of Nachingwea, Kongwa and Uluguru. The agricultural schemes needed many labourers. To ensure that there was a constant supply of labour, the colonial government introduced labour contracts that ranged from 6 to 12 months. In order to reduce expenses, initially, migrant labourers were not allowed to go to the mines or plantations with their wives and children. The colonial employers provided food to all migrant labourers. However, this system changed after 1945 because it was found to be very expensive. Henceforth, migrant labourers were allowed to go with their families to the mines and plantations. The colonial authorities also stopped providing food to the labourers. The labourers could now use their monthly wages to buy all their families' needs. They were no longer dependent on their employers.

Impact of the changes in colonial labour policies

The changes made to the colonial labour policies had various kinds of impact. Some of the impacts are:

The changes in the colonial labour policies in Africa led to the expansion and increase of movement of people from their home areas to other places in search of jobs. In the case of

Tanganyika, migrant labourers were mainly taken from Kigoma, Rukwa and Tabora and sent to production areas like Morogoro, Tanga and Kilimanjaro.

The changes also increased the number of educational opportunities. For example, in the production areas like Kilimanjaro, schools were built to train people in how to use better farming methods to increase productivity. The educational centres such as schools started to make social and economic differences among Africans.

The changes also led to the growth of urban centres, which were the result of the movement of people from rural areas to urban centres. Some people moved from rural areas to towns, believing that life was better in the towns. Eventually, they became a source of labour for the colonial industries and other projects. Towns such as Morogoro and Tanga grew as a result of the movement of people who were seeking employment.

Moreover, the changes led to the expansion of agricultural production. The new labour policies made labour abundant and available. For instance, in Tanganyika, soon after the colonial labour policies changed, new schemes were initiated such as the groundnut schemes because labour was available. The same scenario was common in colonial Africa after the Second World War.

Eventually, the changes increased the exploitation, harshness and brutality

that Africans suffered. All these led to the rise of working class movements which fought for workers' rights. This marked the beginning of trade unions such as the Union of Dock Workers in Tanganyika and the Rhodesia Railway Employees' Association.

Workers' movements

Workers' movements were organisations that Africans formed to fight for their rights. The movements were formed from various workers' welfare associations and trade unions, which represented teachers and industrial, dock and railway workers. Examples of workers' welfare associations in Tanganyika were the Union of the Commercial Road Transport Workers, the Union of Dock Workers and Railways Workers' Union. Apart from these welfare associations, there was one prominent trade union called Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL), which was under the leadership of Rashid Mfaume Kawawa.

The African working-class welfare associations and trade unions, which emerged after 1945, had certain characteristics. Most leaders were responsible for organising the workers over a period of time rather than emerging as spokesmen in particular protests. Furthermore, the working-class movements were largely confined to urban areas as they were born out of the colonial economy. These solidarity of the workers in particular enterprises

and industries increased and was occasionally expressed in permanent trade unions. Many of the members were unskilled and semi-skilled labourers.

The rise and consolidation of workers' movements after 1945

There were a number of reasons for the emergence of workers' unions after the Second World War. One was the need to protect and safeguard workers' interests and rights. For instance, they demanded better wages and better working conditions. Most miners from different parts, especially those in the Gold Coast, worked in bad conditions, which caused deaths and injuries.

The emergence of an elite class was another factor for the rise of workers' movements. This was a group of educated workers who influenced the rise of workers movements because they had been exposed to various issues pertaining to the working-class movements. Some had even read various works on working-class movements in Europe. For instance, Joshua Nkomo of Southern Rhodesia organised a movement called the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association to demand better welfare for workers.

Moreover, the expansion of infrastructure was responsible for the rise of workers movements. As already pointed out, the colonialists expanded and improved infrastructure

to facilitate the exploitation of African resources. Eventually, the improvement in infrastructure became advantageous to Africans because it was easier for them to communicate and interact with each other as they were in the process of forming their movements.

The presence of diverse industries in the colonies also contributed to the rise of workers' movements. After the war, the colonialists opened different types of industries in the colonies such as import-export substitution and processing industries for the purpose of reviving their economies as well as the service sector. This increased the number of permanent labourers, who stayed together for a long time; hence, they mobilised each other to demand their rights.

Finally, the colonial government's policy of allowing unions and organisations also contributed to the development of workers' movements in Africa. After the Second World War, the colonial governments allowed the formation of trade unions and other workers' movements and organisations. The formation of various workers' organisations such as trade unions was aimed at fighting for workers' rights, good wages and good working conditions. The importance of workers' organisations is that during the struggle for independence they allied with political parties in the struggle for independence.



Activity 5.3

Conduct a library research on the colonial labour question and prepare a presentation on the various methods that the colonial state used to recruit labourers.

Assess the effect of such methods in colonial Africa. Use the findings to prepare notes for revision.

Changes in the colonial transport and communication systems

After the Second World War, the colonial state improved transport and communication networks in the colonies. The colonialists constructed, improved and expanded railways, roads and harbours for transporting goods and providing services. To improve the communication systems, the state established postal services at the headquarters of each district. In East Africa, the three Governors of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda established the East African High Commission (EAHC) in 1948 to provide common services. A telephone service between the colonies and the metropole was also introduced.

Some of the railways which were expanded after the Second World War were the railway line from Lagos to Kano in Nigeria for transporting palm oil and the railway line from Accra

to Kumasi for transporting cocoa. In Central Africa, there was a railway line for transporting minerals from Southern Rhodesia to the port of Beira in Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique). In the French West African territories, feeder lines brought export goods to the port of Dakar in Senegal and the port of Conakry in Guinea.

Objectives of the expansion of the colonial transport systems

Expansion of the colonial transport systems was to link agricultural areas in the interior to the coast. The colonial powers built railways and roads in various areas to transport raw materials from remote areas to the coast.

Expansion of the transport systems was also aimed at transporting colonial officers within the colonies. For instance, the systems were used to transport the administrators who were supervising various colonial government tasks and projects, plantations, mines and industries.

The systems were used to transport migrant labourers from their homes to the production areas. For instance, in Tanganyika the central railway was extended from Tabora to Mpanda to transport migrant labourers from Rukwa and the neighbouring regions to the production areas such as Morogoro and Dar es Salaam.

The systems were also used to transport soldiers to areas where there was active resistance. The expansion of the transport systems facilitated the suppression of Africans who were resisting colonialism.

Characteristics of the colonial transport systems

In colonial Africa roads and railways were developed in such a way that they ran from the ports to the major mining and cash-crop producing areas in the interior. The roads and railways did not integrate the colonies, but they ran mostly to economic productive areas. For example, in the Gold Coast ran a few miles from the coast railways to the interior in the cocoa producing areas in Kumasi.

Railways and roads rarely connected two territories. Except where two territories belonged to one colonial master, railways and roads had no inter-territorial integration. For example, Uganda and Kenya shared the Uganda railway line because they belonged to the British colonial master. However, there was no connection between colonies, for example between the Gold Coast and Nigeria, and Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi.

Another characteristic of the communication systems in Africa was the dominance of vehicles for carrying goods over vehicles for carrying passengers. The colonialists preferred wagons to passengers' vehicles because they wanted to transport raw materials to the coast (ports) for shipment to Europe and to transport manufactured goods from Europe to the interior African markets.

During the colonial time, there were networks of feeder roads and railways which were connected to the main railways or trunk roads. The feeder railways and roads carried raw materials to the main railways or trunk roads. One example of a feeder railway line in Tanganyika was the Kaliua-Mpanda railway. The railway transported labourers from Mpanda to the main railway line, that is, the Dar es Salaam-Kigoma railway line.

Many roads and railways covered a short distance. They extended to the areas that produced raw materials. For example, in Tanganyika there was a short railway line which ran from the coast (Mtwara) to the interior (Nachingwea), which produced groundnuts. Figure 5.1 shows the main railway lines in colonial Tanganyika.



Figure 5.1: Main railway lines and ports in Tanganyika

Impact of the expansion of the colonial transport and communication systems after 1945

The construction of the transport networks stimulated cash crop production and of natural as well as forest resources for export. This intensified colonial exploitation of Africa's resources. For example, in Congo-Brazzaville, the Congo Ocean railway line, which linked Pointe-Noire and Brazzaville, was constructed

to transport manganese ore and timber from the Congo and Gabon forests. In Nigeria, the Kano-Apapa railway line facilitated the transport of cotton, cocoa and groundnuts. The Enugu-Port Harcourt railway line was built to transport palm oil and coal. In Sierra-Leone, the Marampa-Pepel railway line facilitated the transport of diamond from the Marampa mine to the port of Pepel. The Uganda railway facilitated the transport of cotton, copper, coffee, tea, pyrethrum and dairy products from

Uganda and the interior of Kenya to the port of Mombasa before they were exported to Europe.

The transport system facilitated the transport of migrant labourers. The construction of the transport infrastructure was not for opening up the colonies to develop of African societies. Some railway lines were built to transport migrant labourers only. For example, the central railway line in Tanganyika that transported migrant labourers from Rukwa, Kigoma and Tabora to coastal plantations was mainly built to serve this purpose.

The sector was a source of employment to a few Africans. Some Africans were employed as railway workers, drivers and dock workers. Others maintained roads.

Railways played a major role in further opening up the interior of Africa by incorporating it into the world capitalist economy. This benefited the Europeans in various ways as they were able to put the colonies under full their control.

The transport system made it easy to transport troops and colonial administrators to the interior. Troops were dispatched into the interior using railways and roads. Colonial information was also transmitted from the coast to the interior through the same communication networks. Furthermore, during the *Maumau* war in Kenya, African soldiers failed to

defeat the British forces because of the improved railways and roads, which facilitated rapid transport of British troops to the areas where people were resisting colonial rule.

Many towns developed along the railway lines in the interior of Africa. In Tanganyika, the towns that emerged along the railway lines included Morogoro, Kilosa, Mpwapwa, Itigi, Manyoni, Tabora, Urambo, Mpanda and Kigoma. In Kenya, the towns that emerged along the lines were Nairobi, Kisumu, Voi, Naivasha, Nakuru, Nanyuki and Thika. In Uganda, the towns that developed as a result of the Uganda railway line were Jinja, Kampala, Kasese and Gulu. Thus, railway lines and roads influenced settlement patterns and towns.

Improvements in the transport systems stimulated internal communication. During this period, postal services such as transporting letters and telegraph services became so important that offices were opened in every district. The transport networks facilitated interaction between people, both within and outside the colonies. For example, when the British Governors of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda formed the East Africa High Commission in 1948, roads and railways facilitated smooth movement of goods and people within East Africa.

Therefore, the location and general direction of the railway lines and roads

in the colonies were not for the benefit of Africans. They were, instead, meant to serve the needs and interests of European capitalism.

Exercise 5.3

Discuss the legacies of the colonial agricultural schemes established after the Second World War in any African country of your choice.

Introduction of Long-Term Development Plans

The colonial governments initiated long-term development plans. For example, the British colonial state introduced the 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The law showed Britain's commitment to the development of the colonies in her own interest. Thus, after the war, Britain attempted to expand production through agricultural stations, extension programmes, the promotion of technology and conservations measures. To facilitate the implementation of this law, the British colonial state adopted a Ten-Year Development Plan (1947-1957). The objectives of the plan were to improve upon colonial bureaucracy, transport as well as education. Another objective of the plan was to make sure that the colonies were self-sufficient financially. The plan was also aimed at improving wildlife conservation,

fisheries and livestock keeping. In Tanganyika, for example, the schemes which benefited from British funds were the Uluguru Mountain Land Usage and Rehabilitation Schemes, the Sukumaland Livestock and Land Usage Development Scheme, the Nachingwea Groundnuts Scheme and the Kongwa Groundnuts Scheme. The schemes were under the supervision of local authorities. It is worth noting that the plan, among other things, paid attention to the expansion of social services.

Changes in social service policies

After the Second World War, the colonialists made various changes to the provision of social services in the colonies. The colonial social services which were expanded included health, education, water supply, housing and electricity.

Distribution pattern of colonial social services

The imposition of colonial rule on Africans was done simultaneously with the imposition of the colonial economy and the establishment of social services like education, health, water, housing and electricity. The provision of colonial social services in the colonies was determined by the following factors:

The presence of European settlers in a colony was one of the factors that determined the provision of social services in the colony. Colonies like

South West Africa, Kenya and Southern Rhodesia had a large number of Europeans, who were growing export crops such as coffee, tea, pyrethrum and tobacco. Others had invested in dairy farming. The presence of European settlers in such areas forced the colonial state to develop or establish social services. Such areas had an adequate supply of water and adequate provision of health services and education, and they were served by well-built roads.

Urbanisation was another factor that determined the provision of social services. With the onset of colonial rule, Africa began to witness the rise and growth of modern towns and cities. Examples of such towns and cities were Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala, Blantyre, Salisbury and Lusaka. The colonialists built some administrative centres in the expanding towns to meet the growing need for social services by the then growing urban population. Towns and cities also functioned as hubs of all types of transport services like railways, harbours, roads and airports.

The presence of European missionaries in rural areas in the colonies was another factor that determined the provision of social services. For example, in Tanganyika, missionaries opened mission centres in Mwanza, Tabora, Songea, Bukoba, Moshi and Mbeya. As a result of their activities, the areas began to enjoy social services

like education, health, and electricity.

Another factor that determined the provision of social services was the presence in a colony of precious minerals like gold, diamond, copper, iron ore, coal, cobalt, manganese, uranium tin and bauxite. Examples of the mining centres established in Africa included the copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, the Mwadui diamond mine in Tanganyika and the Ashanti gold fields in the Gold Coast. These areas enjoyed adequate provision of water, health, transport and housing services.

In some parts of Africa, the colonialists encouraged the development of African peasant agriculture. In East Africa, for example, peasant agriculture was established in Buganda, Kilimanjaro and Bukoba. The practice of peasant agriculture in such areas motivated the colonialists to build roads and railways which connected the areas with the coastal areas where the Europeans had built modern harbours. For example, the Uganda railway line, which ran from Mombasa in Kenya to Kampala in Uganda, was built with British capital to transport the coffee, tea and cotton produced by the white settlers in Kenya and Uganda.

Finally, the social services and infrastructure were provided in urban centres, where the Europeans had established their settlements and import-substitution industries. Such infrastructure was a link between the

metropolitan power and the colonial markets, and between the urban markets and the production areas in the rural areas. They were not for the benefit of Africans.

Changes in colonial education

Colonial education was offered to African pupils through formal instruction in the classroom. Teachers were trained and employed so that they could supervise teaching and learning. The media of instruction were mainly metropolitan languages, particularly English, French and Portuguese. Native languages were only tolerated among beginners. Missionaries and the colonial government established and ran many schools. Each agency ran various types of schools. For example, the missionaries ran bush schools, primary (lower and upper) schools, vocational training centres and seminaries. The colonial government ran central government schools as well as native authority schools.

Objectives of expanding colonial education at different levels

Colonial education was aimed at creating a class of literate Africans who could be employed as soldiers, warrant chiefs, teachers, clerks, book keepers, store keepers, farmers, animal husbandry experts, catechists and carpenters. All these were expected to be subordinates of European officials in different sectors and were usually paid low wages.

The colonial government expanded education so as to use it as an ideological tool to make Africans accept colonial rule and European culture. This accelerated the culturalisation process; educated people were seen as people who had adopted European culture and who despised their own (African) culture.

The missionaries converted many Africans to Christianity. However, the evangelisation process faced a number of challenges because the majority of Africans did not know how to read and interpret the Bible. The missionaries pressurised the colonial government to provide education to as many Africans as possible so that they could understand the Bible. The converts were prepared to be local religious leaders such as catechists or evangelists.

The expansion of colonial education, especially after the Second World War, was aimed at preparing Africans to be puppet leaders and to pave the way for neo-colonialism to start. The colonial government found that the situation after the Second World War in Africa was difficult owing to the rise of political awareness and the determination to struggle for independence. Therefore, the colonial government expanded colonial education to prepare a class of petty bourgeoisie who could serve their interests and act as collaborators or sub-imperialists.

After the Second World War, colonial

education was used to justify racism and racial segregation in the provision of education itself and health services, and in residential areas. Education was also used to make the African child develop a liking for order, cleanliness, diligence and dutifulness, including the virtues of obedience and fear of colonial laws and orders. Thus, colonial education was to expose Africans to Western culture. It also helped to reduce illiteracy and give skills to Africans who later on carried out activities.

Characteristics of colonial education after the Second World War

The characteristics of colonial education after the Second World War may be analysed using British colonies as an example. One of the characteristics of colonial education was regional imbalances. After the Second World War, the native authorities were required to provide funds for running primary schools. This favoured the cash-crop producing areas because their native authorities had much money. The residents of such areas could also pay school fees.

Colonial education was basically gender biased. The bias stemmed from the colonialists' assumption that African women were responsible for taking care of the family. Thus, they were to be given an education that would enable them to know how to read and write. The figures for

Tanganyika in 1956 clearly reveal the extent of this bias. In the case of primary schools (Standards I-IV), the total number of pupils was 336 000, of whom 105 000 were Standards V-VIII girls. The total number of pupils was 28 000; out of these, girls were 4900. In the case of secondary schools, the total number was 4409, out of which only 204 were girls. Thus, the number of girls or female students decreased with the rising level of education.

The content of the education provided to Africans also reflected the needs of capitalism. Those who received it would go back to the village and increase agricultural production. The central government schools were geared towards realising the provision of other social services and the running of the few industries that existed in the colonies. Thus, they taught arithmetic, literacy, masonry, carpentry and printing. Emphasis was put on white collar jobs, which discouraged manual labour. White collar jobs implied one had higher education and was civilised, while manual labour implied that one was illiterate.

Moreover, the content of colonial education was mainly Western oriented and, therefore, irrelevant to the African situation. One would, for example, study about mountains in Europe without ever studying about the mountains found on the African continent.

The education provided was theoretical. Likewise, colonial education emphasised rote-learning. Pupils were encouraged to memorise new items as they were taught even if the knowledge obtained was irrelevant to their lives.

At all levels, discipline and respect for authority were emphasised. Those who were educated were supposed to obey colonial order without questioning the legitimacy of colonialism.

Therefore, colonial education was provided to underdevelop Africans. It was not meant to cultivate self-respect and confidence on the part of Africans, but rather to produce people who were loyal and submissive to the colonisers. Only minimum skills were provided because colonial education was not intended to develop Africans in terms of science and technology. Africans were supposed to produce raw materials for export and to buy European manufactured goods.

Major changes made to colonial education after the Second World War

The major changes made to colonial education after the Second World War related to the colonial government encouraging missionaries to open more schools. Missionaries were provided with state grants for that purpose. The situation after 1945 made it clear that it was burdensome and very expensive for the colonial government to establish

and fund schools all over the colony. Therefore, the colonial government asked missionaries to open more schools so as to accommodate the large number of African children. In Tanganyika, for example, missionaries opened schools like Tabora Central School and Old Moshi School. The Mary Knoll Fathers built St. Marian School in Morogoro (now Kilakala Girls' Secondary School). The Franciscan Missionaries built St. Francis College (present-day Pugu High School) at Pugu, in Dar es Salaam, just to mention a few.

The colonial government increased the number of schools and colleges within the colonies. They included Fourah-Bay School and Bo-School (Sierra-Leone), Achimota College (Ghana), Kaduna College and King's College (Nigeria), Alliance High School (Kenya), Kisantu School (Belgian-Congo), Ecole Normal William Ponty (Senegal), King's College (Uganda), Gordon Memorial College (Sudan), Sadiki Academic School (Tunisia) and Overturn Institute in Northern Rhodesia. The majority of these schools were elevated to secondary schools and colleges between 1945 and the 1950s.

The schools of native authorities were administered by the local government and most of them were built in the rural areas to educate rural children. Subjects which were taught in such schools were related to the needs of European capitalism. They were reading,

arithmetic, writing, civics, agriculture and crafts. Most of them took Standard I-IV pupils. After completing Standard IV, most of the pupils returned to the villages, where they participated in cash crop production. The few pupils who passed the Standard IV examinations were promoted to Standard V. Equally significant, secondary education was introduced into many colonies after 1945 when the colonialists aimed to produce literate personnel to help them in administering and exploiting African wealth.

Some colleges were elevated to universities after 1945. The colleges were Gordon Memorial College, which merged with Kitchener School of Medicine and became University College of Khartoum in 1951, with the University College of London setting examinations and awarding degrees.

In East Africa, the British colonial state elevated Uganda Technical College to Makerere University College in Uganda. Makerere was affiliated to the University College of London in 1949. The colonial government also established new universities.

For example, in the 1950s, the British government established the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Southern Rhodesia. The college served three countries, namely Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and was affiliated to the University College of London.

During this period, the syllabus emphasised agriculture, vocational training and medicine. The establishment of vocational schools was to enable African pupils to acquire vocational skills at an early age so that they could increase production. Some schools of medicine were also built in the colonies to train medical staff among Africans. More middle schools were built to feed the few secondary schools which had been established.

By 1950, the enrolment of African children on secondary schools was between one per cent and two per cent in many colonies. In Egypt, pupil enrolment stood at seven per cent. By 1950, primary school enrolment in the French West African colonies was six per cent, in Kenya 26 per cent and Nigeria 16 per cent.

The impact of colonial education on African societies

Colonial education had the following impact on Africa:

Colonial education created two classes in African societies, namely the educated and the non-educated. These two classes caused misunderstandings in society because the educated regarded themselves as superior and the non-educated as inferior. The colonialists did this to divide Africans so as to rule them more easily. For example, in Tanganyika, only a few people, especially the sons of chiefs, received colonial education.

Colonial education encouraged and maintained racism in Africa. For instance, whites got the best education, Asians received better education and Africans received poor education. This was done to create a class of rulers and that of the ruled. African pupils were given knowledge pertaining to agricultural activities, while the education given to Asian pupils related to business. The education given to white pupils was intended to prepare them to be administrators in the colonial offices and to supervise work in colonial projects or undertakings. The disparity in the provision of colonial education propagated racism.

Colonial education produced African intellectuals who could question and analyse various issues, especially political issues. These were people like Milton Obote (Uganda), Kwame Nkrumah (Gold Coast), Nnamdi Azikiwe (Nigeria) and Julius Kambarage Nyerere (Tanganyika). The Africans who got colonial education knew how they had been exploited by their colonial masters. They saw the importance to regaining their lost freedom; hence, they spearheaded African nationalism.

Furthermore, colonial education promoted Western culture in Africa, which made Africans abandon their ways of life and instead adopt new lifestyles, including acquiring Western names and languages. For instance, in

Kenya and many other British colonies, Africans learnt English, while in the French colonies they learnt French. The Western culture that Africans acquired resulted divided them into superior and inferior Africans. Those who were westernised were considered to be civilised and the non-westernised were considered to be uncivilised.

Colonial health services after 1945

As a result of the Second World War, the colonial masters changed and expanded health services in Africa. This was done to increase productivity on plantations, in mines and in industries. The characteristics of colonial health services are presented below.

The services were unevenly distributed, in that a large number of hospitals and dispensaries were built in urban, plantation and mining centres, where there were many workers or settlers who were producing cash crops. Areas that did not have any economic potential were marginalised.

Health services were more curative than preventive. The colonial health services were not aimed at preventing diseases. The services were provided to treat Africans so that they could provide cheap labour to the whites. Besides, Africans were a market for European medicines.

The services were provided on a racial basis. The health services given to Africans were not of the same quality

as those provided to Europeans. Europeans received better services and Africans received poor services. For example, in Dar es Salaam, Ocean Road Hospital offered medical services to whites, while Sewa Haji Hospital was for Africans and other non-whites. Moreover, most of the doctors were Europeans. This could be explained by the fact that they were the ones who received appropriate education. Africans were prepared to serve as nurses, wound dressers and ward attendants. Later on, especially during the post-colonial period, this caused problems in most African health centres as they had an acute shortage of medical health personnel.

African traditional medicine was despised, but for a reason. Allowing African local medicine to enter the market would cause competition with foreign medicine. The missionaries who owned many health institutions argued that African medical practices were incompatible with Christian teachings. Since the time of penetrating and establishing colonialism in Africa, most Africans had been depending on Western medicine.

In Tanganyika, most of the colonial health facilities for African labourers were located in Tanga and Morogoro, where there were sisal plantations. Similarly, Kenyan Highlands in Kenya were provided with health services as they had camps for migrant labourers.

All this reminds us that the minimum maintenance of workers' health by the colonialists was an economic investment for them. That is why the Africans living outside the web of the colonial economic sites were ignored altogether.

The reasons for expanding colonial health services after 1945 are, therefore, identified. To modernise social services, the colonial government expanded the African health sector. The increase in population and the resultant expansion of towns after the war resulted in an increase in diseases. Colonial hospitals were established and dealt with such diseases as malaria, tuberculosis (TB), typhoid and smallpox. Others were hookworms and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) such as gonorrhoea and syphilis. Health research centres were established so that they could carry out research on tropical diseases. The fact that tropical diseases were posing a serious threat to the European community in Africa meant that measures had to be taken to improve the quality of health services for Africans and Europeans alike. It must be emphasised, however, that Africans' health services were relatively poor. The health centres for Europeans were built in most of the settler colonies such as Kenya and Southern Rhodesia. Hospitals for Africans and Europeans were established in Tanganyika as well.

Exercise 5.4

Is there any consideration in the provision of social services in modern Africa? Explain.

Changes in housing and water supply

The British government planned to allocate more funds to improve the quality of social services with a view to increasing production so as to rehabilitate the war-torn economies. It was after 1945 that the colonial regime planned to spend money on the provision of housing and water services to employees. However, the British provided relatively little money for African housing as compared to other services or projects such as road construction. This was done to maximise profit. Following the 1940 British Act of Colonial Development and Welfare (CDW), the colonial regime was determined to increase funding for projects such as housing in its colonies so as to increase production. The 1945 Colonial Development and Welfare was a significant extension of the 1940 Act. The law increased the amount of money that could be spent between 1946 and 1956 on development projects in the British colonies.

The early housing and water services were for meeting the needs of the labourers on plantations and settler farms. There were houses on the sisal

plantations in Tanga and Kilimanjaro; the houses were supplied with water. The house supervisors and factory workers were built near the areas in which they worked. Europeans put well-drilled water wells around the camps for their workers. Such services were important to the settlers who supervised the agricultural projects.

The British colonial government was also determined to provide funds for constructing water and sanitation infrastructure with a view to increasing production. For example, the 1948 Memorandum of African Housing contained detailed information on the indigenous population and the housing stock, including squatters' house, housing needs and proposed housing development projects. The schemes launched under CDW resulted in increased construction of houses, although housing shortages in urban centres like Dar es Salaam were not adequately addressed. It was estimated that over two-thirds of the city's houses were overcrowded and that 3000 houses were required to alleviate the shortage, but the colonial government planned to construct 250 houses in five years. The houses available to the African population in urban areas were significantly few. Thus, most Africans in urban centres lived in congested slums, which resulted in the spread of infectious diseases like pneumonia, typhoid and diarrhoea. In the slums,

there was a high rate of under nutrition among children because they ate poor and unbalanced diets.

The few houses constructed in the African-dominated areas lacked the necessary amenities like running water. Various letters and notes written between 1949 and 1954 showed the need for public water points. In 1953, hundreds of homes shared a single public water point. Colonial documents reveal shortcomings in the provision in drainage, sewerage and water services. The services were also provided on a racial basis. For example, in Dar es Salaam, pit latrines were designated for Africans, while flush toilets were designated for Europeans.

Reasons for expanding water and housing services after 1945

In the early years of colonial rule, there were no housing or water services for African and Asian employees. It was only after 1945 that the colonial state increased budgets for providing social services like housing and water to African employees. Housing and water services were offered to Africans in the plantation and settler economies. For example, the Amboni sisal plantation in Tanga had its own schools, mosques, churches, hospitals and welfare

centres. Apart from the sisal cutters, a few Africans such as clerks, wound dressers, school teachers, store keepers and messengers were also employed. The most privileged manual workers were the headmen, overseers and factory workers. These lived in camps, since they were required to be at work all the time. That is why the colonial government built houses for such workers. They also dug wells from which the workers could draw water.

Moreover, the colonial housing and water services were provided in order to minimise workers' resistance. The fear of resistance forced the capitalists to provide water and housing services in economically important places like plantation areas, urban centres, industrial areas and missionary centres. However, it has to be noted that the colonialists did not provide such services for the benefit of Africans.



Activity 5.4

Draw the map of Africa to show the pattern of the distribution of colonial social services after the Second World War. What do you think were the factors for that pattern?

Revision exercise 5

1. Explain the rationale for making major reforms in the colonial education sector in Africa after 1945.
2. Account for the expansion of colonial education in Africa after the Second World War.
3. Give five reasons why the colonial economy had the characteristics it had.
4. Why did the provision of health, housing and water services thrive after the Second World War?
5. Describe three characteristic features of the colonial industrial sector of the post-World War Two period. Explain why it had the features you have described.
6. Describe five strategies that the Europeans adopted to modernise agriculture after the Second World War and say why they were significant.
7. Do you think the low industrial production in most African countries today has anything to do with the legacies of the colonial economy? If so, what should be done to address the problem?
8. Why did most of the agricultural development schemes in Tanganyika fail? If the schemes were started today, would they thrive?
9. Examine the long-term effects of colonial migrant labour in any African country of your choice.
10. Assess three weaknesses of the agricultural reforms made after the Second World War in Tanzania.
11. Why was the distribution of social services uneven? What difference could evening out the distribution of such services make?
12. Show how the workers' unions and welfare associations fought for the interests of the African working class after the Second World War.
13. "Housing became a chronic problem in urban centres after the Second

World War.” Discuss the origin of this problem and how the colonial policies tried to address it.

14. Explain the motives of the colonial cooperative unions and the marketing boards of the period after 1945. What do you think were their major weaknesses?
15. Why did Africans protest against the agricultural modernisation projects of the Second World War Two period? Mention the forms of protests that Africans adopted.

Chapter Six

Nationalism and decolonisation in Africa

Introduction

During the nationalist struggle in Africa, there were events that happened outside Africa which supported the struggle. The events were referred to as external influences on the rise of nationalism in Africa. In this chapter, you will learn about the impact of the peace settlement after the First World War and the Pan-African Movement. You will also learn about the impact of the Second World War and the subsequent changes it brought about, the influence of the Bandung Conference as well as the independence of India and Burma on the struggle for independence in Africa. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate the efforts that African leaders made towards independence and, therefore, develop a sense of pride in national security and development.



What happens when people have no peace, freedom and dignity in their society?

Background to nationalism

Pre-colonial Africa had different social and political organisations, which ranged from kinship to centralised state organisations in the form of kingdoms and empires. With the advent of colonialism, different ethnic groups with different historical backgrounds were forcefully united to form colonial territories. With the introduction of

colonial economies into the colonies, Africans were exploited, humiliated and oppressed. Colonial exploitation, humiliation and oppression forced African people to come together to fight against colonial rule. This sense of togetherness against colonial injustices and the desire to get rid of colonialism came to be known as *nationalism*. In Africa and Asia nationalist movements started in the 20th century.

Nationalism was Africans' desire to liberate themselves from colonial domination. African nationalism gained momentum after the Second World War because at the time political awareness increased and, for most Africans, the war had given them the reason to campaign for self-determination. African scholars like Adu Boahen, Ali Mazrui, Mahmood Mamdani and Kwame Nkrumah have given various definitions of nationalism, as shown below:

- (a) Nationalism is the desire for self-determination, the desire for political, economic and cultural independence by Africans within Africa and in the diaspora;
- (b) Nationalism is a strong sentiment against foreign domination and the belief that European colonialism in Africa was a great hindrance to Africans' economic growth and development;
- (c) Nationalism is the natural love and pride which Africans have for their countries and continent; and
- (d) Nationalism is the ideological channel of the anti-colonial struggle that represents the demand for national independence of the colonised people.

Thus, African nationalism grew out of the realisation or consciousness that the Europeans had deprived Africans of their political, economic and cultural freedom. This made Africans demand

their lost freedom. Nationalism was generally Africans' desire to come together in order to end foreign rule so that they could rule themselves.

Internal forces for the rise of African nationalism

Most of the forces that contributed to the rise of nationalism emanated from the colonial system itself. The colonial subjects resisted economic exploitation. For example, peasants complained about low prices of their produce. They were seriously affected during the Great Economic Depression when the prices of crops such as cotton, coffee and tea fell drastically. Therefore, they formed cooperative unions to promote their demands, mainly better prices for their produce. In Tanganyika, for example, there were the Bukoba-Bahaya Union (1924), the Kilimanjaro Native Planters' Association (1925) as well as the Ngoni-Matengo Cooperative Union which was registered in 1936. Examples from Nigeria included the Cocoa Producers' Co-operative of Agage Planters' Union and the Egba Farmers' Union registered in 1926 as well as the Gbedun Co-operative Produce Marketing Society, which was registered in 1937. The peasant cooperatives helped to make Africans aware of the evils of the colonialists; hence, Africans started to fight for their rights. In colonial Kenya, the Kikuyu wanted to be allowed to grow coffee, which was reserved for white settlers.

They also demanded ownership of land; land was in the hands of the settlers. Likewise, in Southern Rhodesia, Africans wanted their land back.

Furthermore, workers had many discontents, which culminated in their forming workers' welfare associations. For example, in 1922 workers in Tanganyika formed the Tanganyika Territory Civil Servant Association under Martin Kayamba which laid the foundation for mass nationalism after the Second World War. Likewise, workers in Nigeria established the Nigeria Civil Service Union in 1912. These associations protested against low wages and long working hours.

The working class was composed of civil servants such as teachers, clerks, nurses and drivers. They struggled to eliminate economic injustices through demonstrations, strikes, petitions and boycotts. For example, the dock workers in Dar es Salaam and Mombasa organised strikes in 1947, demanding better salaries. In West Africa, youth clubs organised similar strikes during the 1920s and 1930s. Similarly, African trade unions like those of railway workers in Sierra Leone organised workers' strikes during the 1930s and 1940s. Generally, the African working class complained about low wages, poor working conditions and racism at the workplace and in the provision of poor social services like health and housing.

Africans also sought to eliminate segregation in the provision of social services. For example, there were schools for European, Indian, Arab and African pupils. The schools for European pupils were better equipped and had their own curriculum. The curriculum for African pupils focused on agriculture and some rudimentary technical skills. Similarly, health services were provided along racial lines. There were hospitals for Europeans, Asians and Africans.

Poor health services were provided to Africans. For example, those who worked in the hospitals in which Africans were treated as wound dressers, nurses and clinical officers received basic and rudimentary training. There were no medical specialists in most of such hospitals. In Tanganyika, for instance, a special hospital, namely Ocean Road Hospital, was for the Europeans who were living in Tanganyika during German colonial rule. Africans were not treated in that hospital. Similarly, in Nigeria the British colonial government constructed the hospitals in Lagos and Calabar in the 1970s. Initially, the hospitals served only Europeans. Later on, the services were extended to the Africans who had been employed by Europeans.

Moreover, Africans complained about political exclusion and marginalisation in the colonial administration, especially in decision-making. There

were no Africans serving as ministers or heads of department. In Kenya, for example, Africans were represented in the Legislative Council (LEGCO) by an appointed missionary. Between 1930 and 1940, European settlers in Kenya were represented by 11 members and the Asian community were represented by three members in the Legislative Council. After the Second World War, the colonial powers reformed political administration following the growing pressure for constitutional changes. It was not until 1945 that two Africans, namely Kidaha Makwaia and Abdiel Shangali, were nominated as members of the Legislative Council in Tanganyika. Similarly, in British West Africa, the Governor nominated Kwame Nkrumah as member of the Legislative Council. Africans were also allowed to form political parties to express their political interests. The political parties formed included Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in Tanganyika, Malawi Congress Party (MCP) in Nyasaland (now Malawi), Conventional Peoples' Party (CPP) in the Gold Coast (now Ghana) and Uganda People's Congress (UPC) in Uganda.

It could, therefore, be argued that the colonial system was exploitative and oppressive. Hence, it dug its own grave. Africans could not put up with colonial exploitation indefinitely. Workers and peasants organised themselves and

protested against colonial exploitation and oppression.



Activity 6.1

Imagine you were invited to participate in a debate with the motion "Internal factors were the only factors that influenced nationalistic activities in Africa." What points would you use to support or refute the motion?

External factors for the rise of nationalism

The colonial contradictions within African colonies and the protests which took place in different parts of the world contributed to the rise of African nationalism. The external and internal forces led to the growing of the wish to struggle for independence in Africa. Whereas the internal factors for nationalism related to Africans' protests against colonial exploitation, the external factors were the factors fuelled by the interests of the superpowers, the USA and USSR, which accelerated the whole process of nationalism. The following discussion focuses on the external factors for the rise of nationalism in Africa.

The Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919

The Versailles Peace Treaty was signed in Paris, France, in June 1919, that is, after the First World War. It was

aimed at settling conflicts between the victorious powers known as Triple *Entente*, which consisted of Britain, France and Russia, and the defeated group called Triple Alliance. This alliance consisted of Germany, the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary. Furthermore, it proposed preventive measures to prevent another war. Those who signed the treaty met at Versailles in Paris to discuss how to promote world peace. The leading figures were President Woodrow Wilson of the United States of America, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain, Prime Minister Georges Clémenceau of France and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Others were the German representative, Hermann Müller, who was the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and Johannes Bell, who was a Jurist Doctor and Minister for Colonial Affairs. Apart from the countries from which these figures came the allies of the Triple *Entente* were represented at the meeting. The forms of Versailles were signed on 28th June 1919.

Terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty

The treaty blamed Germany for starting the war. It, therefore, proposed that Germany be punished for causing the war. The following resolutions were passed:

1. Germany had to return Alsace and Lorraine to France;
2. Germany had to surrender her colonies in Africa to the victorious nations. The colonies were entrusted to the League of Nations and then administered as mandate territories by the victorious powers, namely Britain, France and Belgium;
3. Germany had to give up numerous eastern territories so that a new Polish nation could be created. This included a strip of territory near the Baltic port of Gdansk which gave Poland access to the sea but which disconnected the German territory of East Prussia from the rest of the country;
4. Germany had to allow the French to occupy several parts of its western territories, including the Saar industrial region, for 15 years. The allies were permitted to export iron and coal from the region;
5. The German army was prevented from recruiting more than 100,000 soldiers;
6. The German navy was limited to six battle ships. None of these could be bigger than a light cruiser (10,000 tons);
7. Germany had to give up all its submarines, tanks and military aircraft;
8. Germany had to surrender most of its merchant ships and one-

fourth of its fishing ships; and

9. Germany had to pay war reparations to the allies. The armistice agreement said that Germany had to pay for the damage caused by the war, which also meant that it had to pay the Triple *Entente* powers and their allies.

The Versailles Peace Treaty also adopted the Fourteen Points proposed by US President Woodrow Wilson. They were actually the guidelines which he had mentioned in his speech to Congress which he delivered on 8th January 1919:

- (a) That there should be no secret agreements between nations;
- (b) That there should be freedom of navigation on the seas;
- (c) That there should be no economic barriers between nations;
- (d) That all nations should reduce arms in the name of public safety;
- (e) That there should be fair and impartial rulings in colonial claims;
- (f) That the Russian territories should be restored from Germany and should be

allowed to develop their own national authority and autonomy;

- (g) That Belgium should regain her independence;
- (h) France should be liberated from any kind of occupation and should have Alsace-Lorraine returned;
- (i) That the frontiers or borders of Italy should be readjusted based on the distribution of Russian nationals in Europe;
- (j) That the sovereignty of Austria-Hungary should be granted;
- (k) That the Balkan States should be freed;
- (l) That the Turkish government should govern the Turkish people and non-Turkish people should be left free to govern themselves;
- (m) That Poland as an independent nation should be created and should be allowed to access the sea; and
- (n) A general association of nations (The League of Nations) should be set up in order to mediate international disputes.

Exercise 6.1

- (a) Discuss the significance of the Versailles Peace Treaty.
- (b) To what extent were the Fourteen Points of US President Woodrow Wilson important to world peace after the First World War?

The principle of self-determination

Self-determination refers to the state of being self-conscious and self-ruled with respect to a certain group of people. Self-determination was one of Wilson's fourteen points. The principle of self-determination was put into practice when the Versailles Peace Treaty granted independence to the nation-states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The US president said that nations should be freed from foreign rule and should be given democratic governments of their own choice. Apart from the USA, Britain and France also adopted the principle of self-determination for their colonies. The United Nations encouraged the colonial powers to apply the principle of self-rule in their colonies during the struggle for independence in Africa. Most African nationalist elites such as Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Kwame Nkrumah used the principle of self-determination to demand self-government.

Impact of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 and the decolonisation of Africa

The Versailles Peace Treaty adopted the principle of self-determination at the Paris Conference of 1919. The members signed the document which established the League of Nations in 1920. They hoped that the League of Nations would promote collective security in the world. The League of Nations agreed that all German colonies in Africa should become mandate territories. For example, Article 119 of the Versailles Treaty provided for Germany to cede Tanganyika, which was part of German East Africa (*Deutsch Ostafrika*), to Britain as a mandate territory. Ruanda and Urundi, which were also part of German East Africa, were given to Belgium. Theoretically, it was agreed that the powers should rule the colonies while at the same time preparing them for independence. Thus, Britain, France and Belgium governed the mandate territories on behalf of the League of Nations.

The Versailles Peace Treaty gave an opportunity to African nationalists to use the principle of self-determination to demand self-government. As a result, when they started campaigns for political independence the nationalists frequently referred to the principle.

For example, Julius Kambarage Nyerere visited the United Nations in 1958, requesting the organisation to pressurise the colonial powers to respect the principle of self-determination. This was also the case for the nationalist leaders of British and French West Africa.

The principle of self-determination increased Africans' political awareness and desire to struggle against colonialism. It encouraged the colonised societies to form political parties for self-determination. For example, in 1949 Kwame Nkrumah founded the Convention People's Party (CPP) for the people of the Gold Coast (Ghana) to struggle for independence. The CPP used several slogans like "independence now". On 6th March 1957, the people of the Gold Coast regained their independence from Britain. Kwame Nkrumah became the first resident of the Gold Coast, which was immediately renamed Ghana.

With the principle of self-determination, even after the Second World War, it was easy for the United Nations to pressurise the colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies. The UN Decolonisation Committee frequently visited the colonies to assess the implementation of the principle of self-determination. For example, the committee visited Tanganyika in 1954 and wrote a report to UNO. The

committee also suggested to UNO that the South African Apartheid regime should grant independence to South West Africa (now Namibia).

The idea encouraged Pan-Africanists to intensify the efforts to demand Africans' liberation from European colonialism. For instance, the Accra Conference of 1958 demanded African independence. Moreover, the superpowers, the USA and the USSR, used the principle to pressurise the European colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies. However, the superpowers had their own motives behind their supporting the decolonisation of Africa. They wanted raw materials, markets and investment areas.

One would hasten to argue, therefore, that the Versailles Peace Treaty promoted solidarity and unity among the colonised peoples. Solidary and unite promoted the struggle for the colonised peoples' rights. It actually influenced Africans to establish anti-colonial political organisations. In particular, for example, the National Congress of British West Africa (NCBW) was established in 1919 because of the influence of the peace treaty in question. The NCBW organised conferences in different towns in West Africa during the 1920s, campaigning for the improvement of African welfare in the British colonies. The Peoples Union of Lagos was established in Lagos in 1908 to

protest against land alienation and taxation. The union campaigned for the freedom of the press as well. Thus, the principle of self-determination was the foundation for African nationalism and the nationalist struggle.

African nationalists and the principle of self-determination

As already mentioned, the principle of self-determination gave the nationalist leaders in Africa the reason to double their efforts to fight for independence. Julius Kambarage Nyerere was one of the advocates of self-determination in Tanganyika. In order to make the struggle effective, he led the formation of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) on 7th July 1954. TANU emphasised unity as the best strategy to eliminate colonialism in Tanganyika. Another nationalist and Pan-Africanist who applied the principle of self-determination was Kwame Nkrumah. He encouraged the people of the Gold Coast to demand independence from Britain.

Another nationalist leader who applied the principle was Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya. He encouraged Kenyans to oppose settlers' domination. His influence increased political consciousness among Kenyans, who rose against colonial domination. As a result, Kenya got her independence from Britain on 12th December 1963.

Jomo Kenyatta became prime minister of independent Kenya under Kenya African National Union (KANU). In 1964, Kenya became a republic and Jomo Kenyatta became its first president.

Moreover, Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland (now Malawi) used the principle of self-determination to demand independence from Britain. Banda used the United Nations platform to achieve the objective. As a result, Nyasaland got her independence in 1964. It was soon renamed Malawi. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria applied the principle of self-determination to intensify the effort to liberate Africans. Attending the Accra Conference of 1958, Azikiwe encouraged Pan-Africanists to assist each other in the struggle for African independence. He led Nigeria to independence on 1st October 1960. Figure 6.1 shows a picture of Nnamdi Azikiwe.



Figure 6.1: *Nnamdi Azikiwe*



Activity 6.2

Read different works on nationalism and then examine how the principle of self-determination influenced nationalist feelings among Africans. Present your work to other members of the class for discussion.

Pan-Africanism

Pan Africanism refers to the political and ideological movement of the people of African origin intended to build unity, solidarity and dignity. It also refers to a strong attachment which all blacks have towards the African continent, African culture, African unity and independence. It is an expression of Africans' wish to revive their culture, thereby regaining their dignity and identity. This movement was organised in order to fight against capitalist evils like racial discrimination, exclusion, humiliation, oppression, colonialism, slavery and the slave trade.

The movement was started by blacks in North America and the West Indies, who suffered forced labour, discrimination and torture. Such black intellectuals as William Du Bois, Marcus Aurelius Garvey, William Henry Sylvester and George Padmore were the pioneers of the Pan-African Movement in the early 20th century.

The Pan-Africanists held a number of conferences in various towns such as in London (1900), Paris (1919), Brussels (1921), Lisbon (1923), New York (1927), Manchester (1945) and Accra (1958). The conferences influenced the speed of African nationalism and the struggle for independence in various ways.

Contribution of the Pan-African Movement to the struggle for independence

The Pan-African Movement succeeded in fostering unity between Africans in Africa and the people of African origin in the diaspora. The nationalists who attended the Pan-African conferences from Africa included Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, T. R. Makonnen of Ethiopia, Peter Abrahams of South Africa, Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, Obafemi Awolowo of Nigeria, Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Nyasaland and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria. Dr Peter Milliard, George Padmore and William Du Bois were from the diaspora.

Pan-Africanism accelerated African consciousness of their rights. This consciousness helped them to present their human rights abuses before UNO. A number of young Pan-Africanists such as Nyerere, Nkrumah, Banda and Kenyatta started educating their fellow Africans about their rights, including the right to self-government. The movement condemned racial

segregation in South Africa. It also denounced all forms of racism worldwide. The Pan-African campaigns contributed to the awareness that promoted Africans' struggle against injustices and, therefore, the rise of African nationalism. The Pan-African congress held in South Africa widely publicised the white man's cruelty against blacks and, subsequently, won international sympathy. This advocated respect for human rights.

Pan-Africanism influenced the formation of political parties in Africa. The parties built unity and solidarity necessary for the liberation struggles. Almost all African nationalist leaders established political parties after the Second World War. Examples of the political parties they established are the Convention People's Party (CPP) in the Gold Coast, which was formed in 1949 by Kwame Nkrumah, and Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), which was formed in 1954 in Tanganyika by Julius K. Nyerere.

The movement mobilised financial support for African political leaders so that they could attend liberation meetings in various parts of the world like those of London and Accra. Pan-Africanism facilitated the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. The organisation played major role in the African liberation struggles in the 1960s and 1970s. The OAU called for, among

other things, the decolonisation of African.

Exercise 6.2

The duty of the leaders who founded African nations was to fight for independence. What are the duties of the leaders in independent African states?

Role of the Accra Conference of 1958

After the independence of Ghana in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah invited independent African countries to participate in a congress held in Accra in April 1958. The congress was attended by the leaders of all African countries which had already got independence. The countries were Liberia, Ethiopia, Ghana, Tunisia, Morocco, the Sudan, Libya and Egypt. The conference was followed by *All-African People's Congress* in December 1958. This congress was attended by various African nationalist leaders such as Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanganyika, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Kenneth Kaunda of Northern Rhodesia and Peter Abrahams of South Africa.

Impact of the Accra Pan-African Conference of 1958 on the struggle for independence

The Accra conference of 1958 was the first Pan-African conference to be held on the African continent. The

African nationalists had, therefore, obtained a good platform which they had been struggling for for many years. Accra became the centre from which revolutionary ideas spread to the rest of Africa. The conference under Kwame Nkrumah encouraged African leaders to co-operate and visit each other in devising strategies for the liberation struggle. Those who attended the conference demanded an immediate end to colonialism all over the continent. The delegates discussed how best to facilitate the decolonisation of Africa, especially the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The conference supported the liberation movements in such colonies.

During the April 1958 conference, the eight independent African states also agreed to share and exchange cultural, scientific, technological and educational information. For example, they agreed on exchange programmes for professors, teachers and students so that they could raise Africans' awareness of the struggle for independence. They also agreed to improve communication lines within Africa to simplify the movement of nationalists and the spread of Pan-Africanist ideas.

The conference awakened nationalistic feelings throughout West Africa. The French colonies, which had been believing in the kindness of the

colonial masters, started seeing light through the speeches made during the Accra conference. They came to learn that colonialism was an evil. The French assimilation policy had deceived Africans that colonialism was a blessing to them. The participants also addressed the question of the future relationship between Africa and the rest of the world.

Moreover, the participants unanimously agreed to adopt the Non-Aligned policy in relation to the politics of the Cold War. The idea of non-alignment was discussed and adopted by a number of participants so as to safeguard African interests. The idea was to protect Africa from external influences. The participants feared that the superpowers would influence decolonisation in their own interest. Thus, the Non-Aligned members worked together to ensure that there was unity in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism. It also condemned all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination and interference of the great powers and bloc politics. On returning to their home territories, the participants started to implement the ideas related to Pan-Africanism and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

During the conference, President Kwame Nkrumah made it clear that the independence of Ghana alone was meaningless when the rest of Africa was still under colonial rule. He, therefore,

pledged to assist the countries which were still under colonial rule and called upon other independent countries to do the same. Therefore, the conference paved the way for holding other Pan-African conferences in different parts of Africa to discuss matters concerning liberation movements, among other things. Other Pan-African congresses took place in Algiers, Tunis, Lagos, Addis Ababa, Casablanca and Dar es Salaam. They also condemned the colonial domination of Africa.

The conference led to the formation of several political parties and liberation movements throughout Africa. For example, Patrice Lumumba formed the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) in 1958. Nationalists in the Portuguese colonies also started liberation movements known as *Frente de Libertação de Mozambique* (FRELIMO) in 1962 and the *União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola* (UNITA) in 1966.

The idea of African unity was given serious attention. Africans were urged to stop thinking only in terms of their individual states and instead start thinking about the entire continent. This gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) on 25th May 1963. Therefore, the formation of the OAU was the result of the 1958 Accra conference.

Exercise 6.3

- President Kwame Nkrumah once said, “The independence of Ghana alone was meaningless when the rest of Africa was still under colonial rule.” Relate this assertion with the rise of the struggle for independence in Africa.
- Assess Kwame Nkrumah’s contribution to the development of Pan-Africanism in Africa.

Effects of the Second World War

The Second World War (1939-1945) was a worldwide war which involved the Axis Powers, namely Germany, Italy and Japan, and the Allied Powers, namely Britain, France, the USA and the USSR. Its immediate cause was Nazi Germany’s invasion of Poland. Apart from these Western nations, African colonies also participated in this war. During the war Africans served as soldiers, porters, drivers and cooks. Among other effects, the Second World War led to the rise of mass nationalism in Africa. Before the war, Africans fought colonial oppression and exploitation through co-operatives, welfare associations and independent

church movements. However, after the Second World War, the struggle took the form of mass political parties. For example, after the war, welfare associations were transformed into vibrant political parties, which hastened the process of decolonisation.

During and after the Second World War, the demand for both food and cash crops increased, since the Far East, which had acted as the main source of tropical raw materials such as groundnuts, had been cut off by Japan. Apart from that, India, which was the source of cotton for British textile industries, attained independence and, therefore, ceased to be a producer of raw materials. European industrialists had to turn to Africa. As the demand for tropical raw materials increased, prices rose and Africans obtained better returns. For example, the export of groundnuts from Senegal increased. As the material conditions of African peasants slightly improved, the peasants could support African political parties and send their children to school. The return of African students from abroad contributed to the mounting of pressure for liberation in most African countries.

After the Second World War, the Labour Party under Clement Atlee campaigned against the Conservative Party under Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The Labour Party won the 1945 general elections. Members of the Labour Party were liberals and socialist workers,

who criticised the Conservative Party for allowing Britain to participate in the Second World War, which affected the British economy. It also condemned British colonialism in Africa and Asia, saying it was out-dated, oppressive and exploitative. Thus, on gaining power in 1945, the Labour Party sped up the process of decolonising Africa.

The end of the war led to the formation of the United Nations Organisation (UNO) as a new body charged with the task of maintaining world peace and order. UNO was established to replace the League of Nations, which was too weak to maintain peace in the world. From the start, UNO condemned colonialism and advocated the political rights of all the colonised peoples of Africa and Asia. The organisation was very instrumental in raising African nationalistic feelings. It also imposed sanctions on the racist South African regime in the 1960s.

The Second World War exposed African soldiers to the European environment and war, and hence they realised the weaknesses of the Europeans. The ex-soldiers had been discriminated against in the army. They were also given unfulfilled promises by the colonial governments. By the beginning of the Second World War, Africans had believed that Europeans were a superior race. On the contrary, during the war, the African *Askaris* on the battlefields realised the fallacy

of this notion. Having demonstrated marshal skills comparable to those of European soldiers on the battlegrounds, they believe that they could also wage wars against the European powers in Africa to liberate themselves. Thus, the Second World War had certain positive psychological effects on African soldiers. About 176 000 soldiers in British West Africa participated in the war.

Encouragement to Africans also came from various examples of the wars that European forces had lost. For example, African nationalism was very much encouraged by the defeat of the Italian forces in Ethiopia in 1941. Another example is the defeat of British forces by Japanese forces in Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong and Burma. Motivated by these experiences Africans decided to confront colonial forces in Africa. Wars of liberation were fought in most of the Portuguese colonies. In other words, the war gave *Askaris* the confidence that they could defeat the Europeans. Therefore, when the ex-soldiers returned from the war, they fought wars of liberation, which played a major role in weakening the colonial system. Good examples were the ex-soldiers who had fought in Algeria, Kenya, South Africa, Angola and Namibia.

The decline of European capitalism and the decolonisation of Africa

The collapse of Western European economies was the result of the Second

World War. Therefore, there is a relationship between the Second World War and the collapse of the European colonial powers in Africa. The European countries faced an economic crisis. Most European countries like France and Britain had most of their physical infrastructure destroyed. Houses, roads, railways, ports, factories and mines were damaged. Evidence shows that France lost almost half of her wealth. After the Second World War, European industries lacked enough raw materials. For instance, the supply of rubber from Malaysia to Britain declined following the Japanese conquest of Malaysia. The result was that there was a serious shortage of rubber in Britain, something that retarded tyre industries. This shortage intensified the exploitation of the colonies. Several agricultural projects were established in an attempt to increase the production of raw materials like cotton and groundnuts for European industries. The intensification of exploitation in the colonies met with a wave of nationalist struggles.

Contribution of the economic decline in Europe to the decolonisation of Africa

European nations became dependent on the USA's financial aid through the Marshall Plan of 1947. The USA was financially stable because the world wars were never fought on its soil. In addition, it joined the war very late.

During the Second World War, the USA increased concentration on the production of civilian and military products, something that boosted her economy. Through the Marshal Plan, the USA gave loans to the Western powers to recover their economies on condition that they granted independence to their colonies. The European countries had no choice but to grant independence to their colonies. However, the end of colonial rule paved the way for the start of neo-colonialism, engineered by the USA.

Therefore, the collapse of the European capitalist economies was mainly due to Europe's full involvement in the Second World War. The war affected the capitalists' economies in such a way that the colonial governments failed to finance their colonies. Attempts by the colonial powers to recover their economies met with nationalist movements in Africa. Following the economic crisis, coupled with pressure from the USA, the colonial powers had no choice but to grant independence to their colonies in Africa. During the 1960s, most of Southern African countries fought wars of liberation.

Role of the USSR and the process of decolonisation in Africa

After the Second World War, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) emerged as a socialist superpower in the world. The USSR and other socialist states started

dismantling capitalism in the world. It believed that colonialism was an arm of imperialism and an important part of the capitalist system. Driven by this idea, the socialist countries decided to support decolonisation efforts in Africa. The Cold War politics inspired the USSR to provide much support to the nationalist movements in Angola, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Algeria, Mozambique and South West Africa (Namibia).

The USSR wanted to establish socialism in Africa to spread the socialist ideology and to strengthen her economic position. As an industrial power, the USSR hoped to benefit from African markets and raw materials. Finally, the USSR wanted to prevent the growing influence of US capitalism in Africa. Thus, the Warsaw Pact was signed in 1955 to defend socialism. It was a military alliance whose members were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Romania and the Soviet Union (USSR). This occurred after the Western capitalists had established their military organisation known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) to protect the capitalist ideology.

The USSR played a significant role in the establishment of UNO in 1945. UNO condemned colonialism in the world. After the Second World War, the major world powers met in San Francisco and signed the UN Charter.

Article 13 of the charter made it clear that colonialism was an evil that had to be stamped out of the world. It declared all peoples' right to choose governments that are best suited to them. Through the United Nations, the USSR used its veto power to pressurise the colonising powers to grant independence to their colonies. More importantly, the USSR was instrumental in inspiring UNO to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Charter in 1948.

The USSR linked economic prosperity to political independence. The USSR explained that she had been a very poor country just like African and Asian countries, but she had attained industrialisation and economic prosperity through socialist principles and policies. The USSR's explanation made African nationalists struggle for independence, since capitalism, through colonialism, hindered Africa's development. This caused panic amongst the colonial masters who sped up the decolonisation of Africa to prevent socialism from spreading to the entire continent.

In the effort to spread socialism, the USSR identified herself with the anti-colonial struggles. She gave financial and military support to African nationalists. She gave support to President Gamal Nasser of Egypt for building the Aswan High Dam. The USSR also trained Egyptian soldiers and supplied weapons to the armed

forces. She also gave financial support to Ahmed Sekou Toure of Guinea. The financial aid rescued Guinea Conakry from collapsing after Ahmed Sekou Toure had voted no to the French Referendum of 1958, which required every French colony to remain under French rule. With this referendum, France had to maintain her defence forces and influence foreign, economic as well as financial policies. Guinea Conakry rejected this arrangement as she was not fully independent. Immediately, France granted independence to Guinea Conakry. However, France uprooted all railway lines, destroyed roads and bridges and evacuated all civil servants from Guinea Conakry. This paralysed the newly independent nation of Guinea Conakry. The USSR and Ghana stepped in to assist Guinea Conakry financially and technically.

Moreover, the USSR gave military support to the Front de *Libération Nationale* (FLN) of Algeria, *Movimento Polular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) of Angola, *Frente de Libertao De Mocambique* (FRELIMO) of Mozambique and the Southern West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. The support spreadheaded the liberation process and led to the independence of Mozambique, Angola, Algeria, Guinea Bissau and Southern Rhodesia. At the same time, the USSR condemned openly the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)

made by the settlers of Southern Rhodesia. The settlers had established their political party called the Rhodesian Front in 1962 under Ian Douglas Smith. The USSR used African independent states like Ghana, Zambia and Tanzania to provide military assistance to the countries which were fighting for independence such as Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa.

The USSR used its political, economic and military power to support the decolonisation of Africa. The military and economic strength of the USSR quickly surpassed that of Britain and France. After the Second World War, the USSR emerged as the new superpower of the world.

The United State of America (USA) and the decolonisation of Africa

The USA exposed African students to the philosophy of liberal democracy. It did not only provide scholarships to African students like Nkrumah and Azikiwe to study abroad, but also allowed them to form democratic students' organisations. For example, West African students formed the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada in 1941. The association published a monthly magazine, the *African Interpreter*, to allow students to exercise democracy while in the USA. It prepared them for nationalistic struggles in Africa. When they returned to their home

countries, they demanded democratic and constitutional rule from European colonial powers. By giving such freedom to the elites, the USA wanted to spread liberal democracy in Africa.

The USA had anti-colonial traditions. The USA had once been a colony and had been oppressed by Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries. She gained her independence in 1776, after the bloody American war of independence. It was only after gaining independence that she developed as a republican nation. She understood clearly the status of Africans and worked hard to help colonial Africa to free itself from European colonial rule.

USA President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) encouraged the European colonial powers to adopt the principle of self-determination. At the Versailles Peace Treaty, President Woodrow Wilson gave his fourteen points, which laid the foundation for the principle of self-determination. Equally important, the Second World War depleted the resources of Britain and France, with the result that they turned to the US for economic aid. The USA demanded that independence be granted to African countries. This was achieved through the Marshall Plan. The US economic aid was known as the Marshall Plan. The plan was named after the US Secretary of State, George Marshall, who had initiated it in June 1947. The plan started to be effected in April

1948. The USA pressurised European colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies so that the USA could benefit from Africa's resources.

Since these countries needed economic aid very badly, they started preparing African colonies for self-government.

Contradictory roles of the USA in the decolonisation of Africa

While the USA strongly supported decolonisation in the British, French and Belgian colonies, she did not do the same for the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The reason behind this is that the USA had access to resources and markets in the Portuguese colonies and that meant that decolonisation of these countries would make no difference. There was no protectionism in the Portuguese colonies before and after the Second World War. This implies that US capital and manufactured goods flowed easily into the Portuguese colonies. Thus, the USA assisted the Portuguese in delaying the independence of their colonies in its own economic interest.

Additionally, the USA wanted to protect and consolidate capitalism and to prevent the spread of socialism to the Portuguese colonies. This was because the nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies were strongly supported by socialist countries such as Cuba, China and the USSR. The African leaders supported by

the USSR were Dr Augustino Neto (Angola), Dr Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique) and Dr Amilcar Cabral (Guinea Bissau). Because the USSR supported decolonisation in the Portuguese colonies, the USA allied with the Portuguese to fight against the socialist influence. Generally, the USA wanted to consolidate the capitalist block by supporting political parties which adopted her ideology and were against socialist parties. For example, in Angola, the USA supported Jonas Savimbi and his party, UNITA. Savimbi was fighting against the socialist party, MPLA, which was under Augustino Neto. In Mozambique, under the influence of the USA, South Africa supported Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO) (in English Mozambican National Resistance) under Afonso Dhlakama against FRELIMO, which was under Samora Machel.

The USA wanted to create puppet regimes in Africa similar to the regimes of Moise Tshombe and Mobutu Seseseko in Zaire for the purpose of safeguarding her economic interests. In particular, it wanted copper, diamond and gold. The puppet leaders would enable the USA to build military bases necessary for protecting and promoting American interests in Africa.

Finally, the USA had already invested heavily in industries in the Portuguese colonies. The Portuguese government

allowed the USA to invest in its colonies and to access its markets. The Portuguese colonies in Africa were rich in resources, especially crude oil, diamonds and tropical agricultural raw materials. Therefore, the economic potentiality of the colonies attracted the USA. The USA did not support the decolonisation of Southern Rhodesia, fearing that ZANU-PF, which was being supported by the USSR and Cuba, would jeopardise US interests in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa. One should, therefore, note that, although the USA supported decolonisation in Africa, it also did so in its own interest.

Exercise 6.4

- a) Discuss the controversies surrounding the US decolonisation efforts in Africa.
- b) What is the legacy of the US decolonisation efforts in Africa?

United Nations Organisation

In October 1945, shortly after the Second World War, the United Nations Organisation (UNO) was born in San Francisco in the USA. It replaced the League of Nations, which had failed to keep world peace by failing to prevent the outbreak of the Italian-Ethiopian War (1935-1941) and the Second

World War (1939-1945). The formation of UNO had profound effects on the African decolonisation process.

After the Second World War, UNO set up a Trusteeship Council, which transformed the mandate territories into trustee territories. The council had to take care of such colonies as Tanganyika, Libya, Togoland, South West Africa, Rwanda-Urundi and Cameroon, which formerly belonged to Germany and Italy. The trustee territories were to be prepared for self-government and the decolonisation process was monitored. For instance, the UNO Trusteeship Council sent Commissioner Adrian Pelt to prepare the constitution of Libya, which enabled Libya to gain independence in 1951. UNO's trusteeship officials also made political reforms in Togoland, Cameroon, Tanganyika, Somalia and Rwanda-Urundi, which hastened the decolonisation process.

Furthermore, UNO upheld the ideas of the Atlantic Charter of 1941 in which US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill declared their vision and intention to build a new and better world. Article 3 of the charter allowed all the peoples of the world to form governments they liked. Therefore, it is not surprising that, when UNO was established in 1945, it adopted the Atlantic Charter as a road map for achieving independence.

From this period onwards, UNO campaigned for independence. It was acknowledged that capitalism had caused the Second World War. To avoid the re-occurrence of such a devastating war, UNO worked on the demands and rights of the colonised peoples. For example, in December 1956, Nyerere addressed the 579th meeting of the Fourth Committee of the UN Security Council. He talked about the decolonisation process in Tanganyika. It could be argued generally that African nationalist leaders used the UN forum to demand independence. Thus, many African countries could achieve independence peacefully. In 1960, UNO granted an audience to President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who presented Algerians' grievances to the UN summit.

Algerians had suffered French nuclear bomb tests and other injustices. Nkrumah's speech made UNO members condemn France and call for an immediate end to French colonialism in Algeria.

UNO set a decolonisation committee, which was charged with the task of working out strategies for decolonising all the colonised peoples of Asia and Africa. Some of the committee members were African nationalists, who were campaigning for independence. They submitted reports and recommendations to UNO, explaining the progress of decolonisation in Africa.

UNO also issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, which emphasised the dignity and equality of all human beings. It broadly defined a person's political, economic, social and religious rights. This document inspired all oppressed peoples of the world to fight for their rights. They hoped that UNO was concerned about the oppressed; hence, they were encouraged to fight for their freedom.

Moreover, UNO recognised the liberation movements in Africa. Whereas the colonial masters looked at African nationalist groups as rebel movements, UNO recognised them and allowed liberation leaders to present their grievances during its conferences. For example, the ANC of South Africa, SWAPO of South West Africa and FRELIMO of Mozambique used this opportunity to condemn the Apartheid policy and further their need for independence. They were sympathetically listened to by UNO. It is interesting to learn that UNO allied with the nationalist parties in the struggle for independence. With respect to South West Africa, the UN General Assembly recognised SWAPO as a liberation force of that country.

The UN imposed economic sanctions on the racist regimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. The UN prohibited countries from trading with those regimes. For example, economic

sanctions were imposed on Southern Rhodesia when, under Ian Douglass Smith of the Rhodesian Front, British settlers made the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). They formed a government of the minority settlers and Ian Douglas Smith became prime minister. Sanctions were also imposed on racist South Africa and the Portuguese colonies. Economic sanctions helped to put an end to the unilateral government of minority whites in Southern Rhodesia on 18th April 1980. Countries which had attained independence were required to abide by the UN sanctions, which had been imposed on South Africa. Therefore, countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana and Lesotho formed the Front-line States in the 1960s. They were committed to fighting Apartheid and minority whites in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Between the 1960s and 1980s the South African Defence Forces (SADF) attacked the Front-line States in order to frustrate their decolonisation efforts.

Exercise 6.5

Assess the argument that the UN played a very great role in the decolonisation of African countries.

The Bandung Conference of 1955

This conference was held in Bandung in Indonesia from 18th to 24th April 1955. Participants mainly came from African and Asian countries. One of the aims of the conference was to consider the problems affecting Asian and African people. The problems included the Cold War, national sovereignty and colonialism. The conference was not the first to discuss issues that were affecting Africa and Asia. A similar conference was held in Brussels (Belgium) in 1927; during the conference African and Asian nationalists formed a league against imperialism and colonialism.

The conference was organised and sponsored by Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan and Sri-Lanka. Twenty-nine countries participated in the conference: 22 Asian countries, for example Indonesia, Burma, India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka and China, and 7 African countries, namely Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Liberia and Sudan. The conference was convened by the president of Indonesia, Ahmed Sukarno. Sukarno was a nationalist leader, who led Indonesia to independence from the Dutch colonialists. Figure 6.2 shows a picture of Ahmed Sukarno.



Figure 6.2: *Ahmed Sukarno (1901-1970)*

At the conference, it was declared that “colonialism and its manifestations are evil and must be brought to an end.” The conference also addressed issues such as the tension between the USA and China over China’s invasion of Taiwan and established a forum to discuss movements aimed at ending colonialism, racialism and imperialism in Africa and Asia.

The contribution of the Bandung Conference to the struggle for independence in Africa

The conference influenced the struggle for independence in Africa in a number of ways. It identified three major problems that Africans were facing and vowed to end them. These were colonialism, institutionalised racism and the Apartheid policy. The conference declared that all these problems dehumanised Africans and, therefore, had to be eradicated. The conference established the Non-

Aligned Movement (NAM). Through this movement, Asian countries agreed to help Africa in promoting good will and in ending colonialism. The NAM agreed to remain neutral as far as the Cold War politics were concerned.

The conference brought together the first generation of African nationalist leaders. This, in turn, helped the leaders to explore and advance their mutual and common interests. That is, they established good relations and vowed to support each other. The conference aimed to end colonialism in Africa and safeguard the interests of independent African and Asian countries. The participants agreed to promote cooperation among developing countries in order that they might solve their economic and political challenges together.

In 1957, African and Asian countries formed the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation. This organisation helped to reinforce solidarity between African and Asian nationalist leaders. This promoted unity and solidarity among African and Asian states. Generally, the conference fostered the unity of developing nations. African nationalist leaders established relations with Yugoslavia, Hungary and China, which were also Third World countries. The conference identified strategies and techniques for achieving African independence. African nationalists were encouraged

to use constitutional means, after armed struggles had failed.

The participants called upon the colonial powers to grant independence to the colonies and agreed to support self-determination. This is one of the factors that enabled the Gold Coast (Ghana) to be the first colony in sub-Saharan Africa to regain its independence in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah.



All African countries are independent now, but how are they free politically and economically?

The independence of India and Burma

India was colonised by Britain from 1858 to 1947. The struggle for Indian independence intensified after the Second World War. It should be noted that many Indian soldiers had fought on the side of the British forces during the Second World War. The Indian ex-soldiers came back from the war determined to end British colonial rule. The emergence of prominent nationalist figures in those countries during the 1940s enabled them to gain independence much earlier. For example, India got her independence in 1947 and one year later Burma, present-day Myanmar, also got her own independence. Among the prominent nationalist

leaders who led India to independence were Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr Rajendra Prasad. The achievement of independence by these countries encouraged African countries to intensify their struggle for independence; they had realised that they could also achieve the same. The following section explains the contribution of that achievement to the nationalist struggles in Africa. India and Burma were not the only Asian countries that influenced nationalist struggles in Africa. Others were China and Vietnam.

Influences of India and Burma on the decolonisation of African countries

The independence of India and Burma influenced the struggle for independence in Africa in different ways. For example, having seen several Asian countries become independent, African nationalist leaders got motivated to struggle for their own independence. African countries also used the methods of struggle which Asian countries had used such as the use of peaceful means. Africans boycotted British shops and schools and used demonstrations and the press. For the same purpose they also campaigned for constitutional reforms.

Influence also came from experiences in the wars of liberation, which had been fought in the Asian world. The defeat of Russian forces by Japan in 1905, for example, taught Africans that they could also fight successful wars of liberation.

Again, during the Second World War Japan defeated British and French forces in Hong Kong and Burma. It also defeated American and Dutch forces in Indonesia and the Philippines. The Asian countries' military achievements weakened the myth regarding the superiority of Europeans. This and the military experiences of the African ex-soldiers promoted the wars of liberation in most African countries.

Independent Asian countries like India and Burma supported African liberation struggles in a number of ways. For example, they extended military support to the African countries which were fighting wars of liberation. India and Burma gave weapons and medical support to soldiers in Africa. Records show that they also provided military training to the freedom fighters in South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique. Evidence also shows that Indian leaders campaigned against the racist South African regime through the UN organs. Other forms of assistance came from other Asian countries. Mao Tse-tung of China gave financial, moral and military aid to the "free officer's movement" in Egypt.

Some African nationalist leaders were groomed or at least were trained in Asian countries. They were advised on the best forms of struggle to adopt. For example, the Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, invited Milton Obote of Uganda to India and advised him on the good strategies to use in the struggle for the

independence of Uganda. As a matter of fact, the Indian foreign policy focused on supporting the decolonisation of African countries.

Mahatma Gandhi's teachings about the evils of colonialism also influenced the liberation struggles in Africa. Gandhi preached against the evils of colonialism using the Bible. His teachings condemned racial inequality in colonies, thereby motivating African church leaders to preach against colonialism as well. Then, several African church leaders and important political figures protested against colonialism. For example, Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia said that colonialism was incompatible with Christianity. Figure 6.3 presents a picture of Mahatma Gandhi.

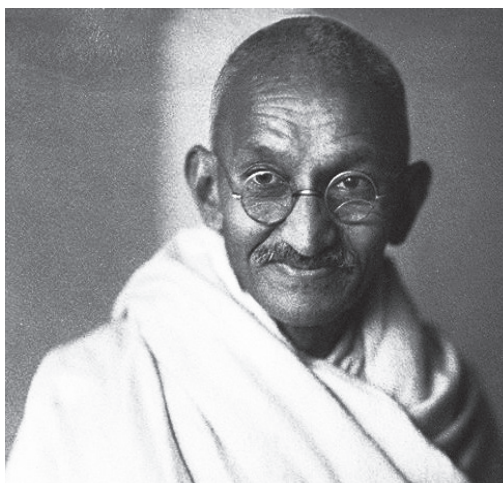


Figure 6.3: *Mahatma Gandhi*
(1869-1948)

Africans were inspired to fight for independence. Mutual support from Asian and African countries strengthened party politics which had

thrived during and after the Second World War. Numerous political parties were formed in African countries. The parties championed the struggle for independence. The political parties established close relations with those in Asia, for example the Indian National Congress.



Activity 6.3

- (a) In groups, read various works and then write brief biographies on the lives and legacies of the following leaders: J. K. Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, Ahmed Surkano, Patrice Lumumba, Mao Tse Tung, Milton Obote, Kamuzu Banda, Kwame Nkrumah, Jonas Savimbi, Mahatma Gandhi and Nnamdi Azikiwe.
- (b) What lessons could today's leaders learn from such leaders?

Revision exercise 6

1. Discuss the view that there were both internal and external factors that gave rise to nationalism in Africa.
2. Explain the contribution of the Versailles Peace Treaty to the decolonisation process in Africa.
3. Assess the influence of external forces on the rise and development of nationalism in Africa.
4. To what extent were the fourteen points of US President Woodrow Wilson important to world peace after the First World War?
5. Discuss the role of the USA in the liberation of African countries.
6. "The principle of self-determination played a vital role in the development of nationalism and the struggle for independence in Africa." Discuss.
7. "The Second World War had some impact on the development of nationalism in colonial Africa." Evaluate this statement.
8. How and why did the USA and the USSR support decolonisation efforts in Africa?

9. Using any two Asian countries of your choice, assess their contribution to the struggle for independence in Africa.
10. Examine the influence of the Pan-African Movement on the struggle for independence in Africa.
11. Explain different factors that determined the nature and characteristics of nationalist struggles in Africa.
12. What were the contributions of African nationalist leaders to the decolonisation process?
13. To what extent did the global politics of decolonisation shape the nature of nationalist struggles in Africa?
14. Discuss the triumph of African nationalist struggles after the Second World War.
15. In your opinion, what were the major achievements of the Pan-African Movement in the 1940s and 1960s in Africa?

Chapter Seven

Political and economic development in Tanzania after independence

Introduction

Independence made Africans (including Tanzanians) hope that they would develop. The attainment of political independence was the beginning of the struggle for economic independence. The first president of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, talked about rapid economic development. In this chapter, you will learn about the economic and political development of Tanzania, since independence, including the Arusha Declaration. Similarly, you will learn about the educational development of Tanzania as well as the challenges facing the development effort in the country. The competencies developed will enable you to participate effectively in the efforts to bring about social, economic and political development in the country.



Is there any relationship between freedom, politics and economic development?

Political development in Tanzania after independence

The European powers divided Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884/85. The powers used the Berlin Act in administering their colonies in Africa. Colonial administrators made constitutions which served the interests of the colonial powers.

Tanganyika gained her independence

on 9th December 1961. Since her independence, Tanzania has been experiencing several changes. The changes are the result of the effort to bring socio-economic and political development to its citizens. One of the main issues in the post-colonial period in Tanzania and Africa at large had to do with the need to address the colonial political legacies. Tanganyikan leaders made new constitutions that

would address the needs of the newly independent nations. The focus was on the distribution of political powers, citizens' responsibilities and the leaders drawing legitimacy from the people rather than from the colonial powers.

Constitutional changes in Tanzania after independence

A constitution is the basic principle and law of a nation, state or social group which determines the distribution of the powers and duties of the government and citizens, and which guarantees certain rights to both leaders and citizens. Therefore, the constitution is the fundamental law in a country. There are two constitutions in the United Republic of Tanzania. One is the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977, which includes the Union Matters. The other is the Constitution of Zanzibar of 1984. A constitution can either be written or unwritten. Tanzania has a written constitution. From 1961 to the present, Tanzania has undergone five major constitutional changes.

The first constitution was referred to as the Independence Constitution of Tanganyika of 1961. The Independence Constitution replaced the Colonial Constitution. This constitution was promulgated in London by the United Kingdom Parliament and was directly imposed on Tanganyika. It was characterised by a Westminster model with a sovereign parliamentary, multiparty democracy and a prime

minister and a governor-general who represented Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom, Elizabeth II, as the formal head of state. The constitution did not include a Bill of Rights. The executive was led by a prime minister, chosen from a party with the largest number of parliamentary seats. Under this constitution Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere became the first prime minister. The constitution also established the independence of the judiciary. However, the Independence Constitution lasted for only one year.

The second constitution was the Republican Constitution of 1962. The ruling party, TANU, had expressed its wish to have a republican form of government with an executive president. The Government White Paper entitled "Proposals of Tanganyika Government for a Republic" was published, discussed and adopted by the National Assembly so that it could have legal force. As a result, Julius Nyerere was elected the first executive president of the Republic of Tanganyika in 1962.

The most important feature of the Republican Constitution was that it concentrated powers on the executive president who was the head of state, the head of government, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces and part of parliament but not a member of the National Assembly. The president was made part of parliament so that he could give assent to bills. Furthermore, the

president was given powers to appoint a vice-president and ministers, and to dissolve parliament under certain circumstances.

It should be noted that Zanzibar gained nominal independence on 10th December 1963. There were two major political parties: the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), which represented the Arab population, and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), which represented the African population. Like Tanganyika's, Zanzibar's Independence Constitution established a constitutional monarchy, which proclaimed the sultan of Zanzibar as a ceremonial head of state.

The ASP was not satisfied with this constitution. As a result, on 12th January 1964 the ASP organised a revolution, which ousted the Zanzibar Arabs from power thus abolishing the sultanate. It should be noted that this constitution did not survive even a month. It was repealed and replaced with a series of presidential decrees. Under this system, the president exercised all executive and legislative authority on behalf of the Revolutionary Council. To consolidate its position and prevent a counter revolution, the ASP merged Zanzibar with Tanganyika on 26th April 1964.

The third constitution was known as the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar of 1964. In 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania. Acting under authority conferred on

him by Articles of Union and through Government Notice No. 246 of 1st May 1964, the president of Tanzania modified the Republic Constitution of 1962 in accordance with the agreements which TANU and Zanzibar's ruling party, the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), had signed by issuing a decree entitled "The Interim Constitution Decree of 1964", which established the Interim Constitution of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The agreements were ratified under the name "Articles of Union" and included in the new constitution as "Acts of Union". The most notable feature of Acts of Union was the establishment of the two-tier government structure. This structure includes one government for the Union and another one for Zanzibar. Zanzibar's government included its own president and a Revolutionary Council. The president of Zanzibar had executive powers over all matters related to Zanzibar. The president of Zanzibar also served as the first vice-president of the Union. The prime minister of the Union also became the second vice-president of the Union.

Under this Constitution, the Union made Tanganyika and Zanzibar one sovereign state. The government of Tanganyika was replaced by the Union government, which dealt with the Union Matters and non-Union Matters related to Tanganyika. There were 11 Union Matters:

- (a) the Constitution and the government of the United Republic;

- (b) external affairs;
- (c) defence;
- (d) police;
- (e) emergency powers;
- (f) citizenship;
- (g) immigration;
- (h) external trade and borrowing;
- (i) the Public Service of the United Republic;
- (j) income tax, corporation tax, customs and excise duties; and
- (k) harbours, civil aviation, posts and telegraphs.

However, Zanzibar maintained autonomy over matters related to it. The two countries had to share a national flag and a national anthem.

Exercise 7.1

Compare the Union Matters of 1964 with those included in the current Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania.

In 1965, the government passed another constitution, namely the Interim Constitution of Tanzania. This was popularly known as a one-party constitution. This was the fourth constitution after the country had attained her independence. Through the report of a commission appointed by President Julius Kambarage Nyerere,

the Union Parliament enacted a law which declared an Interim Constitution of Tanzania which provided for a one-party system for Tanzania and Zanzibar. As such, TANU and ASP became the only political parties in the country.

The Interim Constitution was amended several times. A major change was made in 1965 to formalise the one-party system. Coherent to the two government structure defined in 1964, the 1965 Constitution recognised two political parties, TANU for the Union and ASP for Zanzibar. In the following years, several amendments were made to strength the one-party system. For example, the amendment made in 1975 stated that all government institutions, including parliament, were subordinate to the Party's Executive Committee. In 1977, TANU and ASP merged to form *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* (CCM). The constitution defined the power relations between the two countries of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. It created a new post-colonial identity, namely Tanzania, which did not exist in the colonial period.

It also established two organs with legislative powers: the Union Parliament, which comprised members from Mainland Tanzania and Tanzania Zanzibar. In Zanzibar, the president was the chairman of the Revolutionary Council, which governed the country. Zanzibar was ruled through presidential decrees. The Revolutionary Council

had powers to make and amend laws concerning Zanzibar. The Union Constitution abolished the multi-party system, which had been inherited from the colonialists. On the other hand, the Union Constitution introduced general elections involving one political party. The elections were held every five years.

The fifth constitution is the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977. This constitution essentially confirmed the main principles of the republic and interim constitutions, which included a strong executive presidency, a dual government structure and a one-party state. This constitution was made after the merger of the two political parties which were ruling Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. *Chama Cha Mapinduzi* was formed on 5th February 1977. On 16th March 1977, through Government Notice No. 38 of 25/ 3/ 1977, the president of Tanzania appointed a Constitutional Commission of 20 people: 10 from Mainland Tanzania and another 10 from Zanzibar. The commission was supposed to prepare a constitution proposal. At the same time, through Government Notice No. 39 of 25/3/1977, the president appointed representatives of the Constituency Assembly so that they could discuss the proposal drafted by the commission. On 25th April 1977, the Constituency Assembly discussed and passed the proposal to make the Union Constitution of 1977.

The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 provides for three branches of government: parliament, the executive and the judiciary.

In its preamble, the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 declares that Tanzania is “building a democratic society founded on the principles of freedom, justice, fraternity and concord.” The constitution required the executive to be accountable to the people. In the same way, the legislature has to be accountable to the people, since it represents them. To ensure equality before the law, the government set up the judiciary as an independent organ. The constitution contains 22 Union Matters:

- (a) the Constitution of Tanzania and the government of the United Republic;
- (b) foreign affairs;
- (c) defence and security;
- (d) police;
- (e) emergency powers;
- (f) citizenship;
- (g) immigration;
- (h) external borrowing and trade;
- (i) service in the government of the United Republic;
- (j) income tax payable by individuals and by corporations, customs duty and excise duty on goods manufactured in Tanzania collected by the customs department;

- (k) harbours, matters relating to air transport, posts and telecommunications;
- (l) all matters concerning coinage and currency for the purposes of legal tender (including notes), banks (including savings banks) and all banking business; foreign exchange and exchange control;
- (m) industrial licensing and statistics;
- (n) higher education;
- (o) mineral oil resources, including crude oil, and other categories of oil or products and natural gas;
- (p) the National Examinations Council of Tanzania and all matters connected with the functions of that Council;
- (q) civil aviation;
- (r) research;
- (s) meteorology;
- (t) statistics;
- (u) the Court of Appeal of the United Republic; and
- (v) registration of political parties and other matters related to political parties.

The constitution has been amended a number of times, as follows.

In 1983, a constitutional debate started in Tanzania, with the ruling party, CCM, setting the agenda for change. The debate revolved around three issues, namely executive power,

the supremacy of parliament and participatory democracy.

In 1984, the constitution was amended so that it could include a Bill of Rights. The bill provided for the freedom of movement, freedom of association, the right to privacy and personal security, the right to life, the right to personal freedom, the right to freedom of religion, freedom to participate in public affairs, the right to work, the right to just remuneration and the right to own property. The 1984 amendments also limited presidential mandates to two terms.

In February 1991, the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, appointed a Presidential Commission, popularly known as the Nyalali Commission. The commission consisted of 22 commissioners, with equal representation for Mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. It was responsible for collecting Tanzanians' views on whether the country should adopt a multi-party system or continue with the one-party system. The commission found that, although 72.2 per cent of the people it interviewed wanted Tanzania to continue with the one-party system, the changes requested could only be accommodated under a multi-party system. Consequently, on 29th May 1992 Tanzania passed the Political Parties Act, which led to the re-introduction of multi-party politics into the country.

The Constitutional Amendment of 1992, which laid the ground for the re-introduction of the multi-party system, came into force. The amendment changed the structure of the National Assembly so that it could comprise members elected from different political parties. Women representatives formed 15 per cent of the parliamentarians and were to be nominated by their political parties. Furthermore, the National Assembly had to include five members elected from the House of Representatives in Tanzania Zanzibar. The commissioners of the National Electoral Commission were to be appointed by the president.

The constitutional amendment of December 1992 provided for presidential elections and introduced the possibility of parliament to impeach the president through a vote of no confidence. It also separated the functions of the president and those of the prime minister.

In December 1994, a constitutional amendment was made following the report of the Boman Presidential Commission. Mark Boman had chaired the commission. The commission recommended that the president of Zanzibar should cease to be the vice-president of the Union, but should continue to be a member of the Union Cabinet. CCM implemented this recommendation.

Another constitutional amendment was made in April 2000. It introduced the following changes: First, before a candidate needed 50 per cent of the votes cast in a presidential election so as to be declared to have been elected as president of the United Republic of Tanzania; a candidate now needs only a simple majority to become president. Secondly, the president could not nominate anybody as Member of Parliament. All Members of Parliament, except for the Attorney General, were elected in their constituencies. The constitutional amendment allows the President to nominate up to 10 Members of Parliament. Thirdly, it increased the number of special seats for women from 15 per cent to 20 per cent, depending on a declaration made by the National Electoral Commission from time to time, and the consent of the president. The legislature or the parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania has two parts: the president, who is also the head of the executive and the legislature, which consists of Members of Parliament elected in the constituencies, from special seats under affirmative action, members nominated by the president and the attorney general. The president does not sit in the National Assembly, but he or she exercises the authority vested in him or her by the constitution by giving assent to bills to complete the law enacting process.

Exercise 7.2

Assess the importance of the Nyalali Commission to the development of democracy in Tanzania.

Zanzibar's constitution

In Zanzibar, the history of constitution-making goes back to the Independence Constitution of 1963. This constitution provided for monarchy leadership, with the sultan as the head of state and few executive powers exercised on the advice of the Cabinet. However, the constitution was repealed by the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964. Zanzibar was ruled using a presidential decree passed by the Revolutionary Council. The council held both the executive and legislative powers from 1964 to the early 1980. As a result, Zanzibar did not have a constitution from 1964 to 1979 when the Revolutionary Council passed the first democratic constitution of 1979 under the president of Zanzibar and the chairperson of the Revolutionary Council, Aboud Jumbe Mwinyi. The 1979 constitution created a legislative body called the House of Representatives. This was followed by the first national election after the Zanzibar Revolution. The house is mandated to oversight the government of Zanzibar. It was founded on 14th January 1980.

Zanzibar adopted a new constitution in 1979. Many scholars call this constitution the first constitution of Zanzibar. They say so on the grounds that there was no constitutional continuity between the pre-1964 and the post-1964 political state. This new constitution provided for the same branches of government as those provided for the Union Constitution. It made the nomination of a presidential candidate slightly more democratic; a special committee submits two proposed candidates to the National Executive Committee of the party (*Chama cha Mapinduzi*), which nominates one candidate. The name of that presidential candidate is presented to the electorate rather than the Revolutionary Council.

In 1984, the Zanzibar Constitution of 1979 was repealed and replaced by another constitution. Section 63 of the Zanzibar Constitution of 1984 re-establish the Zanzibar House of Representatives as the legislative organ in Zanzibar. The constitution came into force on 12th January 1985. One of the most important issues included in this constitution is a Bill of Rights. The rights include the right to equality, equality before the law, the right to life, personal freedom, the right to privacy and security, freedom of movement, the right to own property, freedom of conscience, freedom of association and assembly, the right to work, the right

to a fair remuneration and the right to participate in national affairs.

The constitution separated the powers of three branches of government: the legislature, which is the House of Representative, the executive and the judiciary. The constitution also includes government accountability. The constitution made it mandatory for the government be accountable to the people either directly or through their elected representatives. Finally, it established the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) as an independent organ.

The constitution gave every person the right to institute proceedings at the High Court if the constitution is violated, is being violated or is likely to be violated. The aim is to ensure that the rights stipulated in the constitution or any law are fully protected. In short, it ensures that there is the rule of law in Zanzibar and that the basic rights of an individual are protected.

The Zanzibar Constitution of 1984 was amended in 2010. It was amended after a referendum held in July 2010 to give effect to arrangements which would govern the distribution of executive powers following the 2010 general elections. The post of chief minister, who was responsible for the day-to-day functioning of the government, was abolished. The president remained the head of government and chair of the Revolutionary Council. The president

serves only two consecutive terms of five years each. The president is the head of the executive. There are two vice-presidents, the first vice-presidents has to come from the main opposition party in the House of Representatives. The second vice-president comes from the party that has won the most of the votes cast in a general election. Ministries are appointed in keeping with the number of seats won in the House of Representatives. The president, the vice-presidents and the ministers, the attorney general and MPs nominated by the president form the Revolutionary Council. From 1984 to the present, the Constitution of Zanzibar, has undergone several minor and major amendments.

Significance of constitutional changes in Tanzania after independence

The constitutional changes made in Tanzania spearheaded the development of Tanzania after independence, as follows.

The changes abolished all forms of segregation in the provision of social services such as health, education, water, transport and housing. Furthermore, the changes forbade exploitation.

The changes broadened participatory democracy in Tanzania. For example, general elections are held every five years. Parliament also got the power to impeach the president through a vote of no confidence.

The changes increased the percentage of special seats women MPs from 15 per cent to 20 per cent, depending on declarations that the National Electoral Commission makes from time to time. Moreover, it could be argued that the constitutional changes strengthened unity between the people of Zanzibar and Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania).

Finally, the constitutional changes made the observance of human rights mandatory. This was evident in the amendment made in 1983/1984 when a Bill of Human Rights was incorporated into the constitution. Thus, people are guaranteed freedom of movement, freedom of association, freedom of religion, the right to privacy and personal security, the right to life, personal freedom, freedom to participate in public affairs, the right to work, the right to just remuneration and the right to own property.

Generally, the independence constitutions were made to address the colonial political and social legacies and vested the sovereignty in the people; thus, the state and its organs drive their powers from the people. Moreover, the amendments are intended to address the political, economic and social changes taking place in the world and affecting Tanzania. The amendments ensure that the authority to run the affairs of the country belong to the citizens. The power and authority of the government is derived from the citizens through the constitution.



Activity 7.1

In consultation with your history teacher,

- (a) Visit an advocate or any other lawyer; interview them on the history of constitutional changes in Tanzania before and after independence.
- (b) Use the information gathered to prepare notes for revision.

Economic development in Tanzania since independence

The term development is commonly associated with economic progress. This is because, with economic development, there is a likelihood of accelerating the growth of other domains of life in a given society. Economic development entails poverty reduction and increased productivity because of improved production techniques, increased opportunities of creating employment for young people and reduction of inequalities in the provision of social services.

Tanganyika was dominated by two colonialists at different times. It was under the German colonialists from 1885 to 1918. It was also under the British colonialists from 1919 to 1961 when Tanganyika gained her independence. The colonialists introduced a money economy in Tanganyika. Tanganyika

became a producer of raw materials. The raw materials were agricultural and natural products such as minerals and forest products. Moreover, Tanganyika became a market for manufactured goods from Europe. That means European colonialism was responsible for the economic underdevelopment of Tanganyika and other parts of Africa because the relations between the two benefited Europe in general and Britain in particular.

When Tanganyika gained independence on 9th December 1961, its economy remained tied to that of the capitalist world. Generally, the nation did not have sufficient trained manpower. The country inherited an economy, which was largely dependent on the developed countries. Moreover, its economy depended on the export of cash crops and restricted foreign investment. The economy also continued to be in the hands of foreigners, especially the British, Arabs and Indians, who were the leading merchants. Industries, farms, plantations, banks, mines and large commercial activities continued to be under British domination.

At independence, Tanganyika inherited a poor transport network. The transport infrastructure connected the centres of production with the coast. This was done to serve the interests of the colonial power. In some areas of production like Moshi, Arusha, Tanga and Morogoro the people had more

access to transport infrastructure, while the labour reserves and other areas had limited or no transport networks at all. This situation caused regional imbalances.

Economic development between 1961 and 1981

After the attainment of independence, industries, farms, plantations, banks, mines and large commercial activities continued to be under foreign investors. Therefore, the people of Tanzania did not enjoy the fruits of their independence. The major task of the independent government was, therefore, to promote economic development. This was done in phases and with development plans, which lasted from 1961 to 1981. Four plans were implemented during this period. They were the Three-Year Development Plan (1961-1964), the First Five-Year Development Plan (1964-1969), The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) and the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1974-1981).

The Three-Year Development Plan was the first plan to be adopted. It was based on an extensive survey of Tanganyika economy. It was prepared by a World Bank Mission. It was not a comprehensive plan which could guarantee public capital expenditure, but it reflected the main priorities of the Tanganyika government. The main economic objective of the plan was to ensure a rapid and progressive

increase in the cash income per head of the population as well as a steady improvement in the people's standard of living.

This plan had three specific objectives. First, it was aimed at developing agriculture and the livestock industry. Under this objective, the plan was aimed at boosting crop cultivation and animal keeping by supporting farmers through the provision of credits, agricultural extension services, the establishment of co-operative societies, the search for markets, the provision of farm implements and the establishment of river-based irrigation schemes and agricultural resettlement schemes. Secondly, the plan was aimed at improving and developing communication systems, specifically the construction of feeder roads in rural areas. Thirdly, the plan was aimed at developing primary, secondary and technical education, increasing student enrollment improving and the quantity of facilities in schools and colleges. In the industrial sector, the emphasis was placed on the improvement of import-substitution industries to increase the availability of basic needs and to reduce the quantity of imported goods. However, owing to limited funds, the implementation of the Three-Year Development Plan was not as successful as expected.

The First Five-Year Development Plan, which lasted from 1964 to 1969, was

the first comprehensive and ambitious plan. The government's main goal was to achieve rapid economic growth and self-sufficiency. In that regard, the plan had three main objectives, which would have been realised by 1980. The first objective was to raise the per capita income from £19 in 1964 to £45 by the end of 1980. The second objective was to ensure self-sufficiency in trained manpower. The third objective was to raise life expectancy from 35 to 40 years in 1964 to 50 years by the end of the plan. In order to increase life expectancy and improved the standard of living, emphasis was placed on ensuring that safe water was available to all and health services were improved upon through the construction of dispensaries, health centres and hospitals. However, at the end of the projected period, not much had been achieved. It was found that only five out of the 80 health centres planned had been completed. Similarly, in order to raise the per capita income, the government placed more emphasis on the development of agriculture, which was considered the backbone of the country's economy. In order to achieve this goal, the plan allocated 15 per cent of development funds to the agricultural sector. The government also aimed to train its own manpower such as teachers, doctors, administrators and factory managers. This means that the plan was aimed at speeding up the process of africanisation.

The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) was aimed at raising Tanzanians' standard of living. Furthermore, the plan was aimed at bringing about economic changes. The main objective was to identify domestic resources that would contribute to the growth of the national economy and strengthen rural development. This could be achieved by expanding and increasing agricultural production as well as identifying resources that would help to build and strengthen industries in the country. It should also be noted that the plan was aimed at implementing the Arusha Declaration. Therefore, it was built on five main pillars:

- (a) Equality of all citizens. The plan was aimed at ensuring that all citizens benefited from national development initiatives;
- (b) Socialism (*Ujamaa*). The plan emphasised doing collective and co-operative economic activities and reducing the income and economic gap between individuals;
- (c) Self-reliance (*Kujitegemea*). The plan insisted on developing the country using our own resources, specifically the energies and resources in the villages;
- (d) Making economic changes and changing the lives of the people. The plan emphasised increasing the national income and the per

capita income, and growing the national economy; and

- (e) Cooperating with other African countries. The plan insisted on expanding and strengthening cooperation with other African countries in economic matters.

In the industrial sector, the plan focused on industrial development in Tanzania. It was expected that there would be five categories of industries in the country. These were industries which could manufacture simple consumer goods, industries which processed agricultural crops ready for export, industries which manufactured building materials, industries which refined oil and petrol and industries which produced agricultural implements.

The Third Five-Year Development Plan (1976-1981) was the last medium term plan in the implementation of the long-term plan in the period from 1964 to 1981. This was the first plan made by all public authorities at the village, district, regional and national levels. This plan was made by the people through the planning commission, which comprised all Members of Parliament. The Third Five-Year Development Plan was aimed at furthering the objectives of the previous plans. In addition, this plan emphasised self-sufficiency in food by 1981, proper and efficient utilisation of natural resources, processing of primary commodities into final and

semi-final products for domestic consumption and export, developing and restructuring the industrial set-up, developing science and technical education, satisfying the needs for water and electricity for industrial use and strengthening communication services.

Achievements of development plans (1961-1981)

Several achievements were made. One of the achievements was development of the agricultural sector. For example, at independence, the annual agricultural production stood at 140 000 tonnes, but after the implementation of the First Five-Year Plan, production rose to 500 000 tonnes. This increase was the result of improvements in agricultural production methods and the use of tractors and fertilizers.

There was also an improvement in the education sector following the implementation of the plans. For example, illiteracy rates were drastically reduced. This was due to various steps that the government took to improve the education sector, including establishing schools, increasing pupils' enrolment and improving the quality of adult education. These steps increased the number of Tanzanian experts in the civil service as well as in private companies.

Moreover, the development plans helped to improve the quality of health

services. For example, there was an increase in the number of dispensaries, health centres and hospitals. Therefore, rural and urban communities had more access to medical facilities. People's living standards and life expectancy also improved. For example, life expectancy rose from 35-40 years in 1964 to 40-41 years in 1967. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew by 5 per cent during the First Five-Year Plan, although the growth was lower than the projected growth of 6.7 per cent. During the Second Five-Year Plan, the GDP grew at 4.8 per cent, which was lower than the projected growth. The growth rate of the GDP in the Second Five-Year Plan was very low owing to the decline in crop production as a result of prolonged drought and little investment in the sector. Other factors for the low growth of the GDP were inadequate preparation of projects, poor performance of the industrial sector and the world-wide rise of the price of oil since 1971.

Furthermore, the number of industries in the country increased. This, in turn, reduced the importation of goods and increased employment opportunities for Tanzanians. For example, in 1975, a Basic Industrial Strategy was introduced. This strategy was well implemented during the period of the third plan. As a result, the government built industries such as the Tanzania Petroleum Refinery Industry, Musoma

Textile Mills and the Friendship Textile Mills (Urafiki). Figure 7.1 shows the Friendship Textile Mill (Urafiki). Finally, physical infrastructure was improved by linking various regions with all-weather roads. This improvement facilitated the transport of goods and services. The Arusha Declaration and the changes made to the educational policies, which are discussed in the next section of this chapter, were also the result of the plans.



Figure 7.1: *Urafiki Textile Mill*

Challenges

There was an inadequate number of experts and skilled manpower as most of the projects were run by Tanzanians who, at the time, were not experienced enough to implement them. For example, there was a scarcity of engineers to supervise road construction projects or skilled people to run industrial machines. This means that Tanzania was still depending on foreign experts. Such experts did not maximise the use of their energies and skills for Tanzania's development. Thus, low production was exacerbated by the low level of technology as most of the farmers were still using

hand hoes. This led to low production and low foreign exchange. Similarly, from the mining sector very little was obtained because of using poor technology.

Moreover, there were inadequate funds for implementing the development plans. The shortage of funds resulted from the decline in the amount of foreign aid. This was partly because Tanzania had broken diplomatic relations with Britain and West Germany. For example, Tanzania decided to break diplomatic relations with Britain because of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) made in Southern Rhodesia in 1965.

Britain withheld all its aid to Tanzania. Hence, some of the development projects such as the construction of industries and infrastructure were not implemented.

The rapid population growth was another challenge in the course of implementing the First Five-Year Development Plan. Population growth increased the demand for services and commodities that could not be easily obtained. Environmental hazards such as prolonged drought also affected the plan. Finally, a drastic fall in the prices of crops at the world market lowered the value of key Tanzanian exports such as coffee, tobacco and sisal. Tanzania highly depended on the export of agricultural cash crops, especially sisal, for foreign exchange. The fall of the price of sisal at the world market owing to the development of synthetic fibres such as nylon deprived Tanzania of foreign exchange. The prices of other crops also declined. As a result, Tanzania did not have enough funds to implement the plan.

Exercise 7.3

Why did Tanzania come up with the national development plans in her early years of independence?

The Arusha Declaration

On 5th February 1967, the government of the United Republic of Tanzania adopted the Arusha Declaration. The Declaration was adopted during the First Five-Year Development Plan, but was implemented during the Second Five-Year Development Plan. The Declaration was a special proclamation propagated by the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, in Arusha through the National Executive Committee of TANU. The Declaration stated that Tanzania was building a socialist society. It was a response to the growing neo-colonial influence that hindered Tanzanians from enjoying the fruits of independence and achieving socio-economic development.

The Declaration was aimed at building a socialist and self-reliant nation based on the principles of equality, justice, democracy and human dignity. Education for self-reliance and rural development were at the heart of the Arusha Declaration. The Declaration also focused on the eradication of all forms of exploitation, nationalisation of all major means of production, democracy and the provision of education to all. The Arusha Declaration instituted a code of leadership ethics. It provided leadership principles and rules in Tanzania. Some of the principles and rules required a leader not to have more than one salary, not to own houses for

rent and not to be a board member or a director of any private company. The principles and rules laid the foundation for Tanzanian socialism, namely *Ujamaa*. *Ujamaa* implied Tanzania's commitment to a more collective way of rural production.

Furthermore, the Arusha Declaration was intended to promote public ownership of the major means of production by putting them in the hands of workers and peasants through their representative government and cooperatives. The major means of production were land, forests, mineral resources, water, oil, electricity, communications, transport, banks, insurance, import-and-export trade, wholesale businesses, steel machine tools, motor cars, cement and fertilizer factories as well as textile industries.

It condemned the exploitation of man by man and emphasised collective production and distribution of resources. The Declaration openly declared that Tanzania was a nation of peasants and workers. It encouraged popular participation in all important decision-making processes.

Moreover, the Declaration discouraged foreign aid as the main source of capital for economic development. Instead, it emphasised the use of domestic resources. However, this did not mean that the government did not

receive foreign aid at all. It continued to receive foreign aid, but it was rather minimal. Foreign aid and assistance were accepted only if they did not jeopardise the country's independence and freedom. As noted earlier, the adoption of the Arusha Declaration shaped the way the Second and the Third Five-Year Plans were designed and implemented. Figure 7.2 shows President Julius K. Nyerere and other leaders marching in support of the Arusha Declaration in 1967.



Figure 7.2: *J. K. Nyerere and other leaders marching during the Arusha Declaration*

Economic changes after the Arusha Declaration

After the Arusha Declaration, the government nationalised all the major means of production which were privately owned by compensating the former owners. Some of the nationalised foreign assets were Standard Bank, Barclays Bank, British-American Tobacco Company and Bata Shoes Industry. The government also entered into partnerships with companies as the country had no capital and technology to run them. In so doing, the government ensured that all the major means of production were collectively owned by the people of Tanzania. The natural and human resources were utilised for the benefit of all, regardless of their social-economic status.

In implementing the Arusha Declaration, the government set up various public corporations. The public corporations included the National Bank of Commerce (1967), the National Textile Corporation (1968), Tanzania Tobacco Authority (1970), the State Mining Corporation (1972) and Tanzania Cotton Authority (1973). These public enterprises employed Tanzanians and thus increased their purchasing power. The government owned the co-operations and authorities by 100 per cent.

Between 1967 and 1973 Tanzania experienced a remarkable rate of

industrial growth. It was during this time that import-substitution manufacturing industries expanded. Some of the import-substitution industries that did well in the mid-1960s were textile, beer, cement, cigarette and soap industries. Furthermore, the government established other industries, which could produce basic tools for farmers. For example, in 1970, the Ubungo Farmers' Implements (UFI) was established for this purpose. This industry could produce 2 500 000 hand hoes a year. During the 1970s, plans were made to explore the Liganga iron ore and the Kiwira coal fields. The government also established bicycle, radio and battery assembling factories in Dar es Salaam and Arusha.

However, the industrial boom of 1967-1973 dropped in the subsequent years. Tanzania experienced a sharp decline in the industrial sector between 1973 and 1983. Some of the reasons for the decline were the deterioration in commercial agriculture, particularly cash crop production. Other factors were poor planning, maladministration and overstaffing. By 1975, Tanzania had eight textile industries that were performing poorly. The most famous industries were *Urafiki* Textile, Sungura Textile, Musoma Textile and Mwanza Textile Industries.

After 1967, the government embarked on improving agricultural output. For example, oxen training centres (OTC)

were established in many regions to train peasants in how to use ox-ploughing to improve agricultural production and productivity. With the introduction of *Ujamaa* and the villagisation programme, the mechanisation of farms was implemented. For example, tractors were distributed to sampled *Ujamaa* villages, depending on the amount of output and organisation. The other efforts made to improve agriculture included the establishment of a tractor assembling plant (Valmet) at Kibaha in the 1980s. The plant had the capacity of assembling 500 tractors a year. The other factory for agricultural improvement was called *Zana za Kilimo* Mbeya (ZZK). This factory and the Ubungo Farmers' Implements (UFI) in Dar es Salaam produced various agricultural implements such as iron hoes, threshers, ploughs and harvesting machines. Apart from increasing agricultural production, they also provided direct employment opportunities to many Tanzanians.

Furthermore, after the Arusha Declaration the agricultural sector was given more impetus through the banks which had been established to support farmers. For example, the government established the Tanzania Investments Bank (TIB) in 1970 and the Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (CRDB) in 1971. These banks provided loans to African farmers.

The implementation of the Arusha Declaration gained support from socialist countries. Various projects were funded by socialist countries. For example, in the 1970s, a railway line from Dar es Salaam to Kapiri Mposhi in Zambia was constructed with a loan from China. The railway came to be known as Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA). TAZARA and the Petroleum Pipeline known as Tanzania Zambia *Mafuta* (TAZAMA) employed many Tanzanians. The Chinese government also opened the Mbarali Rice Farm in Mbeya Region. It was one the most successful agricultural establishments in Africa in the 1970s and 1980s.

Despite the commendable efforts by the government of Tanzania to build a socialist state and to promote economic development after the Arusha Declaration, the government faced several challenges. In the first place, there were problems related to the nature of nationalisation itself. Critics argue that the process was undertaken without enough preparation, especially trained manpower to run the nationalised economic enterprises. Other critics point out that the compensation given to the former owners of enterprises was wasteful spending of limited resources. As expected, the expensively compensated enterprises failed to generate economic benefits.

Moreover, the oil crisis which stemmed from the Yom-Kippur war between

Israel and some Arab states in 1973 created economic problems for the world. At the climax of the oil crisis in 1973, Tanzania was spending almost half of her foreign earnings buying oil for the industrial and transport sectors. While the price of oil had increased, the prices of machines like tractors and spare parts, imported from Europe, also increased tremendously. This negatively affected industrial performance, thus leading to a decline in industrial production.

Furthermore, the East African Community collapsed in 1977, thereby affecting the economy of Tanzania. This was due to a drop in the volume of Tanzania's trade with her partner states in East Africa. The decrease volume of trade worsened the economic situation in the country. Moreover, the collapse of the community forced Tanzania to buy ships and airplanes using foreign exchange so as to continue providing its citizens with the services which the East African Community had been providing. The aforementioned expenditure diminished the foreign currency reserve. Hence, an economic crisis manifested itself in the failure to import goods and spare parts.

Another economic challenge was caused by the Kagera War of 1978/1979, which forced the country to spend millions of shillings in the war. This means that the financial and human resources spent in the war

could have been invested in economic production to stimulate development in the country.

Exercise 7.4

Suggest measures which should have been taken by the government to rescue the industrial and agricultural sectors during the 1970s and 1980s.

Educational development in Tanzania after independence

After the independence of Tanganyika in 1961 and the Zanzibar Revolution in 1964, the education sector was reformed to meet the needs of the country. However, in order to understand the reforms well, it is important to review the nature of the colonial educational system, which preceded the post-colonial educational system.

Colonial education policies and their effects in Tanganyika up to 1961

In any society education is an ideological tool aimed at shaping the society based on the interests of the people of that particular society. Colonial education was an ideological tool used to safeguard colonial interests. Therefore, the colonial education policy was structured in such a way that it safeguarded colonial interests in the colonies. The introduction colonial education undermined pre-colonial

education. To Africans, colonial education was aimed at producing messengers, clerks and watchmen to assist in colonial administration and in the running of the colonial economy. Therefore, colonial education was not given to all Africans. Rather, it was aimed at creating a class of Africans who would be used to realise the Europeans' interests. It also prepared Africans to be good producers of cash crops.

During the early years of colonial rule, most schools were run by missionaries for evangelisation purposes. In 1892, the German colonial government in German East Africa (Tanganyika) established its first government school in Tanga. European educational system operated in the colony. By 1902, the government had three main schools in Tanga, Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam, and three subsidiary schools in Kilwa, Pangani and Lindi. The European educational system in the colony developed more during the British period, especially after the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1923. The commission said that there was a great need for education in Africa. Some of the famous schools and colleges which were established after the Phelps Stokes Commission were Tabora Boys (1924), Malangali, Buigiri Girls School (1927) and Ukiliguru College of Agriculture (1939).

Objectives of colonial education

Colonial education was aimed at preparing a few Africans who could occupy lower positions like being messengers and clerks. This was to be achieved through the provision of elementary education in bush schools, missionary schools and government schools. The colonialists wanted to get people who could do clerical work like arranging files and posting letters. The Africans who held such positions were paid low salaries and helped the colonialists to reduce administration costs.

The colonial education provided by missionaries was aimed at converting Africans to Christianity. In the schools run by missionaries, spiritual teachings were incorporated into the syllabi. This type of education was aimed at making Africans easily accept colonialism.

Colonial education was aimed at propagating racial segregation between Africans, Indians, Arabs and Europeans. Thus, members of every racial group had their own schools. This was done purposely to make Africans feel inferior. Africans mainly received primary education and, indeed, very few got tertiary education, which was reserved for Europeans and Indians.

Moreover, colonial education was aimed at dividing and weakening colonial subjects by making them loyal and submissive to their colonial

masters. Education was a means of facilitating the ultimate goal of political domination and economic exploitation. The education provided became a mechanism for preparing Africans to be loyal and docile. Therefore, colonial education left Africans ill-equipped in relation to their efforts to improve their living conditions because it was not meant to develop their critical consciousness and intellectual ability.

Furthermore, colonial education was aimed at promoting and propagating European culture, history and geography. The nature of the knowledge taught reflected European social, political and economic achievements. For example, at school, Africans learnt about the physical landscape of Europe like the Alps and the River Rhine, and neglected African physical geography. The colonial syllabi glorified European history. History topics for Africans were full of Europeans' efforts to civilise Africans through the abolition of the slave trade, the introduction of cash crops and the building of schools, hospitals, roads and railways. Generally, the syllabi portrayed an image that showed that the colonial powers were not oppressors or exploiters.

Features of colonial education

Colonial education had features that were different from those of pre-colonial African education.

Colonial education was based on racial discrimination. For example, it favoured Europeans and Asians, while at the same time discriminating against Africans. In primary and secondary schools, there were more Europeans and Asians than Africans. The number of Africans who attended colonial schools was very limited. Even those who attended such schools received elementary education so as to facilitate colonial production. The content of this education was designed in such a way that it served the interests of the minority Europeans rather than those of the majority Africans.

Colonial education was provided to few Africans, mainly the sons of chiefs, catechists, pastors and rich people. This was deliberately done to win their loyalty as this was important for colonial administration and church evangelisation.

Colonial education was based on gender imbalances as it was mainly provided to males. Girls were ignored on the grounds that they were economically less productive. In 1955, for example, there were a total of 150 students from Tanganyika studying at Makerere University College, but only four of them were women. This imbalance was also due to African culture, which made parents give more opportunities to boys than girls. Similarly, the colonial government preferred training boys to training girls.

Colonial education was very theoretical but pre-colonial education was practical. Colonial education also concentrated on teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. This was done to orient Africans to white-collar jobs. The theoretical aspect of colonial education was meant to make Africans dependent on the colonialists.

Colonial education was pyramidal in shape because many students were at the lower levels of education and the number kept decreasing as one moved up the education ladder.

Colonial schools were unevenly distributed, which reflected the colonial economic regional divisions. Most schools were established in the regions where the colonialists had established economic activities such as Kilimanjaro, Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Mbeya and Kagera. The labour reserve regions such as Kigoma, Mtwara, Lindi, Singida and Rukwa were marginalised. In 1939, for example, the boys who attended primary school in Tanga were around 27 per cent, while in the Southern Highlands only three per cent attended primary school.

Therefore, colonial education facilitated the process of underdeveloping and exploiting Africans because it granted elementary education to Africans. In other instances, colonial education facilitated the social stratification of Africans in the same society as educated Africans regarded themselves superior

to their fellows who were not educated. Generally, colonial education was alien and, as such, it imparted Western values to Africans.

However, it is important to acknowledge that the colonial education policy shed light on nationalistic sentiments, that is, it produced some prominent nationalist leaders. Like elsewhere in Africa, in Tanganyika colonial education produced radical elites like Julius Kambarage Nyerere and Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, who championed the struggle for independence.

Colonial education policies in Tanganyika up to 1961

After the establishment of colonial rule in Tanganyika, there was a need to ensure that the people accepted colonial policies. This was considered very important as the colonial government was in need of raw materials, cheap labour and markets. To achieve this objective, the Germans and the British, who colonised Tanganyika at different times, introduced a European education system to maximise the exploitation of African natural resources and labour in their own interest.

Between 1890 and 1918, the Germans introduced an education policy that reflected their mode of administration. The mode of administration adopted was direct rule. Apart from reflecting this mode of administration, education played an important role in building

the Germans' ideology among the people of German East Africa. The main agencies that provided education during the German colonial administration were Protestant and Catholic missionary organisations and the colonial government itself. Their curricula put much emphasis on vocational education, masonry, carpentry, tailoring, road construction and agriculture. However, the educational activities introduced by the Germans were short-lived. They ended with the First World War. Later on, educational activities were re-structured by the British when they took Tanganyika as a mandate territory under the League of Nations.

In 1925, the British government introduced a system of ruling Africans in accordance with their traditional political organisations. The system was popularly called indirect rule. It was introduced by the second British Governor, Sir Donald Cameron. The system involved integrating African political structures into the central British administrative structure. The indirect rule policy influenced the nature and development of education in Tanganyika. Special schools were established to train the sons of chiefs to ensure that the local leadership was indoctrinated with British values and the British political ideology.

The policy that guided education in colonial Tanganyika up to the Second

World War was that of adaptation. This kind of thinking was established in 1925 under Governor Sir Donald Cameron following the report by the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1923. The main purpose of the commission was to create an education system that reflected the needs of the society. The curriculum consisted of agriculture, development of local industries, improvement of health, improvement of true ideals of citizenship and the training of people in managing their own affairs. Generally, education for adaptation meant development of the rural sector and improvement of the socio-economic conditions of the local population.

After the Second World War, the British government introduced the Ten-Year Educational Development Plan. It was implemented from 1947 to 1956. The plan dealt with, among other things, the expansion of primary schools, middle schools and teacher training colleges, the establishment of technical education and the enrolment of girls on schools. Therefore, the plan was intended to expand indigenous education. It placed high emphasis on primary education, teacher education and technical education. This education continued to serve the colonial needs.

Following the achievements obtained through the implementation of the Ten-Year Educational Development Plan, the British colonial government formulated another

Five-Year Educational Development Plan of 1956-1961. Unlike the previous plan, the Five-Year Education Development Plan insisted on expanding secondary and post-secondary education. The plan insisted on improving the quality of teachers; expanding secondary education; establishing the institute of education; introducing unified teachers' services; and promoting agricultural, technical and commercial education.

However, at independence in 1961, there were high illiteracy rates among adults and children. There was also very small pupils enrolment on primary school. The uneven distribution of schools was marked, since the colonial education system favoured the areas which engaged in cash crop production. Colonial education also created social stratification. For example, the educated regarded themselves as superior and regarded the non-educated as inferior. Therefore, colonial education alienated Africans, especially the educated, from their communities.

Changes in the education policy in Tanzania after independence (1961)

Soon after independence, the president of Tanganyika, Julius K. Nyerere, noted some weaknesses in the system of education inherited from the British. In his view, the system had been designed in such a way that it could create a class of a few privileged elites. In response, President Nyerere advocated a system of education

that would not favour the elites and undermine others in the country. The president criticised colonial education for encouraging individualistic values, instead of promoting a cooperative spirit among the people. He also viewed colonial education as an instrument for destroying African values and replacing them with colonial and Western values. Thus, President Nyerere wanted to reform the primary school curriculum, which was meant to promote and maintain colonial rule and its ideology. The need to improve and develop the education system was reflected in the objectives of the development plans discussed in the previous section of this chapter. New curricula which emphasised self-reliance and agricultural production in primary and secondary schools were designed and implemented.

The government also sought to reduce illiteracy. Before independence, Tanganyikans who knew how to read and write were very few numerically. At independence, only 10 per cent of the population knew how to read and write. To address this problem, the government reforms the education policy and intensified the efforts to eradicate illiteracy in the country. The First Three-Year Development Plan of 1961-1964 was aimed at expanding the enrolment of pupils on schools to reduce illiteracy.

The provision of education based on

race and religion was abolished. The education Act of 1961, which came into force on 1st January 1962, abolished the provision of education based on race. A single system of education for pupils of all races and religious persuasions was established.

In addition, local education authorities with powers to monitor and control primary schools were established and a unified teaching service scheme for teachers was introduced in 1963. As a result, the government expanded pupil enrollment on primary schools from 486 470 in 1961 and 753 114 in 1967 to 848 215 in 1971.

Furthermore, the education provided emphasised solving the shortage of skilled manpower which emerged soon after independence. Much emphasis was placed on expanding secondary and higher education to train middle and high-level manpower. This was attained through the diversification of the curricula to include various disciplines. As a result, Tanzania witnessed an expansion in student enrolment on secondary schools. For example, the number of students in secondary schools from Forms I to VI increased from 11832 in 1961 and 19897 in 1964 to 31600 in 1971. More emphasis were placed on science subjects. In 1969, out of the 2563 pupils who were in Forms V and VI, 1509 pupils (57.7 per cent) were studying science subjects. In 1973, out of the

3251 pupils who studying in Forms V, and VI 2158 (67 per cent) were studying science subjects.

Moreover, in the 1960s, African history was strengthened in order to create a spirit of patriotism and nation-building based on the African philosophy of self-reliance and socialism. Thus, the expansion of primary, secondary as well as technical education was intended to prepare skilled people who could occupy various positions. In the civil service, for example, Tanzanians' graduates gradually replaced European civil servants in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The education policy adopted after independence also emphasised the incorporation of self-reliance into the school curriculum. Teaching was directed towards imparting various skills to the learners so that they could be self-reliant after completing their studies. For example, agricultural activities were introduced into schools to familiarise students with their local settings and to make schools less dependent on external financial support. They were also aimed at changing the mind-set of the people who associated the attainment of school certificates with doing white-collar jobs.

Another reform was the abolition of school fees. One of the main obstacles towards achieving educational goals after independence was parents' failure to pay school fees for their children. This was because many parents were

poor. To increase the number of students completing primary and secondary schools, school fees were abolished in all government schools in 1964.

Another change was the introduction of adult education. The government realised that adult education was important in national development. Having educated adult people would produce immediate results because the country was trying to speed up development activities. In 1964, the Institute of Adult Education was established and was given the task of formulating and executing training programmes for teachers and administrators of adult education, disseminating information and findings of research on adult education carried out by other institutions in Tanzania, producing and standardising the learning materials for adult learners, as well as promoting and stimulating mass education through the mass media like the radio and newspapers.

Another major change made soon after independence was the adoption of the Kiswahili language as a medium of instruction in primary schools. This was done to promote the local culture and values. In early 1962, the Kiswahili language replaced the English language in primary schools.

Other modifications which were incorporated into the education system after independence involved changing the curriculum. The curriculum was

modified to accommodate the teaching of local ideals, values and culture. Unlike the colonial curriculum which insisted on teaching Western values, the new curriculum emphasised teaching local values, which reflected the local environment.

Thus, in the early years of independence, education became a basic human right for everyone in the country, regardless of one's colour, gender, religion, ethnic and economic status. Access to education was no longer determined by affiliation with the ruling class nor was education intended to prepare a class of a few privileged people. The government expanded student enrolment on primary and secondary schools and established schools in various regions to accommodate students from various parts of the country in order to foster national unity and development based on the philosophy of self-reliance.

Education for Self-Reliance 1967-1985

Following the Arusha Declaration, which instituted socialism as the country's philosophy, the government sought to review the national education curriculum in keeping with this new philosophy. The education provided was to enable each recipient to have socialist values. It was from this drive that the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was published in March 1967. The purpose was to prepare young people to learn to serve their society. The ESR was aimed at imparting and transmitting knowledge,

skills, values and attitudes to Tanzanians. The education provided in primary and secondary schools was to go beyond the notion of preparing the youth for higher learning institutions. Education was, in that respect, intended to be complete at every level. It was to provide the knowledge, skills and attitudes that would enable students to live successfully in a developing socialist state.

Furthermore, the ESR philosophy emphasised collective making of efforts to develop the country. Under the ESR philosophy, schools were designed in such a way that they would become economic, social and educational communities capable of meeting their own maintenance needs. In that respect, by 1968, all primary and secondary schools, as well as teacher-training colleges had embarked on farming and other self-reliance activities like poultry projects, shops and livestock keeping.

The ESR was a typical example of equality in society as the policy document was aimed at making education beneficial to the whole society. The policy objective would be attained through making educational institutions producers of goods which would, in turn, benefit the same institutions. In addition, all learners were required to participate in various communal productive activities. Under the ESR philosophy, examinations

were to be structured in such a way that they measured students theoretically and practically.

Moreover, primary education was not used as a ladder to the secondary level of education. Rather, it was supposed to prepare students for future life. Likewise, secondary education was not a ladder to universities, teacher training colleges and technical colleges. Instead, it was to prepare people for life and service in the society.

The middle-level primary schools, most of which were boarding schools run by missionaries or private organisations, were abolished. The payment of school fees was abolished at all levels of education. This transformation had far-reaching consequences. Children from poor families began to enjoy upward social mobility.

Generally, the type of education adopted during the Second Five-Year Plan, 1969-74, reflected the ESR philosophy. It advocated the move towards self-sufficiency in terms of skills at all levels of the economy. This type of education was aimed at giving primary education to every child. Primary education was, therefore, declared free and compulsory.

The success of Education for Self-Reliance

Despite the challenges, the ESR programme realised some achievements. Among of them were

the increase in student enrolment at all levels of education. For instance, in 1962, pupil enrolment on primary schools stood at 518 663, but the number rose to 1 990 650 in 1976 and 3 530 622 in 1981. This tremendous increase was due to the ESR programme. Some of the reasons for the increase included the abolition of school fees and the nationalisation of private schools.

Furthermore, the ESR helped to eradicate the problem of ethnicity and gender imbalance, for the students who were selected to join secondary schools were distributed nationwide, regardless of their ethnic groups and regional backgrounds. The quota system served this purpose. Emphasis was also put on gender equality. As a consequence, the ESR helped to minimise the problem of gender discrimination in education. For instance, in 1961, female enrolment in Form One was 29 per cent and Form Six 9 per cent. By 1981, the total female enrolment in Forms I-VI had risen to 34 per cent.

Another success of the ESR was the introduction of political education to create political awareness and consciousness among pupils on politics, economics and the social condition of the nation. Political education was introduced as a compulsory subject for all learners.

Moreover, the ESR was the foundation for the Universal Primary Education

(UPE) whereby education was provided free of charge and was compulsory to all children without any discrimination. This measure solved the problem of school fees and rural-urban migration among school leavers. To make it effective, the government allowed secondary school graduates to teach in primary schools.

Finally, the ESR imparted practical skills to pupils. Learners studied skills relevant to their societies such as crop farming and animal keeping.

Failure of Education for Self-Reliance

Implementation of the ESR was not successful for various reasons. One of the reasons was the lack of guidance as education stakeholders implemented it blindly. Neither the ESR nor later policies gave directives on how to pursue the objectives. Although in the examinations there were questions closely related to the ESR philosophy, the questions could not be used to evaluate the implementation of the policy broadly.

The implementation of the ESR also lacked proper organisation as it was not coordinated from above. Thus, it was difficult to evaluate the strategies which were being implemented.

Furthermore, the teachers who implemented this programme were not trained in how to implement it. The programme integrated academic training and manual work. As a

consequence, there was a decline in the quality of education, especially the intellectual capacities of school leavers as schools devoted most of their time and resources to the implementation of production projects, instead of imparting academic excellence to students. In other words, it was difficult to strike a balance between academics and self-reliant activities.

Another problem was the students and teachers' negative attitude towards the ESR. With the ESR, schools tried to change students' attitude towards manual work and national responsibility without success. Unexpectedly, students perceived the ESR as punishment because students who misbehaved were punished by being asked to do agricultural work on school farms and in gardens. Thus, teachers used agriculture and manual work to discipline naughty students.

There was also a shortage of funds for implementing the ESR. The government lacked enough funds to run ESR projects and buy teaching-learning materials. Thus, there was an acute shortage of relevant teaching and learning materials like books and pieces of chalk. There was also a shortage of desks. Parents did not consider the ESR useful because even classrooms were built by them. Finally, the ESR lacked a proper assessment mechanism as it was implemented differently in different places.

Exercise 7.5

Assess the relevance of Education for Self-Reliance in your community.

Education policies after the failure of Education for Self-Reliance

Since independence, the government has carried out reforms in the education sector to achieve the set objectives. One of the largest reforms was the 1974 Musoma Resolution, which was passed after the conference held in Musoma to assess the ESR. The Musoma Resolution continued strategies to correct the major problems of the ESR. The strategies included the universalisation of primary education and the integration of vocational training with academic training.

Another reform was the 1990 education review. In 1990, a National Task Force on Education was appointed to evaluate and review the education system and recommend a suitable educational system for the 21st century. The task force recommended improving the quality of education and strengthening the link between the education provided at all levels and socio-economic development in Tanzania.

Moreover, in 1995, the government introduced the Education and Training Policy (ETP). The policy was aimed at

providing guidance and synchronising and harmonising all structures, plans and practices to ensure access to equity and equality at all levels of education so that there could be a proper and efficient mechanism for managing, administering and financing education and training in Tanzania. The focus of the ETP was on decentralisation of education, establishment of schools and expansion of training opportunities, access, equity curricula, examination and certification, teacher education and tertiary and higher education. Under this policy the role and visibility of the private sector in education was increased. There was also a reduction of subsidies and the introduction of cost-sharing in education.

Additionally, in early 1997, the government developed a Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) to guide the provision of basic education. BEMP was intended to ensure that the quality of education was good.

There was the Local Government Reforms Agenda in 1998. Under such reforms, less developed regions were given preference in the establishment of new schools. Regions like Mtwara and Lindi were given priority to bring about equality in the education sector.

Furthermore, between 1999 and 2001 the government implemented

the Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP). PEDP was part of the 2025 development vision. PEDP resulted in the abolition of school fees and mandatory contributions. It also resulted in the recruitment of 50 per cent of teachers in five years, the building of over 40 000 new classrooms and the introduction of an annual capitation grant of 10 USD per pupil.

The Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) was also introduced. Under SEDP, emphasis was put on specific subjects, especially Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Generally, education policies have been changing to reflect the needs of the country in different economic phases. For example, as explained earlier, the education policies implemented from the 1960s to early 1980s suited the objective of building a socialist and self-reliant society.



Activity 7.2

In March 1967, the government introduced the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance. Write an essay about the ESR in terms of its success and failure and present your essay in class.

Challenges that faced development efforts in Tanzania

Like any other African country, Tanzania faced various challenges before and after independence. Tanzania faced certain economic, social and political challenges that she inherited from colonialism. It also faced certain challenges from the mid-1970s to early 1980s. The challenges are commonly called economic crises which are discussed in the following section.

The economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s

The economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s were caused by a shortage of consumer goods and basic production inputs such as agricultural implements and industrial inputs such as spare parts and raw materials. Basic needs such as home-based commodities like cooking oil, salt, soap, sugar, batteries and kerosene were also insufficient.

Moreover, there was high inflation. The rate of inflation, for example, increased from 10 to 12 per cent in the early 1970s to about 25 per cent in the late 1970s. In the early 1980s it increased to 30 per cent.

Furthermore, there was a decline in the performance of the manufacturing sector. The decline in commercial agriculture, particularly export crops, was a major factor for the decline of the industrial sector.

There was also the deterioration of the quality and provision of social services which was observed in several sectors like the health, education and water sectors. The government's ability to allocate funds to these services declined remarkably. For example, the funds allocated to the education sector declined in relation to the total government expenditure between the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, from the beginning of the 1980s, the education sector faced several problems such as lack of textbooks, lack of desks, lack of staff houses and poor school maintenance.

There was also deterioration in the transport sector. The problem was seen in the lack of spare parts and poor maintenance of roads and railways. This affected the collection of agricultural products and the delivery of inputs and basic consumer goods to the rural areas. As a result, there was a decline in agricultural production. Agriculture is the backbone of Tanzania's economy. This decline resulted in the fall in the volume of exports, especially the volume of cashew nuts, coffee, sisal, tea and tobacco, which were the main export crops. A serious drop in these crops was witnessed between the early 1970s and mid-1980s. As a result, there was further depletion of foreign exchange.

Factors for the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s

There were several factors for the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. The major factors included the following:

One of the factor for the economic crises was an increase in the price of petroleum oil. The war between Israel and the Arab states of Egypt and Syria in 1973 increased the price of oil more than four times at the world market. This increase came about because the Arab nations did not export oil to the USA and Western Europe because these powers supported Israel during the war. The price of oil increased again in 1974. Like other countries, Tanzania was affected by this increase. In this regard, the government earned less foreign exchange from its exports and used a huge amount of foreign exchange to import oil at very high prices. At the same time, there was a drastic decline in the price of agricultural exports.

The occurrence of persistent drought in the early 1970s also contributed to the economic crises. The country was hit hard by a severe drought in 1973 and 1974. This caused severe famine throughout Tanzania. The country exhausted all its food reserves to enable the victims to survive the famine. Thus, the government used much money to import food, especially maize, wheat and beans for the victims of famine. Thus, funds which should

have been used to implement national development plans were used to import relief food from the USA and North America.

Moreover, the collapse of the East African Community (EAC) in 1977 adversely affected the economy of Tanzania. Tanzania was forced to establish new structures for civil aviation, harbour administration, railways, postal services and telecommunications. Investment in infrastructure made the government spent a large amount of funds highly needed for other domestic purposes. Hence, the economic crises were inevitable.

The war between Tanzania and Uganda, which was fought from 9th October 1978 to 3rd June 1979, also caused the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s. The government used much money during the war by buying weapons and financing the logistics of the war such as the movement of soldiers, foodstuffs and other war needs from Tanzania to Uganda. As a consequence, the government experienced a serious shortage of funds for use in the economic and social sectors. The estimated cost of the war was US \$500 million. This cost was so big that it had a direct negative impact on the country's budget.

The oil price shock of 1979 was yet another reason for the economic crises.

The price of oil almost doubled in the period between 1978 and 1979, thus increasing the import bill which was three times more than that of 1974 and 1975. The price of oil destabilised the economy as in the 1980s it accounted for over 55 per cent of export earnings and 23 per cent of its imports.

Measures the government took to overcome the challenges

Initially, the government sought to improve domestic policies before finding foreign-based measures to solve the crises. Some of the measures taken are discussed below.

Internally-designed reforms

The first major attempt that the government made was to formulate a National Economic Survival Programme (NESP) in 1981-1982. The objectives of the NESP were to increase substantially foreign exchange earnings, save on imports, eliminate food shortages through village-centred irrigation schemes, controlling public expenditure in both government and parastatals, formulating development plans that emphasised the consolidation of activities, instead of introducing new activities, and raising the productivity of workers and farmers through appropriate incentive schemes.

The objectives of the NESP were not realised because they were ill-defined. It was argued that the NESP

was formulated in a hurry and that it contained unrealistic targets. Therefore, the programme did not lead to economic recovery.

The government also implemented the domestically-based Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) between 1982 and 1985. The major objective was to finance the fiscal deficit largely through domestic borrowing in the absence of external assistance to reduce inflation, restore production, maintain social services and revive the economic infrastructure. The SAPs were also intended to promote agricultural development and improve efficiency.

Furthermore, several provisions were put in place to fight economic sabotage which was common at the time of the crises. The government passed Economic Sabotage Act No. 9 of 1983 to fight overpricing and the hoarding of goods done because of the scarcity of commodities in several parts of the country. The government established special tribunals to deal with economic sabotage offences.

To contain the decline in the price of crops, the government reintroduced cooperatives through the Cooperatives Act of 1982. It should be noted that cooperatives had been banned in 1976. Moreover, the 1982 Act allowed private ownership of land, advocated the liberalisation of several aspects of agricultural marketing and paved

the way for people to make private investment in agriculture.

Despite the government's efforts to address challenges, most domestic measures did not bear fruit. Most of them failed either because of financial constraints or because of inefficiency and maladministration. Foreign assistance was, therefore, sought to supplement the domestic initiatives, which had failed to recover the economy. Thus, the persistence of the challenges left the country with no option but to introduce donor-funded economic recovery programmes in 1986.



Activity 7.3

Imagine you were Mwalimu Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania. Address the nation on the economic situation after independence. Suggest the measures your government would have taken to address the situation. Present your speech in class.

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

In the mid-1980s, it was realised that, in order to overcome Tanzania's socio-economic challenges, there was a need to re-adjust the economy. Thus, the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were consulted to secure either loans or grants for that

purpose. The assistance received from the international community saved the economy from declining and, thus, the economy started growing in the late 1990s.

Tanzania adopted a donor-funded Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) in 1986 after its domestic policies had failed. The ERP came up with a set of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and a package of reforms that were essentially aimed at liberalising the economy. The SAP-related measures included the devaluation of the shilling, the liberalisation of trade and the encouragement of local and private capital producer incentives. Others were the liberalisation of internal trade by removing price controls, cutting government expenditure on social and productive services through cost-sharing measures and eliminating subsidies and allowances. The government was also advised to reform the political system by re-introducing the multiparty system, which was expected to bring about checks and balances and, indeed, accountability.

Moreover, the SAPs were meant to increase production for internal and external markets and to improve the country's physical infrastructure and the industrial sector. However, as explained earlier, in the long run the SAPs did not enable the government to solve the economic crises.

Exercise 7.6

The SAPs have been interpreted differently by different scholars. Some scholars view the SAPs as a perfect solution to Tanzania's socio-economic challenges. Other scholars view them as a source of other economic problems. What are your views on this and why?

Revision exercise 7

1. Provide a brief history of the constitutional changes made in Tanzania from 1961 to the 2000s.
2. What do you understand by "colonial education policy".
3. Evaluate the effects of the colonial education policy up to 1961.
4. Explain briefly the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance and assess its strengths and weaknesses.
5. Evaluate the validity of the government's six recommendations with respect to Education for Self-Reliance.
6. Discuss the challenges that hinder the development of Tanzania today.
7. How did Tanzania address the challenges of economic development in the 1970s and 1980s?
8. What were the justifications for introducing the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania?
9. What do you think was the best way of implementing the villagilisation programme in Mainland Tanzania? Why do you think so?
10. Why was Tanzania reluctant to accept the comprehensive SAPs in the early 1980s?
11. "The 1970s and 1980s economic crises were caused by Tanzania's internal policy deficiency." Discuss.
12. Examine the indicators of the economic crises of the 1970s and 1980s.

Glossary

Act	a law that has been officially accepted by the governing body of a country
Amendment	a minor change or addition made to improve a piece of legislation
Ancient	belonging to the distance past or something dating to the past
Articulation	includes transformation, some changes, adoption and preservation of some pre-colonial elements
Barbaric	extremely cruel and unpleasant
Bill	a draft of a proposed law presented to parliament for discussion and approval
Cathedral	a church that contains a seat of a bishop, thus serving as a central church in a diocese
Coercive	using force to make people do things that they are unwilling to do
Compelled	forcefully driven to a particular course of action
Crown land	the territorial area belonging to the monarch, governor or president who holds it on behalf of his or her subject
Declaration	the act of making an official statement about something
Diaspora	dispersion of people from their homeland or a community formed by people who have exited or been removed from their homeland
Evict	officially forcing someone to leave a house or piece of land
Gandhism	a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision, life and work of Mahatma Gandhi
Hinterland	the remote areas of a country away from the coast or the banks of the major rivers

Loot	Steal goods from a place, typically during a war or riot
Metropolitan	relating to or denoting a metropolis or a large city
Ordinance	an authoritative rule or law, decree or command common during the colonial period
Pact	a formal agreement between individuals or parties
Persuasion	the act of convincing; making someone do something
Philosophy	a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behaviour
Prejudice	an unfair and unreasonable opinion or feeling, especially when formed without enough thought or knowledge
Pyramid	stone buildings with four triangular sloping sides
Sabotage	deliberate damage or destruction of equipment or property which belongs to your enemy or opponent
Sanction	strong action taken in order to make people obey a law or rule
Trustee	a person or firm that holds and administers property or assets for the benefit of a third party
Union Jack	the flag of the United Kingdom which combines the flags of England, Scotland and Ireland
Westminster	a democratic parliamentary system of government practised by the UK

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ISBN 978-9987-09-406-6



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