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TOPIC ONE

PRE-COLONIAL AFRICAN SOCIETIES

The pre-colonial African societies were African communities before the colonisation of African continent. They were socio-political and economic societal formations build by a closely related people tied by blood relations. They were independent and self dependent, progressing and dynamic societies build by a long evolutionary process in response to their environmental and customary circumstances.

Various views or interpretations are held by scholars individually or collectively about pre-colonial Africa. Nonetheless, the two common but divergent views or interpretations are identified as; ***Primitive Africa***, a view held by the Euro-centric historians and ***Progressive Africa*** held by the Afro-centric/Marxist historians. The notion held by the Euro-centric historians that African societies were primitive; stagnant, barbaric and disorganised is absurd and baseless to a fair minded analyst. Basing on unbiased analytical approach and research from anthropological, archaeological and linguistic studies, African societies were dynamic and steadily progressing in development as proclaimed by the Afro-centric analysts.

MEANING OF BASIC CONCEPTS

For constructive understanding of the study of development of any society and its basis of life, one need to be familiar with certain basic concepts to be in position to explain and analyse historical events. The concepts include the following among many others;

Labour.

The term labour means work. That is, work that involves physical and/or mental duty and activity. Labour also means the people who work or people available for work in a society. We can also say that labour is man's struggle to attain his basic needs by acting on nature.

Human Labour.

It is a purposeful efforts directed at the production of necessary product. This is a conscious and purposeful activity of people to produce material wealth by acting on nature. Human labour includes personal aspects in the production process such as knowledge, skills and experiences. Therefore, labour is the primary condition for human life.

Means of labour.

These are things man use in production. They include the instruments (tools) of labour such as hoes, machines and the infrastructure such as buildings and communication means. Means of labour are sometimes referred to as instruments of labour.

Objects of labour.

These are the things upon which man's labour is applied — things subjected to man's labour. They can be objects found in nature or objects upon which man's labour has already been applied. The universal object of labour is land with its mineral wealth and water.

Labour process/production.

This is the efforts put in production. It is the activity of using energy or labour to satisfy one's wants.

Means of production.

This is the combination of the objects and means (instrument) of labour. That is how man applies the instruments of labour like hoes on the objects of labour like land in his struggle to obtain his requirements from nature.

Productive forces.

This is the process of interacting together man's knowledge, skills and experience; instruments of labour like a hoe and; the objects of labour like land in the production of material wealth. It is how human labour is applied on the means of production. It is the combination of human labour, means of labour and the objects of labour.

Relations of production.

These are direct and indirect arrangements (relations) between people in the production process. That is, because production process is social in character, people have to enter into relations to complement each other to attain certain goals. Relations of production are determined by the form of ownership of the means of production and the distribution of the products of labour. Therefore the relations of production are either non-exploitative like in communalism and socialism or exploitative like in slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

Mode of production.

This is a combination of productive forces and relations of production. It is a specific combination of productive forces and social-technical relations of production which includes the property, power and control of relations governing societies' productive assets, work relations and relation between people and the objects of work and the relations between social classes. History has identified five (5) modes of production namely; Primitive communalism, Slave, Feudalism, Capitalism and Socialism/Communism.

Classes (social classes).

Classes are groups of people with similar characteristics and purposes and whose position in society is determined by material production. They are groups of people divided into distinct

socio-political and economic status according to the historically determined system of production and the mode by which they acquire their share of social wealth.

Class struggle.

This is the opposition between classes in society. In most cases the unprivileged or exploited or lower classes fight the privileged upper and exploiting classes to end exploitation and attain fair share of society's wealth and power. Class struggles are found with exploitative modes of production; the slave, feudal and capitalist modes of production.

Social formation.

This refers to the cultural, economic, legal, political and social structures of a community. Social formation is a concept used to mean a particular society at a particular time. It may also mean mode of production existing is a particular time in societies.

THE MODES OF PRODUCTION IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICAN SOCIETIES

A mode of production is a combination of productive forces and social relations of production. It is the way people relate to the physical world and the way they relate to each other in a specific and necessary ways — for a long period of time.

Mode of production is historically distinctive because it is a self-reproducing whole that perpetuates itself for a long time. When however new productive forces or new social relations develop which contradicts the existing mode of production, the social relation begins to collapse to give room for a new social order - a new Mode of Production.

Pre-colonial Africa had two main modes of production; Primitive Communalism and Feudalism. Though some societies had slave holding systems, the Slave Mode of Production did not develop into a fully-fledged mode of production in Africa. By the beginning of the 19th C, most African societies were still in the Communal Mode of Production; a few in a kind of Slave Mode and some in Feudal Mode. Nonetheless, communalism was still dominant in the continent so that even Feudal and Slave holding societies contained communal elements.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNALISM (Communal Mode of Production)

Primitive Communalism was the first mode of production in the development of man and society. The mode is called “primitive” because it was the first and with very low level of productive forces and called “communalism” because of the collective ownership of means of production and without exploitation of man by man of any kind. The mode is also referred to as Non-antagonistic system due absence of contradicting classes in it.

It was the first stage on which the development of human society began. Thus it is a system of life from which the evolution of society started, covering the periods of stone, bronze and even iron ages. Being the first mode of production, Primitive Communalism existed for a much longer period than the modes of production that followed like Slave and the Feudal modes.

Primitive communalism is still practiced by some hunting and gathering and pastoral societies in Africa. The slow pace or reluctance to adopt new life standards, the nature of their environment being either thick forested or arid or semi arid and less population in areas they live dictate the primitive mode of life on such societies like; the Mbuti Pygmies and the Twa (Congo equatorial forests), Tindiga and Hadzabe (central Tanzania), Dorobo and Pokot (Kenya), Karamajong (Uganda), Gala (Somaliland) and the Khoikhoi and Sans (southern Africa). While the Mbuti, Twa, and Sans are hunters and gatherers, the rest are nomadic pastoralists.

Features of Primitive Communalism

1. Collective ownership of the means of production. All providence objectives like land, animals, labour and tools were communally owned. People had to live together and jointly conduct production activities for survival. Since ownership and labour were communal, there was more or less equal distribution of property and products of labour.
2. Low level of productive forces. Technology was at the lowest stage that the instruments of labour were rudimentary. During the Stone Age for example, man used tools made of sticks and stones. Due to that, man depended much on the provisions of nature and thus major means of livelihood were hunting and gathering; only a few societies practiced primitive farming. With low productive forces man produce little for his consumption alone.
3. Classlessness. Absence of class contradictions was due to low population and low development of productive forces. Low population meant that resources were plenty so no struggle by man to control them. People lived, worked and shared equally together. Hence there were no exploiters and exploited which is caused by class differentiations.
4. Low division of labour and specialisation. This was a result of limited productive skills and activities. One's gender or age dictated his/her responsibility. Men went hunting and gathering or for war, women and girls for domestic duties that included looking after children. Boys looked after herds while old men stayed at home making tools.
5. Low population. There were small and scattered communities of kin and kith groups. Each group occupied its own territory from which it searched, for food. Collisions between communities were rare as they were separated from each other by large tracks of land. Low population allowed communal living due to plenty of resources that limited class formation.
6. Stateless societies. People lived in small groups of kinship. Family heads formed the council of society governance. The absence of dominant classes meant no need for rulers. Also man's needs were limited to his consumption hence limited chaos and wars that would need strict laws and armies. In such a situation man did not need states to organise society.
7. Fully democratic. Communal societies enjoyed full democracy. Decision making involved the entire body of adult member of society regardless of sex. Due to low populations and absence of dominant classes of rulers, the entire society population of elders formed the assembly and equal chances were given to all to make decisions.

In this early stage of development of society, man entirely relied on the provision of nature due to low development of productive forces. Nevertheless, this does not tell that society was static. Due to curiosity or the drive to arrest his challenges, man arrived at certain inventions. Among

them was the discovery of fire which changed his life as he changed diet, protected, warmed himself and cleared more land; transformation from a nomadic life to permanent settlement that allowed him make more changes to his life, notably the *Neolithic Revolution*.

Neolithic Revolution in Pre-colonial African societies

Neolithic means the later part of the Stone Age. Neolithic Revolution was the first agricultural revolution when man began domestication of animals and plants in the later part of Stone Age. It was the major change in human life marked by the beginning of farming as man moved from food gathering to food producing.

The revolution was man's invention in his struggle to master and control his environment by increasing his labour productivity. It describes man's transition from nomadic hunting and gathering to permanent settlement and agriculture. The domestication of crops and animals assured man of food and protection.

Factors for the Neolithic Revolution

The factors responsible for the Neolithic Revolution were:

1. Improvement in productive forces. Advancement of skills and technology increased man's ability to master and control nature. Notably, the use of iron tools enabled man to open land for farming and settlement. Likewise he could easily protect or distance himself from dangerous animals and enemies.
2. Population increase. Expansion of families conditioned man to adopt permanent settlement. It made it difficult for man to continue with the nomadic life. Expanded families also increased labour to till the land for man's essential provisions like food. This certainly conditioned man to domesticate some crops and animals.
3. Changes in climatic conditions. Ecological changes made man's life difficult to entirely depend on nature for his vital provisions. In the areas where climate became hotter like in arid areas, man adopted some animals like cattle to provide him food while in wet climate he adopted crop cultivation to attain food.
4. Impact of man's curiosity. Man made a number of discoveries from his experimentations and through trial and error. By such means man discovered crops and animals which he could put under his care and that can provide him with needs he desired like food and security.
5. Need for security. Early man lived in constant danger like attacks by wild animals. The threats of that kind stimulated his innovation and thus discovered how to control the situation. That resulted in domestication of some animals like dogs which protected or alerted him in case of danger.
6. Increase in the division of labour. The division of labour led to specialization and specification of duties and responsibilities. As men went hunting and gathering, women stayed home looking after children. Staying at home by women made the domestication of crops and animals necessary and easy because they could take care of them.

Socio-Economic changes brought by the Neolithic Revolution

7. First and foremost was permanent settlement. The domestication of crops and animals necessitated man to abandon a nomadic life for permanent settlement living style because the domesticated crops and animals required more attention hence occupied man for most of his time. Permanent settlement enabled him provide security to his livestock and crops.
8. Population expansion. This was mainly a result of increased food production and permanent settlement. Increase in birth rates was vital to offset increase in death rates and that required settled occupation of territory that encouraged population expansion. In permanently settled communities, population expanded faster due to the sharing of child raising responsibilities.
9. Extension of the division of labour. The division of labour went beyond the lines of sex and age to community level due the Neolithic Revolution. The specification of occupation was now dictated by the society's environment. For example areas with abundant rainfall specialised in farming of permanent crops, while arid and semi-arid areas were pastoralists.
10. Rise of social classes of exploiters and exploited. The upper classes of leaders and people with special duties like diviners and healers, who though did not directly engage in production, organised certain aspects of production and utilised the accumulated wealth produced by others (their subjects). They dominated their communities by means of property control and decision making. For example while as land could be collectively owned by the community but it was entrusted to the leaders to distribute it.
11. Development of socio-political organisations. Population increase and permanent settlement allowed the development of new social, economic and political institutions such as leadership, law, and army needed for man's welfare. Besides, increase in population reduced land gaps separating societies and thus prompted closely related neighbouring societies to unify. Leaders of the adjoined societies formed governance councils to organise society.
12. Production of surplus. This was made possible with division of labour (specialisation) and improvement in productive forces that helped man improve his productive skills. This helped man produce enough for consumption and surplus for exchange.
13. Increased energy possibilities. Domestication of animals like oxen, donkeys, horses and camels made man access more energy possibilities. Such animals facilitated intensive subsistence farming as man could open more land for farming. Also improved transport that enable man to move for long and short distances for trade and other issues like adventure.
14. Conflicts and wars. The increase in population and improvement of productive forces, contributed to scarcity of resources that led to conflicts and wars. Societies with greater improvement of productive like iron technology plundered and expanded into others to grab them of their resources like land, livestock and food.
15. Spread of diseases. The domestication of animals and permanent settlement spread diseases easily than during the period of hunting and gathering. Inadequate sanitation and man's closeness to animals was the cause in the spread of environmental and animal diseases such as Small Pox, Measles and Nagana/Sleeping Sickness that attacked man and his livestock.

SLAVE MODE OF PRODUCTION

Slave Mode of Production was that within which the relations of production that existed was of two classes of Slave Masters and Slaves. The Slave Master owned the means of production that included the slaves as his private property. The slave was owned as instrument of labour so he was disowned of whatsoever rights and freedom. It was the second mode of production in human history and the first notorious form of exploitation, suppression and humiliation.

Slaves were involuntarily held under the control of another person, group, organisation, or state. That is, they were the unfree labour held against their will.

Features of Slave Mode Production

1. Existence of classes. Two major antagonistic classes existed with the Slave Mode of Production; the Slave Masters and the Slaves. The Slave Master owned wealth like land and the slaves themselves as his instruments of labour. The slaves owned nothing since even his life and labour belonged to his master.
2. Private ownership of means of production. Property ownership was enjoyed by the Slave Masters who owned the means of production, the slaves and the products made by the slaves. The slave owned no property but instead was himself owned as instrument of production.
3. Exploitation relations. Slave Masters exercised notorious exploitation on the Slaves. On top of being held against their will, the Slaves were overworked to produce surplus for the master and in return he gained nothing but only very little means for subsistence like food.
4. Advanced productive forces. The Slave Mode of Production had more improved science and technology compared to Primitive Communalism. The notable development was iron technology that enabled surplus production for Slave Masters (rulers) who engaged in trade and built states for their protection.
5. Emergence of state. The state emerged as a tool of class domination by the Slave Masters. State apparatuses like the military and laws were put in place for security purposes, to supervise slave labour, maintain discipline among the slaves or subjects and therefore maintain production for the Slave Masters.
6. The system was undemocratic and lacked respect for humanity. The status of a slave was not that of a human being since he was owned as property an instrument of labour. In that situation, the slaves were denied all sorts of individual, socio-economic and political rights.
7. Class struggles. The antagonistic relations of the Slaves and the Slave Masters developed frequent conflicts between the two classes. The conflicts were struggles of slaves against exploitation and denial of freedom by the slave masters. Slaves could destroy their masters' properties like farms and others could run away (escape).
8. Development of Trade. Societies *under the Slave Mode of Production* developed trading contacts due to surplus production. The possession of extra labour provided by Slaves and advancement in productive forces enabled the Slave Masters produce in surplus. The surplus products were then exposed for exchange for what the Master lacked.

Origin of the Slave Mode of Production

The basis of Slave Mode of Production was the development of technology (productive forces) and class differentiations.

1. Advancement in technology. The development of productive forces, in particular, the use of iron was the major factor for the development of classes or societal differentiations on which slavery stand. It improved labour productivity to enable man open more land for farming and other activities like mining and trade. Societies with this technology became more powerful, and their increased desire for wealth led them to control others for extra labour hence slavery.
2. Development of division of labour. This also was responsible for social differentiation within the communal system. Development of personal skills, talent and experiences led to specialisation in different fields such as medicine, tool making, trade and farming. Such divisions led to classes and inequalities in distribution of material wealth. It was from such groups that rulers emerged to dominate and enslave others for power and wealth.
3. Development of trade. Trade called for production expansion to avail the surplus needed for exchange. To produce the surplus extra labour was needed. To avail extra labour those with wealth and power forced the weak and poor into slavery to work for them. More powerful societies with improved productive forces attacked their weak neighbours and enslaved them.
4. The role of state. The state and its military apparatuses emerged as a tool of class domination by the Slave Masters but also were crucial in the development and sustenance of the slave Mode of Production. State armies raided weak neighbouring communities for slaves supervise slaves labour and maintain discipline among the slaves.
5. Population expansion. This was mainly due to permanent settlement and food production. Population expansion led to shortage of means of production like land. In the struggle to control the scarce resources there emerged antagonistic classes of haves (the rich) and have-nots (poor). The rich subjugated the poor into slavery to produce them the surplus.

Slavery in Africa

The Slave Mode of Production did not develop in any African society in full sense of a mode of production though there were a few slave holding societies. That means that slavery did exist but a Slave Mode of Production as a complete institution never existed in Africa.

A few slave holding societies were found in North Africa, West African, South Africa and along the East African coast. Slave labour was employed in building cities, worked in mining and agriculture societies that practiced slavery. They as well served as domestic servants, soldiers and guards. Slave holding societies in Africa included Egypt, Zanzibar, West African societies and South African by the Boers.

Slavery in Ancient Egypt;

Egypt is among the oldest states and civilisations in the world. Agriculture was the foundation of ancient Egyptian economy and vital to the lives of its people. Archaeological findings show evidence of agricultural use dating back to 8000 BCE in Egypt and by 5000 BC., Egyptians lived in farming villages. Each village had its own chieftain that enabled Egyptians transform an expanse of semi-arid land into rich fields by use of the Nile river waters. This proves that Egypt transformed from hunting and gathering earlier than any other place in the world.

The chieftains organised production by constructing irrigation canals and dams to bolster agriculture and control famine that affected them. As a result, some people specialised in leadership to organise society and mobilise labour while others did manual work.

During the dynastic periods, Egypt made tremendous development in science and technology. For example, the astronomical discovery of a calendar improved farming as Egyptian could track the floods of the Nile and plan their planting season well.

In the later periods of Egyptian history, slavery became a widespread source of labour. Slaves were usually captives from foreign wars. The Egyptians however, were not locked into their social classes. Lower and middle-class Egyptians could gain higher status through marriage or success in their jobs. Even some slaves could hope to earn their freedom as a reward for their loyal service. Once a person had skills like reading and writing, many careers were open in the army, royal treasury, priesthood, and the king's court.

Slavery developed in Egypt due the following reasons;

- The construction of pyramids and temples. The construction tasks of such structures were so tough and vigorous hence extra labour force was demanded.
- Impact of floods caused by River Nile. The floods seasonally attacked Egyptian communities along the Nile River. So to safeguard themselves Egyptians needed extra labour to raise strong flood walls and dams to check on the flood.
- Facilitating Irrigation Schemes. Being in a desert, Egyptians depended much on irrigation for their farming. Irrigation being a continuous activity which needed readily available labour.
- Construction of towns and cities. Slave labour was deployed in the construction of towns like Memphis and Alexandria. Great walls were constructed to protect towns from the floods.
- Slaves also served as porters, domestic servants of the rich and in royal courts. Slaves were availed at the service of the upper classes for such purposes as well
- The need for surplus. Surplus was needed for exchange with other societies Arabia and Mesopotamia. Slaves were therefore acquired to produce surplus for trade.

Western Sudan;

The Western Sudan is a historic region that is considered by historians as a land of great empires. The most prominent of these states were Ghana (7th to 11th C), Mali (13th to 15th C) and Songhai

(1464 to 1591), but smaller large scale polities have also been important, the empire of Great Fouta (late 6th to early 18th C), the Bamana Empire (late 17th to early 19th C), and the 19th C empires of Tukolor of Al Hadj Umar Tal and Mandinka of Samore Toure.

The development in productive forces led to emergence of three socio-economic classes; the upper ruling classes of the kings, military aristocracy, merchants and artisans. The second class of peasantry which comprised of cultivators and livestock keepers and at the base were the slaves who were either for domestic production or sale to foreign merchants.

Economically, agriculture, fishing, and livestock keeping were all important to the economies of the Sudanic empires. These activities produced a variety of products that stimulated trade. Merchants established a network of commercial routes, and used relatives and slaves to help conduct their businesses.

Trade, particularly, the Trans-Saharan Long Distance Trade was very crucial to these states. It strengthened the power of the rulers by bringing them wealth and connections with foreign merchants. As the empires grew, the trade routes became better established.

Religion was as well a core factor for consolidation of these states. Islam was the dominant faith in the region. It was introduced to the region by merchants from the north, mostly Arabs and Berbers. The rulers were the first to convert to Islam, followed by merchants and most common people. Many were drawn to Islam because the faith represented a higher, more prosperous civilization, and was seen as a powerful religion. Besides uniting people under their leaders, Islam promoted trade and education.

Slavery developed in the region due to;

- Slaves were obtained to work as domestic servants especially in farms by rich landlords who needed surplus production.
- Slaves were also used as porters by rich traders to carry goods to and from the making centres in the long distance trading systems like the Trans-Saharan trade.
- Slaves served in Kings'/chiefs' courts and palaces for example as carriers of their masters at the time they needed to move around their kingdoms/chiefdoms/territories.
- The development of trade also intensified slavery due to high need of trade items. But also, slaves themselves were a crucial trade item.

The forest and coastal zones of West Africa

The region covers all of Liberia and Sierra Leone, most of Guinea, the southern halves of Ivory Coast and Nigeria, and part of Ghana, Togo and Guinea-Bissau. State development in the region took place between 1000 and 1500 AD when a number of small tribal villages ruled over by chiefs in the region began to consolidate into larger political units and eventually formed powerful centralised states that included Benin, Oyo, Dahomey and Asante. Also was the Manikongo kingdom in the Congo.

The reasons for the development of centralised states in this region are diverse;

Partly, was due to the influx of people from the Sudan, driven south by the increasingly harsh climatic conditions. These brought with them new forms of government, including hereditary monarchy into the region.

But important also as the development of class differentiations. Similar to other regions like Western Sudan the development of productive forces and division of labour resulted into classes that were mainly; the ruling class of the king, nobles, military aristocracy, rich merchants and artisans. This class controlled wealth and trade in the states. The second class was of peasantry, agriculturalists and the bottom class was of the slaves who produced surplus for the upper classes. They were also essential commodity for trade especially with European maritime traders.

The development of technology (iron and industry) was also paramount in the development of states in this region but along other factors that included trade with the European maritime traders through which they acquired wealth and firearms; agriculture and population expansion due favourable climate and fertile soils and; rise of charismatic rulers among others.

East African coast — Zanzibar

The East African coast adopted slavery during the period of Umwinyi before the advent of the Arabs. With the Umwinyi system society was stratified as follows; at the top was the Mwinyi Mkuu who was the overhead controller of the land, next to him were Sheha (in Zanzibar) or Diwani (in Pemba), the landlords and merchants. In the middle were peasants and at the bottom were the serfs and slaves.

Slavery however, increased with the arrival of merchants from the Middle East as more African rulers and merchants needed more surpluses for exchange with foreign traders. The slaves were also important item of the trade. Slavery in Zanzibar increased with the settlement of the Arabs and the eventual shift of Sultan Sayyid Said's capital from Muscat to Zanzibar due to;

- Establishment of plantation farming. Plantations were established for the production of the highly demanded coconuts and cloves. To meet the increasing labour demands, slaves were obtained in the interior of East and Central Africa to work in the plantations.
- Increase in the Asiatic population. As more Arabs and Indians flocked to Zanzibar to participate in the lucrative trade in slaves, gold, cloves and coconuts, more slaves were imported to serve as porters and domestic servants and they were important item of trade.
- Slaves were exported to the Middle East where they used as cheap labour as domestic servants, porters, herdsmen and guards.
- More slaves were sold to European merchants who shipped them to the islands of Reunion, Mauritius and Comoros while others to the New World to work in plantations and mines.

East African interior

In the interior of east Africa slavery developed in the Interlacustrine Region that included the kingdoms of Bunyoro Kitara, Buganda, Ankole. Toro, Karagwe, Buha, Buhaya, Rwanda and Burundi. Like in other regions of the continent, societies in the region developed classes from around 1000 AD. The major classes were; the ruling class that comprised the kings, chiefs, knights and merchants, the middle class was of peasants and tenants and lower class was of slaves commonly referred to as “*Abairu*.” Slavery was as well practiced among other societies like Nyamwezi and the Chagga. Like in the other regions of Africa slavery existed in the womb of feudalism and thus societies that developed the Feudal Mode of Production were in some cases slave holding. The Ntemiship (among the Sukuma, Nyamwezi and Gogo), Nyarubanja (Karagwe and Buhaya), Busulo (Buganda) and Obugabire (Rwanda, Burundi and Buha) systems practiced slavery. Slaves were held as labourers, porters, herdsmen, domestic servants and guards.

South Africa;

Slavery in South Africa started with the arrival of the Boers at the cape since the 17th C.

- The Dutch farmers (Boers) enslaved Africans (the Khoikhoi and the Hotentoes) in their farms. Africans were alienated from their lands and then turned to slaves by the Boers.
- Slaves were sold to European maritime traders who shipped them to the Indian Ocean islands of Reunion, Mauritius and Comoros and others to the New World of Americas and Caribbean where they worked in plantations and mines.
- The discovery of minerals; diamonds (1867) and gold (1886). The British and the Boers enslaved the natives of South Africa and the immigrants to South Africa in the mines.

Slave Mode of Production emerged due to the further development of productive forces and social division of labour and later the development of exchange (trade). Thus, as productive forces developed, man begun to obtain more means of subsistence leading creation of surplus. All of which contributed to the transition from primitive communism to slavery.

Why African societies did not develop a Slave Mode of Production?

The reasons explained underneath implies that slavery existed but did not develop into a formidable Slave Mode of Production.

1. Slavery existed in the womb of feudalism. Slavery existed within the Feudal Mode of Production and prominent feudal societies like Ghana and Karagwe were slave holding. With that arrangement, slavery was absorbed by serfdom in feudal systems like Nyarubanja and Obugabire in which slaves were adopted as labourers in farms and homes of rich landlords and rulers and could be given part of the landlord's land to cultivate on their own.

2. Slavery was not permanent. Slaves were not locked into slavery forever. They could earn freedom as reward for their loyal service and could gain higher status by marriage or success in their jobs. Those who showed talents or skills for example could be integrated into armies. They could also marry or be married in their master's families hence integrated into kinship.
3. Low levels of productive forces. This slowed down division of labour and specialisation that would consequently give birth to classes. It meant the dominance of subsistence economy and a very gradual process in production of surplus that slowed down the evolution of class formation from which dominant classes on which a Slave Mode Production would develop.
4. The dominance of communal and kinship living in Africa. This way of life was common in all African societies. Means of production mainly land were collectively owned though entrusted to the rulers who distributed them to all their people. Labour with its fruits like food and security were jointly shared. This discouraged development of antagonistic classes.
5. The mechanism of obtaining slaves and purpose for slavery differed from one society to another. In some societies war captives were condemned to slavery as punishment. In other societies, law breakers or indebted were forcefully or voluntarily enslaved as a means to settle their cases. In some instances the helpless poor volunteered to be slaves in exchange for means of survival. This explains that slavery was a means of punishment or survival.
6. Low population in Africa. The population of African societies was low and scattered over a large area so it was very difficult to develop strong class formation. The low population meant that the essential means of sustenance like land and food were plenty. Slavery existed where resources were scarce as the struggle to control the available resources created classes. The great diversity of environmental and material conditions in Africa.
7. This failed the development of connective internal revolutions that would have led to a Slave Mode of Production. While some societies lived in woodlands and practiced hunting and gathering with primitive shifting cultivation, others were in arid or semi arid areas and lived a nomadic life of pastoralism and others in conducive climate practicing subsistence agriculture.
8. Slavery was adopted as a culture of some societies. In societies like the Western Sudan kingdoms of Ghana, Mali and Songhai and in Buganda, Buhaya and Rwanda, it was prestigious and a sign of power to own slaves. In some Muslim societies of like in Eastern Africa, it was a fashion to enslave non- Muslims. Slaves were owned by rulers and the rich who worked them as domestic servants, farm labourers and porters.

FEUDAL MODE OF PRODUCTION (FEUDALISM)

The term *feudalism* is derived from the Latin word *Feudum* — meaning a “piece of land.” In that sense, the Feudal Mode of Production based on land ownership and land as the major mean of production. In this system land is owned and controlled by few individuals, the landlords (Feudal lords). Since the landlord cannot put his entire land into use, he apportions part of it to the landless people, the serfs/tenants/vassals to work on it in return for paying him rent.

Feudalism is the second exploitative mode of production after Slave Mode of Production. It is based on exploitation of man by man basing on land ownership. In the system, land is owned by a few, the landlords who enter into relations with the landless tenants by renting them land on condition of paying them rent/taxes/tributes. The Feudal Mode of Production developed within state organisations.

Features of Feudalism in Africa

1. Land is the basic means of production. Land being the principle factor of production, agriculture is the major economic activity of feudalism. Feudal societies like Buganda and Karagwe practiced permanent crop cultivation or mixed farming like Oyo and Rwanda.
2. Private ownership of means of production. The landlords owned the land and other means of production like livestock. They also partly owned the serfs who worked and depended on their landlords' lands.
3. Existence of classes. Feudalism was characterised by two major antagonistic classes of the landlords and the tenants/serfs. The landlord controls the land and other means of production such as cattle. The serf lives and work on the landlord's land in return for rent.
4. Exploitation. The landlords exploit the serfs by rent or tribute payment for using their land. Majorly only two forms of rent were applied in pre-colonial Africa; the labour rent also termed as land rent that required tenants to work on plots allocated to them to get products for livelihood while sometimes offer free labour on the landlord's land and; rent in kind that required tenants to share their produce like crops and cattle with the landlord. Money rent was not common in pre-colonial Africa.
5. Advanced productive forces. Within feudalism, technology was more developed than in the Communal and Slave modes of production. It was featured by the wide use of iron tools that established agriculture and other economic activities like trade due to surplus production.
6. Advanced state formation. State development had reached high stage in feudal *societies*. With authority to control means of production, land in particular, landlords became rulers. They formed private armies which helped them maintain their positions, keep law and order, collect rent and tributes from the tenants and offer security to them and their subjects.
7. In feudalism in Africa, tenants as opposed to slaves owned some means of production like plots of land, livestock and instruments of production. After fulfilling his duty to his landlord's land, the tenant had time to work for himself. This made him interested in improving the implements of labour and labour skills to raise his productivity.
8. Advancement of specialisation. Specialisation and division of labour was more developed in feudalism than in communalism. Men specialised in commodity production and military while women and children engaged themselves in tilling the land and other domestic duties.

Development of Feudal Relations in Africa

Societies like Egypt, Ethiopia, the interlacustrine states of Bunyoro, Buganda, Ankole, Toro and Buhaya and the Western Sudan states like Mali and Songhai had developed strong feudal systems long before contact with Europe from the 15th C. However a few others like the Khoisan of the Kalahari, Tindiga and Hadzabe of Tanzania, Dorobo of Kenya, Tuso of Uganda, and Mbuti and Twa of the Congo forest were until the 19th C still in primitive the communal mode.

Transition from Communalism to Feudalism

The transformation of African societies from Primitive Communalism is enough to invalidate the unjustified nature of the Euro-centric view that African societies were static. It is rather an attestation that African societies were undergoing progressive transformation from time to time. The transition from Communalism to Feudalism was facilitated by the; the environmental factors and man's activities (curiosity) in his struggle to control nature.

1. Climate. Societies within favourable climate conditions of reliable rainfall developed agriculture with cultivation of permanent crops such as bananas in Buganda and Buhaya and yams in the West African forest states like Oyo and Benin that needed continuous attention. This called upon landlords to seek for extra labour (Serfs). It also led to permanent settlement that led to population expansion that resulted to the struggles to control land.
2. Population expansion. This resulted to land shortage in areas with economic importance like agriculture. The struggle to control land created classes of landlords and landless poor from which the classes of rulers and subjects developed and therefore the formation of political organisations (states). More so, population growth brought with it improvements in productive forces that forced for adoption of new skills that threatened Primitive Communal.
3. Improvement of productive forces. This mainly due to the discovery of Iron technology that was a great revolution in man's life that suffocated Communalism. It enabled man improve his labour productivity to control nature hence went beyond food gathering and hunting. It enabled him open more land for agriculture and produce surplus hence required more labour. Also he became able to subdue others who had not advanced and made them work for him.
4. Availability of natural resources. Feudalism developed in areas with natural resources, particularly iron but also mineral resources like gold, silver and copper. Societies with such resources were empowered to establish economic activities, notably agriculture, mining and trade that worked with extra labour. The presence of such resources led to classification of people and societies and encouraged production and so the rich had to enter into relations with the poor or subdued them (the poor) to produce surplus for them.
5. Development of Trade. The improvement in productive forces facilitated trade as man could produce in surplus. Trade increased the value of land as communities had to settle permanently to produce surplus. For example states like Mali and Songhai, were required to produce for the Trans-Saharan trade. Land owners had to enter into relations with the landless by giving them part of their land to produce them surplus for trade.

6. Unequal distribution of products of labour and property. The start of unequal distribution of property and fruits of labour gave birth to classes within the Communal system. The increasing inequalities eroded the non-exploitative communal nature of African societies. Societies endowed with resources like good climate and iron transformed much quickly to Feudalism. These invaded weaker societies and the conquered peoples were made serfs and labourers.
7. The development of division of labour and specialisation. When African societies became complex, they developed division of work to improve labour efficiency. Division of labour led to specialisation and classes such as rulers, diviners, artisans, soldiers and producers. The upper classes could not directly engage in production, they controlled the means of production and subjugated the lower classes to be their labourers to produce for them surplus.
8. Nature of the soils. Areas with fertile soils also led to agriculture expansion and permanent settlement to ensure constant production for both subsistence use and surplus for future use and exchange (trade). Besides leading to population increase, it raised the desire to secure more land to expand production. The struggle for more productive land resulted to classes.
9. Need for security. In the times of troubles such as wars and hunger, weaker or impoverished people could submit themselves to their invaders or stronger neighbours for protection. In return for protection, they offered labour or tributes to their new masters in forms of sharing fruits of their labour like farm products or precious materials like salt and iron materials.

Feudal Mode of Production among African societies

The Feudal Mode of Production in Africa existed in a variety of forms depending on the place where they evolved. Nevertheless, though in different forms, the systems shared significant features. The importance of land as the principle means of production as well as the existence of antagonistic classes of landlords and tenants was constant. Though societies like the Hutu, Tutsi and Ankole had livestock, as means of production, land remained the major means of production.

Feudalism in the Great Lakes region

In Buhaya or Karagwe the feudal system was referred to as *Nyarubanja*. In this system, the class of people who owned private estates (Nyarubanja) was called the *Batwazi*. These were mostly from the royal family, the *Balangira*. The landless were the *Batwara* subjects) and *Bairu* (slaves). The Batwara had to give part of his products or offer free labour services to the Batwazi for using their land. In that way they produced surplus for them. The system entirely evolved on agriculture and specifically on cultivation of bananas. Productive forces tremendously improved after the discovery of iron dating back before 1000 AD as evidenced in the archaeological discoveries at Engaruka. The development of trade increased the need for surplus production hence increase exploitation of the Batwara and Bairu.

In Buganda, the system was known as *Busulo* (*Nvujo*). Land belonged to the *Kabaka* king) who also held the title *Sabataka* meaning the chief landlord (from the term *Etaka* meaning land). The Kabaka appointed chiefs who headed provinces of the Kingdom. The chiefs were offered private

land and controlled land in their areas on behalf of the Kabaka. Also was a class of **Bataka** (landlords) that was allowed to own land privately. At the bottom were the poor, the **Bakopi** (subjects). The Bakopi had to pay rent by sharing the products of the land with landlord or offer his labour services. All the Bakopi offered part of their produce that was called Busulo and/or labour services to the Kabaka that was called **Akasanvu** to the immediate chief who shared it with the Kabaka. The main activity was agriculture with bananas as main crop. Also trade flourished.

In Rwanda, Urundi, Buha and Ankole, the feudal system was known as **Obugabire**. The system in these societies was found on cattle ownership alongside land ownership. For instance the **Tutsi** could transfer some of his cattle to a **Hutu**. Accordingly, the donor became the master (**Sebuja**) of the recipients (**Bagabire**) — meaning the given/offered. The **Omugabire** and his family were now obliged to perform duties for their master like cultivating crops. In Ankole the landowners were the **Bahima** and the **Bairu** were the subjects.

The Nyamwezi and Sukuma societies

Among the Nyamwezi and Sukuma the leader entitled **Mtemi** controlled the land and the producers themselves. The Mtemi mobilized his people to new land wherever it was available to till (**kutema**) it. He distributed the land among his subjects to avoid conflicts. A successful Mtemi was the one with many people under him, as more people meant more labour hence more production, wealth and power.

The Mtemi opened the planting season and enforced proper use of land forests and other resources. He was also the one in charge of the state's grain reserves. Mtemi system had emerged by 1300 AD in the Nyamwezi and Sukuma societies. The same system was adopted by the Gogo in present central Tanganyika and in south central Tanganyika among the Hehe, Sangu and Bena where the leader was referred to as Mtwa.

The feudal system at the East African coastal region

At the East African coast, feudal relations developed before the domination of the Arabs in the 19thC. The great landowner and controller was the **Mwinyi Mkuu**. Next to the Mwinyi Mkuu in hierarchy of governance were the **Sheha** (in Zanzibar) or **Diwani** (in Pemba). These mostly known as **Sheha wa Mji** or **Mjumbe** headed the village (ward). Under them were other landlords, the **Wamwinyi** who received land from the Mwinyi Mkuu. Besides controlling the land, the Wamwinyi controlled the serfs and monopolised political and economic powers. The tenants lived on the land of the landlords (Wamwinyi) and in return paid labour services and tributes. The Mwinyi Mkuu appointed tax collectors known as **Shakau** to collect taxes for him. Taxes were mainly paid in forms of labour and food. Also in the hierarchy were the religious leaders, the **Wazale** (**Wavyale**) who also received surplus products from the peasants.

When the Arabs arrived, there was no quick change of the system. In the beginning, the Arabs ruled over the local peoples indirectly through Mwinyi Mkuu and his system. Nevertheless, when the capitalist demands of raw materials and markets intensified, the local ruling system was phased-out. By 1840, the Arab aristocracy took direct control over the islands. They seized

land and introduced plantation economy for cloves and coconut production. Under the Arab rule, religion and race determined classes and status of individuals. Society was divided into Arabs, Shirazi, Swahili and Africans, in that downward order. To match the world demand for cloves, the Arab aristocrats largely relied on slave labour in the plantations. The Arabs, Shirazi, Swahili and African Muslims were referred to as **Waungwana**, the rest were called **Washenzi**.

Feudalism in the states of Western Sudan

States of Western Sudan such as the ancient empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai were highly developed. Indeed in this region Africans had reached political, administrative, military and economic greatness in the period before the coming of the Europeans. Africans in this region showed greater capability in development than in many other regions of the continent. State formation in this region was not only more advanced, but as well began earlier than the rest of Africa; for instance the origin of ancient empire of Ghana, goes back to the 5th C AD and Mali had its glorious days in the 13th C. Long distance trade across the Sahara stimulated the famous cities of the region such as Walata, Timbuktu, Gao and Jenne and spread enlightenment through Arabic literature and Islam. The trade also strengthened state power of the images which transformed themselves into permanent aristocracy.

Feudal relations in the region were reasonably strong though not as such strong like in other parts of Africa like in Egypt. Feudalism in Western Sudan was much associated with trade and mining activities and was much involved with the Islamic religion since a big population was Muslim and concentrated on trade through Trans-Saharan trade.

Feudalism in Egypt

In Egypt, a small aristocratic and landed class monopolised most of the land leaving a large class of the people landless. The peasants with little or no land were known as the **Fellahin**. The Fellahin was exploited to produce revenue and surpluses to the landlords. Peasants were turned into mere agricultural labourers and were tied to the land as tenants and vassals of the landlords. Egypt had developed an efficient irrigation system and had advanced agriculture. Indeed it was the first country where the technology of food production spread from. The development of agriculture and pastoralism capable of supporting a large population depended on the ability to master the annual flood water of the Nile. This need to control the water of the Nile forced the different Kinship communities to come together in order to construct dams and canals for irrigation. At first they adopted the basin irrigation system and later improved on it with a new irrigation system referred to as **Shadoof** (irrigation system) before invention of the canal system. Archeological evidence shows that in Egypt the transition from hunting and gathering to agriculture was made between 5,000 and 4,000 BC.

Egyptian rulers were also able to establish efficient labour relations through which they were able to build attractive canals, dams, and bridges that stimulated trade and commerce with the outside world. Egypt at that time was able to teach Europe in many things including city life where Cairo for centuries was the most cultured city in the world.

Egypt was a more advanced during the era of the Fatimid dynasty (969 — 1170 AD). Science and technology flourished and industrialisation reached a high level. Windmills and water wheels were introduced from Persia in the 10th century. New industries were introduced for papermaking, sugar refining, porcelain and the distillation of gasoline. And the older industries of textiles, leather and metal were improved up on.

Feudalism in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia feudal relations were maintained through tenants. Tenants became labourers in farms and in the construction of palaces and public work. They rented houses and were subjected to payment of rent to their landlords. In the feudal Ethiopia the church (Orthodox Church) and the state were in a close alliance just like it was in Europe with the Catholic Church and states. Feudalism in Ethiopia included land that was communally owned by the villages or ethnic communities or the crown. However large territories were conferred by the conquering Amharic dynasty onto members of loyal family, soldiers and priests (*Abanús*).

Feudalism in Zululand

In Zululand, feudalism depended on agriculture and pastoralism. The masses would acquire land and cattle in exchange for the agreement that they would remain loyal to the king and work for him. The king was then the chief landlord. He distributed land to his loyal subjects and soldiers. The advancement of productive forces in feudal societies was behind the advancement of major economic sectors namely; agriculture, mining, fishing, manufacturing industry and trade.

Advancement in technology notably, with iron technology feudal system came into place and became more efficient in production and protection. Population expanded with permanent settlement and improved life standards and trade due to production of surplus. Indeed man's skills to control nature were improved.

The existence of different modes of production in Africa at the same time portrays the heterogeneous nature of African societies. They were divergent social communities at different levels of social, political, economic and technological developments. Communal societies lagged behind feudal societies.

General characteristics of Pre-colonial African societies

Though at the time of colonisation African societies were at different levels of development with some still under Primitive Communal, some on transition to Feudalism (semi-feudal) and others already at Feudalism, they more or less shared some common features which included;

1. African societies were mostly scattered communities of independent producers clustered in different social groupings. They were mostly separated from each other over large areas with independent activities determined by the environment. Areas with abundant

rains practiced permanent agriculture while those with less rains practiced shifting cultivation or pastoralism

2. The main production activity was based on family, clan or community. The basic unit of production was the family. Nonetheless, because most of the communities based on kinship the whole community lived as family and hence a family affair was a community affair.
3. Productive forces were largely underdeveloped. The highest technological stage reached by some societies was use of iron. But even societies with iron technology, labour instruments were still rudimentary as the commonest tool of production was the hand hoe. Due to low forces of production, subsistence economy was dominant.
4. Land was the most important object of labour. Almost all man's labour was exercised on making the land provide him all needs especially food. Land being the principle object of labour the common economic activities was agriculture.
5. Societies were self-sufficient producers. Societies produced almost all their needs due to dominance of subsistence economy and limited basic needs, specifically food and security which basic economic activities like agriculture could provide. Though trade existed among some societies, it never meant that a community could not exist without others.
6. There was no wage labour and forced labour. The purpose of work was not the creation of surplus but for the reproduction of the worker, his family and the community. In that sense, labour was not for sale but for the community. Even feudal societies labour was not coercive as tenants willingly entered into relations with landlords who were always the rulers.
7. There was no land alienation. Land was communally owned. It belonged to the clan or at least a family and was distributed on kinship relationship based on cultural values and norms. This meant that land belonged to a large group of people and all community members even to feudal societies could get a share. Such an arrangement made land alienation really difficult.
8. Low population. Pre-colonial African societies were mostly small communities with low population. Areas with fertile soils and sufficient rainfall like West Africa and Great Lakes region of East Africa had a relatively high population compared to arid areas.

POLITICAL ORGANISATION IN PRE-COLONIAL AFRICA

Most of African societies had well established settled communities with defined sociopolitical settings before colonialism. Indeed by end of the 16th C, mainly three types of socio-political organisations had emerged in Africa; Clan (kinship), Ag-set, and State organisations. The organisations can be classified (grouped) into two; stateless and state political structures. The diversity of political systems portrays the heterogeneous nature of pre-colonial African societies. It reveals the disparities in the level socio-political and economic development of African societies. The diversity of political systems was determined by a number of circumstances, notably;

- a. The nature of climatic conditions that societies evolved. The climate dictated the economic activities and type of settlement of society. It was a determinant of the population structure of society.

- b. The material conditions within society, that is, nature and availability of natural resources a society possessed
- c. The level of productive forces within society. Man's ability to work on the provisions of nature like land and environmental provisions like land
- d. The political philosophy of a particular society. This determined the socio-cultural perspective of a society. It was on this basis that feudal societies developed state organisations.

CLAN (KINSHIP) ORGANISATION

Clan Organisations were socio-political institutions of group of families sharing same ancestral origin (blood relations) organised together under one leader, the **Clan-head**. A clan (kinship) is a group family who are related to each other with same blood relations. The nucleus of a clan is a family which in other words, is the simplest unit of social organisation and basic unit of production. The family made of a husband, wife (wives) and a child (children).

Societies that were still under Clan Organisation at the time of colonisation included; Nyamwezi, Makonde, Yao, Mwera, kukuyu and kamba in East Africa and Luba and Lunda in central Africa.

Political organization in clan organization

Clan Organisations were under clan-heads whose position was elective. The system was possible in settled communities. It operated under communalism, thus the means of production such as land and sometimes tools of production belonged to the whole clan and most of the products of the clan's labour were shared out among the clan members. Land was entrusted to the Clan Heads whose role was to distribute it to clan members and also provided guidance in the production process. Other roles of the Clan-head included, settling disputes, protect clan traditions, presided over religious ceremonies, chose spouses for the young and officiating marriages and counselled the young. Each member of the clan was freely given as much land as he could cultivate. Clan organisations in Agricultural societies were either Patrilineal or Matrilineal societies like Makonde, Makua, Mwera, Kamba and Kikuyu.

Environment in which clan organisations developed;

Clan organizations were common in the grassland plateaus with woodlands like in the Miombo woodlands in central Tanzania mainland where rainfall is seasonal and in areas where population was sparse and scattered. Soil in parts of these areas leached easily and in the process washed away the fertility of the soil hence easily exhausted when cultivated.

Economic Activity of Clan Organisation

The main occupation under Clan Organisation depended on the environment. In open grasslands, they practiced agriculture on shifting cultivation with seasonal crops such as millet, sorghum and Maize due to seasonal rainfall. Some societies like the Sukuma, Nyamwezi and Gogo under their Ntemiship systems practiced mixed farming; both crop cultivation and animal keeping. In this system, the **Miemi** (leader) searched for new land and when found organised production by

distributing it to the families in his clan for tilling — (kutema which means cutting). Production was mainly for subsistence and due to low productive forces.

AGE-SET ORGANISATION

This was a system of social organisation where allocation of duties and responsibilities based on age and sex. People of the same age bracket and sex were initiated together. Initiations taught them their culture, history and responsibilities. After initiation they join their respective regiments (groups) to perform specified duties together. Seniority in each age-group depended upon age, wisdom and good character.

The system, like the clan organisation, was very democratic and operated under communal societies. Obedience was much emphasized. Trouble makers were punished by the community. And decisions on day to day issues were made by the people themselves in their age groups. Age-set system was much common in pastoral communities such as the Maasai, Turkana, and Fulani, but was also practiced by some agricultural communities like the Nyakyusa, and Kikuyu.

Age-set organisation in Pastoral communities

Pastoral communities led nomadic life since livestock keeping was their permanent activity. Being in Arid or semi-arid areas, their environment demands great efforts in search for pasture and water for themselves and their livestock. Due to low level of productive forces pastoral societies could not grow pastures neither tap underground water on their own hence only relied on rain for water and wild bushes for pastures. Besides, livestock keeping requires a continuous system of mobilising young men for feeding livestock, defence and offence for cattle rustling.

Such continuous duties required combined efforts and could not be limited to only the family therefore had to fall upon the entire community. They thus organised themselves in age-set groups. Each age group and sex was given its own responsibility to accomplish.

The example of the Maasai societies;

The Maasai societies were grouped into four age regiments/groups.

- a) Children of 0-8 years and women. These were not directly involved in production. Their main task was to fulfill domestic duties that were mainly to cook food, milk animals, and attend to the young, sick and old. They involved in no economic activity outside the home.
- b) The second group consisted of young boys aged 8-18 years. These were directly concerned with livestock grazing and milking. They carried duties together with women.
- c) The third age-set consisted of the middle-aged men; the Moran aged 20-40 years. These were the soldiers of the whole society. The group's duties were;
 - To protect the whole community against attacks.
 - Protect livestock/herds against wild animals and thieves (cattle rustlers).

- Searching for pasture and water. As animals were taken for grazing, the Moran escorted the herds as they moved far in search for pastures and water.
 - Raiding neighbouring communities for livestock and other forms of wealth. Raiding was mainly to expand the size of herds and grazing zones.
 - Collected tribute from traders reaching Maasai land.
- d) The last group consisted of elders aged about 40 years and above; the Laibons. The group was further divided into three sub-groups; the junior elders, the elders, and the senior elders. The Laibons had the following responsibilities;
- To ensure that there was peace and order in their society. By this, they settled disputes in society.
 - They advised and provided counseling to the society. This was mainly on societal daily issues like cattle grazing and other societal orders.
 - They provided training on the fulfillment of duties. Being the most experienced members of society, the Laibons possessed knowledge on all age-groups' responsibilities.
 - Controlled livestock and all properties on behalf of the communities.
 - They were the top overseers of the spiritual and political matters of the community.
 - They observed the respect of the norms, customs and ethics that governed the society.
 - The most senior elder was the top most political and religious authority.

The Laibons were highly respected by the other age-groups due to their wisdom, experience and past contribution to the community.

Age-set organisation in agricultural societies

Among the agricultural societies which developed Age-set organisations were the Nyakyusa, Kikuyu and Kamba.

The example of the Nyakyusa;

The Nyakyusa were forced into Age-set system due to the rapid population growth. However, and fortunately, they had plenty of fertile land. So in order to prevent overpopulation they organised themselves on the basis of age-set. Due to availability of plenty of land, each age group had to clear its own land to establish its own village when it attained adult-hood. A ceremony called ***Obusoka*** was held to mark this passing of a new age-set into adult-hood.

Advantages of Age-set system

1. The system enabled the existence of a well-disciplined hardworking and responsible society. It involved all members of society in performing different societal duties.
2. It was a good in providing a systematic defence system for the people and their properties like cattle. The responsibility to defend was entrusted to the energetic youth, like the Moran in the Maasai societies.

3. The system created a strong and able leadership like Laibon in the Maasai society. It was clear that the leaders of the society came from the eldest age-group of the society. That limited leadership contradictions to arise in age-set organisations.
4. Enabled a fair distribution of labour as each age-set group had to fulfill duties assigned to it. It left no room for laziness because all members of the society were directly occupied.
5. It promoted material production. The fair division of labour promoted specialisation. This enabled even pastoralism to be involved in material production.
6. It was much systematic, organised and reduced the problem of overpopulation through its system of labour, in which each age-set was involved in production. This was especially in agricultural societies like the Nyakyusa.
7. It prepared the pastoral societies to resist colonialism to a certain recognisable degree. The agents of colonialism did not favour to penetrate into pastoral societies due to strong anti-colonial resistance.
8. The system facilitated peaceful co-existence. There were no rivalries as people of different families lived and worked together in the same age-sets. Cases like fratricide did not exist

Disadvantages of Age-set system

1. There were frequent clashes between agricultural and pastoral societies over land control. Pastoral communities encroached agricultural communities in search for food, pastures and water to feed their animals. Such practices led to clashes.
2. The raids of other societies by the youth like the Morans among the Maasai to increase the size of their herds put the society in jeopardy as it was vulnerable to attacks.
3. Women had no voice in the society. They could not become leaders and their work evolved not beyond domestic obligations.
4. There was a low level in the development of science and technology due to the migratory nature of their activities.
5. The age-set system stressed the quantity of the herd over the quality of the livestock. Efforts were focused on increasing the number of cattle and not their quality. This could lead to overgrazing, droughts and soil erosion and diseases Nagana/sleeping sickness.

Environment

Age-set organisations were mostly in dry areas (Arid and semi-arid areas). Such areas with scanty rainfall and high temperature such as in the Rift valley areas of Tanganyika and Kenya, Northern Uganda and Kenya, and in the Sahara desert region. In few cases however, the system existed in areas with abundant rainfall that practiced agriculture like the Nyakyusa and Kikuyu.

Economic Activity

Bearing the fact that, Age-set organisations mostly developed in Arid and semi-arid areas, the major economic activity was Nomadic livestock keeping. This economic activity demanded constant attention for the animals in search for grazing land and water and constant security against wild beasts and the invading cattle rustlers.

In few instances, permanent agricultural societies with plenty of fertile land faced with rapid population also organised themselves in the age-set basis to arrest over population.

STATE ORGANISATION

State is an organised political community in a defined territory controlled by one government - with administrative and military machinery, judicial functions and ability to collect taxes (tributes).

A state is a more complex political unit than clan organisations. It is a large political unit under specific government ruled by a chief or king, with administrative and judicial duties, commands of an army and collects taxes from the subjects who as well are obliged to be loyal to the ruler.

Environment under which states developed

States emerged in areas with reliable rainfall and fertile arable soils that supported permanent agriculture. Permanent crop cultivation needed permanent settlement and instruments of production due to the Continuous nature of the activity.

Economic activities

The main economic activity of states was permanent crop cultivation being favoured by abundant rainfall, fertile soils, permanent settlement and improved productive forces mainly supported by iron technology. Examples of states include those in the interlucatrine region; Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Karagwe whose main food was bananas.

Functions of the state

- a) Make laws
- b) Maintenance of law and order
- c) Carrying out administrative functions
- d) Protect citizens against external attacks
- e) Collect taxes and tributes
- f) Provide for the socio-economic welfare of the people

Factors for State formation (expansion) in Africa

State formation in Africa was to a great extent due to the internal dynamics - the material conditions within African societies. Nevertheless, the material conditions did not operate in isolation as they were in hand supplemented by the natural and external factors. So the important factors for the state formation were;

- 1. Favourable geographical advantages.** This was a combination of good climate with reliable rainfall and fertile soils. Such a climate favoured permanent food crop production that developed permanently settled communities and population expansion. This explains the emergence of powerful states like Buganda, Bunyoro and Karagwe in the

Interlacustrine Region and Oyo, Dahomey and Benin in the Equatorial Region of West Africa.

2. **Efficient leadership and administrative systems.** Societies endowed with ambitious leaders like Mansa Musa of Mali, Kabaka Katerega of Buganda and Mkwawa of the Hehe, rose to greatness. Such leaders put in place strong administration and armies, united their people and organised production and trade. Efficient administrative system enforced law and order. Typical examples are the Parliamentary systems of Buganda (Lukiiko) and Oyo (Oyo Mesi).
3. **The role of trade.** Participation in trading activities mainly, long distance trades had vital implication in the making of powerful states in pre-colonial Africa. They accumulated wealth through profits and taxes/tribute from traders and also firearms which they used to strengthen their states. Remarkably, the Trans-Saharan trade with the development of states like Mali and Songhai and the East African Long Distance trade with states like Buganda and Nyamwezi.
4. **Strong armies.** The role of strong armies like the Rugaruga of the Nyamwezi and Abarusula of Bunyoro cannot be underrated. The armies were instrumental in keeping law and order, defence against foreign invasions, conquest of weak neighbouring societies for expansion and for collection of tributes/taxes. By powerful armies men like Samore Toure of the Mandika, Mansa Musa of Mali and Mirambo and Nyungu ya Mawe of the Nyamwezi and Mkwawa of the Hehe were able to build large commercial empires.

Role of the army in state formation;

- a) Defended states against foreign invention
 - b) Maintained internal stability by keeping law and order. This was done side by side with disciplining of law breakers.
 - c) Carrying out expansionist wars — through conquest and subduing of weak neighbours.
 - d) Collection of taxes and tributes
 - e) Enforced production, food and surplus for exchange in their states.
 - f) Raised leaders. Some state founding rulers like Sundiata Keita of Kangaba were military commanders.
 - g) Promoted trade by protecting traders along trading (caravan) routes
 - h) Conducted raids for slaves, cattle, women and food and other valuable items needed for wealth and trade.
5. **Technological advancement.** Most significant was iron technology that definitely improved productive forces greatly. Societies with Iron works like Buganda and Bunyoro advanced economic activities like agricultural, industry and trade. As iron instruments improved efficiency, food production increased to support population expansion and production of surplus was realised to make trade possible. Most crucial also was improvement in weaponry for state defence and expansion.
 6. **Population expansion.** Population increase was mostly due to reliable food supply and security. It led to intense land competition between clans or societies leading to conquest of weak ones. Large population availed abundant supply of labour and armies for state building. High population in the Interlacustrine Region led to powerful states like Buganda and Toro and in West African forest region states like Oyo and Dahomey.

7. **Migration.** The early migrations played a vital role in state building as the moving peoples carried with them new skills in new areas where passed or settled. Notable case is the Ngoni Migration with formation of states like, Sotho, Ndebele and Hehe in South, Central and East Africa. In the Interlacustrine Region and the Congo, states like Buganda and Mani Kongo were largely due Eastern Bantu migration.
8. **Conquest.** Some clans or communities developed into powerful states by conquering weak neighbours to absorb their land and people. For example a small state of Kangaba expanded into weak neighbours like Kankan to form a large Mali Empire. Also King Shaka conquered the weak Nguni communities to build a strong Zulu Kingdom.
9. **The role of religion.** The influence of religion in state formation and growth was its uniting factor and significance in shaping leadership, administrative and judicial roles of societies. African traditional Religion, Islam and Christianity had greater role. Notable states where traditional religion was a strong factor include Buganda and ancient kingdoms of Ghana and Zimbabwe; Islam played a recommendable job in building of states like Egypt, ancient Mali, Songhai, Bornu and Mandika while Christianity was responsible for Ethiopia.

Types of states

Two types of states emerged in Africa; Decentralised and Centralised states

Nature of Centralised states

Centralised states were political organisations with a central ruling authority. They are political organisations whose administrative powers were rested at the specific identified centre. At the helm (centre) of administration was the king or Emperor (Monarch) with supreme powers, who in most cases governed with the assistance of a parliament and body of ministers.

From 5th to 19th C Africa, centralised states included; Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Kanem Bonu, Asante, Dahomey, Benin, Oyo, Sokoto, Tokola and Mandika in West Africa; Bunyoro, Buganda, Toro, Ankole and the Hehe in East Africa; Egypt in North Africa; Ethiopia in North East Africa; Mwenemotapa, Ndebele and Gaza of Central Africa; Zulu, Swazi and Sotho of South Africa.

Characteristics of Centralised States

- a. **Centralised authority.** At the centre of administration was a king with absolute authority to make all major political, social and economic decisions of the state. Also, he was supreme judge and controlled the wealth of the state. The Monarch was a symbol of Unity.
- b. **Hereditary succession.** Centralised states had royal families from which kings came. A successor could be named by king before his death or appointed by a council of elders from the departed king's close relatives like his son or brother as per the customs of the state.
- c. **Standing army.** Centralised states had specific military forces comprising of well bodied trained soldiers with the king as commander in chief to maintain the internal stability, defend the state against external attacks and also conquest of weak neighbours.

- d. Parliamentary system. Due to complexity of administration, Kings ruled with the assistance of parliaments made of his appointed officials like ministers, nobles and clan heads whose duty was to advise the king on important matters. In Buganda for example was the Lukiiko under chief minister “Katikiro” and in Oyo was the Oyo Messi.
- e. Covered large territory and high population. Centralised states were complex organisations that incorporating many clans and sometimes many tribes through conquests or alliance making. For effective control states were divided into provinces which were put under chiefs and governors or Clan Heads to represent the king.
- f. Payment of taxes and tributes. The citizens of the kingdom and traders passing through the kingdom and vassal states were obliged to pay taxes or tributes to the metropolitan state. The king had full powers to direct the use of state incomes for example rewarding loyal officials.
- g. Advanced productive forces. Improvement in productive forces consolidated division of labour and specialisation, sometimes beyond the levels of age and sex. Specific areas of specialisation were farming, industry and trade. All these were supported by improved technology, notably iron working that also led to production of surplus for trade.
- h. Expansionist policy. Centralised States had a tendency of conquering their weak neighbouring societies to expand their territories for land, labour and wealth. The conquered were absorbed to be integral parts of the state or could remain semi-independent as vassal states.

Nature of Decentralised States

Decentralised states were state organisation without a well-defined and complex centralised system of government. They were chieftainships (chiefdoms). They were societies that transformed from mere Clan Organisations to comprise a number of clans or communities. They were under Chiefs who were mostly appointed from the dominant Clan Heads.

The leader/chiefs’ position was often not hereditary. He was chosen from clan elders/heads by a council of elders basing on his reputation; excellent leadership and wisdom qualities and wealth. The powers of the chief were checked by the council of elders. Such societies included; the Yao, Nyamwezi, Sukuma, Kikuyu, Makonde (East Africa), Lozi, Shona and Luba (central Africa)

Characteristics of Decentralised states

- a. Leadership was not hereditary. Leaders were chosen by the clan councils by merit and considerable reputation on their leadership, wisdom and good judgment skills. Elected leaders could even be replaced if he proved incompetent or became unpopular.
- b. There were no standing armies. The defence of the society was done by all able-bodied men of the society. Standing armies were not necessary because wars were very scarce due to the fact that these societies hardly involved themselves in expansionism.
- c. There was no centralised authority to control society’s affairs. Means of production like land and labour were communally owned. Members of the society regarded themselves equal. No one would therefore rise up to assume supreme powers over the others.
- d. Decentralised societies had low population. This was due to low productive forces. The low population limited the rise of social differentiations and thus facilitated the

communal living due high availability of resources like land - resources were not scarce to give way to classes.

- e. These societies were more democratic. In the society's general assembly, decisions were passed by the majority vote. This was different from the centralised societies where the monarch made the final decision and their words were law and final.
- f. The clan councils of elders and the society's General Assembly were the two bodies that governed the affairs of the state. The General Assembly was above the Clan Heads and the clan council hence the two were answerable to the General Assembly.
- g. The clan elders were responsible to solve internal conflicts. Nonetheless, if case became more difficult for them, it was referred to the general assembly. Nevertheless, conflicts and crimes were limited by collective responsibility using society's sanctions. If a member of a clan committed a crime against a member of another clan, the clan members handed him to the offended clan to be punished.
- h. They encouraged intermarriages. Members of the same clan were in most cases not allowed to marry each other and instead people were to marry from other related clans.

ISLAM IN STATE FORMATION DURING THE 19th C

Islam is an Arabic word which means: ***Obedience and peace***. The two meanings describe what Islam (Islamic Religion) means and stand for, that is, complete submission to the will of God and to be at peace with all the creatures of God. In terms of belief; Islam firmly stands for the belief in the unity of God (belief in only one God who has no partners) and ***Muhammad*** as God's messenger and prophet. Islam believes in all God sent messengers and prophets mentioned in scriptures like the Qur'an and Bible and in Muhammad as the seal of all God's prophets.

Islam and its influence were very significant in state formation in Africa, especially in North, West and East Africa. In the 19th C, however, Islam was more significant in the emergence of new states in West Africa (Western Sudan) than other regions of the continent. Virtually, all the new states that appeared in West Africa after 1800 were largely as a result of the influence of Islam than other factors. This influence was by far through *the 19th C Muslim Movements ("Jihad") of Western Sudan*.

The states that include the Sokoto Caliphate, Tukolor Empire, the states of Masina, Segu and the Moss and the states of Futa Toro, Futa Bondu and Futa Jalon were a product of Muslim Revolutions of the 19th C.

THE MUSLIM MOVEMENTS ("JIHADS") IN THE 19TH C WEST AFRICA

The word ***Jihad*** is an Arabic **word** whose root word is "***Juhud***" meaning; *effort or struggle* — "***Juhudi***" the Kiswahili version. In that sense, the term Jihad means to strive or to struggle. In the spiritual sense of the true teachings of Islam, the ultimate Jihad is ***self-reformation***, that is, individuals' struggle to excel in righteousness (virtue).

Jihad also means a holy war for the defence of faith. In the early period of Islam, during the lifetime of the Holy Prophet of Islam, Muhammad and his successors, when Muslims wielded the sword. it was only in self-defence or in the defence of others' religious freedom — never to

force others to convert to Islam. Therefore Muslims never raised the sword except against those who first raised it themselves against them (Muslims) and most mercilessly killed innocent and pious men, women and children. That is to say, while Islam is falsely supposed to be spread by the sword, the fact of the matter is that Islam was never imposed on a person.

Islam clearly forbids the use of force or coercion for the propagation of its teaching. On this matter the Quran categorically emphasises that;

“There is no compulsion in religion. Surely, the right way has become distinct from error; so whosoever refuses to be led by those who transgress, and believes in Allah, has surely grasped a strong handle which knows no breaking. And Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.” (Quran chapter 2, verse 257)

The verse removes the misunderstanding (about Islamic teachings and the early Jihads) and not only forbids Muslims in most emphatic words to use force for converting non-Muslims to Islam, but also gives reasons why force should not be used for this purpose. It is because truth stands out distinct from error, so there has remained no justification for using force.

The great and real Jihad, according to Islam, is to preach the Message of the Qur'an harmoniously. Thus to strive for the propagation of Islam and dissemination and diffusion of its teachings is the Jihad which the Muslims are enjoined to carry on with unabated zeal.

The Muslim Movements (“Jihad”) in the 19th C West Africa

By the standards highlighted above, it is vain to think that the 19th C West African movements by Muslims were Jihads in the authentic sense of the true Islamic teachings. Islam strictly forbids taking up arms against anyone and thus, waging war for political and economic gain is not permissible. Then what were the movements all about?

The 19th C “Jihad” Movements in West Africa were revolts by the oppressed masses led by a new class of Muslim elites like Uthman dan Fodio and Al'haj Umar that wanted political freedom from oppressive regimes by using Islam as a uniting factor between 1800 and 1880s. Nevertheless, because the movements were organised and led by radical Muslim zealots against non-Muslim or nominal Muslim rulers. they are alleged to have been Islamic religious reforming arrangements.

The Jihads began in the present day Nigeria among the Hausa and Fulani and ended in the Senegal. They started by sweeping across the Hausa city-states. By the end of the second half of the 19th C, they had spread to the entire Western Sudan.

The most prominent these movements were the three “Jihads” of Uthman dan Fodio which led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate State; of Ahmadou Lobbo (Hamad Ban) in Massina and the Bambara and; of Al-hadj Umar and the Tukulor Empire.

The Origins of the Jihad movements in Western Sudan (West Africa)

The Jihad Movements of Western Sudan are traced from the 11th C when the Islam became powerful in the region. The Islamic faith spread in a number of states including **Mali**, Songhai and Bornu which indeed had deep rooted Islamic presence in the earlier centuries.

However for a variety of reasons by 1800 the fervour of Islamic faith had waned considerably. For instance, at the end of 16th C, the empire of Songhai disintegrated into small states that fell under traditionalist rulers. More so, even the Hausa states, of which Gobir and Katsina were the most powerful with a great Muslim population, were ruled either by traditional religionists or nominal Muslims. This upset the influence of Islam in West Africa.

By the beginning of the 19th C, famous Muslims scholars and zealots like Uthman dan Fodio, Ahmadow Lobbo and Al-Hadj Umar were threatened by this chaotic state of affairs which could lead to complete decay of Islamic faith. They took it to be their duty to reform and purify Islam by enforcing the observation and respect of Islamic laws as prescribed in the Holy Quran.

Uthman dan Fodio and the Jihad in Gobir

Uthman dan Fodio was most famous wandering scholar and reformist whose influence spread through the Western Sudan. He was born in 1754 to a Fulani Islamic teacher in Gobir — one of the Hausa states (in Northern Nigeria). After studies at Agadis, he returned to Hausa land at the age of 20 to begin teaching and preaching in Gobir, Kebbi and Zamfara. He demanded a stronger religious leadership within the state and complained against grievances of the oppressed masses.

By the 1790's his fame had become a potential threat to the pagan king, Yunfa of Gobir who attempt to assassinate Uthman and his Muslim community. But Uthman and his companions withdrew to Gudu on the western frontier of Gobir. This was an imitation of Hijra - Prophet Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina. His supporters from all over Western Sudan, majority of Fulani, followed by Tuaregs and Hausa followed him at Gudu.

In 1804, Uthman declared a revolution ("Jihad") against Gobir, and, by 1808 he had conquered. He built a new capital at Sokoto hence marking the foundation of the Sokoto caliphate. The Jihad spread until the caliphate became the largest unified state in sub-Saharan Africa at the time. His success triggered other revolts like those led by Ahmad Lobbo and Al-hadi Umar. On his death, Uthman was succeeded by his son Muhammad Bello and brother Abdullahi as new Caliphs.

Ahmadow Lobbo and the Jihad in Massina and the Bambara

Ahmadow Lobbo was a more active reformist Fulani Cleric. He followed Uthman dan Fodio's leadership in some respect.

Lobbo's fame as a scholar, reformer and devoted Muslim spread, and thus faced the same fate of persecution as had fallen Uthman dan Fodio. He performed his "Hijra" to Hamdulullahi, and proclaimed the "Jihad" against the king of Jene in 1816. His campaign began as a civil war to liberate Fulani from the Bambara of Segu and the Massina and also an effort to create a rightly guided Muslim state. His campaign was successful and he set up the Hamdulillahi Caliphate.

Al-hadj Umar and the Tukolor empire.

Umar was born in Futa Tooro in about 1797 and studied to become Muslim cleric. In 1820, he went on Hadj (pilgrimage) to Mecca and returned in 1839. In his early 20 years travelling and studying he witnessed and was influenced by Islamic reform movements.

Tukolor comprised of three states of Futa Tooro, Futa Bondu and Futa Jalon. Between 1839 and 1848 basing in Futa Jalon, Umar made wide preaching tours among Mandinka and Tukolor and won many followers. As the Almamis of the Futa Kingdoms were worried of Umar's message and popularity, they expelled him from Fula Jalon, and he performed his flight (hijra) to Dinguiray and thus followed the example of dan Fodio and Ahmedou Lobbo. With his followers, Umar overrun the Futas (Futa Tooro, Futa Bondu, and Futa Jalon), the Bambara states of Bambuk and Kaasta, the entire Senegal and later the Massina to establish a large unified Tukolor Empire. He died in 1864 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Ahmadou Sekou.

Causes of Muslim Movements ("Jihads" in West Africa (Western Sudan)

The causes of the 19th C Muslim movements in West Africa are multifaceted; though the movements are said to have been religious in cause, were largely motivated by plenty of long and short term social, political, economic and intellectual grievances (forces) against aristocracies by the oppressed masses majority of who were Muslim communities of Fulani, Hausa and other communities including Tuareges. The causes are as follows;

Socio-religious reasons;

- 1) Need for purification and strengthening of Islam. The movements called for the restoration of Islamic faith to its devotional standard. Preachers and orthodox Muslims accused Nominal Muslims rulers and commoners who were abandoning orthodox Islam, for example by incorporating Traditional and Christian religious practices with Islam. Such practices provoked Muslim zealots like Uthman dan Fodio for change and defend Islam from decay.
- 2) Moral decay. Immorality ensued after the collapse of Muslim states like Mali and Songhai. There was widespread corruption and injustice in the courts of law as the ruling classes claimed bribes and passed judgment in favour of the rich. Divorce, adultery, theft, robbery and murder were also rampant. To that effect Muslim scholars intended to install the rule of law that would restore justice and put things in order as required by the Islamic faith.
- 3) Selling of Muslims into slavery by the Hausa rulers. This pricked the conscience of majority Muslims leaving them displeased. Muslim clerics preached against the practice as completely against God's desire and humanity. Such disgruntlements could not be tolerated hence called for immediate action.
- 4) Unfair taxation. The rulers imposed heavy taxes on the people. For instance merchants and nomads, majority of whom were Fulani disliked the heavy market and cattle taxes. Making matters worse, tax collection involved brutal measures such as flogging. On such basis, the wealthy urban Fulani looked at the Jihads as great chance to establish rule of law and secure states that would protect their wealth and treat them fairly.

- 5) The Muslims also objected conscription into armies to fight fellow Muslims. It is against the Quran teachings for Muslims to fight each other yet Hausa rulers recruited Muslims in their armies and used them in fighting and raiding neighbouring Muslim societies. This moved the scholars to organise these movements to bring things into the right order.
- 6) The influence of Muslim groups from North Africa. The spread of Muslim brotherhoods of Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya to Western Sudan played a role in influencing the religious movements in the region. The brotherhoods were embraced by Muslim scholars like Uthman dan Fodio (belonged to Qadiriyya) and Al-hadj Umar (to Tijaniyya) and inspired them to spread Islamic faith in the entire West African region.
- 7) The Muslim world experience. The past history before the Jihads had witnessed the collapse of Islamic states such as Turkey, Songhai and Bornu. This threatened orthodox Muslims who felt that unless the situation was reversed, Islam would enter into total decay and eventually would be surpassed by other religions like African traditional and Christian religions.

Political reasons

- 8) The oppressive rule of the Hausa rulers. The autocratic tendencies of the Hausa rulers downgraded their administration in the eyes of their people. In response, the Fulani, Hausa and Tukolor Muslims and non-Muslims joined the movements because it was a golden opportunity to oust the oppressive rulers in order to create a fair government of their favour.
- 9) Intellectual force. Muslim youth and clerics were better educated and widely travelled that they knew the world better than illiterate pagan rulers. They were often employed as judges, secretaries, scribes, authors and diplomats. Despite their education, they were unfairly represented with few positions in government. Their education status motivated them to seek for changes and thus the Jihads were also perceived as intellectual revolutions.
- 10) Charismatic leadership. Muslim scholars such as Uthman dan Fodio, Al-hadj Umar and Ahmadou Lobbo used their scholarly skills to spearhead the revolts. Their wondering, rhetoric and heroic preaching spread their fame and influence throughout western Sudan. Moreover, their denunciation of evil acts like corruption greatly appealed to many Muslims and non-Muslims whom they inspired to wage revolutions against the oppressive rulers.
- 11) The influence of the Fulani. The movements were largely led and supported by the Fulani who mostly being immigrants to various parts of West Africa but also much educated and wealthy, must have wanted to use wars to become the next class of rulers. Hence the call for revolts was also an appeal for power struggle and not merely done so out of Islamic zeal.

However much the reasons for the movements could have been partly religious and with the intention to free the oppressed from the autocratic rulers, but that does not qualify the revolutions to be Jihads of the authentic Islamic teachings that forbids taking up arms against anyone for political and/or economic gains or for the spread of faith — unless for self defence.

Effects of Jihad Movements in Western Sudan

1. Formation of large centralised political units. Empires such as Sokoto Caliphate and Tukulor, and also Mandika that reshaped their administration along the Islamic lines emerged due the revolutions. For instance the Sokoto Caliphate was a result uniting the small Hausa states such as Katsina, Zamfara and Zaria along with the non-Hausa peoples.
2. The birth to new political systems. The revolutions inspired the creation of theocratic states (*caliphate system*) of Sokoto, Massina and Tukulor. Basing on Islamic democratic principles, these states were far better than the despotic Hausa states. The Caliphates were the largest political units in the 19th C, made up of several emirates.
3. Contributed to the renewal and spread of Islam. Installation of Sharia Law boosted moral standards, so evil practices such as corruption, drinking and bribery were checked. Preachers and the masses were set free and learning spread. Islam that had been a religion of a small minority in 1800 spread that by 1850 the largest part of Western Sudan was Muslim. In addition the just administration and condemnation of evil practices attracted many to Islam.
4. The “Jihads” stimulated education. The leaders were first and foremost scholars with volumes of learning materials which they circulated throughout Western Sudan to educate masses about Islamic, societal norms and the world. Learning institutions and libraries were set up at some places like Sokoto and Segou. Literacy became necessary for high office, and Arabic was made official language of communication.
5. Unity. Using Islam as a factor, leaders solidly joined different peoples of Western Sudan like the Fulani, Bambara, Hausa and Touregs together as Islam undermined tribal loyalties. Along with that, the Islamic brotherhoods of Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya emphasised unity and adherence to the moral code of Islam and zeal for the spread of the faith.
6. Peace and order. The Jihads brought peace that enabled economic progress. Trade flourished as caravan routes between North Africa and Western Sudan were safe, farmers could till their soil, herdsmen tend their cattle and artisans and merchants play their trades undisturbed.
The Jihads of Western Sudan inspired the rise of Jihads in other parts of Africa. Among the inspired was the Mahdist revolt in 1881-85 in Sudan led by Muhammad Ahmad. The revolt intended to overthrow colonialism and carrying out socio-economic transformation in Sudan.
7. Creation of strong armies. Muslim leaders created strong armies comprising of Muslim majority that fought the old rulers and their corrupt systems to create new and just order. The armies also stood to safeguard their states. It was on such basis that the Mandika Empire of Samore Toure’s posed a strong fight against the French colonisers for a long time, 1881-88.
8. The “Jihad” movements stirred the birth of nationalism in West Africa. Jihads raised a sense of political conscious and instilled a great need to safe self- governance against foreign control from European imperialists. It was on this ground that Mandika Empire of Samore Toure fought against the imposition of colonial rule by the French long (1881-88).
9. Disunity. As Islam spread widely in the region, a minority group remained loyal to other religions like African Traditional Religion and Christianity. Besides, the Muslim population was divided along the lines of the Muslim brotherhoods of Qadiriyya and Tijaniyya. While Qadiriyya stressed study and intellectual activity as the way to

salvation, Tijaniyya stressed salvation through action and emphasised strict adherence to the moral code of Islam and the zeal for the spread of faith.

10. Loss of lives and destruction of property. Many people died and properties like houses and firms were destroyed during the fighting. Villages which became hostile to the Jihadists were raided. Similarly, during the wars commerce and agricultural production were on stand still.

Role of Islam in State formation in the 19th C

The role of Islam in state building in the 19th C was more remarkable in West Africa (Western Sudan). Through the “Jihad” movements, the old systems were substituted by the more organised and acceptable systems. States formed included the Sokoto Caliphate by Uthman dan Fodio; the States of Massina and Bambara; by Ahmadou Lobbo (Hamad Ban) and the Tukolor Empire by Al-hadj Umar. The “Jihads” also influenced the formation of Mandika Empire by Samore Toure.

1. Rise of strong leaders. Islam groomed state founding leaders like Uthman dan Fodio, Al-hadj Umar, and Ahmad Sekou. On their scholarly, leadership and organisation skills, such men formed respected and majority supported leadership class under which new states like the Sokoto Caliphate and Tukolor Empire were established.
2. Establishment of strong standing armies. The armies were made among the displeased Muslims and non-Muslims especially Fulani, Hausa and Tuaregs to overthrow the oppressive regimes. They maintained law and order and protected their new states against foreign attacks like the Mandika that resisted French colonial invasion for long (1881-1888).
3. State unification. Through the “Jihads”, Islam unified small political units into large states. For instance, the Sokoto Caliphate that became the largest state in the 19th C West Africa was as a result of joining small Hausa states such as Katsina, Zamfara and Zaria and nearby societies. Other unified states included the Tukolor and Mandinka empires.
4. Strengthened unity. Islam was a uniting factor for the establishment of large states in the 19th C West Africa. As Islam became the overwhelming faith, ethnic loyalties were suffocated and that enabled leaders such as Uthman Dan Fodio to rally behind them different ethnicities like the Fulani, Hausa, Bambara, and Touaregs to form solid states like the Sokoto Caliphate.
5. Islam stimulated education. Muslim clerics and ruling classes of men like Uthman dan Fodio and Al-hadj Umar in Muslim states like Sokoto Caliphate were themselves scholars. They trained people on different fields like teachers, administrators, judges and scribes. They opened learning institutions and libraries at various areas like Sokoto and Segou and circulated written materials throughout Western Sudan. This spread awareness about religion and the world and justifies why Muslim states like Mandika resisted colonialism.
6. Establishment of efficient administrative and judicial system. A systematic centralised Caliphate system was introduced. At the top was the **caliph**, under him were Emirs in charge of the Emirates (provinces), district officials in charge of the districts and village-heads for villages. The Caliph was as well the highest judge. Sharia Law was applied to instill justice and eliminate immoralities like corruption, adultery, murder and robbery.

that consumed pre-Jihad society. Moreover, a fair taxation system based on income basis was introduced.

7. Islam promoted trade. History acknowledges Islam as a religion that promotes trade and certainly encourages fairness and honesty. The Muslim Fulani and Bambara and the ruling classes controlled trade and production of major trading items like Kola-nuts, Palm Oil and iron tools. Towns like Kano, developed into major market centres that attracted many traders. Trade helped states acquire wealth, firearms and iron tools.
8. Restoration of peace and order. Islam phased out the chaotic conditions which were source of anarchy in West Africa as leaders applied the Islamic principles based on equality, sincerity, humility and justice. The wide spread of Islam united people and thus ended internal rivalries. Peace and order contributed to political stability and economic prosperity.
9. Consolidation of Feudalism. After the Jihads, feudalism was strengthened in Muslim states. Land was controlled by the Caliph (Head of state) who distributed it to the Emirs (province heads) who then distributed it to the subjects in their areas. The subjects offered land were obliged to pay tributes to the Caliph and the Emirs as rewards for the land. The control of land by the ruling classes gave them power to win loyalty of their subjects.

By large, Islam does not permit the use of force or coercion for the purpose of its propagation, and strictly forbids taking up arms against anyone, therefore it is altogether vain and absurd for Muslims to take part or support any form of violence in the name of spreading Islam. Indeed, all sorts of aggression against Muslims or non-Muslims and all God's creatures are contrary to the clear teaching of the Qur'an. Selfish people use the word Jihad as an excuse for the fulfillment of their selfish desires.

MFECANE AND ITS INFLUENCE IN STATE FORMATION

The term *Mfecane* means; ***crushing or grinding*** in Nguni language. Mfecane is however, used to describe the early 19th C great upheaval in Southern African Bantu societies that occurred as a result of tribal wars starting from 1818 and lasted for nearly 20 years.

To this note, Mfecane was a period of turmoil engineered by the Nguni people in southern Africa in Zululand. It was a period of wars of wondering characterised by massive killings, migrations and unification of people to form strong defensive forces

The background of Mfecane

The Mfecane was a complex process with great regional variations as expressed by historians. The events that sparked off Mfecane occurred in the Zululand and Natal, among Northern Nguni who lived in a narrow area bounded by Delagoa Bay in the North, the Tugela river in the South, the Indian ocean in the East, and the Drakensberg Mountains in the West, the area that possessed fertile soils, reliable rainfall and conducive environment for both farming and pastoralism.

Internal stresses had developed in the region since the middle of the 18th C. As population was rapidly expanding, it became increasingly difficult to find unclaimed land suitable for the

customary farming, pastures and hunting grounds leading to clashes between communities. Besides, the customary cattle raiding between societies were developing into lethal contest.

In the first decade of the 19th C, powerful northern Nguni chiefdoms; the Mthethwa under Dingiswayo, the Ndwandwe under Zwide and Zulu under Shaka were expanding at the expense of their weaker neighbours. They gained control over most of their neighbouring chiefdoms and created rival confederacies that from 1917 clashed with each other in struggle to control more land. The disruptions between them are what are known as Mfecane.

Causes of the Mfecane

1. Increased population pressure. This was the main internal stress that led to Mfecane. Due to favourable climate and fertile soils in Nguniland, population rapidly expanded that it outmatched the available resources. As land became inadequate, it became difficult for groups of people to find more land for farming and pasture. The hunger for land raised conflicts that forced Nguni tribes adopt regular armies to fight for more land thus Mfecane.
2. The struggle to control trade with the Delagoa Bay. From the late 18th C, European maritime traders at the Delagoa Bay were trading with African societies in the vicinities like the Mthethwa, Ndwandwe and Zulu. The struggles to control the trade and acquire items like slaves, ivory and gold needed by maritime traders led to conflicts among the chiefdoms.
3. The Boers expansion northwards. The Boer Trek in the interior heightened the severity of Mfecane. With their determination to control any fertile land in the interior, the Boers fought African tribes included the Zulu, Nguni, Xhosa and Kumalo dislodging from the areas. The wars caused a lot suffering as tribes started fighting each other for the little land left.
4. The rise of Shaka as the King of Zulu state. Shaka was over ambitious and hostile and indeed much responsible for intensifying violence in the area. With a large, strong standing well-organised army he built of about 40,000 warriors, Shaka was determined to expand and absorb all his neighbouring states into his dominance. His extreme ruthlessness resulted in constant wars, massive death and forced many to flee from the area.
5. The great pride in military skills of Nguni tribal leaders. The Nguni tribal leaders like Zwide of the Ndwandwe and Shaka of the Zulu fought each other to control the region by forcefully incorporating their neighbours into their hegemony. The constant wars between them forced many communities abandon their traditional homes to seek refuge elsewhere.
6. Attacks by the Griquas. Since the early 19th C, coloured people from the Cape colony, known as Griquas, were a source of instability among the southern Bantu communities. Using horses and firearms, the Griquas from time to time attacked the Nguni societies like the Sotho and capture women and children whom they sold as slaves to the Boers and British farmers.
7. Deadly cattle raiding acts. The Nguni adopted lethal cattle raiding activities against each other to expand their herds. As herds expanded communities competed for more grazing

lands. The two; cattle raiding and need for more pastureland resulted in endless conflicts which ultimately led to Mfecane.

8. Transformation from communal to feudal system. It is argued that this was as well the root cause of Mfecane. Emergence of classes gave way to the rise of strong landlords - tribal leaders who were itching to consolidate power by acquiring more land. This settled the Nguni into small but rival chiefdoms such as Ngwane, Mthethwa, Zulu and Ndwandwe which contested for control of land in the region.

Effects of the Mfecane

Mfecane was indeed one of the notable 19th C African revolutions that have far reaching effects that touched a vast region of South, Central and East Africa. However much it brought havoc, it also brought considerable military, political and social development. The effects include;

1. Massive depopulation. Large parts of southern Africa namely, the regions of Natal, Orange Free and Transvaal states were largely depopulated. Some societies were annihilated as thousands were massacred and more forced to flee from the constant tribal wars.
2. Economic and social disruptions. Mfecane made life more insecure so people could hardly concentrate on economic activities like agriculture and trade leading to widespread famine, properties were and livestock stolen. Moreover, the migrating communities like the Ngoni raided societies they passed through like the Hehe for food, women and labourers. State building. Some small tribal Nguni communities transformed to powerful militaristic centralised states. Notably, Shaka forcefully unified several Nguni societies to form a strong Zulu state. Other states like Sotho by Moshoeshoe, Swazi by Sobhuza and the Ndebele by Mzilikazi were formed by the migrating communities in south and central Africa.
3. Redistribution of Bantu tribes. Mfecane forced migrations of several Nguni tribes from southern Africa. The migrating tribes like the Ngoni and Ndebele also invaded societies they came across forcing them out. This chain of reaction led to continuous trouble and migrations that redistributed Bantu tribes in South, Central and East Africa.
4. Emergence of powerful military leaders. The severity of tribal wars led to the rise of strong military leaders who emerged to defend their tribes. The leaders included Shaka of the Zulu, Mzilikazi of the Ndebele and Moshoeshoe of the Basuto.
5. Military transformation. The intensification of tribal wars, forced the Bantu tribes to have a military outlook that they never had before. Certainly, southern Africa became a home of military innovation. For instance Shaka the notable military innovator introduced new weapons, the Assagai (short stabbing spear) and new tactics like the age-regiment system and cow-horn military strategy. Such inventions were previously unknown in local warfare.
6. Emergence of migrations and refugees. Bands of northern Nguni refugees and Sotho groups who were driven from their homes scattered through the region. A number of surviving families and communities migrated (ran away) as refugees like the Ndebele and Northern Nguni who migrated northwards to Central and East Africa.
7. Adoption of dubious acts. Some groups among the remnants of the upheaval having lost means of production, that is, land and cattle, adopted dubious practices. For instance the

Tlokwa were reduced to a miserable life of pillage and banditry and some even resorted to cannibalism. Also some among the southern Nguni became beggars-known as Mfengu.

8. Provoked more Boer penetration into the interior of South Africa. The Boers were encouraged to move into the interior by the availability of wide fertile land abandoned by the massacred and migrating communities from the turbulence of Mfecane.

The Influence of Mfecane in state formation during the 19th Century

The Mfecane was an amazing terrible disaster in Africa, though its mark shall never be forgotten. One of its remarkable contribution was the accidental and as if planned role in state formation in southern, central and eastern Africa. States like Zulu, Sotho and Swazi in southern Africa and Ndebele, Gaza and Kololo in central Africa were its direct result while the Hehe and Nyamwezi in East Africa were indirectly influenced by the same disaster.

1. Mfecane raised charismatic leaders. The ceaseless wars led to appearance of strong military leaders who organised forces to guard their people from destruction. Men like Shaka of the Zulu, Sobhuza of the Swazi and Moshoeshoe of the Sotho (states in southern Africa), Mzilikazi of the Ndebele and Soshangane of Gaza (states in Central Africa) organised their people to form protective states of their own. In East Africa, men like Mirambo of Nyamwezi and Mnyigumba of the Hehe rose to protect their societies from the invading Ngoni people.
2. Military advancement. Due to Mfecane, innovative military tribal leaders notably Shaka, established disciplined armies, new weapons like the Assagai and methods like cow-horn strategy to build strong Zulu state. Emulating Shaka's tactics, other tribal leaders like Sobhuza, Moshoeshoe, Mzilikazi, and Shoshangane formed strong armies to establish states of their own. Same tactics were borrowed by leaders like Mirambo of the Nyamwezi and Mnyigumba and Mkwawa of the Hehe in East Africa to strengthen their states.
3. Unification of weak states. Societies like Hehe, Yao and Nyamwezi that encountered Mfecane (Ngoni) emigrants were forced to form political unions (states alliances) to protect themselves from the Ngoni who attacked societies they passed through for land, cattle, women and labourers. The Hehe tribes for example were unified by Mnyigumba and Mkwawa who borrowed Ngoni military tactics to form a strong centralised Hehe kingdom.
4. The role of Mfecane migrations. States like Ndebele and Gaza in present day Zimbabwe and Mozambique respectively were as a result of Mfecane migrations. The migrating Nguni like the Ndebele moved in large groups of thousands hence easily form organised states where they settled. Also along their movements, the Ngoni fought and incorporated members of societies they encountered leading to population growth in the new areas they settled.
5. Development of economic activities. Trade boomed as the turmoil availed more items like the captives who were sold as slaves to European maritime traders by African societies. In addition, the migrating Ngoni carried new productive and warlike skills to central and east Africa that aided societies like Yao, Hehe and Nyamwezi, improve security, agriculture and trade. Such skills enabled them control the central and southern

routes of the Long Distance Trade. Trade availed societies with firearms and wealth that was used to consolidate states. The

6. Mfecane also stimulated cultural and ethnic assimilations. Stronger Mfecane migrating groups conquered weak communities they came across. The conquered groups were absorbed into the culture of their conquerors. This led to the establishment of largely plural (multi-ethnic) societies but united by a new adopted culture. The Kumalo, for example incorporated other Nguni refugees and some Sotho to form the Ndebele culture and Kingdom.
7. Formation of a powerful Zulu state by Shaka. Using his large strong standing army, Shaka unified all the Mfecane weakened Nguni societies in Natal to form a strong militaristic Zulu state. The incorporation of other Nguni communities within the Zulu control transformed the Zulu chieftdom into a large centralised state.

PRE-COLONIAL EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Pre-colonial education

Education is the transmission of knowledge, skills, values and experiences from one person to another or one generation to another. It is a lifelong experience given that one acquires education from birth to death.

Pre-colonial education was the indigenous transmission of knowledge, skills, values and experiences from one person to another or one generation to another that was provided in Africa before colonisation of Africa. This education was a means to transmit a heritage from one generation to the next for the continuity of a culture and to help individuals integrate themselves into their community.

Types of education in pre-colonial Africa

Basically, the two most distinguished types of educations known worldwide, that is, informal and formal education were provided in pre-colonial Africa.

- a) Informal education. It is the type of education without a systematic procedure. It is not provided at school, did not follow an orderly prescribed curriculum or a timetable, not imparted by specialised personnel. In the pre-colonial era, it was provided by the elders who mainly relied on personal experiences or what they had. Knowledge was transmitted orally. The young learnt by imitating the elders or parents. Boys practiced what fathers or men did while girls practiced what their mothers or women did. This is what is known as traditional education widely provided in pre-colonial era in Africa.
- b) Formal education. This is a systematic type of education characterised by a well- defined structure, that is, systematic curriculum, given by specifically qualified personnel (teachers), limited to a specific period and observes strict discipline. It is the type of education provided in schools involving reading and writing.

Formal education was provided in Africa long before the arrival of the Europeans. Egypt developed the earliest known literature in the world since 4th Millennium BC. Literature, schools

and universities like Al-Azhar and Fatimid universities in Egypt, Fez University in Morocco and Timbuktu University in Mali had developed in Africa before the coming of not only colonialism but the Europeans in general. Besides, several religious schools (Madrasas) developed in areas where Islam took root like in North Africa, Western Sudan and along the coast of East Africa. Arabic literature spread widely in those regions and others, for instance the Yao and Hehe were using Arabic in their transactions.

Characteristics of pre-colonial education

Though both formal and informal education had been in existence in African, long before the coming of the Europeans, informal education was the widely given. Therefore, in laying the characteristics of pre-colonial education, more attention will be put on traditional education.

- a. Education was closely linked to the environment. Traditional education was dictated by the environment of society, so, provided the necessary skills needed to master the environment. It thus gave life skills fitting a particular society like agriculture, pastoralism and security.
- b. All elders were teachers and all young ones were learners. The elders taught the young aspects of life and rituals that would help them in adulthood. Parents specifically played an important part in the education of their children.
- c. Education was gender centred. Boys and girls were taught separately to prepare each sex for its adult roles. Boys were brought up to take occupation their fathers engaged in like trade, hunting and industry. Girls were expected to learn domestic chores such as cooking.
- d. Knowledge was transmitted orally. Education was conducted through the word of mouth. No written documents were used to facilitate learning and keep records. People were to memorise knowledge acquired like the riddles, stories, legends, rituals and life skills.
- e. Absence of segregation and discrimination. Education was given to all members of the community regardless of their sex and social status. Girls and boys, young, youth and elders, people from ruling classes and commoners all received education.
- f. It was non-commercial. Traditional education was freely provided to all members of the community regardless of their social status. People received education freely and thus also disseminated it to others freely.
- g. It was closely associated with society's culture. The transmission of culture was a core part of traditional education. Knowledge transmission was intimately integrated with the social, cultural, artistic, religious and recreational life of the indigenous peoples.
- h. Education was not uniform. Since pre-colonial education was determined by the environment, economic activities and culture of the society, it was not homogenous due to diversity of environmental and cultural set-ups of African societies.
- i. Education was both informal and formal. Informal education was all over the continent provided by the elders who relied on their experiences. The young learnt orally and practically by imitating the elders or parents. Formal education was provided in some areas like Egypt, Western Sudan and East African coast where literature, schools and universities like Al-Azhar and Fatimid universities in Egypt were built.

Content of pre-colonial education

The curriculum of traditional education consisted of;

- a) The environment. The environment of a given society dictated what was to be taught. The focus to equip individuals with the needed knowledge and skills to master their environment.
- b) Economic activities. Skills for self-sustenance and economic development of individuals and society were central part of this education. Skills such as farming, pastoralism, fishing, industry and trading were given in reference to the environment of a particular community.
- c) Culture and traditions. Cultural and traditional values were passed on through ceremonies, games, festivals, dancing, singing and drawing. Culture was society's identification.
- d) Morals. This education is also referred to as moral education due to its greater emphasis on morality. It cultivated acceptable behaviours and thus stressed on discipline and obedience, honesty, dutifulness, good communication and respect to the elders.

Methodology used in the transmission of knowledge and skills

- a) Practical skills. It was learning by doing. Education was disseminated at fields of work; while farming, herding, hunting, fishing, cooking and so forth according sex and age.
- b) Oral transmission. Knowledge was basically handed down orally through daily instructions on work, storytelling, through riddle, poems and idioms.
- c) Social, cultural, religious and recreational practices of the community. These included ceremonies, games, festivals, dancing, singing and drawing.
- d) Memorisation. Education based on human memory. Knowledge and skills acquired were not written due absence of writing skills in majority African societies.
- e) Experimentation. Curiosity and inventions were encouraged and appreciated. This encouraged innovativeness and through trial and error people learnt and invented.

Objective and roles of pre-colonial education

- i) Imparting good morals. Traditional education aimed at enabling individuals to cultivate good habits and developing goodness. Discipline and obedience, honesty, good communication and empathetic to the elders were core elements taught.
- ii) Preserve the culture of society. Education looked at passing to the young the societal customs and traditions. So the culture, traditions, rituals, legends and tales were its cardinal parts.
- iii) Enable the young master the environment. Education was determined by the environment. The young were to be provided with skills needed to master their environment. For example different seasons in the year, types of plant and animal species and their importance.
- iv) Prepare the young for adulthood responsibilities. This educational consisted of teaching aspects of life that would help individuals in adulthood roles that mainly were parenthood, leadership and security duties. Boys were to imitate their fathers and girls their mothers.

- v) Promote peace and cooperation. Traditional Education based on the philosophy of communalism so, it looked to prepare children to provide for the community. Emphasis was put on working together and harmonious living.
- vi) Provide economic skills. Education in pre-colonial Africa was to act as a catalyst in production. It was given in various fields such as in agriculture, medicine, industry and trade. It aimed at enabling individuals to survive and provide society with essential needs like food.
- vii) Provide skills for defence. Defence of the society was a responsibility of all community members particularly men. Safety education was given and people were engaged in activities as archery, wrestling, use of spears, bows and arrows and climbing trees.

Strength of pre-colonial education

1. Education was practical. Pre-colonial education was very pragmatic by imparting special skills needed for man's well-being and survival. Such skill included medicine practitioners (doctors) and midwives, masonry, industry and agriculture. People learned by practice.
2. Education was non-commercial. In pre-colonial Africa, education was freely provided to all members of the community regardless of their social status. People received education freely and thus also disseminated it freely to others.
3. Absence of discrimination. Education was given to all members of the community regardless of their sex and social status. By doing so, education preferred people to be the same (equal), enjoy the same privileges and share the pleasures of nature.
4. It was a relevant education. Education was closely linked to the environment and therefore equipped people with the vital knowledge to master the environment since it determined their lives. For example, knowing different seasons for different activities like farming and trade.
5. Encouraged hardworking. This education trained individuals to be useful to their societies by giving economic skills for self-sustenance and development of society. Economic life skills such as farming, pastoralism, industry, fishing and trading were encouraged to enable people earn good living. Laziness was discouraged and punished.
6. Preserved culture. Education was helpful in the conservation of societies' cultural aspects. This was not only done in cultural, religious and recreational ceremonies, games, and festivals. But also in traditions, rituals, legends, songs and tales which were passed to the young.
7. Encouraged specialisation. Specialisation mainly based on gender, age and types of economic activities of individuals or communities. Men performed economic activities like farming, grazing cattle, industry and trade, while women concentrated on domestic roles like cooking and raising children. Societies concentrated on different activities like farming or industry or fishing or trade depending on the environmental resources available.
8. Emphasis on morality. Someone with good character was considered educated. Recipients of traditional education were supposed portray characters like respect,

- obedience, honesty, and faithfulness to the elders and the entire community and good communication skills.
9. Encouraged peaceful co-existence. Pre-colonial education built and consolidated peace and cooperation by promoting communality living. It prepared children to love one another, work together, promote peace and built a strong sense of belonging to their community needs.

Weaknesses of Pre-colonial education

1. Traditional education was partly mythical. What was pointed in the stories, myths and fables mostly lacked scientific proof. For example traditional stories on the origin of man (creation), were mostly imaginary descriptions of historical or religious ideas.
2. It was parochial. Education was limited to only few topics as the minds of educators did not go beyond provision of a fixed knowledge on the community environment, culture and emphasising humble submission to communal norms and values. People mostly lacked knowledge beyond their environmental circumstances.
3. It was not uniform. The fact that education was determined by the community's environment, economic activities and culture, it was not homogenous. For example knowledge and skills passed in farming communities differed from that given in pastoral communities.
4. It was associated with bad cultural practices. Some awful cultural values and taboos were passed to individuals through traditional education. These included murder of twins in societies like Benin and customs that undermined women like prohibiting them to eat certain foods like eggs and chicken in some societies and denying them the right of inheritance.
5. It largely based on memory. The absence of writing made people depend on the power of individuals' memory for retention and transmission of all learned ideas to individuals and future generations. But memory could fail and in the event of the death of a custodian of some useful information or skill, all was lost.
6. It was conservative. Education was predominantly static in subject matter. The fact that it was determined by the environment, it took long for people to acquire new ideas since environment changed over a long period of time. Also certain specialised skills such as medicine and tool making were kept a secret of a few who passed to their children.
7. Gender bias. Traditional education portrayed elements of gender bias in as far as girls and boys participation in society was concerned. Women were relegated to listeners and would be confined to the kitchen while boys were prepared for intellectual ideas and practices.
8. Lacked qualified teachers. The idea that all adults could contribute to the educational upbringing of the children was illogical. The elders could not teach beyond their general experiences and imaginations. Some based on the little knowledge given or what they heard from others. Lack of specialised teachers meant lack of specific knowledge on issues.

Despite the denigration by the Western countries, Africans had an equally worthwhile education. The fact that pre-colonial Africa did not have 'schools,' did not mean that people were not educated. They learned by living and doing. People were taught the life skills, and the behaviour

expected of society members. Indeed, it was an all-round education, that also gave the children a sense of security, belonging and identity.

Culture in pre-colonial Africa

Culture is the total way of life of the people of a given society in a given time. It is the customs and habits of a particular society.

Culture includes all man's created aspects of life in a given environment such as customs, traditions, legends, language, beliefs, education, governance systems and artistic expressions like songs, dancing and games. Culture was vital in shaping societies' values and directed the daily trend of affairs of the society.

Importance of culture in pre-colonial Africa

1. It was a central part of education system of societies. Through culture, knowledge, skills, experiences and values were passed to children and future generations to another.
2. It was identification. People were distinguished from others by their cultural presentation since African societies had different cultural aspects — there was no one African culture. Culture built and consolidated unity and cooperation. Cultural relations tied people together. For instance people marrying from different clans bonded different clans or the whole tribe together.
3. Preserved the history of society. Cultural aspects like tales, fables, songs and games, myths and stories like creation stories and ceremonies like weddings, child birth and initiation told the past about the society.
4. Determined norms of society. It dictated the socio-political and economic life of the society by giving the daily routine which answers daily questions on what to do, how and when.
5. Culture encouraged hardworking. By African culture everybody was a worker for the wellbeing of the whole society. Laziness was discouraged and the lazy punished.
6. Culture shaped societal morals. It showed the young social values, taboos and beliefs. That is, the desirable and undesirable conducts of the community and so, encouraged people to do good while cautioning them of what is bad.
7. It maintained continuity of society. Through initiation ceremonies, youth were graduated into adulthood. That tells that culture exposed youths to tasks similar to those of their elders and for that reason incorporated the youth into their society for continuity.

Weaknesses of pre-colonial culture

- a) It was dictatorial. African culture was not subjected to question. People were to obey everything without hesitation. Abuse or violation of any rule was punished. Punishment included flogging and sometimes death.
- b) Gender inequality. African culture was built on aspects of the superiority of men. Women were to always be subservient to men. For instance confined to domestic roles while men were prepared for economic practices like trade and industry and political issue of society.

- c) Culture incorporated inhuman practices. In societies like Benin, twins were murdered by being buried alive as they perceived to be a curse in some communities. Other societies infertility among women was taken for a curse hence victims were sometimes divorced.
- d) It was much mythical. Some legendary beliefs were unrealistic with no elements of truth. For example the tales about creation, life and death lacked proof and differed from society to society. Others norms included prohibition of women to eat eggs and chicken.
- e) Culture was conservative. It took long to change or incorporate new ideas and practices. Even when some practices seemed irrelevant, it was hard for society to abandon them.

Sample — revision questions

1. Assess why pre-colonial African societies did not develop the slave mode of production
2. The feudal mode of production did not develop in the entire African continent. Account for the variations. (Give six points)
3. Analyse five characteristics of the first non antagonistic mode of production which developed in Africa and elaborate three factors that show how African communal societies transformed to feudalism. (NECTA 2014)
4. Analyse the characteristics of pre-colonial exploitative modes of production in Africa. (Give four characteristics in each mode of production). (NECTA 2016)
5. How did Neolithic revolution affect the pre colonial African societies?
6. Though the characteristics of feudal mode of production were the same their approaches however were different. Identify six differences between the feudal mode of production practiced in Buganda with the one that along the coast of East Africa.
7. Discuss the main factors that facilitated the rise and development of the Nyarubanja system in the West lake region in pre colonial Africa.
8. Explain six outstanding features of the centralised societies that existed in prec olonial Africa. (NECTA 2013)
9. With vivid examples, account for the rise and expansion of large scale social political organisations in pre colonial African societies.
10. Describe six factors for the development of State Organisation in pre-colonial West African Societies. (NECTA 2016)
11. The emergence and consolidation of African societies was to a large extent due to internal of dynamic of the African societies rather than external influences. Discuss
12. Discuss how basic political organizations in Africa were related to the environment where they evolved.
13. Explain six roles of Islamic religion in the formation of Pre-colonial West African states. (NECTA 2015)
14. Discuss the political, social and economic factors for the 19th C religious movements in Western Africa.
15. Account for the outbreak of the political turmoil and its consequences among the Nguni speaking people of South Africa in the 19th Century.
16. By using six points, examine the influence of Mfecane war in the formation of centralised states in Central and East Africa during the 19th century. (NECTA 2017)
17. Examine four usefulness and four weakness of the pre-colonial education (NECTA 2012)
18. Assess the objectives and aspects of pre-colonial education

19. Examine critically the characteristics of pre colonial education and its role enhancing African cultural aspect
20. Pre-colonial African societies were dynamic. Justify this statement by giving six points.
(NECTA— Private candidates 2015)

TOPIC TWO

AFRICA AND EUROPE IN THE 15TH CENTURY

In the 15th C, Africa and Europe shared a lot in common as the two were almost at par in terms of development by that time. Compared to the incredible progression of Europe in modern times, it is certainly hard to conceive that by the 15th C, the variations between the two continents were trivial with Europe slightly bit ahead of Africa. It is from the 15th C that the development gap between the two begun to widen the more. From that time the unequal relationship between the two was firmly established. As Europe begun to steadily advance politically, economically and technologically, Africa was retarded and entered the trend of underdevelopment.

The evidential historical analysis related to the state of development African societies had reached by 15th C, disqualified the vain Eurocentric interpretation of Africa as a dark continent of barbarism and static in absolute quandary of underdevelopment. The discussion here proves that before contacting Europe from the 15th C, African societies were steadily developing politically, technologically, economically and socially and indeed at certain aspects were better than European societies.

To examine the development levels and comparisons in the levels attained by the two continents, their socio-political, economic and technological aspects need to be analysed.

SYSTEMS OF EXCHANGE IN AFRICA AND EUROPE IN (BY) THE 15TH CENTURY

System of exchange refers to trading activities that involve transfer of ownership of goods and services from one person (group of people) to another for profit making. So, for trade to take place there must be exchange of either goods for goods or services or money. The exchange of goods for goods or services is barter system of trade while the exchange of goods or services for cash is referred to as monetary system of exchange. Trade developed as a result of development of productive forces that made it possible for surplus production.

By the 5th C both Europe and Africa had developed similar systems of exchange but with little variations. Trading contacts between Europe and Africa however, are known to have started during the 14th C BCE, when the Greeks began to trade with Egypt. Also with the Trans-Saharan Trade, traders from Europe contacted North and West African traders.

The role of trade

1. To arrest scarcity. Societies engage in exchange to acquire goods that are insufficient or that they are lacking so as to satisfy their demands.
2. To deal with surplus. Trade is a means to release goods societies have in excess. Through trade losses would be avoided as the goods will be released profitably.
3. For wealth acquisition. Through trading transaction profits are acquired. By accumulating profits trade dealers attain wealth.

4. Trade encourages production. The desire for wealth stimulated the exploitation of resources and skills as man struggles to make goods needed for market.
5. Provides employment. It engages many like craftsmen in the production process and many such as dealers in the process of transactions. Some people specialise as merchants.
6. Improve relations between societies. Trading societies develop friendlier relations between themselves through reciprocal benefits that makes them complement each other.
7. Trade is a source of income. Government generate income through taxes while people involved in exchange acquire income through profits and wages (employment).

Systems of exchange in Africa by the 15th Century

The development of systems of exchange in Africa like other places was an outcome of the development of productive forces that was accompanied by emergence of division of labour and specialisation on different skills like industry and agriculture. Such developments increased productivity that led to surplus production.

By the 15th C, Africa was engaged in various trading systems namely;

- The Trans-Saharan Trade conducted among the West African societies, North Africa and Asia and Europe. The trade was organised by West African people, the Berbers of the Sahara region and North Africa, the Arabs from the Middle East and the Europeans in exchange of goods like gold, hides and salt from Africa and firearms, cloth and glassware from abroad.
- The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. This was conducted among Europe, Africa and the Americas. Africa was contacted by the European maritime traders. The main items collected from Africa were slaves and bullions. European merchants brought manufactured goods like cloth, glassware, porcelain, alcohol and perfumes to Africa.
- Long Distance Trade of East and Central Africa that involved the people of East and Central Africa trading with the coastal traders the Arabs, Indians and Europeans. Goods exchanged from Africa included gold, copper and slaves and from abroad included cloth, glassware, beads and perfumes. The major organisers of the trade were the Yao, Nyamwezi and Kamba.

In Africa the **barter system** of exchange was dominant. This subjected Africa to unequal exchange as her valuable goods like gold, silver and slaves were exchanged for cheap goods like cloth, glassware, perfume and alcohol from Europe. However, with time, certain scarce items like gold and cowry shells were used as the standard of measure - medium of exchange.

There was existence of specialised classes of traders in some societies. The expansion of trade and specialisation in some regions led to the emergence of classes of people that did not involve in any other economic activity other than trade. The Marabounds among the Mandika, the Berbers of North Africa and Ndewa among the Nyamwezi are just a few examples.

African societies engaged in exchange mainly to arrest scarcity. Their main goal was to acquire goods they could not make or that were insufficient. It was mainly made for subsistence purposes than for wealth accumulation. Wealth accumulation was a target of mainly the ruling classes. Trade had developed at all levels; local, regional and intercontinental. At local level, societies exchanged between each other for handicrafts, foodstuffs and iron products. Regional and intercontinental trading systems linked regions of Africa with the outside world. The reference is the Trans-Saharan Trade that connected West Africa, North Africa, Asia and Europe.

Systems of exchange in Europe by the 15th Century

In the 15th C, Western Europe was becoming more concerned with intercontinental trade. It was during the time when *Mercantilism* started due advancement of marine technology. They contacted overseas lands, namely, Africa the America and Caribbean.

The major driving force for trade in Western Europe was wealth accumulation. Participation in mercantilism by states such as France. England and Spain, majorly looked at collection of the highly valued gold and silver (bullions) which were determinant of wealth and power.

In the 15th C, Europe had started transformation to a monetary system. In the beginning the bullions were used as money. That pushed European states to move around the world to search for bullions. Later coinage and paper money were introduced as the volume of trade expanded.

Rise of a class of specialised merchants. These arose from the middle class, aristocrats and nobles that had capital to invest in trade, industries and ships. As these gained more experience, they organised themselves in trading companies like the Dutch East Indian Company.

Comparisons of the systems of exchange in Africa and Europe in (by) the 15th C

Similarities;

1. Trade was supported by powerful states. The Tudor monarchy of England under King Henry VII, King Henry of Portugal and Queen Isabella of Spain for example took deliberate measures to promote mercantilism. In Africa states like Mali under Mansa Musa and Songhai under Askia Muhammad provided security to traders and promoted production.
2. Africa like Europe had passed through all levels of trade; local, regional and international. In Africa, the Trans-Saharan trade between West and North Africa, Asia and Europe is an illustration of such regional and international trade systems. For Europe it was mercantilism through which Europe contacted overseas lands, Africa, the Caribbean and America.
3. The two continents had developed trading systems. The Trans-Saharan trade that started from the 4th C was still in operation in the 15th C between North and Western Africa. Likewise was the trading system between the East African coast and the Middle East. In the 15th C, mercantilism started through which Europe contacted Africa and the New World for wealth.

4. Both possessed specialised classes of merchants. In Europe the class of rich merchants arose from the aristocrats, landlords and rich peasants. In Africa the organised groups of traders included the Ndewa of Nyamwezi, the Marabounds of Mandika and Berbers of North Africa.
5. In both continents, the barter system was still dominant. When Europe started contacts with Africa in the 15th C, European merchants exchanged items like, firearms, gunpowder and cloth for slaves, bullions and tropical items like ivory, animal skins and beeswax from Africa.
6. Wealth was acquired by unscrupulous means. European and African states acquired wealth by plundering. European states acquired it through slavery, unequal exchange and colonisation. Yet African societies raided their weaker neighbours for slaves and bullions.

Differences;

In the 15th C European trade was more intercontinental than local or regional. It was the period of the start of Mercantilism when Europe contacted overseas' lands like Africa and the Americas. The system was supported by advanced maritime and manufacturing technology. Contrary to that, African trade was more local and regional due to technological limitations.

Trading system of the 15th C in Europe amassed an extraordinary amount of wealth which was invested for development like in industries. In contrast to Africa the trading systems, led to underdevelopment due to technological stagnation, unequal exchange and slave trade.

By the 15th C Europe was developing a monetary system. In the beginning bullions were introduced as a standard measure - medium of exchange — later coinage was introduced. In Africa the barter system was still dominant with only a few societies using scarce commodities like salt, cowry shells and gold as medium of exchange.

The purpose of exchange also differed. In Europe trade through mercantilism was purposely for wealth accumulation. That is why the European merchants took the risk to travel overseas mainly for the collection of bullions. In Africa trade mainly focused on arresting scarcity, that is, to acquire what they could not produce due to low technology.

Participation in trade differed in the two continents. In Europe the entire Western Europe and many others like Sweden and Denmark participated in overseas trade. Africa only a few mostly coastal states and strong states like Mali and Songhai were directly involved in trade.

Europe had developed a well organised class of professional merchants, who had specialised in only trade, possessing huge capital by which they bought ships and ran cottage industries. In Africa the class of professional trade was not yet well developed and organised like that of Europe. They mostly operated as middlemen of foreign coastal traders.

The quality goods differed. Due to advanced technology, Europe exchanged manufactured goods of higher quality than Africa. This also contributed to unequal exchange since Africans

exchanged more valuable items like gold, ivory and hides but in their raw forms for manufactured goods like cloth, glassware and firearms from Europe.

Although systems of exchange between Europe and Africa were almost the same Europe was able to monopolize international trade due to advanced manufacturing and maritime technology. Differences in goods exchanged between Europe and Africa

1. Goods from Africa were higher in value than those from Europe. Africa exchanged bullions and slaves for cheap manufactured goods such as cloth and glassware from Europe.
2. Goods from Europe were manufactured items while those from Africa were raw materials. Europe exchanged goods like firearms, glassware and cloth for goods like gold, silver and palm oil from Africa.
3. Manufactured goods from Europe were superior in quality than those manufactured in Africa due to a more advanced technology of Europe. To a large extent, the manufacturing sector in Africa could not match the quality of goods such as 'glassware and cloth from Europe.
4. The goods brought from Europe to Africa were of wider variety than those Africa produced. Europe exchanged goods such as firearms, cloth, beads, porcelain, perfumes and wine while Africa mainly exchanged minerals, slaves and few agricultural goods.
5. Europe exported only natural goods — manufactured goods while in Africa, the slaves were the major item sold to European merchants.

Impact of system of exchange that developed between Europe and Africa from the 15th C

Impact of the contacts on Africa

Economic effects;

1. Technological stagnation. Importation of European manufactured goods to Africa out-competed African local industries to lose market. Besides that, slave trade eroded Africa's skilled craftsmen and artisans to the New World for labour.
2. Decline of inter-African trading system. Local and regional trading patterns like the Trans-Saharan Trade that boomed before the Trans-Atlantic Trade declined as many Africans preferred dealing with European merchants by than fellow African societies and Arabs.
3. Exploitation of resources. An enormous amount of physical and human resources were taken from Africa by European merchants through unequal exchange. That is, high valuable resources like gold, silver and ivory and labour (slaves) from Africa were taken for cheap manufactured goods such as, firearms, glassware, and cloth from Europe.
4. Introduction of new goods. New crops such as maize, potatoes, cassava and fruits like pineapples and guavas and some manufactured goods that Africans could not produce like firearms, glassware and porcelain were imported into Africa by European traders. Some African societies adopted the crops as staple foods.

Political effects;

5. Rise and growth of states. Some African states emerged while others grew to greatness due their role in trade. coastal and forest West African states such as Oyo, Benin and Dahomey grew in power due to Trans-Atlantic Slave which provided them wealth and firearms.
6. Downfall of some states. Some states crumbled by attacks from more powerful states for slaves and wealth like gold and silver needed by European traders. Slave trade also robbed them of their badly needed labour force for their development.
7. Paved way for the colonization of Africa. Mercantilism exposed Africa's economic potentials such as minerals, fertile lands and abundant labour to European nations. After Industrial revolution, European industrial powers viewed Africa as a solution to their industrial demands such as, market and raw materials that could easily be acquired through colonisation.
8. Widened trans-continental socio-political and economic links. The contacts (Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade) established ties between Europe and Africa. The contacts built a foundation for undermining Africa's progress by tying the continent to imperialist control and exploitation.

Social effects;

9. Spread of diseases. Interaction with Europe exposed Africans to diseases such as small pox, measles, syphilis and gonorrhea carried to Africa by European merchants. Diseases claimed a lot of lives.
10. Existence of state of fear and insecurity. Slave trade devastated African societies by introducing guns which encouraged frequent inter-society wars for slave raiding and wealth looting. Societies were destabilised and people forced to wonder around in fear.
11. Depopulation. A large number of African productive youths aged between 15 and 35 were shipped to the New World as slaves. Also famine, raids and wars of slave capture claimed lives of many. Surely, numerous societies lost generations of their fittest and able youths.
12. Culture distortion. Contact with European merchants contributed to destruction of African culture and heritage. Some Africans adopted foreign cultural practices like dressing codes and languages. This has led to the loss of the original true African cultural identity.
13. African families were torn apart. Countless African families were torn apart as some members were captured and exported to the Americas and the Caribbean for slavery while the lucky ones who escaped slavery in the New Worlds remained in Africa.
14. Spread of Christianity. In contacting the European merchants, some Africans adopted Christianity. This brought a new aspect in Africa that though united people and fought bad cultural habits, created divisions based on religious lines as societies were torn apart between Christians and Non Christians.
15. Development of Kiswahili language. Some vocabularies from European languages like Portuguese, English and French were added to Kiswahili language. For example, Portuguese words like "*meza and lesu*" were incorporated into Kiswahili.

16. Rise and growth of towns. Towns developed as trading centres and ports such as Elmina and Saint Louis and Dakar. They were market places where traders met for transactions. Slaves were kept in such town-ports while waiting for shipment to the New World.
17. Occurrence of famine. Famine was caused due to agricultural decline caused by destabilisations due to frequent slave raiding. Suddenly also slave trade led to labour shortage in farms. Besides, some societies over concentration on trade other than agriculture.

All in all, the contacts integrated Africa into capitalist economic system with Africa as the exploited and Europe as her exploiter. Africa was robbed of her precious human and physical resources and started dependence due to technological stagnation and underdevelopment.

Impact of the contacts on Europe

The 15th C system of exchange (Mercantilism) by its exploitation of other continents through unequal exchange resulted into the development of European countries by the following ways;

1. Accumulation of wealth. European powers amassed a lot of wealth particularly bullions by exploiting other continents, mainly Africa and the Americas through unequal exchange, plundering and slavery. The capital acquired was invested in their sectors like industry.
2. Development of science and technology. Most notably was Marine technology which was the backbone of mercantilism. With marine technology was industrial technology that ultimately led to Industrial Revolution due to increased invention to meet the increasing domestic and overseas market demands.
3. Development of towns and ports. City ports like Liverpool, Marseilles and Amsterdam developed as commercial centres and landing sites that handled commodities carried to and from overseas. Other towns like Yorkshire and Lancashire developed as manufacturing centres.
4. Expansion of class differentiations. Expansion of overseas trade led to the rise and expansion of a rich commercial class that transformed Europe to capitalism. This class amassed a lot of wealth that they used to dominate the economic affairs of their countries and exploit the poor classes of workers and peasants.
5. Development of monetary economy. Trade led to the monetization of the European economy. At first the bullions were applied as standards of measure hence nations competed for their accumulation but later coinage and paper money was adopted as trade volumes expanded.
6. Development of financial institutions. Banks like Barclays formed in 1756 and insurance houses were born of the wealth accumulated by Europeans from trade and as well they boosted trade by providing security to merchants' wealth and capital in forms of credits.
7. Provision of cheap labour. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is known for its greatest human trafficking. Through it millions of African slaves were exported from Africa to the New Worlds to provide cheap labour in the European capitalist established mines and plantations.
8. Colonial expansion. Due to overseas trade European states acquired colonies in the New Worlds for example; Britain possessed the 13 North American colonies, Jamaica and

Trinidad; Portugal had Brazil; Spain had Mexico etc. colonies were exploited as sources of bullions, raw materials, and markets.

9. Opened and strengthened trans-continental links. From the 15th C European external trade. Mercantilism established ties between Europe and other continents like Africa, the Americas, and Asia. Since then the ties provide Europe with wider trading and exploitation zones.

While trade particularly foreign trade dwarfed African socio-political and economic progress, it elevated that of Western Europe with nations like Britain, France, Holland and Spain that emerged into socio-political and economic powerful states due to massive wealth accumulated from trade through dishonest means of plundering, slave trade, robbery and piracy.

General impacts of exchange on Africa and Europe

Trade, whether local or regional or international had a number of effects on African and European societies before or after the 15th C. The effects were either positive or negative.

Positive impacts (significance/contributions to development);

1. Rise and growth of states. States in Western Europe like England, France and Holland acquired enormous wealth from external trade to become more powerful. While in Africa coastal and forest West Africa states like Oyo, Benin, Dahomey and Asante and East African states Buganda and Karagwe grew in power by acquiring wealth and firearms from trade.
2. Rise and growth of towns. Towns and cities developed as ports, trading and manufacturing centres. City ports like Liverpool, Amsterdam and Lisbon in Europe while Dakar and Elmina (West Africa), Zanzibar, Bagamoyo and Mombasa (East Africa); Taghaza, Timbuktu, Sijlimasa, Gao and Jenne (West Africa) and; Fez and Tunis (North Africa). They were mainly market centres and ports where traders met for transactions.
3. Improvement of productive forces and technology. The quest to produce surplus for exchange stimulated man's productive skills and industry. All that improved sectors like agriculture, mining and industry to avail enough for consumption and surplus for exchange.
4. Development of transport systems. In Europe, marine transport was developed along other transport systems. In Africa where Long Distance Trading systems such as Trans-Saharan and the East African Long Distance trade emerged, caravan routes developed through which animals such as camels and horses and human transport was used.
5. Introduction of new goods. Goods that societies could not produce on their own were availed by trade. Africa acquired items like firearms from the Middle East and Europe. Likewise foreign traders collected goods like gold and silver from Africa.
6. Accumulation of wealth. European and African societies acquired wealth that consolidated them economically, politically and socially. The wealth acquired was invested in administration and economic sectors like agriculture, industry and transport.
7. Established links between societies. Trade contacts between societies linked and created friendliness among them through which they shared knowledge and skills and influenced each other to adopt new norms and civilization. The closeness of mainly coastal peoples of East and North Africa to Middle East is traced from early trading contacts from the 7th C.

8. Intermarriages. The intermarriages between foreign traders and Africans gave birth to half-casts. In East Africa were the Swahili people, born of Arabs and Africans, in West Africa were called Mullatoes being born of either Europeans or Arabs with Africans. In Congo and Mozambique, of Portuguese and African and were called Pombeiros.
9. Spread of new religions. Islam was spread in Africa through the Trans-Saharan trade and the East and Central F African Long Distance Trade by the Arab Muslim traders and Christianity through the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Though these religions united people, they led to divisions that tore societies into apart of Muslims, Christians and Traditionalists.
10. Birth of Kiswahili language. Kiswahili was an outcome of African contact with the outsiders mainly through trade. It began as mixture of Arabic and Bantu dialects to address language barrier problem between African and Arab traders. Contact with Europeans from 15th C also added to it some vocabularies like “meza” from Portuguese.

Negative impacts

The negative impacts were mainly on Africa;

1. Slave trade. Contact with outside world led to human trafficking from Africa to the foreign lands mostly to the Americas and Caribbean - slaves were the major item taken from Africa by European merchants in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Slave trade led to depopulation, fear and insecurity, famine and more so tore families apart.
2. Creation of classes. Trading contacts with the outside world led to creation of classes based on race and religion. In regions where trade with the Arabs flourished classes of Arabs and Muslim converts and others were created. Likewise where Trans-Atlantic Slave trade flourished classes were created between Christian converts and others like Muslims and Traditionalists. Besides also was the creation of classes of African middlemen.
3. Decline of other economic activities. Trading contact with outside world undermined other economic activities, agriculture and industry in particular. More concentration by rulers and population was directed to trade with coastal traders. Moreover, slave trade drained massive labour from Africa that would be important for development of other sectors of production.
4. Technological stagnation.
5. Exploitation of resources.
6. Downfall of some states.
7. Spread of diseases.
8. Culture distortion.
9. Paved way for the future colonization of Africa.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS IN AFRICA AND EUROPE IN (BY) THE 15TH C

The concept of “political systems” is used to describe an evolution of organised government structures maintained by administration, coercive instruments and judiciary.

By the 15th C, distinguished political organisations had developed in Africa and Europe, however with variations in terms of development and efficiency. The level of development of the political systems was determined by the level of productive forces and modes of production developed by

the concerned political systems - beginning with smallest unit of the social organisation which is the family to the complex unit which is the state.

Political System in Africa in (by) the 15th C

In the 15th C, Africa had developed three distinct political systems, namely; *clan, age- set and state organisations*;

Clan Organisations. These were common in communal and in most cases agricultural societies. For this form of organisation, several families with close blood relationship formed a clan and the clan chose its leader - the Clan-head. The Clan-head held sociopolitical powers, distributed land to clan members and provided guidance in production. The communal living meant that major means of production like land and products of labour were shared among clan members.

Age-set Organisation. In this system, division of duties was based on age and sex. People of same age group and sex were initiated together, taught society's culture and their responsibilities and bore a distinctive regimental (group) name to perform specific duties together. The system was as well common in communal societies, more especially in pastoral societies like the Maasai. Some agricultural societies like the Kikuyu and Nyakyusa also operated they system. Society or age group headship was determined by age, wisdom and good character.

Note; Clan and Age system were much democratic; decision making was made by the whole community and age groups themselves made their own day to day decisions. Discipline and obedience was highly observed. Trouble makers were punished by the community.

State Organisation. Two forms of state organisation evolved in Africa; the centralised and decentralised states. Centralised states were large collections of clans to be controlled by a centralised authority. They were ruled by kings who held state power and controlled the major means of production like land. Such societies included Ghana and Mali (West Africa) and Buganda and Karagwe (East African). The decentralised states were the segmented states with no centralised authority and instead were controlled by councils of elders or clan heads or chiefs.

Summary of level of political development in Africa in (by) the 15th C

1. Variations of political systems. African societies were not at the same level of political development. While some were clan organisations like the Ntemship in present day Tanzania, others societies had transformed to States like Buganda an Karagwe.
2. Communal system was dominant in a large part of Africa due to low development of productive force. Few societies that had iron technology had reached the feudal stage. The ruling classes controlled land which they distributed to their subjects to produce them surplus. Nevertheless, whether feudal or what, to a large extent African societies carried out their activities collectively in which ideally all able- bodied adults participated.
3. States formation developed in societies with advanced productive forces. The overriding force for state formation was iron technology. The technology boosted agriculture, industry, trade and security that enabled some societies like Mali develop into prominent states.

4. Parliamentary system. Some states had organised parliaments that assisted rulers in administration. Parliaments were made of ministers, chiefs and elders. The remarkable states here are Buganda with the Lukiiko and Oyo with the Oyo Mesi. Clan and Age-set organisations had councils of elders or general public assemblies to make and pass decisions.
5. Development of social differentiation. Communal societies had simple classes determined by division of labour and roles people played like leaders, medicine-men and diviners. While as in communal societies all were workers, in feudal societies the rulers and landlords were not directly involved in production but exploited the serfs who had to produce surplus for them.
6. Role of the rulers. Rulers served the purposes of organising production, control means of production like land, uniting the people, ensure protection of society and served as chief judges and military commanders.
7. The development of productive forces allowed trade to develop among African societies. Local trade existed between societies such as agriculture and pastoral societies. Societies exchanged goods like cattle, food cloth and iron tools. Also regional and inter-continental trade; in West Africa was the Trans-Saharan with states like Ghana, Mali and Songhai; in East Africa was the Long Distance with states like Buganda and Nyamwezi. These trading systems contacted Africa with foreigners; Arab, Indian and European traders.
8. Religion was central part of state operation. Rulers were political but also religious heads. It was asserted that through them God communicated to his people through the spirits. They presided over religious ceremonies like prayers and offering of sacrifices. Notable instances are Buganda and Ghana where kings were seen representatives of God to their people

Political System in Europe in (by) the 15th C

Origin of state development in Europe

The *Middle Ages (Medieval Period)* was the formative period in the history of modern European states. The Middle Age (5th to 15th C) is the period starting from the demise of the Western Roman Empire in AD 476 to the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery.

Within the period, Kings in Europe consolidated their power and set up centralised states between the 9th and 14th Centuries, that was during the High Middle Ages. By the 15th C, the continent had evolved sophisticated centralised political systems ruled by absolute monarchs. Prominent states included England, France, Austria, Spain, Holland, Russia and Portugal. During the period, political systems in Europe operated under the church (papacy). This was the period known as *Christendom*. In the period, the pope had great powers vested in him as religious and political sovereign ruler of nations in Europe. Rulers of different nations worked under him.

Europe was under feudal political power. The Feudal Mode of Production developed in Europe after the demise of the Roman Empire in the 5th C. It thus developed from the womb of the Slave Mode of Production of the Roman Empire. It started by the development of small decentralised political units called *Manors* headed by Rich landlords who at times were military leaders. The

lords of the manors were under stronger lords who were the monarchs whose work was to reign, ensure smooth running of the government and defend his people.

Political systems in Europe were supported by strong standing armies. The armies did not only defend states' interests domestically but also performed systematic expansionism within and outside Europe. It was due to that, Western Europe acquired colonies in the New World.

Factors for the rise of centralised states in Europe

State formation and development in Europe is accredited to the following circumstantial factors;

1. The role of Renaissance. This was the rebirth of knowledge and the beginning of the Age of Discovery from the 14th C. It was ignited with the rediscovery of classical Greek, Roman and Arabic knowledge and had an enormous liberating effect on intellectuals. It challenged traditional doctrines in politics, science and theology (religion). People started questioning the divine powers of rulers and religious leaders and demanded constitutional rule.
2. The Reformation. The Protestant Reformation that started in Germany by Martin Luther against the practices of Catholic Church spread through Europe and gained many followers even among princes and kings seeking stronger states by ending the influence of the Catholic Church. Many broke away from the Catholic Church like King Henry VIII of England who set up the Anglican Church. These religious divisions brought on a wave of wars by ambitious monarchs who became more centralised and powerful.
3. Crusades. These were military invasions, first taken in 1095 by the papacy (Pope Urban II) and western European Christians into non-Christian lands. The crusades brought forced conversion and assimilation of numerous peoples into Christianity and European culture. During the wars the invaded lands like the Persian Empire and Baltic regions were robbed of their wealth.
4. Role of religion. In the beginning Catholicism was dominant influential in the rise of early strong states like ***Carolingian Empire*** under King Charlemagne and other states like France and Austria that emerged after the disintegration of the empire. After the Reformation, protestant churches such in England and Prussia solidified unity for strong states.
5. Rise of strong leaders. From the Middle Ages powerful leaders surfaced to form strong states in Europe. Among them was Charlemagne who carried out expansion program in 774 that unified a large portion of central Europe to form the Carolingian Empire. In England, King Henry VIII destroyed the powers of the landlords, nobles and the church by seizing their land and united the English people to create a strongly centralised state in England.
6. Population rise. In the Middle Ages, the population of Europe increased greatly. The estimated population grew from 35 to 80 million between 1000 and 1347 as technology and agriculture improved. Population expansions called for the need to form laws that would control relations among people, so leaders and states rose by the way.
7. Development in science and technology. From the 12th and 13th Centuries, Europe produced significant technology and innovations. Apart from iron technology, other major technological advance included the invention of the Windmill. Technology boosted the whole economy as agriculture, industry, transport, trade and military were all improved.

8. The role trade. By the mid 8th C, trade between Europe and the Arabs availed Europe with wealth in forms of silks, spices, and precious metals. From the 15th C mercantilism enabled states like Spain, England and France to raise to prominence by amassing great wealth in forms of bullions, raw materials, slaves and capital which they invested in other sectors like industry, agriculture and infrastructure.
9. Role of strong armies and conquest. The growing dominance of the military in the Middle Ages made state formation possible. The military technology that improved military effectiveness included the introduction closed-face helmets, heavy body armour, and gunpowder. Successful warlords became rulers and conquered weak tribes.

The High Middle Ages was the most renowned period in the history of the modern Western Europe. Kings in France, England, and Spain consolidated their power, and set up lasting governing institutions.

By the 15th century, Feudalism as a mode of production was a major socio-political and economic system Europe and Africa had in common.

FEUDALISM IN EUROPE

Feudalism is a Mode of Production based on landownership. In a feudal system, land is the major means of production. Land was owned by a few, the landlords who rent it to the landless majority, the peasants or tenant (serfs). Besides owning land, landlords partially owned the serfs whom they exploited by payment of rent.

The emergence of feudalism in Europe is traced from the 5th Century A.D. after the fall of the Roman Empire. The local rulers (warlords) who fought the empire declared their independencies (manors) and distributed land to their armies in exchange for military services. They also distributed it to the church, individual rich slave masters (Latifundia) and loyal subjects. The person receiving land was called a vassal who also distributed it to landless people who now became peasants or serfs. Serfs (tenants) worked on the land in return for rent to the landlords.

Features of European Feudalism

1. Land was the major form of property. Land being the major means of production, agriculture was the major economic activity. The other means of production like industry were also crucial but second to land in importance.
2. Property especially land was owned by a few landlords who rented it the majority landless serfs and peasants. The land owning classes were the aristocrats, the church and landlords. The serfs worked on the landlords' land on condition that they paid rent to the landlords.
3. Social stratification. Society was divided into classes; at the top were the nobility classes of the aristocrats; second were the clergy, the knights and the landlords. At the bottom were vast majority peasants and serfs who did not own property. This class was also divided into the Freeman Tenants (peasants) who enjoyed some freedom as they paid rent in produce and could leave the land when they wished and serfs who could not lawfully leave the manor or marry without the consent of the landlord.

4. The church was a powerful feudal institution owning vast estates and accommodating tenants and serfs. Besides controlling religious and moral affairs of society, the church participated in political roles to the state. Religion was imperative in strengthening loyalty to the state.
5. State and state apparatuses. Feudalism existed under centralized monarchies. State power was in hands of monarchs supported with armies. The monarch was the major landlord and with him/her were nobility, clergy and landlords enjoying state power and wealth.
6. Restrictive laws. In Europe feudalism operated under specific formulated laws which strengthened the loyalty of the serfs to the landlords to enhance exploitation. The laws for example bounded serfs on the land where they could neither leave nor marry without the consent of the landlords. Such laws were known *as feudal justice laws*.
7. Excessive exploitation of the serf and peasants. Serfs paid high and many feudal dues in forms of rent and taxes to the landlords, the church and the state. All the three forms of rent were in place — labour rent, rent in kind and money rent. In France for example, the several taxes they were obliged to pay included income tax, land tax, poll tax and salt tax. In addition he paid a tithe of the produce of his land to the church. As if all that was not enough, he was often liable to forced labour on the roads or public buildings.

Rent payment; On using their landlords' lands serfs had to pay rent to the landlord. Rent payment was the major possible form of extracting surplus from the serfs by landlord. The three forms of rent were; **Labour Rent** in which peasants worked part of the week, providing labour for the landlords and the rest of the days on his holding; **Rent in kind** by which the peasant shared portion of his products with his landlords and; **Rent in cash**, peasants paid in form of money — the peasant had to sell his products in order to pay rent.

8. Division of land. Land in the manors was divided into different complete portion for different purposes. The major divisions were; the open free lands for cultivation common meadow land for hay production, common pasture lands for grazing of cattle, common woodlands for firewood and common wastelands which were fallowed.

Factors for the rise of Feudalism in Europe

The disintegration of the Roman Empire in the 15th C.

When the empire dissolved, the tribes that fought it declared their independencies, the slaves who worked with the Roman Empire were freed and land was distributed to rich slave masters, soldiers and loyal subjects. Those who received land became landlords and the freed slaves became serfs/tenants.

1. End of slavery. When slavery came to an end after the dissolution of the Roman Empire, the slave masters found new method to make the slaves remain under servitude by renting them land so as to tie the slave on the land to work for them. So the free slaves became serfs.
2. The need for security. A situation of anarchy of attacks like of Hungarians upon Italians, and French conditioned people to seek for protection from the powerful warlords/rulers.

Protection was granted to them in return for their labour, military services or giving part of their produce to the rulers who became their landlords.

3. Population expansion. In the Middle Ages population in Europe rapidly expanded mainly due to increased security and agriculture production. Its expansion left many people landless. The few who possessed land entered into relations with the landless to work on their land in return for rent payment.
4. Development of productive forces. Developments in technology particularly metal works, led to the rise of classes. Also the making of efficient tools enabled those with skills to subdue others and open more land for agriculture hence required more labour. The subdued people were made serfs to work for the landowning classes.
5. Unequal distribution of labour products and properties. The development of classes, led to inequalities. Due to that, individuals and societies that possessed more resources like iron and big populations, transformed much quickly to Feudalism. They conquered weaker societies and turned the conquered peoples to serfs.
6. Power struggle. The manorial system that ensued the collapse of the Roman Empire, suffered from power struggles among the warlords that fought the empire. The struggles were the wars of conquest to increase land and people for control. The conquerors became the landlord and the conquered were turned to serfs.

How feudalism operated in Europe

The estates of feudal lords were called manors occupied by dependants, the tenants serfs, the semi-independent dependants were the peasants. The manors were self-reliant: they produced everything people needed, starting with foods, clothing, leather goods and provided their own security. The manor varied in size according to the wealth of its lord. Every Noble had at least his own manor, even the king depended on his many manors. The different manors under different lords all together were under one king.

Each manor was partitioned into three parts according to its use. The first portion was for landlord's use only; the second for the serfs/peasant to meet their needs, and the third was the common land which included wood, meadow, pasture and wasteland which according to the custom remained at the disposal of both serfs/peasants and the landlords.

Comparisons of the African and European feudal systems in the 15th C

Similarities;

1. Land was the major factor of production and on it agriculture was the major productive activity. The land ownership was by the monarchy, the few rich landlords and the clergy who rented it to the majority landless serfs.
2. Stratification of society. Classes based on land ownership system. The land owning classes included the ruling classes of monarchs, nobles, clergy and rich landlords while the landless exploited classes of were serfs who occupied the bottom position in society.
3. Feudalism was exploitative. Land owning classes like the monarchs, nobles and landlords exploited the serfs and peasants working on their land through payment of rent so as to

produce surplus for them. In Europe, on top of the rents, the serfs were subjected to payment of taxes, forceful free labour, and robbery.

4. Development in productive skills. There was considerable development of technology heavily boosted by iron works in the feudal states of Europe and Africa. In both continents agriculture developed and cottage and handcraft industries existed, producing goods for domestic use and for exchange.
5. Existence of centralised political states. In both Africa and Europe feudal systems developed in centralised political systems. Examples included the Carolingian Empire. England, Spain and Portugal that had organised monarchical systems since the 8th C. In Africa they included Zimbabwe, Egypt. Ethiopia, Buganda, Meroe, Ghana, Mali and Songhai
6. The tendency of conquest. Feudal states in Europe and Africa had a tendency of invading weak societies for land, wealth and labour. In the 15th C European feudal states like Spain and England expanding within Europe and abroad in the New World. In Africa strong feudal states like Ghana and Mali conquered weak neighbours.
7. Co-existence of modes of production. In both Europe and Africa, the feudal modes did not operate independently in the 15th C. While in Europe, capitalism had started emerging within the feudal system, in Africa communalism was still dominant even within feudal societies.

Differences;

1. In Africa, feudalism evolved from Communal Mode of Production while in Europe from the Slave Mode of Production. In Africa the system arose as class differentiations developed in the communal system while in Europe it emerged from the classes of slave masters and slaves formed during the time of the Roman Empire that practiced Slave Mode of Production
2. Feudalism in Africa was at its early stage of development in most societies in the 15th C. It was still on transition from communalism. Elements of communalism like communal labour were still present in the feudal system of African societies. In Europe however, it had reached the last stage of maturity and transforming to capitalism.
3. In feudal Europe, land was divided in complete portions for different purpose such as the common meadow land for producing hay; common pasture land for cattle grazing; common woodlands for firewood; open fields for cultivation; and common wastelands. In Africa, however this was not the case - land was not divided in complete portions.
4. In Europe, all the three forms of rent; labour rent, rent in kind and rent in cash were in place. In the 15th C money rent was becoming more widely used in Europe due to expansion of commodity production and trade. In Africa only labour rent and rent in kind were applied.
5. In Europe, feudalism operated through formalised laws; the Feudal Justice laws that tied serfs on land for exploitation by the landlords. In Africa however, there were no such laws and thus the system was less exploitative and the serfs enjoyed some freedoms. For example they could freely marry as they did not need the permission of the landlord like it was in Europe.
6. Class formation was broader than in Africa. Feudalism in Europe operated in three broad classes of landlords who were the aristocrats, clergy and rich landlords, peasants who

owned small plots of land and serfs who were landless, while in Africa mainly two classes of landlords who in most cases were rulers and tenants the subjects were into existence.

7. In the feudal Europe, the level of science and technology was more advanced than in Africa. Europe had developed high maritime technology to make high sea going vessels and marine compass, firearms, better farming tools like ploughs and more efficient cottage industries that supported foreign trade. Africa had not reached such technological levels like efficient marine technology and farming tools.
8. European strong feudal states carried out expansionism within Europe and abroad to acquire overseas colonies. The colonisation of the New World by European states like Spain, Portugal, England and France is the case highlighted. Nevertheless, with Africa expansionism was only within against the weaker neighbouring societies.

Comparisons of the African and European political systems in the 15th C

Similarities;

1. In both Africa and Europe the political systems were still under feudalism. Their political systems defended the exploitation of peasants and serfs by the ruling classes and rich landlords who controlled property, especially land and political power.
2. Presence of centralised states. In the 15th C, Africa and Europe had developed centralised states ruled by Monarchs. They had well organised administrative systems with judiciary and parliamentary systems like in Buganda, the Lukiiko and the Oyo Messi in Oyo Empire and councils of ministers.
3. Religion was a central part of political systems. It was a force of cohesion between rulers and their subjects. In Europe, there were state churches like Catholic Church for states like France and Austria and Anglican Church for England. The church was involved in state governance and kings were approved by the pope. In Africa there were communities' religions and kings claimed divine powers just like in Europe. In states like Ghana, Buganda and Benin, kings were also religious heads who claimed to be in direct communication with God through the spirits.
4. Hereditary succession. There were royal families from which rulers came. Power was always transferred from father to son or daughter or to immediate relative like a brother in case the deceased monarch was childless. Also classes in society were always hereditary; children of landlords were future landlord and same to peasants or serfs.
5. Tendency of expansionism. Strong states in Africa and Europe upheld policies of conquest of weaker communities for land, wealth and labour. For example the state of Kangaba expanded to form Mali by annexing her weaker neighbours. European states like England and Spain did not only expand internally but also abroad like in the New World.
6. In Europe and Africa rulers shared same obligations. Besides being heads of states, they also served as chief judges and military commanders. They as well controlled means of production, particularly land and organised production and ensured protection.
7. In both, states were directly involved in trade within and outside their states. In the Trans-Saharan Trade for instance, West African states like Ghana, Songhai and Bornu traded with North Africa, Arab and European merchants. In east Africa states like Buganda,

Karagwe and Nyamwezi were in contact with coastal Arab, Indian, Swahili and European traders.

8. Co-existence of modes of production. In both Europe and Africa, the feudal modes did not operate independently in the 15th C. While in Europe, capitalism had started emerging within the feudal system in Africa communalism was still dominant even within feudal societies.

Differences;

1. In the 15th C, the entire Europe was under centralised states like “Spain, England, Holland and France headed by absolute monarchies. Africa had a diversity of political systems. While there were few developed strong centralised states like Bunyoro, Luba, and Mali, other societies were still under clan and Age-set organisations.
2. In the 15th C, Europe had developed nation states such as Spain, France, England and Holland ruled by despotic monarchies claiming to have “divine powers.” With the nation states, ideas of nationalism became stronger to be glorified as a sign of patriotism to ones nation. In Africa nation states never emerged until colonisation by Europeans in the late 19th C. The states that were in place were only tribal empires.
3. In the 15th C, feudalism in states of Western Europe had reached the mature stage and was in transition to capitalism. In Africa, however many states had just developed the feudal systems. While some societies were just on transition from communalism to feudalism, others were still fully communal. In Europe therefore, political systems were more mature.
4. Military advancement. By the 15th C well trained, equipped with firearms and motivated national armies were present throughout Western Europe. Due to military superiority, European nations conquered and plundered other nations within Europe and abroad for wealth accumulation. African states could not make firearms of their own and could not expand beyond Africa.
5. In Europe, the ruling class structure was broader comprising of the monarchs, aristocracy, Dukes, clergy, Barons and the Knights in that order. Below them were the landlords, peasants and finally serfs. In Africa the ruling structure was very narrow, with the monarch, supportive chiefs/council ministers/elders and common people at the bottom.
6. In Africa most monarchs had both political as well as religious powers. They were seen as representatives of God on earth or religious leaders like in Buganda and Ghana and presided over religious ceremonies while as in Europe, though monarchs worked in hand with churches they were not religious leaders.
7. European states were more expansionists than African states. While as European states expanded both within Europe by conquered their weak neighbours and abroad when they conquered the New World, African states expansionist tendencies were only confined to Africa by only annexing their weak neighbouring states.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN AFRICA AND EUROPE IN (BY) THE 15TH C

Science is the organised knowledge and skills based on facts that can be proved through experiments and observation. It is a product of research and experiment and thus deals with analysing facts and making conclusions about them.

Technology is the scientific knowledge used practically or is simply the application of scientific knowledge in handling tasks or solving a problem. In simple terms technology is applied science. In that case science and technology are inseparable. They are a product of man's struggle to master his environment and solve problems for his wellbeing.

In (by) the 15th C, Africa and Europe had reached a recognisable level in the fields of science and technology as analysed below;

Science and technology in Africa in (by), the 15th C

Africa's strides in the development of science and technology were indeed tremendous before contact with Europe from 15th C. The continent has the oldest record of human technological achievements in the world. Archaeological discoveries revealed that the oldest stone tools in the world have been found in eastern Africa since 3.3 million years ago in the Turkana Basin (at Lomekwi) as well as the earliest dating of iron working in Africa is 2500 BCE in sub-Saharan Africa at Eggaro and West Africa by 1200 BCE making it one of the first places in the world for the birth of Iron Age. The insatiable demand of man to find solution to his challenges like hunger and insecurity resulted into scientific and technological discoveries and inventions.

Science and technology development level of Africa in (by) the 15th C;

Scientific and technological aspects attained in Africa by the 15th Century;

- a) Metal work technology. Archaeological evidences show that Iron technology first appeared in Africa before the Pt millennium BC. In Egypt it's dated before 2000 BC and from around 700 BC to 600 BC in areas like Meroe, Nok, Axum and Interlacustrine Region. These technologies were remarkable revolution to socio-political and economic systems of Africa. They improved tool and weapon making that boosted production sectors like agriculture and mining and defence.
- b) Manufacturing industry. Africa had made notable strides in manufacturing industry by the 15th C. Cloth making industries in Guinea, Benin and Yorubaland are said to have been making superior quality cloth than industries in Manchester in England at that time. Leather industries in Morocco were superior that they exported high quality leather made items like clothes, bags and shoes to Europe. Also handcraft industries like bark cloth making, pottery, basketry, mat-making and wood carving had developed throughout the continent.
- c) Scientific farming. Scientific farming and food technology in the world first developed in Egypt. Being a desert, Egypt developed efficient irrigation system in the flooding plans of river Nile to check droughts. At first they develop Shadoof irrigation system but later

advance to basin irrigation system. African societies had passed the Neolithic Revolution and adopted scientific breeding to improve their livestock.

- d) Architecture. Africa had developed stylish skills in masonry. Well decorated and strong stone houses, were built in North, West Africa and East Africa. The pyramids in Egypt were a product of highly sophisticated stone cutting and architectural technology as well as the Ancient Zimbabwe great walls of about 300 feet high and 20 feet thickness. With such skills towns and cities like Cairo, Alexandria, Timbuktu, Mombasa, Zanzibar and Bagamoyo were developed — where the remains of such structures are evident to present day.
- e) Medicine making. African societies had invented and discovered medicines to control and cure diseases. Medicine was mainly made from identified local herbs and animal products to combat diseases like malaria. Medicine making is a proof that Africans had made steps in medicine, environment and human body sciences.
- f) Salt making technology. Salt was made by heating (evaporating) sea water. Together with that it was extracted from salty rocks or mining from underground. Prominent salt producing areas included Uvinza, Taghaza, Magadi in central Africa and along the sea shores. Africa had also developed a calendar system. Due to knowledge on astronomy and regular flooding of the Nile River and droughts in Egypt, Egyptians invented the calendar of 365 days, 12 months a year, 4 weeks a month and 7 days a week, as solution to identify the flooding and dry months of the Nile. That helped Egyptian plan well for their farming. The calendar is in use to present day.
- g) Transport technology. Societies along water bodies were developing marine technology with canoe making on major water bodies like along the coasts of Indian and Atlantic oceans, along the shores of lakes like Nyanza (Victoria) and Nyasa. The canoes were used for fishing and ferrying people. Also was the adoption animals like camels, donkeys and horses for transportation purposes. This as well facilitated caravan trade like Trans-Saharan trade.
- h) Weapon making. Africans had developed scientific skills in weapon making. The invention of iron and bronze working enabled the making of efficient weapons like arrows, spears and shields. Moreover Africans had invented different forms of poisons for killing of enemies and pray by use of poisonous herbs and animals products.
- i) Development of Abstract Sciences. Africa had developed sciences like mathematics (Algebra) copied from Arabia, astronomy and engineering particularly in Egypt. These helped Egyptians invent many things like the calendar and Metric systems of weights and measures that improved the efficiency in the system of measurements.
- j) The mining industry. Mining was much developed in Africa with a variety of minerals discovered and extracted from the ground. For example iron was mined in places like Axum (Meroe), Buhaya and Bunyoro since 600-500 BC, copper mining in the Niger and the Congo; gold and silver mines were prominent in ancient Great Zimbabwe, ancient Ghana, Asante kingdom, Kilwa and Sofala. The mining industry was accompanied by processing industries like gold processing, copper and iron smelting.

Science and technology in Europe in the 15th C

In the 15th century Europe had attained the following scientific and technological levels:

- a) Advanced transport technology. Europe had developed advanced marine technology by inventing ocean-going vessels and marine compass. By such level European sailors and merchants made longer sea routes to contact overseas places around the world. Through that, Christopher Columbus made a successful sea route from Europe to the West Indies in 1492 and Vasco da Gama to the East Coast and India in 1498. Other developments in transport included the invention of horse ridden carts and chariots.
- b) Manufacturing industry. There was widespread development of advanced cottage industries in Europe that manufactured high quality commodities like cloth, glass, perfumes, beads, and leather items like bags in large quantities for internal and international trade. Western Europe particularly England had proficient guild system through which cottage industries operated.
- c) Metalwork technology. Copper was the first to be discovered and be used for tool making in Europe. The Bronze Age followed from 2800 BC. This was borrowed from the Middle East and was widely used for tool and weapon making in Europe. The next great development in metallurgy was the discovery of iron that date from 1500 BC. The use of iron brought great changes to Europe. It enhanced tool, machinery and weapon making and brought great development economic sectors mainly agricultural, industrial, transport and trade.
- d) Scientific agriculture. Scientific agricultural practices such as intercropping and crop rotation were applied in Europe to improve production of food and raw materials. Scientific breeding was applied in sheep and cattle to increase production of wool, meat and leather. Moreover was the use of simple farm machines like ploughs that increased efficiency in production.
- e) Sophisticated weapon making technology. Europe made sophisticated weapons, firearms besides ordinary weapons like spears and arrows. Advancement in weapon making enabled European states to build strong armies for defence, protect merchants and colonial expansion. That is why they conquered the West Indies and the Americas and dominated high sea trade.
- f) Architectural skills. Masonry in Europe was at higher stage. Europe had developed skills in brick making and stone cutting that enabled them build towns and cities such as Florence, Amsterdam, Oxford, London and Birmingham. Well decorated high storied buildings were erected and transport infrastructures like roads, bridges and harbours were constructed.
- g) Discovery of medicine and disease prevention methods. Europe had made steps the study of medicine and could make medicines to combat diseases. Also disease control methods like quarantine were discovered to control epidemics. Quarantine as introduce in the in the 14th C to control the spread of the Bubonic plague.
- h) Paper making and printing press. Paper making technology was first invented in China. It reached Europe in 1056 and was first established in Islamic Spain in 1150. By the end of the 16th C, it had spread to entire Europe. The printing press was invented by the German Johannes Gutenberg around 1440 and by 1500, printing press operated throughout Western Europe and had already produced more than twenty million volumes. The tow gave birth to a strong reading culture and book world and above stimulated learning and discoveries.
- i) Development of Abstract Sciences. Such sciences include mathematics and physics as well as engineering sciences. Such skills later led to emergence of Metric systems of

weights and measures that improved the efficiency in the system of measurements. Also led to enormous discoveries that resulted to Industrial Revolution and improvement in the field of medicine.

Comparisons of the development of science and technology in Africa and Europe in the 15th C

Similarities;

1. Metal work technology. Africa and Europe were using iron and bronze technologies by the 15th C. Iron technology in the two continents came to wide use almost at the same, that is, at around 1500 BC as per archaeological findings. The use of metals revolutionised socio, economic and political lives in both continents.
2. Scientific agriculture. Both Africa and Europe had reached considerable developments in agriculture with the application of scientific methods in farming and animal husbandry. Scientific breeding in animals and irrigation for crop production in dry areas like Egypt.
3. Manufacturing industry. By the 15th C, the two had similar technologies in commodity production. The two were competing in making better cloth like in Guinea and Benin and England. Other industries shared were leather and glass making in which Morocco made better quality and Egypt made glass that they exported to Europe. Both operated guild system in manufacturing sector like in Benin, Timbuktu and Zimbabwe.
4. Both societies had developed skills in weapons making. Weapons were made for self state and people's security and expansionism and promotion of trade. Europe made firearms alongside ordinary weapons like spears and arrows made by Africans too.
5. Architectural skills. Both African and European societies had reached recognisable levels in masonry. They had developed skills in brick making and stone cutting which enabled them erect strong structures that developed towns and cities such Bagamoyo, Zanzibar, Alexandria, Timbuktu and Fez in Africa and Amsterdam, London and Paris in Europe.
6. Transport technology. They had developed marine transport with Europe making ships and marine compass and Africa making canoes and ability to read the sky to direct their sea routes. Also both had adopted animal transport with animals like horses and donkeys used.
7. Discovery of medicine. African as well as European societies had made recognised steps in the study of medicine. Commonly herbal medicine was used to fight disease and the quarantine method was used to control spread of diseases against humans and animals. From herbs Africans made medicines to prevent and combat diseases like malaria and diarrhoea.
8. Both Europe and Africa had not reached the level of capitalism. They were still under feudal relations of production though Europe was on initial stage of transitions to capitalism while many African societies were still under communalism with few already in feudalism.
9. Development of Abstract Sciences. African states, particularly Egypt, and European states were developing sciences of mathematics and physics and astronomy as well as engineering. Such skills led to inventions like the Metric systems of weights and measurement and telling of time (calendar).

Differences;

1. Europe had advanced transport technology. Western European states like England and France made stronger high-seas going ships and marine compass that facilitated them to explore the world to contact overseas lands like Africa and the New World. In Africa marine transport technology was at its infant stage. Only canoes could be made for fishing and making shorter water means distances.
2. In Western Europe the cottage industries and guild systems were more advanced than in those Africa. These industries produced larger quantities of higher quality goods for both domestic and foreign markets than the industries in Africa. For example glass ware, perfumes and firearms. With such superior goods, Europe was able to command trade globally.
3. In the case of weapon making, Europe was further ahead of Africa by making more sophisticated and deadly weapons, the firearms on top of usual weapons like arrows and spears. African societies still made ordinary weapons such as spears and arrows.
4. In the field of agriculture, Western Europe was adopting the enclosure system in which scientific breeding was applied on sheep and cattle to increase wool, hides and meat production. With land reclamation and mechanisation after invention of farm machines like ploughs and seed drills more land was opened for cultivation to increase food and raw material production. Africa had not developed enclosure system neither agriculture mechanisation due to low technological development.
5. In the field of agriculture, Western Europe had adopted scientific breeding that was applied on sheep to increase wool, hides and meat (mutton) production. It had also invented farm machines such as ploughs that opened more land for cultivation. Africa had not developed agriculture mechanisation due to low technological development.
6. Europe had invented paper and the printing press. By the 15th C, Europe was making paper and had printing presses. Due to this knowledge and learning was spreading fast in Europe. In Africa neither paper making nor printing press technologies were present. Egypt and Ethiopia that had started writing were writing on papyrus.
7. Abstract Sciences. Europe had reached a higher stage in developing sciences of mathematics like of algebra, physics and engineering. These led to development of Metric systems of weights that improved the efficiency in the system of measurements. Such sciences were less developed in Africa. It was mainly in Egypt and some states that embraced Islam.
8. Europe was at an advanced stage of feudalism, indeed Western Europe was switching to capitalism in the 15th C whilst most African societies was still communal, a few on transition to feudalism with only a few in Western Sudan like Mali and Songhai, in the Interlacustrine region like Karagwe and Buganda, Egypt and Ethiopia already feudal.

WIDENING GAP BETWEEN AFRICA AND EUROPE

The gap discussed here is the difference in the political, socio-economic and technological development between Africa and Europe. As already noted that by the 15th C, Africa and Europe were almost at par in matters of development but from the 15th C the gap between the two began to widen with Europe progressing further than Africa.

Marxist scholars, notably, Walter Rodney and others like V. I. Lenin and Samir Amin, specify that the widening gap and the subsequent underdevelopment of Africa is accredited to the development of capitalism and the contact of Africa with Europe from the 15th C by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. From that time, Africa remained stagnant principally due to unequal economic relationship which developed between her and Europe. The unbalance exchange and slave trade remain the core factors for the undesired widening gap.

Development by Europe from the 15th C that widened the gap between Europe and Africa

1. Agrarian Revolution. The fundamental changes made in farming system from the 17th C led to exceptional increase in agricultural output due application of scientific methods. Scientific breeding in sheep increase wool production that boosted textile production. The use of machines like ploughs under the enclosure system increased food production and population.
2. Demographic Revolution. This is the rapid population growth. Europe underwent this revolution between the 17th and 18th centuries. Its population rapidly expanded, to other countries it doubled and others went beyond due improved standards of living. This development expanded labour and market and by that it stimulated production and trade.
3. Transport Revolution. The unprecedented invention here was the marine technology that was concerned with the making of high-sea going vessels, marine compass, astrolabes, among others. The technology helped Western European powers such as Portugal, Spain, Britain, and France explore the world, acquire colonies and discover sources of wealth. The new technologies that followed included the locomotive and automobiles.
4. Commercial Revolution. The revolution known as Mercantilism was the European foreign trade system driven by the desire for collection of bullions from the 15th to 18th C. By the aid of marine technology, western European states like England, Spain and France, discovered new sources of wealth - bullions and raw materials like in the New World where they acquired colonies. By its primitive means of capital accumulation such as unequal exchange, plundering, piracy and slavery Western Europe acquired enormous wealth that sparked off the Industrial Revolution.
5. Political Revolutions. The bourgeoisie revolutions that Europe underwent notably, the English Revolution (1640-89) and French Revolution (1789) significantly transformed Europe. They brought in Bourgeoisie governance that discarded the retrogressive feudal system. Remarkably also, the revolutions ushered in democratic governance that encouraged competition and development.
6. Industrial Revolution. The revolution that began in England from 1750s marked a change in production methods from hand tools to machines. It was due to invention and application of advanced technological techniques with the use of engine driven machines in production which replaced the cottages industries. The revolution fundamentally energised economic, social, and political life of Europe to dominate and exploit the world.
7. Colonial expansion. Western European states notably Britain, France, Spain and Portugal first acquired external colonies in the Caribbean and Americas during the mercantile (15th to 18th C) and later in the 19th C in Africa and Asia. As the colonial system drained the colonised lands that included Africa of their invaluable resources; bullions, raw materials and cheap labour, it enriched Western Europe that robbed the resource from them.

Factors for the widening gap between Africa and Europe

In summary the widening development gap between Africa and Europe from the 15th C was due the following factors.

1. Mercantilism. This was the first stage in the development of capitalism and European foreign trade with overseas lands like Africa, the Americas and Caribbean European mercantile nations plundered the New World and Africa and by means of unequal exchange amassed wealth. The system was destructive to Africa that lost its valuable wealth of bullions, labour (slaves) and raw materials such as the forest products like rubber, wood and palm oil. It was the origin of technological and trade stagnation and dependence.

Role of Mercantilism in widening the development gap between Africa and Europe

- a) Mercantilism brought technology stagnation due to; importation of European manufactured goods to Africa which denied African local industries market due to their high quality and slave trade which eroded African skilled craftsmen and artisans to the New World for labour.
- b) Exploitation of resources from Africa that was done through unequal exchange where Africans valuable resources like gold, silver and ivory and labour (slaves) were taken by European merchants for cheap European manufactured goods such as, beads and cloth.
- c) Decline of inter African trading system that were overshadowed by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Both local and regional trading patterns like the Trans-Saharan trade which boomed before mercantilism declined since many Africans preferred trading with the European merchants other than fellow African societies and the Middle East.
- d) The system led to the downfall of some states. Some states crumbled by attacks from more powerful states for slaves and wealth like gold and silver needed by European traders. Slave trade also robbed them of their badly needed labour force for development. Mercantilism spread diseases to Africa. Interaction with the European merchants exposed Africans to diseases such as small pox, measles, syphilis and gonorrhea carried by European merchants. Since then, the diseases have been claiming lot of lives in Africa and consume a lot state funds in fighting them.
- e) It led to depopulation with a large number of African productive youths ageing between 15 and 35 shipped to the Americas as slaves. Additionally famine, raids and wars of slave capture also claimed lives of many Africans. Surely, numerous cultures lost generations of their fittest, young and able due slave trade.
- f) Mercantilism contributed to the distortion of African culture and heritage. In contacting Europeans, many Africans adopted European ways of life like languages and dressing codes. Embracing new culture meant subjection to foreign interference and dependence.
- g) It exposed Africa to the future colonization of Africa. Through mercantilism, Africans economic potentialities such as minerals, fertile lands and abundant labour were uncovered to the European nations. After industrial revolution, European industrial powers viewed Africa as a solution to their industrial demands.
- h) In contacting the European merchants, some Africans adopted Christianity. This brought a new aspect in Africa, that created divisions based on religions as societies were torn apart between Christians and Non Christians.

Therefore mercantilism integrated Africa into capitalist economic system by which Africa is robbed of her precious human and physical resources. It disturbed Africa's economic and socio-political settings and ushered in a period technological stagnation and dependence.

How Mercantilism benefited Europe

- a) Amassment of wealth by European mercantile powers such as Britain, France and Spain particularly bullions by exploiting other continents, mainly Africa and the New World through unequal exchange, plundering and slavery. The wealth was the capital they invested in other sectors like industry.
- b) Mercantilism contributed to the advancement of European science and technology beginning with the Marine technology which was its backbone. It also stimulated Industrial Revolution by increased invention so as to meet the increasing market demands of their domestic and overseas markets.
- c) It led to the development of ports, towns and cities. City ports like Liverpool, Manchester, Marseilles and Amsterdam developed as commercial centres and landing sites handling commodities to and from the overseas. Other towns like Yorkshire, Lancashire and Paris developed as manufacturing centres producing trading items.
- d) Mercantilism led to development of financial institutions. This was due to increased accumulation of wealth by the merchants. Banks such as Barclays (1756) and insurance houses were born. They encouraged trade by providing capital in forms of loans and credits.
- e) It provided Europe with abundant cheap labour. Through Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the trade known for its greatest human trafficking, millions of African slaves were exported to the New Worlds to provide cheap labour in the capitalist established mines and plantations.
- f) The system acquired European states colonies. European mercantile states made colonial expansion in the New Worlds. For example; Britain possessed the 13 North American colonies, Jamaica and Trinidad; Portugal had Brazil, Spain had Mexico, Argentina, Chile and etc. Colonies were exploited as sources of bullions, raw materials and markets.
- g) It gave rise and expansion of commercial classes of merchants. Expansion of local and overseas trade attracted many to abandon their old activities in favour of trade. This led to the rise of a rich aristocratic merchant class which transformed Europe to capitalism.
- h) Opened and strengthened trans-continental links. Mercantilism established ties between Europe and other continents like Africa, the Americas, Asia and Australia that still exist. The links provide Europe with wider trading and exploitation zones.
- i) Mercantile states such as Britain, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal emerged into powerful states in the world economically and politically due to huge wealth accumulated by exploiting other continents during mercantilism. Mercantilism was largely responsible for Industrial Revolution.

2. Slave trade. While the notorious slave trading activities of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade enriched European nations with wealth from the lucrative trade in slaves and abundant cheap labour to work in their colonial plantations and mines in the Americas and Caribbean, it drained Africa of its large number of valuable manpower 'Which would have been vital for her prosperity. It led to depopulation and serious economic and technological retardation.

Role of slave trade in widening development gap between Africa and Europe

- a) Slave trade led to depopulation. A large number of African productive youths ageing between 15 and 35 were shipped to the Americas and Caribbean as slaves. The lost African labour force was taken to enrich European powers.
- b) Slave trade was responsible for technological stagnation in Africa. The trade robbed Africa of its energetic labour that included skilled craftsmen and artisans. Also, the overflow of European manufactured goods that were exchanged for slaves in Africa killed the market for the locally manufactured goods and that led to the death of local technologies.
- c) Decline of the inter-African trading system. Both local and regional trading patterns that boomed before slave trade declined and their positions were occupied by the slave trade system across the Atlantic. Trade in slaves proved more lucrative than trade in natural items like agricultural goods.
- d) Downfall of some states. Some states crumbled by attacks from more powerful states for slaves and wealth like gold and silver needed by European traders. Slave trade also robbed them of their badly needed labour force for their development.
- e) Rise of a state of fear and insecurity. Slave trade devastated African societies by introducing guns which encouraged frequent inter-society wars for slave raiding. Societies were destabilized hence could hardly concentrate on economic development.
- f) Slave trade led to the occurrence of famine due to agricultural decline caused by destabilizations by frequent slave raiding. Suddenly also slave trade led to labour shortage in farms and over-concentration of many societies on trade and abandoning agriculture.
- g) African families were torn apart. Countless African families were torn apart as some members were captured and exported to the New World as slaves while the lucky ones who escaped slavery in the New Worlds remained in Africa as shocked lonely remnants.
- h) Slave trade paved way for the colonization of Africa. The Atlantic Slave Trade exposed Africa's economic potentials such as minerals, fertile lands and abundant labour to the European nations. After Industrial Revolution, European industrial powers viewed Africa as a solution to their industrial demands. Moreover, the trade deprived Africa of its energetic youth that led to depopulation that weakened resistance against European colonial invasion.

3. Colonialism. This was the crudest means of exploitation responsible for boosting Europe higher and holding Africa back. The system was the heaviest blow to Africa's development. It profoundly destroyed the self-sufficient economic and technological development in Africa. Massive labour and resource exploitation done by colonial powers by siphoning large amounts of land resources like cash crops, and minerals to Europe. The bitter repercussion however, was the consolidation of dependence syndrome on which neo-colonialism survives.

Role of colonialism in the widening the development gap between Africa and Europe

- a) Exploitation of resources was the major agenda of colonialism. Massive land resources, notably, cash crops and minerals were cheaply acquired from the colonies and siphoned to Europe to enrich metropolitan countries. Moreover, such crude exploitation was done by using African labour that was forced to bear with forceful labour with punitive punishments and the poorest pay and working conditions.

- b) Colonial education was another tool for underdevelopment in Africa. It was education for mental retardation, dependence and westernisation. It left a scar of brainwashing Africans and certainly most of its recipients are more of westernised people than true elites. The education is not scientifically and technologically oriented like that provided in Europe and so fixed African for dependence on western powers.
- c) Colonialism led to technological retardation in Africa. Better quality items imported in to the colonies phased-out local industries from production. Along with that Africans were prohibited from making certain items and punitive punishments that included amputation, flogging and imprisonment were put on those who did not comply with the directives.
- d) Moreover, colonialism implanted divisionism in Africa. Internationally, African states were divided along the alliances of their colonial master to become for example Anglo-Phones or Franco-phones. Internally they were divided into regional, racial and religious lines that exposed them to regional imbalance, religious conflicts, civil wars and inter-state wars.
- e) Colonial system destroyed African trading system. Local and regional trading systems between African societies were substituted with the exploitative unbalanced colonial export-import trade. In the process African self-sustaining economies were weakened as the continent was turned towards dependence on exportation of raw materials cheaply and importation of expensive manufactured goods from Europe.
- f) Colonialism destroyed Africa's political systems. Colonialism destroyed the well systematic independent pre-colonial African political systems and replaced by new system that served as appendage to metropolitan countries in Europe while African chiefs served as colonial servants. The political systems inherited from the colonial masters have indeed set the continent into political and economic crises that have indeed destabilised African countries.
- g) Colonialism was responsible for culture alienation in Africa. African culture was distorted for Africans to embrace western culture like dressing codes and eating styles. Adoption of foreign culture has some economic complications, it changed African consumption styles and brainwashed Africans by strengthening their dependence on Europe.

4. Neo-colonialism. This is an indirect continuation of colonialism in Third World to maintain foreign control and exploitation. Neo-colonialism maintains unbalanced terms of trade as the Western imperialist countries control world market and exploits Africa by price fixing; it also maintains technological backwardness like through dumping. Western powers also engineer political instabilities to plant puppet regimes, make business by selling arms and retard economic progress in Africa. Above all, they dictate policies that have kept Africa behind.

5. Globalization. This is the means of making the world a single global village. It is aided by the wide advancement of technology in the fields of transport and communication systems aided by invention of the internet. Though such developments are useful, they are on the other hand used to undermine development efforts and independence of Third World countries. They are used by developed powers to spy the Third World, sabotage plans and incite political-economic chaos; are a means of culture distortion. Through social media, dubious habits like homosexuality, prostitution, rape and drug use are encouraged in Africa.

Role of neo-colonialism and globalisation in the widening gap between Africa and Europe

- a) Foreign aid is most common method used by neo-colonial powers to keep Africa behind. The aid given is only for business purposes and has strings attached. Loans carry high interest and hard conditions which fail African debtor countries to benefit from them. In the end African countries are fixed into a cycle of debts. All these have fixed African countries into foreign control, drained their resource and made them dependants on foreign assistance.
- b) Foreign investments from imperialist states also have detrimental impacts of Africa. This is done to export finance capital by Multinational Corporations like Coca Cola, GBP and Unilever which are making abnormal profits of which the largest part is repatriated to their mother countries. According to UN data, total foreign direct investments in Africa hit \$ 43.4 billion in 2011 and had increased to \$ 45.8 billion in 2013 that explains how it still counts as a major means of draining resources like minerals and labour from Africa.
- c) Control of world market by imperialist countries to maintain trade imbalance against Africa is another major strategy used to exploit Africa. They fix low prices for primary goods like minerals, and agricultural goods exported by African countries and higher prices of manufactured goods imported by Third World countries from them.
- d) The education system most African countries are still stuck on, are of the colonial type. Most syllabuses are Western based and some courses trained in colleges and universities are irrelevant to Africa. Education provided is lacking a pragmatic approach and the medium of instructions maintained are the colonial masters' languages. Indeed education systems are still serving the imperialist interests like mental retardation and cultural transfusion.
- e) Political interference by neo-colonial powers is another stumbling block. Western imperialist powers dictate constitutional changes on African countries to put systems of their favour. They stir political instabilities in forms of border conflicts, secessionist movements like in Nigeria (1967) and Sudan, coup d'états to overthrow anti-western regimes like the coup d'état that overthrew Kwame Nkrumah in 1966 and the civil war—that led to the overthrow and murder of Muammar Gaddafi in 2011. The instabilities that are also engineered for business to sale old military technology have put Africa's development at stake.
- f) Technological restrictions by imperialist powers. Western powers do all in their capability to monopolise technological development and maintain low technological development in Africa. For instance Libya was prohibited to develop nuclear technology by western imperialist powers. By use of patent and trade marks they restrict African countries making same products they manufacture. Also is dumping of old technology in Africa.
- g) The rising expatriate syndrome and brain drainage is also a block to development in Africa. There is dependence on experts from imperialist powers for technical assistances. The experts demand huge salaries and higher facilitations like expensive vehicles and repatriate large parts of aid given. In the same way Africa lose large parts of their scarce skilled labour to the very developed countries where they fly to in search for greener pastures.
- h) Cultural imperialism is another element. Official languages adopted by most African countries are colonial languages which were intended to consolidate foreign culture and

divisions and maintain dependence on the western powers. Moreover, dubious tendencies like homosexuality, prostitution and awkward dressing styles, are enforced on Africa directly through threats and cut off aid and indirectly through novels, magazines, movies and social media which also portray Westerners as superior to all others peoples.

Role of Africa in the widening gap with Europe

It is unwise to shift the whole blame on Europe and the developed world for Africa's economic, technological and political problems and stagnation. To a certain recognisable degree Africa is responsible for her slow progress. The discussion below supports the argument.

- 1) Low scientific and technology development. Little efforts have been put on science education and research to encourage technological development. As a result, economic sectors like agriculture and industry have remained backward. Due to this, Africa has remained dependant on developed countries for expensive technology and manufactured goods.
- 2) Mono-culture. Most African countries are failing to break away from one-product economies inherited from colonialists. They are mostly agro-based and moreover depend on exportation of single cash crops such as Ghana and Ivory Coast on cocoa. Others depend on only mining of a single product like Zambia with copper. With low diversification Africa is disadvantaged in international trade due to frequent fall in the world prices of their main products.
- 3) Political Instabilities. Many African Countries suffer from civil wars, border conflicts, secessionist wars and imperialist invasions like on Libya (2011). Some of the worse wars were in Ethiopia, DRC, Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola and Mozambique. Political chaos is also caused by Anti-West fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaida and Al-Shabab. The instabilities ruin Africa's economies and indeed cripple economic growth.
- 4) Education System. Most African countries are still embracing the largely irrelevant education systems inherited from the colonial masters. Indeed education offered is more unrealistic. It lacks practical, scientific and technological orientation needed for development of innovative skills to its recipients and thus does not directly cater for the prevailing needs of Africa. For example it doesn't stress on agriculture yet it is the backbone of most African countries.
- 5) Poor planning and poor implementation of plan. Planning does not correspond with available resources leading to deficit budgets and borrowing. With that, there is poor utilisation of resources. For example having broader government structures than required and many professionals in politics yet there is general lack of sufficient skilled labour like doctors, engineers and teachers.
- 6) Corruption. This is a great obstacle to Africa's development. Corruption is mainly due to selfish attitude held by some officials who embezzle state income into their pockets to amass wealth for their own individualistic purposes than to cater for the public needs. Worse of all, embezzled funds are either invested or banked in foreign countries where they mainly benefit citizens of those countries leaving nationals of where the money comes from suffering.
- 7) Slow Infrastructure development. Poor development of social and economic infrastructure contributes to the widening gap. Large parts of African countries are

remote; lacking efficient transport and communication systems to propel economic progress. That has contributed to poor economies particularly trade, agriculture and industry. Also, social infrastructure like hospitals and schools are inadequate contributing to poor health and ignorance.

- 8) Poor disease and disaster control. Africa is always hit with diseases mostly malaria and AIDS and natural calamities such as drought, floods and earth quakes like in Kagera region of Tanzania in 2016. The two claims a lot of labour force and compel governments to spend their scarce money on controlling them. In conjunction to that the natural hazards contribute to economic retardation by destroying infrastructure and agriculture.
- 9) Rapid population increase. African countries' population is said to be growing faster than governments' abilities to cater for it more sufficiently. Alongside its rapid growth, a large part of this population is in the dependant group of age 1-17 years and poor, lacking adequate basic needs like shelter and food. With such population structure governments are burdened to spend large parts of incomes on social needs and subsidies on their poor populations.

Impacts of the widening gap between Africa and Europe

Impact on Africa

- 1) Dependence. The development gap between Africa and Europe planted and consolidated the dependence syndrome in Africa since the 15th C. African since then depends on Europe for technology (manufactured goods) and market for her primary goods like minerals and cash crops.
- 2) Technological retardation. As the development gap widened, technological development in that. Goods from Europe were superior in quality; this made locally manufactured goods lose market and thus local technology declined.
- 3) Exploitation of resources. This exploitation is mainly through unequal exchange by which Africa exchanged high valued goods like minerals and raw materials for cheap manufactured goods from the capitalist world. Untold exploitation was done under the colonialism and now by neo-colonialism.
- 4) Colonisation and neo-colonialism on Africa. Industrial Revolution led to the gap between Africa and Europe. The revolution led to competition for industrial demands such as raw materials and market that pushed imperialist powers to invade and colonise Africa to acquire the demands. After independence, the system transformed to neo-colonialism.
- 5) Africa has been made a dumping place of the developed world. Due to her low technology Africa has been made market for old technologies such as military technology, automobiles and garments that are imported to her from the developed countries at low prices or given as donations.
- 6) Culture distortion. The feeling of inferiority implanted to Africans due the widening gap, colonialism and neo-colonialism has led to culture distortion in the continent. Africans are ready to adopt all sorts of cultural norms from the west due their inferiority complex.

The consequences of the widening gap have subjected Africa to poverty. The dependence on developed world has undermined the sovereignty of African states. Through their technological

advancement the developed world has continued plundering the continent to tap valuable resources like minerals and cash crops at low costs.

Impact on Europe

The widening gap works in favour of Europe and the entire developed world in general and so, it has positive impacts on Europe.

- 1) Building colonial empires. The material and technological developments in Western Europe since the 15th C enabled them conquer backward societies. States like Spain, Portugal, England, and France first possessed colonies in the Caribbean and America, then later, from the last part of the 19th C in Africa. Colonisation acquired Europe wealth in forms of cheap raw materials, markets and expanded investment horizons.
- 2) Exploitation of resources. Europe intensely exploits less developed countries by means of unequal exchange due to her technological advancement. Africa exchange precious high valued goods like Africa became stagnant. The importation of European manufactured goods in the content largely accounts for minerals and raw materials for cheap technology and manufactured goods from the capitalist world.
- 3) Technological advancement. Europe has made serious strides in science and technology due to the dependence of the less developed world on her for technology needs. The reliance of less developed world on supplies of manufactured goods from Europe motivates European manufactures make more inventions to march the expanding domestic and external markets.
- 4) Market expansion. As the development and technological widening gathered pace, Europe became the workshop of the world. She became the supplier of manufactured goods and made the world her market to dispose her excess goods.
- 5) Rise of powerful states. Powers that dominated world politics and economies first emerged in Europe due to their political, economic and technology advancement. Major Western European states such as Britain and France plundered the world collecting wealth and acquired colonies from which they cheaply gathered the largest amount resources that enriched them.
- 6) Neo-colonialism. The widening gap has strengthened neo-colonial system. Imperialist powers, maintain a strong hand on Third World to keep them stagnant and maintain exploitation. Neo-colonialism operates by a number of means including foreign aid, control of world market and engineering political instabilities by the western developed powers.

Unless the exploitative chains with the imperialist developed countries are broken, it will be very difficult for Africa to develop. Africa should unite on matters concerning their welfare and prosperity. Moreover, it should be known that relationship between Africa and the developed countries is exploitative. European countries use their economic, technological and political development to exploit the Africa.

Sample — revision question

1. Discuss four roles and four impacts of trade on pre colonial African societies.

2. Explain six significances of exchange in the society
3. Show three similarities and three difference in the African and trading system in the 15th c
4. Elaborate six effects of the Long Distance trade in the political and economic development East and central Africa up to the 19th century. (NECTA 2013)
5. By using six points, analyse the impact of the intercontinental trade on the development of European political, social and economic systems in the 15th century. (NECTA 2016)
6. Analyse the social impact of trade contacts between Europe and Africa in the 15th century. (Give three points for each continent). (NECTA 2017)
7. Explain the level of political development in Africa and Western Europe in the 15th century.
8. Analyse three similarities and three differences between African and European feudal system during the 15th century. (NECTA 2015)
9. Show in six points the level of technological development reached by Africa in 15th century.
10. Compare and contrast the level of development of science and technology between African and European societies in the 15th century.
11. Analyse the factors which contributed to the rise of the gap in development between western Europe and Africa since the 15th century
12. Discuss the factors for the rise of the gap between Western Europe and Africa between the 17th and 19th centuries.
13. Elaborate eight factors that favoured the development of Europe at the expense of Africa between the 15th and 20th centuries. (NECTA 2012)
14. Discuss six factors which accelerated disparity in development between Africa and Western Europe from the 15th century. (NECTA 2014)
15. Marine technology played a big role in the widening of the gap between Africa and Europe. Comment with six arguments.
16. By the 15th century African societies were developing in the line with western European societies. Analyse the statement with clear evidences.
17. Despite Africa and Europe were almost at the same level of development in the 15th C, Europe was ahead of Africa in some aspects. Show the validity of the statement in six points.
18. Analyse the social, political and economic development attained by Africa by the 15th C.
19. Use six points to distinguish the level of development between Africa and Europe in the 15th century. (NECTA — Private Candidates 2015)
20. Africa developed Western Europe, in the same proportion Western Europe underdeveloped Africa. Justify.

TOPIC THREE

PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN IN THE NEW WORLD

The *New World* refers to the Americas and Caribbean Islands (West Indies). They were called New World because they were unknown to Europeans before the accidental arrival on them by European sailors led by Christopher Columbus in the late 15th C (1492) — yet the European had already reached other overseas parts of the world like Africa.

The *People of African origin* in the New World were the African slaves who were forcefully taken from Africa by the cruel European merchants to the New World for slavery during the *Atlantic Slave Trade* and their descendants who are still living in the Americas and Caribbean. They are also referred to as *African People in Diaspora* — they are preferably known as *Black People or the Negroes* by the White racists.

Brief background

The accidental arrival at the New World by European sailors, led by Christopher Columbus was on the background of economic competition between European kingdoms to establish trade routes. Columbus' voyages were sponsored by the Spanish Crown, which saw in it a chance to enter the spice trade with Asia through a new westward route. During his first voyage in 1492, instead of arriving in Japan as he had intended, Columbus reached the New World, landing on an island in the Bahamas that he named "San Salvador." Over the course of three more voyages of 1492, 1493, 1498 and 1502 Columbus visited more Caribbean islands and Central America, claiming all of it for the Spanish Crown. European traders could no longer travel by land to India and Far East due to conflicts between the Europeans and the Persians.

Columbus' voyages marked the beginning of centuries of transatlantic European exploration, conquest and colonization of the New World and enslavement of Africans. The great economic potentials of the New World led Europeans to establish plantations and mines of the greatly needed precious metals of gold and silver there. The labour problems encountered by them culminated in the Atlantic Slave Trade through which millions of African slaves found themselves in the New World. The powers that colonised the New World and conducted the Atlantic Slave Trade included; Spain, Portugal, England, France and Holland.

The Caribbean Islands are known as the "West Indies" because Columbus lost his way and accidentally landed in the Caribbean islands. So because the intention was to get to East Indies, the Caribbean islands were named the West Indies being found in the west.

THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY AND SLAVE TRADE

Slave trade was the most notoriously inhuman exchange in the human history. With it human beings are exchanged as objects of production for simple manufactured goods. The notable of the slave trading system was the *Trans-Atlantic Slave trade*. Slavery is the act of being enslaved.

The Columbus discovery of great economic potential of the New World (1492) was swiftly followed by arrival of a large number of European mercantile capitalists to open up plantations and mining activities.

1. The voyages were successful due to the advancement of maritime technology by western European capitalist powers of Spain, Portugal, England, Holland, England and France.
2. The Europeans tried to enslave the Red Indians. This however, proved failure due to the fact that these people could not tolerate the hard working conditions in plantations and mines and so many died and many escaped because they were familiar with environment
3. The Europeans went back to their home countries to find labour solutions. Those with social problems such as criminals, indebted and poor people were carried to the New World. This however, failed because of the fear to under-populate their nations. Together with that, European labour could not tolerate the harsh labour and tropical conditions and diseases.
4. Plantations and mine owners desperate for massive vigorous labour force which the Red Indians and European labour failed to satisfy, then turned to Africa slaves as the final alternative source of cheap labour. In the process millions of energetic young Africans were ferried to the New World for slavery.
5. The need for African slaves gave birth to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Through this notorious inhuman trade by European nations, more than 10 million energetic young Africans were ferried to the New World to provide cheap free labour to European plantations and mines.
6. The journey to the New World was a difficult one to African slaves. For every four or three slaves one died before reaching the New World due to suffocation, congestion, hunger and diseases. Those who died on the way or the sick and rebellious ones were sunk thrown in the sea for sharks to enjoy their flesh. While in transit slaves were packed in the ships like goods.
7. On reaching America, African slaves started a new life of extreme horrible lifelong torture. Their new masters stamped their backs with the red hot iron for his identification; in case of sickness or rebellion, they were buried alive, shot to death, hanged, flogged or sent to exile and; they were given little food to survive on. Women slaves experienced all sorts of sexual abuse and harassment like rape was common. They were used to reproduce more slavers.

Transition from Native American and European labour to labour to African slaves

As already noted, African slaves were the third and final form of labour used by European colonisers in America and the Caribbean. In the beginning the European tried to enslave the natives of the New World - the Red Indians. After failure to use the Red Indians, the Europeans turned to European free and un-free labour, that is, the Indentured and the criminal and outcasts from the early 16th C before turning to African slaves as the last resort to the labour problem and to satisfy their increasing labour demands in their booming capitalist agriculture and mining.

Problems associated with the Red Indians and European labour

The two forms of labour were inefficient and with a lot of problems that failed plantation and mine owners to exploit them to the maximum.

The Red Indians;

- a. They were unreliable. Since they were familiar with the environment, the Red Indians could easily escape torture — harsh treatment in plantations and mines.
- b. They were not much vigorous for manual labour. The Red Indians died in large number due to overwork, torture and exhaustion in plantations and mines.
- c. They were much susceptible to diseases. The Red Indians were weak in resistance against unfamiliar European diseases such as smallpox and syphilis and therefore died in large numbers. By the end of the first century of the European contact 90 per cent or more of the Red Indians had been wiped out by European diseases or harsh treatment.

European indentured labour

European labour was of two forms: the ***free labour*** which comprised of the poor, jobless and other fortune seekers who were encouraged to move to the New World to try their luck there; and the ***unfree labour*** of the prisoners, criminals, debtors and other outcasts. These had the following problems

- a. *They were also unreliable.* They served for a limited time; prisoners demanded for their freedom at the expiry of sentence time and the poor could leave after acquiring capital. Others purchased land and started business on their own. Others could also runaway from plantations and mines and disguise themselves to other Europeans.
- b. *It was expensive labour* The European free labour demanded for higher payments and together with the unfree labour demanded for better conditions of work like better housing.
- c. *It was also susceptible to disease.* European labour was vulnerable to tropical diseases particularly malaria which they were not familiar with hence many died.
- d. *Climate.* Working in the tropics was difficult to Europeans. They could hardly persevere with the hot temperatures in the tropic because they were used to temperate climate in Europe.
- e. *It was hard to exploit them to the maximum.* European labour was protected by laws of their home governments hence could sue employers in case of mistreatment.
- f. *Awareness.* European labour was somehow conscious. They knew their rights and demanded for them. For example right to bargain for better pay and to rest.
- g. *Limited number of European labourers.* They could be provided by their states in small numbers in fear of under populating their countries.

With the above explanations, the Red Indians and European labour could not provide cheap and reliable labour force to plantation and mine owners in the New World. The solution was with African slaves who they had experimented with and proved to be cheap and reliable and could realise maximum benefits from them.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 15-19th Century

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, 15-19th Century linked three regions; Europe, Africa and the New World. It developed during mercantilism, a European foreign trade and first stage in the development of capitalism - Africa and the New World were victims of exploitation.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was the means by which the People of African descent came to be found in the New World. Indeed by it, the largest continental migration in the world history came to happen with a big number of African slaves shipped to the Americas and the Caribbean to labour in the European opened plantations and mines. The magnitude of slave exportation during the trade was very big and went on increasing year after year. Between 1530 and 1600 about 13,000 slaves were exported per year. The number rose to about 27,500 in the 17th century and about 70,000 in the 18th century. By 1800 it had increased to 145,000 slaves per year.

How the trade was conducted

The trade operated between three continents (regions) of Europe, Africa and the New World (Caribbean and Americas) along triangular routes dictated by the European merchants. It was the European merchants who journeyed from their home ports to contact Africa and the Caribbean and the Americas.

The first route was from Europe to Africa, transporting European made goods like cloth, cheap ornaments like earrings, beads and necklaces, guns, gun powder, and alcohol to be exchanged for slaves (and other goods like cola nuts, palm oil and bullions shipped directly to Europe). The second route of the triangle was 'the Middle Passage', European merchants transported human cargo (slaves) from West Africa across the Atlantic to the Americas and the Caribbean for resale to plantations and mines owners.

The third route was from the Americas and the Caribbean to Europe. Goods transported included, sugar, tobacco, cotton and rice from the plantations and minerals especially gold and silver to feed the European industries. A single ship setting out from Europe completed three stages of the triangle in its voyage, each with its own separate cargo, before finally returning to its home port in Europe.

The Middle Passage usually took more than seven weeks. Once on shipboard, slaves, mostly the males, were shackled and chained together and forced to lie shoulder to shoulder. There was limited space to move or even to answer the call of nature, forcing the captives to urinate and defecate upon each other. They were packed together like books upon a shelf, so close that the shelf would not easily contain one more. Conditions within the slave ships were unspeakably awful. Urine, vomit, mucous, and horrific odours filled the hold.

Men and women were separated. Generally female captives were kept on the upper deck unchained to entertain the ship's crew and to cook and serve food to the men captives who were restrained in the ship's hold. Women slaves were subject to inhuman acts like rape. During the voyage, the enslaved Africans were typically fed only once or twice a day and brought on deck for limited times for forceful exercise.

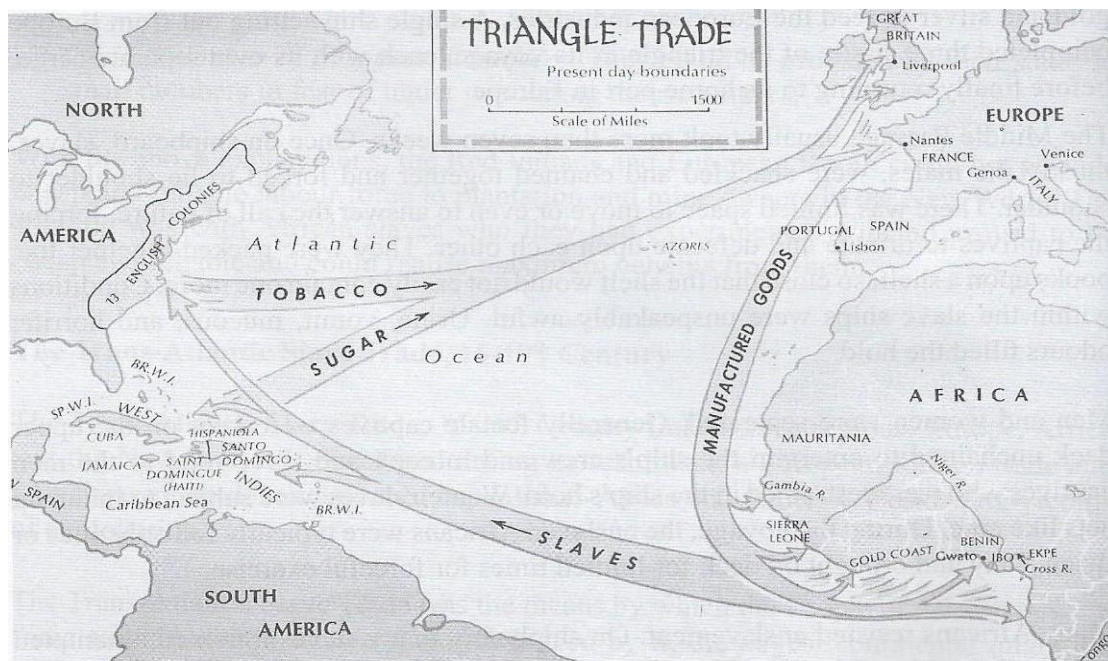
Many Africans resisted enslavement. On shipboard, many slaves mutinied, attempted suicide, jumped overboard when they got chance, or refused to eat. To prevent their captives from starving themselves, slavers sometimes smashed out their teeth and a funnel was inserted down their throat to force feed them. Some captains actually cut off the arms and legs of a few kidnapped Africans. The death rate on these slave ships was very high, between 10 and 25 - as a result of torture, malnutrition, dehydration and such diseases as dysentery, measles, scurvy, and smallpox. Diarrhoea was widespread and many Africans arrived in the New World covered with sores or suffering fevers.

The background of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

The influence of booming capitalist agriculture and mining in the Caribbean and Americas forced the European colonisers turned to African slaves after failing to profitably use the Red Indians and European labour. Their experience proved that African slaves were not only cheap but also reliable for enslavement. That marked the massive Trans-Atlantic trade in human cargo.

From early 16th C slaves were directly shipped from West Africa to the New World with the first batch shipped in 1518 by the Portuguese. The Portuguese were immediately joined by the Spaniards, Dutch, British and French. The more the colonies were acquired and plantations and mines established, the more the volume of human cargo went on expanding that by the 17th C about 1.8 million slaves had been shipped to the New World.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE TRANS — ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE



Between 1650 and 1860, approximately 10 to 15 million enslaved Africans were shipped from western Africa to the Americas. Most were taken to West Indies, Central America and South America.

Factors for the rise of Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

1. Development of maritime technology. The technology enabled making of stronger high sea-going vessels and compass direction to direct voyages. Advancement of this technology made overseas journeys to contact distant lands and allowed easy transportation of goods across high seas. Such developments enabled European merchants make successful voyages across the Atlantic.
2. Discovery of the New World. The accidental landing of Christopher Columbus on the West Indies and the Americas was paramount for existence of the Atlantic trade. The new found lands were discovered to be of greater economic importance to prompt colonisation by the European states like England, Spain, France and Portugal to exploit the rich resources. The need for cheap reliable labour in plantations and mines led to African enslavement.
3. Low machine making technology. By the 15th C no significant machines had been invented to handle vigorous tasks in mines and plantations. Machines in use were inefficient to meet the increasing demands of the mercantile states which were in intense competition. To that effect, a large amount of cheap and reliable human labour was to be availed from Africa to work in plantations and mines.
4. Profitability of trade in slaves. European merchants accrued unanimous profits in dealing with slaves. Slaves were acquired cheaply in Africa in exchange of cheap manufactured goods such as cloths and guns from Europe and exchanged in the New World for abundant expensive items like bullions and raw materials like sugar, tobacco and tea which were badly demanded in Europe.
5. The prior knowledge of Africans' abilities by the Europeans. Since 1440s Portuguese explorers like Phillip Gonzales had carried some Africans to Europe where they were enslaved and proved physically efficient for manual duties. Also after the conquest of Atlantic islands of Principe and Sao Tome, the Portuguese used African slaves to work in their sugar plantations there. With such experience, when the experiment on the Red Indians and European labour in the New World proved profitably wrong, the Europeans with conviction knew African slaves would provide the needed cheap labour efficiently.
6. The role played by African chiefs. Local rulers in Africa were crucial for the development of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. They took all the risks in slave raids in the interior and transported them to the coast where the European merchants who by then never entered the interior of Africa found them to be exchanged for the cheap goods like firearms that local rulers and traders needed from them.
7. Nearness of the Atlantic African coast. Geographically the Atlantic coast of Africa is closer to Western Europe, the West Indies, and Americas. With shorter sea journeys European merchants made more trade trips annually and reduced risks of long sea journeys. By that, more slaves were annually transported to the New Worlds and more bullions and raw materials from the New Worlds to Europe.
8. Possession of capital by the European merchants. By the start of the Trans-Atlantic trade, European wealthy classes had accumulated enough capital through primitive means like the crusades of the 11-12th centuries and enclosure system. It was this capital that was invested in ship building, cottage industries and purchasing trade items like slaves from Africa.

9. The role of mercantilism. Mercantilism led to insatiable demand for wealth by European nations. The intensive competition resulted into colonial conquest in the New Worlds and opening of plantations and mines of silver and gold which were highly needed in Europe. Such demands forced for increased importation of slaves from Africa.
10. The role of the crusades. These were wars sponsored by the church against the Muslim world in the 11 and 12th Centuries. The wars were first taken in 1095 by Pope Urban II. Due to endless invasions, the Muslims nations in the Middle East like the Persian Empire blocked land route from Europe to India where European nations had commercial interests. This forced Europeans search for an alternative sea route. By such efforts Vasco da Gama found the sea route to south and eastern Africa and India and Columbus landed in the New World.

Why the Europeans preferred African slaves

1. The fear to depopulate their own countries. European states could not allow large number of labour to the New World in fear of under populating their countries. Depopulation was dangerous to capitalist development and political stability of their nations. Large populations were needed at home to provide the required domestic market, cheap labour and defence.
2. Cheapness of African slaves. The slaves were bought at cheap prices in exchange of cheap goods like cloths from Europe and were cheaply maintained. They were not paid wages and fed and housed poorly. On the other hand, European labour was expensive. They demanded higher wages and better facilitations like housing. It is stated that the cost used to maintain a single slave for 30 years was not enough to maintain European labour for 10 years.
3. The racial factor. The Europeans were considered a master race destined to rule other “inferior-servant” races particularly the Africans. Therefore the Europeans believed that because they were a superior race, were not for manual (donkey) jobs but other races Africans in particular. The European labour and the Red Indians worked for a limited time.
4. The European labour demanded freedom at the end of their contracts or imprisonment terms. They could also escape and intermingle with other free Europeans or return to Europe. The Red Indians could escape from torture because of being familiar with the environment. African slaves could hardly escape or win freedom.
5. Climatic factor. The climate in the tropics was hard for European labour to work due to high temperatures since Europe has a temperate climate with lower temperatures. Besides being taken from the tropics in Africa, African slaves had proved to be adaptive to different climatic conditions.
6. The European labour knew their rights and demanded for them. For example, the right to bargain for better pay and demand for better working conditions. Similarly they were protected by their states’ laws against mistreatment — they could sue their employers for misconducts.
7. Africans proved to be more physically fit and more resistant to disease. African slaves could handle the hard work and torture in mines and plantations like long hours of work with heavy duties than the European and Red Indian labour. Likewise Africans were less

susceptible to diseases like small pox and syphilis brought from Europe and tropical diseases like malaria.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN IN THE NEW WORLD

To explain why the People of African Origin were shipped to the new founded lands of Caribbean and America the following have reason been analysed;

1. Advancement of maritime technology. This was characterised by making high-sea going vessels and marine compass. It indeed made voyages on high-seas possible to connect Europe, Africa and the New World through which slaves were easily moved from Africa to the New World to labour in European mines for bullions and plantations for raw materials.
2. The New World discovery and Europeans settlement there. The discovery of the Caribbean islands and Americans and their great economic potential by Christopher Columbus in 1492 attracted European colonisation and settlement. European colonists opened plantations and mines that demanded cheap and reliable labour from Africa.
3. Mercantilism. Mercantilism operated as European overseas trade between Europe, Africa and the New World. By its competition with primitive means of wealth accumulation and colonisation of the New World, it propelled slave trade by which millions of Africans were shipped to the New World for slavery in mines and plantations for collection of bullions and raw material.
4. Low machine technology. Europe had not invented advanced machines to provide desired efficient work in plantations and mines. This made them rely mainly on manual labour. It was this that called for a massive shipment of slaves from Africa to the New World. The more the plantations and mines were opened the more the slaves were needed.
5. The profitability of Trans-Atlantic trade. Trade in slaves was very lucrative to European merchants. They made huge profits by acquiring slaves from Africa cheaply in exchange for cheap goods like cloths and mirrors from Europe and traded them with plantation and mines owners in New World for dear items like bullions. The profitability of the trade encouraged more voyages to Africa for slaves.
6. Difficulties faced with earlier labour forms. The Red Indians and Europeans were the first form of labour to be worked by European colonists in the New World. They however, were susceptible to disease and could serve for a limited time. The Europeans were expensive and could start their own businesses when they acquired capital while the Red Indians could escape from torture. African slaves on the other side were reliable, cheap and resistance to diseases.
7. The role played by African chiefs. The local rulers in Africa were instrumental for the success of slave trade that exported millions of Africans to the New World. They carried the risks of acquiring slaves and transported them to the coast to be availed to the European merchants in exchange for cheap goods like guns.
8. The prior knowledge about Africans' abilities by the Europeans. Since 1440s the Portuguese had enslaved Africans in Europe and in their sugar plantations in Principe and Sao Tome since 1480s where Africans proved great capabilities for manual duties. With such knowledge, when the experiment on the Red Indians and European labour proved profitably wrong, the Europeans swiftly turned to African slaves for reliable labour.

9. The proximity of West Africa to Europe. Geographically, the Atlantic coast of Africa, specifically West Africa is near to Western Europe and the New World. This did not only reduce risks of sea voyages but also it was less costly in terms of shipping, making it easy to ferry more Africans the New World for slavery.
10. Religious explanation. Western writers claim that slavery was a form of civilization for the black people. By enslaving the Africans, the European therefore claimed to be carrying out a divine mission to civilise Africans. To further justify slavery on Africans, they referred to the biblical story of Noah and his sons, claiming that Africans are descendants of Shem, Noah's son who was cursed and whose descendants are to be servants to the descendants of the blessed Japheth and Seth from whom the European and Asians claim their origin.

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN IN THE NEW WORLD

1. The problems faced by people of African descent started from their capture as slaves, then at the coast while waiting for transportation, then on voyage to the New World and finally in their lifelong stay in the New World. These problems can be analysed as follows;
2. They were denied civil rights. The people of African origin were not recognised as legal citizen of the United States even after end of slavery. Hence they were not protected by the law and denied rights to freely and equally participate in political matters like voting or to be voted for. Thus could not run any political office and neither were they represented in the parliament (congress).
3. Exploitation. They suffered from untold exploitation of long working hours and child labour as children as young as 13 years were overworked. As slaves were not paid and after slavery were paid low wages. They faced appalling working conditions of torture, poor housing and feeding and suffered widespread employment discrimination especially after emancipation.
4. They were denied right to own properties. The people of African origin in the New World were not allowed to own property of any type such as land and houses. The aim was to keep them under abject poverty and maintain their dependence on the whites to maintain exploitation.
5. They lacked security at work. The people of African origins were not insured and not provided with protective gears like boots and gloves. This made them vulnerable to accidents. They also had poor accommodation and transport.
6. Racial segregation. By law, there were separate public facilities and services such as schools, shops, buses, houses and jobs for whites and blacks. Characteristically, those for the blacks were of poor quality. Indeed the blacks were regarded as subject worthless people who deserve no respect.
7. They were denied better social services. The people of African origin were provided with poor services like health and education to keep them under poor living standards and maintain their dependence on the whites through which exploitation was sustained. For instance, low education was provided to the blacks to keep them unaware of their rights and deny them chance to develop life skills.

8. They were subjected to foreign culture. In the time of slavery, African slaves were forced to abandon their original culture and adopt their masters' languages, culture and Christian identity. The slave masters put their names on their slaves and forced them to abandon their traditional names. Those caught practicing their culture like speaking their native languages and religions were heavily punished.
9. Violence. People of African origin faced violence from individuals, police, anti-black paramilitary organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, and mob racial violence. Lynching, beatings, whippings, tarring and feathering became usual on them. For instance between 1885 and 1917 over 2700 African American were lynched in the Southern state of USA.

THE RISE OF PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN'S NATIONALISM

The Afro-American Nationalism was the struggle of the People of African descent for freedom and civil and equal rights in America. The problems of extreme exploitation, oppression, segregation and all other forms of injustices encountered by the People of African origin in Diaspora, particularly in America enlightened them and raised their determination to fight for their freedom and equal rights.

Factors for the rise of Afro-American nationalism

1. *Extreme exploitation and oppression.* People of African origin were overworked for longer hours. While in slavery they were not paid at all and after slavery worked for lower pay. On top of that they faced torture and all sorts of inhuman punishments and attacks including lynching and amputation. These injustices raised their awareness to struggle for freedom.
2. *Feelings of homelessness.* This took two faces: one is the poor housing and living conditions. They experienced hopeless living of wondering in isolated poor houses in slums called ghettos with poor sanitation and communication. Secondly, was their detachment from their ancestral origin in Africa.
3. *Denial of civil rights.* The people of African origin were not recognised as legal citizen of America since their arrival as slaves and after independence of USA. In such position they were not protected by the law right away from the colonial period in the New World. Their nationalist quest was in this case driven by feelings of the right to be recognised as true citizens of America and be protected by the law because they were born there.
4. *The role of American war of independence (1776).* Many Black slaves participated in this war against British colonialism having been promised abolition of slavery. The war exposed them to new life and understanding. They acquired skills in fighting and revealed their courage. Moreover, the war propaganda that "All men are born equal and free" enlightened them to struggle for equality and end slavery.
5. *American Civil War 1861-65.* This war was between the U.S union government and the Southern USA states that wanted to break away from the union. Among the reasons for the war, was the determination of Southern states to continue with enslavement of the Blackman against the demand of the union government to abolish slavery. Besides acquiring fighting experience, the blacks benefited as the Union government under president Abraham Lincoln passed laws against slavery and promised total freedom to the Blacks.

6. *The rise of Afro-American elites.* Afro-American elites like William E. Dubois, Henry William Sylvester and Marcus Garvey were not only inspirational but also provided leadership and enlightenment to the People of African origin on their rights. They formed movements such as Pan-Africanism to organise the blacks in the struggle for freedom.
7. *The bitter experience of slavery* The life of torture and depression under slavery in America and Caribbean made African slaves and their descendants think of themselves keenly and reflect of a free life. It was that attitude that developed their nationalistic quest for liberation.
8. *Role of religious movements.* These were separatist churches like Methodist, Episcopal and Baptist churches formed by People of African origin in America due to whites' segregation. For example they were not allowed to occupy front seats or share seats with the whites and could not lead prayers. Others like Elijah Mohammed and Malcolm X converted to Islam. Religious movement consolidated their unity and raised awareness fight for freedom.
9. *Rise of anti-slavery movements.* These started in Europe by British politicians like William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson to campaign for the abolition of slave trade and slavery in the world. The movements inspired the people of African origin to fight for freedom.

PEOPLE OF AFRICAN ORIGIN STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

To liberate themselves and end such a horrifying life of slavery, oppression, exploitation and segregation the People of African origin in the New World developed a desire for freedom. They employed many ways, means and methods to liberate themselves from unbearable injustice.

A consideration should be given that the history of their struggle to liberate themselves is traced as far back as the time of Trans-Atlantic slave, that is, during their shipment from Africa to the New World. Before leaving Africa, some tried to escape, others deformed their bodies and others committed suicide by dropping into the sea and hanging themselves.

Ways of struggle (the earliest forms of resistance against slavery by the people of African origin);

- a) Through open resistance. The slaves resisted openly for example by destroying properties, setting plantation on fire and destroying work equipments.
- b) Through active armed resistance. This was in the form of arm struggle. Slaves revolted and picked up arms against their masters. The revolts included those in Saint-Domingue (Haiti today), Nova Scotia, Jamaica and Trinidad, Tobago and Brazil. By these revolts, the People of African Origin attempted to establish independent states to escape slavery. For instance in the Brazilian revolt they established a short-lived state called Palmares. In Saint-Domingue the revolts led by Toussaint L'ouverture was successful to establish an independent republic of Haiti.
- c) Through passive resistance. This was the use of peaceful means like sit-down strikes when they could refuse to work or could simply run away and hide in far areas for example in forests and mountains. For example in Saint-Domingue (Haiti today) and Jamaica thousands of slaves found freedom by fleeing from their masters, forming

communities of **maroons** — *African Moors who escaped from slavery and mixed with indigenous people of America.*

- d) Formation of Anti-slavery movements. The movements were influenced by the American War of Independence and American civil War. They were formed to support the blacks to fight for the abolition of slave trade and slavery in America.
- e) The ***Underground Railroad and Quilt Code***. The Underground Railroads was a secret network of **conductors**, meeting places and safe houses for the passage of African American to escape slavery. The Quilt Code involved forms of code words, phrases and symbols through which slaves communicated in ways the slave masters could not interpret. It was a means to pass information to slaves ready to escape from slavery. The renowned conductor of Underground Railroad was **Harriet Tubman** who guided hundreds of African Americans to Northern USA out of slavery from the southern USA. It was the earliest form of struggle to escape slavery by People of African origin in America.

Harriet Tubman (1833 — 1913) was an African American heroine and best known female abolitionist, humanitarian and freedom icon. She was born a slave, her name was Araminta Ross. During her early life, as a young girl, she lived a harsh conditions and violence (beatings) by her slave masters and a skull fracture that nearly killed and affected her for the rest of her life. She changed her name in 1849, when she fled slavery in Maryland to Philadelphia. She adopted the name Harriet after her mother and Tubman after her husband. Harriet Tubman became famous as a “conductor” on the Underground Railroad during the turbulent 1850s. Despite a bounty on her head, she returned to the South at least 19 times to lead her family and hundreds of other slaves to freedom via the Underground Railroad. Tubman also served as a scout, spy and nurse during the Civil War. In honour of her courageous efforts to rescue family and friends from slavery, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison named her “Moses”, alluding to the Prophet in the Book of Exodus who led the Israelites to freedom from Egypt.

Methods used by people of African origin to struggle

People of African origin employed both peaceful and violent methods in the struggle for rights and freedom. The methods were;

- a) Street demonstrations. The methods involved organising peaceful street marching to demonstrate their displeasure of conditions of life they were forced to live. They carried posters (banners) displaying their demands for equal rights, freedom and end of segregation.
- b) Boycotts. This took the form of rejection and separation. They could reject public buses and meetings and shops and restaurants ran by the whites. For instance after the arrest of a black woman, Rosa Parks after her refusal to get up out of her seat for a white person to sit on a bus on Montgomery, a boycott of all Montgomery buses was started.
- c) Use of violence. The method saw the blacks also use militant approach to defend themselves from dangerous assault by white oppressors. Riots were organised by the blacks’ and their defensive militant movements like the **Black Panther** to defend themselves from attacks and counteract the white’s terrorist movements like the Ku Klux Klan which murdered blacks.

- d) Use of art. Through songs, plays, drama and drawings the people of African origin express their unhappiness caused by oppression and segregation by the whites. Black artists in the world showed their bitterness through songs. Famous artists include Rober (Bob) Marley, a Jamaican singer and other Rasta Farris who sang for freedom and end of segregation.
- e) Use of literature and mass media. Educated blacks published magazines, newspapers, journals, pamphlets and books to sensitise the public about the suffering of People of African descent and to mobilise them in the struggle for their freedom and rights. Marcus Garvey for example published a weekly newspaper called ***“The Negro World”*** and Dubois edited a magazine called ***“The Crisis”*** through which they spread awareness.
- f) Mass meetings and public rallies. Mass meetings were made by the leaders of the People of African origin to mobilise public support in the struggle for their freedom. People; blacks and whites were invited into mass rallies on which black leaders expressed their desire for the end of segregation. The famous rallies were organised by Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Junior who expressed his dream when segregation of blacks will end.
- g) Through slogans. Slogans were designed by the black educated leaders to inspire the blacks to struggle for liberation against oppression by the whites. Marcus Garvey for example raised a slogan ***“It is better to die free than to live a slave”*** to encourage the Blacks struggle for freedom. Slogans were also used as propaganda in campaigns and riots they organized.

Forms of struggle

The struggle of the people of African origin was manifested into two forms:

1. The separatist movements. The movements campaigned for the freedom of the People of African descent by separating them from the whites for example by creation of independent Black institutions. The movements were mainly of two types;
 - a) Religious movements. People of African origin found separatist churches like the Methodist, Baptist and Episcopal Churches since they were segregated in the whites' churches. The movements were started by Reverend Malcolm and his followers to unite all the blacks in their struggle for freedom. Movement leaders like Martin Luther King Junior led their people to fight for equal rights. Some leaders like Malcolm X and Elijah Mohammed converted to Islam to separate themselves from the religion of their oppressors. These called for the creation of a ***“Nation of Islam”*** in America where all races will live free and equal.
 - b) Back to Africa Movement. The movement was advanced to send the People of African origin to Africa their land of origin to save them from oppression and segregation by the whites in Diaspora. The idea was hatched in 1914 by Marcus Garvey who believed that the blacks will never win equality, freedom and justice in America so the solution was to go back to Africa.
 - c) Separate Black Institutions. These included schools and banks. For instance, in 1881 Booker T. Washington established Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which he developed into a major centre of black education and in 1952 the black-owned bank named Tri-State Bank of Nashville which gave loans to those who were segregated by other banks, was established.

2. Integrationist movements. This advocated for the blacks' co-existence with the whites in America. Advocates of this like William E. Dubois believed that the People of African Origin in America should form an alliance with the whites for a peaceful co-existence. The movements took the form of civil rights campaigns believing that it was possible for the blacks to win freedom and equality in America. They opposed the Back to Africa Movement arguing that since the blacks were born in America, they had the right to live in America.

THE BLACK SOLIDARITY AND BACK TO AFRICA MOVEMENT

The Black People's Solidarity

The Black Solidarity was the spirit among African Americans and other People of African Origin wherever they were like in colonial Africa to band together for a joint liberation struggle against segregation and oppression by the whites. The solidarity based on the common ancestral origin and on principle of Black Pride among the people of African Origin.

The Black Solidarity Movement is traced from 1830s with the formation of the *American Anti-Slavery Society* in 1833 that called for an immediate end to slavery and demanded that African Americans receive the same political, economic and social rights as white people. The society was followed by the formation of the *Emancipation League in 1861* and *Union League of America* in 1863 during the Civil War when a Common Constitution that abolished slavery was adopted. It spread throughout the southern states mobilising African Americans to unite and resist slavery, segregation, exploitation and oppression.

Aims of Black solidarity

- i) To build unity among the black and coloured people for a joint struggle against oppression, exploitation, humiliation and all forms of injustice done on them by the whites.
- ii) To awaken the black people's consciousness. To make the black people aware of their rights and make them think of their troubles as downgraded people so as to encourage them fight for their rights and freedom.
- iii) To stimulate the black people's liberation campaign. That is to free the Blackman from oppression by the whites in America since the time of slavery and in the colonies.
- iv) To fight against racial segregation and discrimination against People of African Descent in the world so as to win equality and justice for all without regard of race in the world.
- v) To encourage brotherly relations among the People of African Origin basing on the feelings of common ancestral origin so as to raise feelings of concern for all People of African Origin.
- vi) Campaign for equal economic opportunities. This meant fighting for economic equality in USA, the Caribbean, and wherever people of African origin lived so as to give them equal share of economies they massively contributed to develop from the time of their slavery.

- vii) To improve the living conditions of the people of African origin. This was a campaign to improve standards of living of the people of African origin and help reduce dependence on the whites — dependence subjected them to exploitation and humiliation.

Manifestations of Black solidarity

- i) Anti-slavery society (movement). The movement was formed in 1833 by the People of African Origin to campaign for the abolition of slave trade and slavery in America. It was energised by the American Civil War that also spread campaigns for the emancipation of the People of African Origin in America.
- ii) Pan Africanism. This is a worldwide ideological, political and cultural movement that aims to unify the Peoples of African Origin in the world for a common fight for their right to freedom from Whiteman domination and for racial equality. It was started in the New World in the early period of 20th C by black leaders like W. E. Bu Bois and H. W. Sylvester.
- iii) Back to African movement. The movement was found by Marcus Garvey in 1914 aiming to move the People of African Origin from America to their ancestral motherland, Africa as a means to liberate them from oppression and discrimination by the whites in Diaspora.
- iv) The Civil Rights Movements. These were organisations by African Americans in the USA to fight racial discrimination on them and secure legal recognition and government protection of their citizenship rights specified in the American constitution. The movements became more popular in 1960s amidst severe racial discrimination against African Americans.
- v) Religious movements. The People of African Origin in Diaspora and Africa formed separatist religious movements to attain unity and fight segregation. They included the Methodist and Baptist churches whose leaders like Martin Luther King Junior led their people to fight for equal civil rights. Other leaders like Malcolm X and Elijah Mohammed converted to Islam and called for the creation of a “Nation of Islam” in America where all races will live free and equal.

The Back to Africa movement.

The Back to Africa Movement was an organised action founded by Marcus Garvey in the early 20th C to move People of African Origin from America to Africa, their ancestral homeland. The movement was established on the idea that African Americans could never have true civil rights and equality (freedom and justice) in the United States and therefore needed to move to Africa. To Marcus Garvey and movement supporters, Africa had a free environment and was the best future for the People of African Origin to escape injustice in America.

The Back to Africa movement was motivated by the deterioration in status and living conditions of African Americans in the USA. Marcus Garvey originally founded the movement in Jamaica when he formed the ***Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA)*** in 1914, but eventually moved to New York. He used UNIA to raise funds and mobilise support for the Back to Africa

Movement. Besides UNIA, he established the ***Black Star Shipping Line*** which also helped him raise funds and ship some people of African origin back to Africa, in Liberia.

Marcus Mosiah Garvey Jr. (17/8/1887 — 10/6/1940) was Jamaican born. A self-educated Garvey was a social activist and a proponent of Black Nationalism and Pan-Africanism. He advanced a Pan-African philosophy which inspired a global mass Movement, known as Garveyism which would eventually inspire from the Nation of Islam to the Rastafari movement. He is well known for his none-integrationist approach on which he developed the Back to Africa Movement. His message of African pride and dignity inspired many in the early days of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s. The country of Ghana has named its shipping line the Black Star Line and its national soccer team the Black Stars, in honor of Garvey.

Objectives of the Back to Africa Movement

- i) To liberate the people of African origin from the whites' oppression, exploitation and other injustices in America. Marcus Garvey and his followers believed that genuine freedom for the blacks could only be achieved by moving back to Africa.
- ii) To awaken the consciousness of People of African Origin. That is, to make the black people in world think of their position as downgraded and oppressed people so as to stimulate them fight for their rights and freedom.
- iii) To promote unity and brotherhood among the People of African origin. The campaign to move People of African Origin back to Africa focused to encourage cooperation and fraternal alliance of all black and coloured people in Diaspora and Africa basing on natural assistance and a common ancestry against the whites' domination, exploitation and oppression.
- iv) To restore and stimulate dignity of the People of African Origin for the world to accept them as a people who deserve respect and equal treatment like other races in the world.
- v) To improve the living conditions of the People of African Origin by contributing to their welfare and reduce their dependence to whites. Dependence of whites was keeping the blacks behind and trapping them to Whiteman's exploitation and oppression.
- vi) To create a free state of the black America. Whereby they could freely utilize their resources and engage in various economic activities for their own development and development of Africa at large.
- vii) To help African Americans escape racism and violence from groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and have more opportunities. It was a time when racism reached its peak and the greatest number of lynching in American history took place.

The continued experience of segregation and discrimination of African Americans after emancipation, and the belief that they would never achieve true equality, attracted many of them to emancipation in their motherland. They gave up on the United States and looked to Liberia (Africa) to construct a better life. Liberia would provide them freedom and equality.

Success of the Black to African Movement

The movement raised awareness among the people of African origin.

It contributed in raising self understanding and need to liberate themselves from the whites' oppression and exploitation. The blacks uplifted the fact that they were a people like the whites hence deserve respect. Such a level boosted morale for their liberation struggle.

1. Repatriation of some Afro-Americans to Africa. The Back to Africa Movement succeeded in liberating some black Americans who accepted to be shifted back to Africa from the Whiteman's oppression and exploitation. Between 1920 and 1924 about 2000 black people's families were shifted to Liberia.
2. Consolidated unity. The movement contributed in solidifying the people of African origin worldwide by consolidating their spirit of togetherness and brotherhood. This was helpful in creating a common struggle for their liberation.
3. Establishment of the black people's fund. The incomes collected by the movement's associations like UNIA and the Black Star Shipping Line helped Marcus Garvey open restaurants, laundries and groceries that employed a number of blacks. It improved their economic conditions. The same funds helped in the shifting of some blacks to Africa.
4. Contributed to the development of Liberia. The country was preserved as a free state for the freed slaves and their descendants. Those who were repatriated to Africa by the Back to Africa Movement were resettled there. They contributed to the development of the country since some of them were skilled labour like teachers and doctors. Garvey raised funds to build infrastructures like hospital, library, police station and recreational centres.
5. It spread the claims of the black peoples' need for freedom and equal right worldwide. The movement strengthened and popularised the struggle for liberation, respect and dignity for the people of African descent regardless of their colour, status and geographical location.
6. It also energised Pan-African movement. The efforts of the Back to Africa Movement brought the People of African Descent in Diaspora and Africa closer. This accelerated the success of Pan-Africanism that aimed at uniting all the people of African descent in the world in a joint struggle for liberation from the Whiteman's oppression and exploitation.
7. Inspired the foundation of Civil Rights Movements. The failure to the Back to Africa Movement was a motivational factor for Civil Rights Movements. The failure meant African Americans had no other alternative than staying in American where they had to fight for recognition as American citizens and win equality, freedom and justice.

Problems faced by the Back to African Movement

The Back to Africa Movement failed to catch on due to the following problems;

1. Insufficient funds. The movement was too expensive to implement. It needed huge financial resources for buying sufficient ships and licences, pay personnel and also buy essentials like food and medicine for those who would accept moving to Africa. Because the blacks were poor, they could not raise adequate funds for success of the movement.
2. Division among the blacks themselves. Some prominent black leaders like William E. Du Bois opposed Marcus Garvey's idea of "Back to Africa." They maintained that the blacks

born in America had the right to live in America hence opted for the fight for civil rights there other than moving to Africa. By that only a few were ready to shift to Africa.

3. Inadequate skilled personnel. The movement lacked sufficient skilled labour like accountants and managers due low education provided to Afro-Americans in America. This left a large part of work to be done by one person, Marcus Garvey himself.
4. Corruption. It is unfortunate that the movement and its supportive organisations like the Universal Negro Improvement Association and Black Star Shipping line faced bankruptcy and collapse resulting from corruption by some officials who misused funds.
5. Imprisonment of Marcus Garvey and his deportation. Marcus Garvey was charged with fraud in 1923 to be sentenced to five years imprisonment. Despite being released after two years in 1925, he was deported back to Jamaica where he was born. His imprisonment and deportation frustrated the success of the Back to Africa Movement.
6. Strong hand of the US government and the capitalists. The government fully supported the whites who wanted the blacks to remain in America and continue providing them cheap labour. It supported the capitalists to challenge UNIA by high licence charges because the association competed against them for shipping line and market. Open and secret tactics like through terrorist groups like the Ku-Klux-Klan were used to sabotage the movement.
7. Low consciousness. High illiteracy and ignorance levels among the blacks were detrimental to the success of the movement. Many were contented to live a low life in America because they were unaware of their rights and believed that life elsewhere was impossible so had little desire to migrate to Africa. Moreover, some felt to have lost a true African identity to live in Africa.
8. Low desire for migration to Africa. Majority of the People of African Origin were contented to remain in America and instead of migrating back to Africa, were determined to fight for civil rights. They felt to have lost a true African identity and so believed that life in Africa would be more difficult for them than in America.

Marcus Garvey used the slogan “Africa for Africans” to popularise the movement. Unfortunately, the movement died in 1924 when Marcus Garvey was deported back to Jamaica and the dream of back to Africa was totally erased with his death in 1940.

Role played by Marcus Garvey in the liberation of the people of African origin

1. Marcus Garvey stance based on non-integrationist approach for the liberation of African Americans. He strongly campaigned for the Back to Africa because his version of Black Nationalism argued that African Americans’ pursuit for social equality, freedom and improve their conditions in America was impossible because the whites would never let them. To him only in Africa was self-emancipation possible. His contributions can be analysed as below;
2. He established the Back to Africa movement. Marcus Garvey found the movement in 1914 as a means to liberate the People of African Origin from socio-political and economic inequalities, oppression and exploitation by the whites in USA. He encouraged them to shift to Africa and managed to move about 2000 families of them to Africa.
3. Garvey established the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in 1914. He used the association to mobilise the people of African Origin and raise funds to improve

their living standards. UNIA became the largest mass movement in African American history that its influence was felt not only in America but in Canada, Caribbean, South America and Africa.

4. Establishment of Black People's Fund. Garvey established the *Negro Factories Corporation* in 1919 and offered shares for African Americans to buy. The corporation operated grocery stores, restaurants, a printing plant, a steam laundry, and owned several buildings and trucks. Besides raising funds to improve the welfare of African Americans, he wanted them to end dependence on the whites.
5. Repatriation of some Afro-Americans to Africa. By his efforts, Marcus Garvey was able to move 2000 families of people of African origin to Africa between 1920 and 1924 for their liberation. This was heavily supported by UNIA and his Black Star Shipping Line.
6. Marcus Garvey started a newspaper called "The Negro World". The newspaper was vital in spreading awareness to the People of African Origin to know their rights and history and displayed the evils done to them by the whites and so, propagating the liberation message.
7. Contributed in the development of Liberia as a free state. The role of Marcus Garvey to settle the Blacks moved from America in Liberia was important in the development of Liberia. He raised funds to put in place infrastructures like a hospital, post office, police station and recreational centres in the Monrovia, the capital of Liberia.
8. Contribution towards Pan-Africanism. By his "Back to Africa" idea, Marcus Garvey popularised the idea of Pan-Africanism worldwide. He helped in consolidation of unity and brotherly relations among the People of African Origin by bringing together those in America and Africa.
9. He raised slogans for liberation struggle. The slogans like "It is better to die free than live a slave" and "Africa for Africans" designed by Marcus Garvey cannot be underestimated in the liberation cause of People of African Origin because they raised consciousness, self understanding and spirit to fight for the Blackman's freedom.
10. He encouraged education to Afro-Americans. By this Garvey aimed to raise awareness and self acknowledgment as dignified people. Also to know their rights and freedom and how they are deprived of them by the whites in America and colonial Africa. Education propagated his idea of Black pride.

In 1940, Marcus Garvey died in London. However much his efforts of sending African Americans back to Africa ultimately failed; Garvey's influence remains strong and inspired some People of African Origin to migrate, on their own, to Africa, the land of their ancestors. Indeed he remains one the most outstanding African American activist along a few others like William E. Du Bois, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Junior.

Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide ideological, political and cultural movement for encouraging and strengthening links of solidarity between all Peoples of African Descent all over the world. The movement looks at uniting the peoples of African origin in Diaspora and Africa to fight for their freedom and equality and to be treated with dignity in all parts of the world.

The term ***Pan-Africanism*** is a combination of two terms, a Greek word “***Pan***” meaning “***all***” and “***Africa***” referring to the content. It is a manifestation of Black Peoples solidarity and integral part of their liberation struggle against Whiteman’s domination, exploitation and segregation done since Atlantic slave trade, slavery in the New World and colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa. The movement originated in the New World in the early period of the 20th C by men like W. E. Bu Bois, George Padmore. Edward Blayden, Marcus Garvey and H. W. Sylvester who championed the liberation struggle of the People of African Descent in America.

From 1900, the movement organised several conferences at which the common sufferings and cultural background of the people of African origin were stressed. They include Paris (1919), London (1921), Lisbon (1923), New York (1927) and Manchester (1945).

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (23/2/1868 - 27/8/1963) was an African American sociologist, historian, civil rights activist, Pan-Africanist, author, writer and editor. After graduation from Harvard where he was the first African American to earn a doctorate, he became a professor of history, sociology and economics at Atlanta University. He was a strong advocate of full civil rights and increased political representation for African Americans. - Racism was the main target of Du Bois’ polemics, and he strongly protested against it. He was a proponent of Pan-Africanism and helped organize several Pan-African Congresses to fight for the independence of African colonies from European powers.

Aims for Pan-Africanism

- i) To promote unity and solidarity among the People of African Origin all over the world so as to form an integrative force to achieve political, cultural and economic liberation from the oppression, exploitation and all forms of injustice imposed to them by the Whiteman.
- ii) To liberate the People of African Origin all over the world from all sorts of oppression, exploitation, segregation and humiliation inflicted on them by the whites since Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, slavery in the New World and colonialism on Africa.
- iii) To revive the lost dignity, respect and culture of the people of African descent so as to restore their true identity and pride as unique race. These had been lost due to slave trade, slavery in Diaspora and colonialism in Africa.
- iv) To eradicate colonialism, neo-colonialism and all sorts of imperialist manifestations purposely to win total independence for Africa and set Africans free.
- v) To promote inter-continental cooperation under the frame works of international bodies like UNO and OAU. This was seen as a way to involve People of African Origin in international affairs for joint struggle against oppression and segregation.
- v) To struggle for equal opportunities in the economy of USA, the Caribbean, and wherever people of African descent lived. That is, to give the people of African descent equal share of economies which they largely contributed to develop from the time of slavery in America.
- vi) To campaign against racial segregation of the people of African descent in the world so as to win equality of the black people with other races in the world.

- vii) To re-awaken the Blackman's consciousness and awareness for him to realise his plight position in the world as an oppressed, exploited, humiliation and disrespected person by the white capitalist nations. This would arouse his desire to fight for his liberation.

Causes (origin) of pan — Africanism

1. The bitter experience of a widely dispersed People of African Descent. The people, who before the Atlantic slave trade were free citizens in their homelands in Africa, were scattered over the Caribbean and Americas for slavery. The experience of slavery under the Europeans was traumatising and so created feelings of reconnection with other black people.
2. The feelings of homelessness. The Negro slaves and their descendants in the Caribbean and Americas felt homeless by being transferred away from their ancestral homeland in Africa to foreign lands for slavery. That feeling of homelessness motivated them to re-establish close union with fellow People of African Origin in other parts of the world, Africa in particular.
3. The American war of independence (1776) and Civil War (1861-65). The two enlighten the blacks who by actively fighting in them, discovered their intellect talent and bravery. To convince them to join the struggle, the whites promised them equal rights and the end of slavery, the promises which however were not fulfilled. To achieve their goals, the blacks then raised concern of unity to fight for their rights and freedom.
4. The colonial experience. Colonisation was a new form of slavery but this time in African itself. It led to losses of and by Africans to Europeans, forced labour on European farms and mines accompanied by unfair taxation and mistreatments. Thus the bondage of Africans in Diaspora and in Africa was a point of commonality on which the seeds of Pan-Africanism were planted.
5. The poor provision of social services. The people of African descent under the Whiteman's control in Diaspora and colonial Africa, were denied quality education and other social services which meant they were forced to live in poor life conditions. The alarming conditions of life raised the Blackman's spirit of togetherness to fight for better living.
6. Role of black elite leaders and writers. These among others were W. E. Du Bois, Martin Delany, H. S. Williams and Marcus Garvey who advocated for joint struggle for the Blackman's liberation. They organised several conferences to popularise the movement and unite the black people worldwide to fight their oppression and low position in the world.
7. Development of racism. Racial segregation of the People of African Origin was developed by the whites on the belief of their racial superiority over other world races. Indeed it was more humiliating for the People of African Origin in Diaspora and colonies that because of their African origin and black skin colour they were despised and branded an inferior race.
8. The strong feelings of brotherhood among the People of African Descent. Humiliation in cruel hands in foreign lands made Africans in Diaspora to start to feel deeply conscious not only of their common origin and destiny in Africa but also looked at

Africa with admiration and decided that in only Africa could they find friendship, solace and hope.

Methods used in their struggle

1. Through holding conferences. This was the most remarkable method used by the Pan-African movement. Conferences were held in different cities of imperialist states such as Paris in 1919 and Manchester in 1945. They were held to popularise the cause of Pan-Africanism and through them the problems and strategies for liberation were discussed.
2. Institutionalisation of the Pan-African spirit. This was in the formation of international organisations through which unity and liberation of the People of African Origin could be realised. The major one, was, formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in 1963. Others are the regional groupings like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWA) and EAC formed for economic and political liberation of Africa.
3. Collective demonstration. Demonstrations were also a means to fight the injustice done to the people of African origin. For example, when Italy invaded Ethiopia in 1935, people of African descent demonstrated in different parts of the world like in Nigeria and New York to show the whites that the blacks were tired of their aggression and exploitation.
4. Mass media. Pan-Africanism spread its causes, demands and enlightened the people by use of mass media through journals, newspapers, magazines and radios. For example; W. E. Dubois edited a magazine called "*The Crisis*" that was essential in spreading awareness and mobilising the people of African origin in the fight for their rights and freedom.
5. Use of art. Through songs, plays and drama the People of African Origin express their discontent caused by oppression and exploitation by the whites. Black artists in the world especially in Jamaica expressed their bitterness through songs. Famous artists include Robert (Bob) Marley and others Rasta Fams who include Lucky Dube and Alfa Blondie from Africa.
6. Separatist methods. The people of African origin in Diaspora and Africa formed their own (independent) institutions like religious organisations and schools as a means of raising black people's personality, enlightenment, consciousness and awareness. These were important in uniting and encouraging the struggle against oppression and segregation.
7. Use of international bodies. Pan-African leaders like Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere used international forum like the UNO and other bodies like NAM to express their discontent and invited the world for the rescue of the People of African Origin from the bondage of oppression and segregation by the Whiteman in Diaspora and colonial Africa.

Challenges faced by Pan- Africanism

From its foundation in the early period of the 20th Century, Pan-Africanism was beset with a number of challenges:

1. Lost original objectives. Pan-African Movement was founded with the agenda uniting the People of African origin in the struggle for their liberation from the whites' domination, oppression and exploitation. After the independence in Africa and winning civil rights in America, the movement seems to have lost its original objective.
2. The question of nationalism against internationalism. After independence, African countries developed individualistic tendency by being more concerned about their national matters than international matters that Pan-Africanism stood for. More of their efforts were put on building their economies and not international issues.
3. Divisions among the People of African Origin. From the start the movement leaders and their followers differed in opinion, ideology and strategies to be employed in their liberation. For example, while W. E Du Bois advocated for the fight for civil rights in the USA, Marcus Garvey campaigned for Back to Africa. Similarly, while Julius Nyerere called for the gradual process through regional integrations for the creation of the United State of Africa, Kwame Nkrumah advocated for immediate action after independence.
4. Colonial legacy. Colonialism divided Africans along religious, tribal and regional lines. More so, it tied colonies to their metropolitan states for instance Anglophone and Francophone countries. The divisions are maintained today by imperialist socio-political unions such as the Commonwealth for Britain and former colonial empire and French Community for France and her colonial empire. These unions consolidate divisions on African states.
5. Opposition from imperialists. The whites and their governments interrupted measures taken by Pan-Africanism to liberate people of African origin and to keep Africans under their domination and exploitation. The US government for instance denied travel passes to Afro-Americans who aspired to attend the 1919 Paris Pan-African Conference and visas for the 1927 New York Conference. Likewise British government denied visas to those who wanted to attend the London 1921 conference. These governments restricted demonstrations, meetings and rallies of Pan-African activists.
6. Influence of neo-colonialism. This suffocates efforts for Africa's unity and liberation. Imperialist powers maintain divisions through the socio-political unions like the Commonwealth and French Community. Neo-colonial powers overthrow strong exponents of Pan-Africanism like Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 and Muammar Gaddafi in 2011. Also incite conflicts between African states.
7. Formation of parallel organisations. African states are members of organisations that have similar or related agenda of fighting against imperialism like the Pan-African Movement. Such organisations include the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the South-South Commission, African Union and regional integrations. Such organisations have indeed submerged Pan-Africanism.
8. Diversity of People of African origin. The people of African origin in Africa are made of numerous ethnicities, religion and culture. This hampers unity within and between countries. Such loyalties are frustrating not only African continental unity but as well national unity in many African states like Kenya.
9. Violence and terror. Pan-African Movement was no exception to violent undertakings of white communities and terror movements notably the Ku Klux Klan group. For example, between 1920s and 1950s the movement was affected by many race riots which were accompanied violence in which thousands of the people of African Origin were killed.

NB: The other details on Pan-African Movement can be traced in Topic 6.

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

The Black Solidarity, Back to Africa and Pan-Africanism have the following in common; All of them were forms of struggle waged by the people of African origin to liberate themselves from the white's domination, oppression and segregation. They looked upon changing the history of the Blackman by winning the desired freedom from all sorts of oppression including colonialism in Africa hence advocated for self-government of Africans.

All of them involved the African continent by calling for the unity of all people of the African race. For example the Back to Africa Movement aimed to shift the black peoples to Africa, likewise Pan-Africanism demanded for end of colonisation in the continent.

All the three originated in America. They were established by Afro-American leaders in America and the Caribbean like W. E. Dubois, H. W. Sylvester and Marcus Garvey who championed the black people's struggle in America.

All aimed at unifying the people of African origin and building brotherly feeling among them basing on their common African ancestral origin and the problem they encountered in the hands of capitalist and imperialist.

The movements share common historical background. All are traced from the long history of slave trade across the Atlantic and slavery in the New World that resulted into existence of black people in the New World.

The three succeeded in attaining some of their goals. For example the Black Solidarity produced the Back to Africa Movement and Pan-Africanism; the Back to Africa Movement brought some Blacks to Africa and; Pan-Africanism managed to mobilise nationalist struggle for independence of African countries.

Faced strong opposition from the US government and the capitalist. The government fought the movements in favour of the capitalist who wanted the blacks to remain a low status people for continued exploitation. Not only that, but also encountered terrorist movements like the Ku Klux Klan which assassinated many blacks and their leaders.

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

Black Solidarity and Back to Africa Movement were more concerned about the people of African origin in America and Caribbean while the Pan-African Movement is concerned with all black and coloured people in the whole world.

Black Solidarity and Back to Africa Movement were short lived. They failed to live beyond the death of their founding fathers. On the other hand, Pan-Africanism has lived longer and indeed is into existence through international frameworks like African Union.

Pan-Africanism succeeded in many of its objectives like holding conferences and eradicating colonialism in Africa while Black Solidarity and Back to Africa Movement failed in most of their objectives. For example only a small fraction of the black people was moved to Africa as majority opted to stay abroad and fight for civil rights.

Pan-Africanism faced stronger opposition than the Black Solidarity and Back to Africa Movement. For example while European countries denied the blacks visas to attend some conferences like 1919 Paris conference, USA also denied them to attend the New York conference of 1927. The Back to Africa Movement was to a certain extent failed by the black people themselves by refusing to shift to Africa.

Pan-Africanism operated worldwide by holding conference in many cities of different countries like in London in 1923, Paris in 1919, New York in 1927, Manchester in 1945 and Accra in 1958 while the other movements operated mainly in US and the Caribbean.

Pan-African Movement shift to Africa while the Black Solidarity and Back to Africa movements remained tied to the Americas and Caribbean. From 1958 with the Accra Conference, Pan-Africanism operated from Africa while the other movements did not.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Civil Rights Movement were efforts by African Americans to fight racial discrimination in the USA and to make sure all USA citizens received their citizenship rights guaranteed by the US Constitution. The movement demanded for full equal rights, equal opportunity and equal treatment under law of Americans of African descent to fully participate without discrimination in the economic, political and social affairs of the United States.

The birth of the movement is traced back in the American Civil War (1861-1865) but reached the climax during the 1950s and 1960s. During the time, African Americans organised groups and worked to change the unpleasant conditions against them in the United States. Best-known leaders of the Civil Rights Movement were William E. Du Bois, Martin Luther King Junior and Malcolm X. The major African American civil rights groups were;

- The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) by William Edward Du Bois found in 1910.
- Black Nationalism Movement of Malcolm X
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) founded in 1957 and King was its president.
- Black Power Movement emerged in 1966 under the leadership of Stokeley Carmichael. The movement was militant and encouraged robust self-defence by African Americans.
- The Black Panther Party was found in 1966 in Oklahoma, California, by Huey Newton, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale. It was also militant in nature.
- The Nation of Islam Movement found by Elijah Muhammad and Malcolm X

Malcolm X or El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz (19/5/1925 — 21/2/1965), was an African-American Muslim minister and a human and civil rights activist. He has been described as one of the

greatest and most influential African Americans in history. He was a courageous advocate for the rights of blacks. He is credited with raising the self-esteem of black Americans and reconnecting them with their African heritage. Born Malcolm Little, but while in prison, he became a member of the nation of Islam, changing his last name to X because, “Little” was the name that the white slave master had imposed upon his paternal forebears. Charismatic and eloquent, Malcolm became an influential leader of the Nation of Islam, which combined Islam with Black Nationalism and sought to encourage disadvantaged young blacks searching for confidence in segregated America. His moving speeches and commitment inspired many African Americans who felt that Malcolm X articulated their complaints concerning inequality better than other civil rights movement. He emphasized Pan-Africanism, black self-determination and black self-defence. He was assassinated on February 21, 1965.

Background of the struggle

From the earliest years of European settlement in North America, the whites enslaved and oppressed the People of African Descent. Although the Civil War (1861-65) brought about the abolition of slavery, a harsh system of white supremacy persisted thereafter.

In the early 20th C, African Americans mainly in the Southern states of USA were banned from associating with whites in public areas such as schools, hospitals, libraries, homes, trains, hotels, and recreation halls. Some recreational areas posted signs, “***Negroes and Dogs Not Allowed.***” Racial discrimination deprived African Americans of decent jobs and schools and rights of citizenship, including voting. Intimidation and violence, including lynching, by the Whiteman remained an ever-present threat.

Martin Luther King Jr. (January 15, 1929 — April 4, 1968) was the Reverend Martin Luther King Sr. His legal name was Michael King but changed to Martin Luther King Jr. in respect of the German Martin Luther who led the Reformation. King was an American Baptist minister and activist who became one of the most visible spokesperson and leader in the Civil Rights Movements in the 1950s to 60s. His moving speeches and commitment inspired many African Americans. He urged them to work to end racial discrimination and toward obtaining full and equal rights for all. The most famous of his speeches was the “I have a dream” speech. King led a nationwide movement, organizing, boycotts, marches and sit-ins to demand equal justice before the law. He was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

Origin of Civil Rights Movements

The Civil Rights campaigns are traced to a number of factors;

1. The problems encountered by the blacks in America. African Americans were denied civil rights and faced all kinds of agonizing abuse of oppression, exploitation, humiliation and segregation at all life levels in the US. This intolerable situation motivated them fight for civil rights by which they could win freedom.
2. The role of the 1789 French revolution. This revolution spread the ideals of change, that is, equality, liberty and fraternity and thus inspired African Americans to fight for

equal rights. It also taught them how to fight oppression and was significant in the abolition of slave trade.

3. The American Civil War, 1861-65. In this war the blacks fought on the side of the union government having been promised full and equal political, economic and social rights. Although the Civil War brought about the abolition of slavery, a harsh system of white oppression of the blacks persisted thereafter. The situation made the blacks realise that they can win equality by fighting on their own.
4. Constitutional amendments. The 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments of the US constitution outlawed slavery, laid principles of racial equality, and gave all US citizens including the Afro-American equal protection of the law. Such achievements motivated them to fight for constitutional protection and consolidate civil rights when things turned against them later.
5. Role of the previous black people's movements. Civil rights movements were influenced by the experience other Blacks' movements such as the Black Solidarity, Pan-African and Back to Africa movements. For instance the failure of the Back to Africa Movement to move majority African Americans to Africa meant that they had no other alternative besides fighting for civil rights in America.
6. Rise of elite black leaders. Outstanding African American leaders like Dr. William E. B. Dubois, Malcolm X and Martin Luther king Junior emerged with determination to fight for African American full civil rights. They formed movements such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) and the Black Nationalism Movement through which they actively campaigned for the rights of the blacks in America.
7. Rise of socialism. The spread of socialist ideals that advocate for equality and end of exploitation of man by man after the 1917 Russian Revolution motivated the blacks to fight for equal rights in the US. More so, the attack of USA by the communist USSR over oppression and segregation of the blacks in USA motivated the struggle for civil rights.
8. Rise of the Blackman's consciousness. Awareness spread among the Afro-Americans through education and by campaigns of black elite leaders, religious groups and socialist propaganda that enlightened them to know their rights. As the blacks knew their rights, they became recharged to fight for them.
9. Independence to the colonies. The success to liberation struggles in the colonies inspired African Americans to increase the demand for equal rights in America. So, as Asian and African states gained independence in 1960s, African Americans resented their own unfair treatment more than ever.

Objectives of the Civil Rights Movement

- i) Fight for equal citizenship rights and legal citizenship recognition of the African Americans for equal treatment and constitutional protection accorded to every American citizen.
- ii) Focused on eliminating legal segregation against African Americans in all fields or places like public accommodations and buses and workplaces.

- iii) To demand for equal employment and economic opportunities for the African Americans to participate in the economic field of United States without discrimination.
- iv) To help African Americans and other minority groups living below poverty line acquire equal public education, health and proper housing to improve their living conditions.
- v) To form an acceptable integration between the black and white Americans for peaceful co-existence and create a united America where the blacks and whites lives in harmony.
- vi) To completely end all forms of slavery and poor working conditions of the African Americans in America through achievement of black peoples freedom and rights.
- vii) To stimulate African American consciousness to help them be aware of their rights and gain a sense in black pride and cultural identity as well.

Methods used in the struggle

In defiance to segregation, discrimination and denial of civil rights, African-American activists adopted a combined strategy of mass action that typified the movement from 1960.

1. The use of boycotts. African Americans rejected public services like buses, restaurants and stores where they were segregated. For instance, after an African American woman, Rosa Parks, had been arrested on December 1, 1955 because she refused to get up out of her seat for a white person to sit down on a bus on Montgomery, Alabama, a boycott of Montgomery buses was started.
2. Sit-ins campaigns. By this technique African Americans gathered in facilities where segregation against them was done. The protesters were encouraged to dress well, sit quietly, and occupy every seat of such services like restaurants, parks, beaches, libraries and theatres. For example, in July 1958, the NAACP Youthful Council sponsored sit-ins at the lunch counter of a Dockum Drug Store in Wichita, Kansas.
3. Freedom Rides. The rides were journeys organised by civil rights activists who rode interstate buses into segregated southern USA, in order to challenge segregated buses. The tactic was to force for interracial pair sitting on adjoining seats in segregated buses. The first Freedom Ride began in 1961 led by James Farmer. With 13 riders, the ride left Washington, D.C. on 4/5/1961, and was scheduled to arrive in New Orleans on May 17 where a civil rights rally was planned.
4. Street marching and demonstrations. The marches were organised by civil rights organisations to reveal the injustices suffered by African Americans and push the government to grant them equal rights. For example, in 1963, civil rights activists, Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin organised what came to be known as ***The Great March on Washington***. The estimated participants varied from 200,000 to 300,000. The purpose of the march was to advocate for civil and economic rights for African Americans. At the march, Martin Luther King Jr., standing in front of the Lincoln Memorial, delivered the historic "I have a Dream" speech calling for an end of racism.
5. Violent methods. Afro-American organisations like the Black Power and Black Panther movements used armed self-defence against oppressive discriminative laws like ***Jim Crow Laws***, the whites' terrorist organisations - the Ku Klux Klan and police that

brutally attacked the blacks. The movements aimed at protecting civil rights activists against brutal acts like lynching, beatings and assassinations.

6. Open public rallies and meetings. Rallies and mass meetings mobilised mass public support and displayed blacks' strength and demands. This was an active strategy mostly used by Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. One of the most remembered rally was of 1963 attended by 200,000 to 300,000 people and on which Martin Luther King Jr. Gave the historic "I have a Dream" speech that called for the end of racism in America. Among the demands aired out in the rally were full civil rights laws, fair employment, decent housing, the right to vote and adequate integrated education.
7. Through legal actions (petitions). African American activists through their organisations like the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) delivered petition to courts of law and congress seeking for legal intervention against unfair treatment and laws against African Americans. For example the NAACP reported a case against school segregation. Afterwards, the court ruled that segregated schools were unconstitutional.
8. Mass media. African Americans published own: magazines like "*The Crisis*" established by the NAACP with William Edward Du Bois as its editor. Mass media helped in raising African American consciousness of their rights and raised the spirit and mobilised them for civil rights struggle. They also spread the news for African American concerns far.
9. Use of art. Numerous songs and popular cultural expressions associated with African American revival appeared at the time of fighting for civil rights. For example in 1968, African American artist James Brown released a song "Say It Loud — I'm Black and I'm Proud." Such works inspired and revived African Americans' self-determination and dignity.

Rosa Louise McCauley Parks (4/2/1913 - 24/10/2015) was an activist in the Civil Right Movement whom the US Congress called <<the first lady of civil rights>> and <<the mother of the freedom movement.>> Parks was at the centre of the Montgomery bus boycott to resist bus segregation. On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks refused to obey bus driver James F. Blake's order to give up her seat to a white passenger, after the whites-only section was filled. Parks was arrested and charged with a violation of segregation law of the Montgomery City code. This stirred the Montgomery bus boycott that lasted for 381 days that eventually succeeded when segregation in public buses was made unconstitutional. She became an international icon of resistance to racial segregation. She organised and collaborated with civil rights leaders, including Edgar Nixon and Martin Luther King Jr.

Achievement of the Civil Right Movement

The civil rights movement was a heroic episode in American history. The movement witnessed the passage of major federal legislation in the 1960s. From the late 1950s the following achievements were attained

1. The Civil Rights bill of 1963. This was submitted by President F. D. Kennedy to the congress. The bill was a legal push for equal citizenship rights to African Americans. It

formed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that was passed by President Johnson. To add on that, Kennedy appointed the USA's first African American ambassador.

2. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. In 1964, President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act that expressly banned discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex, or national origin in employment practices and public facilities such as schools, workplaces and restaurants.
3. The Voting Rights Act of 1965. Pressure by civil rights activist, pushed president Johnson to introduce the Voting Rights Act (1965) to try and make sure that African Americans exercised their right to vote. The Act restored and protected voting rights for minorities.
4. Right to own or purchase property. President Johnson followed up the Voting Rights Act (1965) with another Civil Rights Act, that is, the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which made it illegal to discriminate in selling property or letting accommodation.
5. Abolition of racial segregation in schools in 1954. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled out that it was unconstitutional for public schools to be segregated by race. That is the court rejected separate white and coloured school system.
6. Law against job discrimination. In June 1964, President Johnson signed into law a bill that outlawed job-discrimination in both public and private sectors. The law also authorized creation of a new agency, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to check on the vice of job discrimination.
7. It raised African American self-confidence. They acquired confidence in their ability to organize and effect political change. They gained more of a sense in black pride, cultural identity and strength, notably in the fields of music, dance, film, and sports where they excelled over the whites with men like Muhammad Ali, the world boxing champion.
8. Rise in leadership ranks. As success to the civil rights struggles, African Americans have won equal political rights in political field. Some have served in higher government offices. Prominent figures include Colin Powell, who became the African American chief of staff of USA army and led that army in the Gulf war of 1990-1991 and later became the first African American Secretary of States. Condoleezza Rice became the second black and first woman secretary of state of the USA. Above all in 2008, Barack Hussein Obama became a more celebrated history maker when he was elected the first African American president of USA.
9. Consolidated unity. Civil rights movements like the Black Nationalism, Black Power Movement and their leaders like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King won massive rallying unity and support from African Americans and some white sympathisers to civil rights cause from their inspirational speeches and mobilisation and strategies like boycotts and sit-ins.

Putting into laws the civil rights was not a guarantee that African Americans would automatically be respected and treated equally. There was bitter white hostility to the reforms, and the problem was to make sure that the Acts were carried out. With all efforts racial segregation and discrimination against African Americans and other minorities persists to date in America.

Problems facing the civil rights movements

The successes achieved by civil rights movement passed through thick and thin. Several hardships had to be overcome to attain success.

1. The Ku Klux Klan. The Klan began as a secret society formed on Christmas Eve of 1865, in Tennessee to intimidate African Americans' fight for equality. They carried out campaigns of threats and terror against the blacks. Lynching, beatings, and feathering became commonplace. Many Afro-American activists like Medgar Evers, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. died of the Ku Klux Klan.
2. Divisions among civil rights activists. They differed in strategy and ideology. While some like the Black Panther Party called for use of violent means, others like Martin Luther King Jr. advocated for non-violent methods. Ideologically, as some like Malcolm X wanted the creation of independent black state, others like King wanted integration with the whites.
3. The hand of American government. The government particularly in southern states passed laws such as the "Jim Crow laws" to maintain the whites' supremacy and segregation. These severe laws restricted African American people's rights; depriving them of voting; pinning them to worst and lowest-paid jobs; excluding them from schools attended by whites.
4. The role of the American capitalists. The capitalist in America sabotaged African Americans' efforts to win civil rights. They influenced the government to pass decisions against African Americans. The whites especially in southern states wanted the People of African Origin to remain low class people tied in slavery and serve them as cheap labour.
5. The economic weakness of African Americans. The people of African Origin in the US were largely economically poor that they failed to raise enough resources to financially support the civil rights movements' activities like mass rallies and publications. Their low financial status made them depend on the whites hence could not easily fight segregation.
6. The small number of African Americans. Compared to the whites, African Americans were few that were easily absorbed by the majority whites. Their small number made them weak to stand firm against inequality. It as well made it difficult for US government (congress) to pass decisions in their favour as the whites were the majority voters.
7. The low education status of majority African Americans. African Americans were mostly denied education and the few educated, mostly received poor education. Due to this their awareness and consciousness was kept low that they could hardly know their rights and stand firm to protest inequality.
8. Racial segregation and discrimination still persists in America. This is worse in southern states where African Americans still face poor reception in social services like education and health and public accommodations like houses and buses. Worse, even during the presidency of Barrack Obama, African Americans suffered open discrimination and violence with open police shootings that killed some of them.

Change of attitude in favour of civil rights

Starting from the late 1940s American politicians started changing their outlook towards African Americans. As a result of internal and external pressure, this shift in position began with President Harry Truman, then his successors notably, F. D. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson who showed willingness to push for equal rights for all American citizens.

1. The Cold War. This was a major factor for the US government to support civil rights legislations. In the Cold War, the USSR accused the USA for its hypocrisy in portraying itself the “leader of the free world,” when so many of its citizens, the African American were subjected to severe racial discrimination and violence. To silence the communist accusations, the US government had to grant civil rights to African Americans.
2. Excluding African American from top jobs was waste of talent and expertise. Expansion of African American elite and middle class mainly in northern states where a number of African Americans were granted chance to have good education and skills was a way to success for civil rights. Their talents were usefully needed to serve the United States.
3. Democratic assertions. The USA could hardly claim to be genuinely democratic country and leader of the “free world” when 10 per cent of its population were denied voting and other rights. This gave her foes like the USSR a chance to condemn her as a “consistent oppressor of under-privileged peoples”. The American government wanted that excuse removed. The increasing pressure from civil rights campaigns.
4. The period after the World War II witnessed an upsurge in pursuit for civil rights among African Americans. It was important for that reason to do something to calm the African American population, who were becoming more vocal in their demands for civil rights.
5. Rapid growth of nationalism in Asia and Africa. In early 1940s India and Indonesia were on the point of gaining independence and as well liberation campaigns were increasingly growing stronger in Africa. These new states would turn against the USA and move towards communism if American whites continued their unfair treatment of African Americans.
6. Pressure from international bodies. These bodies, notably, the United Nations of which African and Asian countries were members attacked the US for its practices of discrimination and violence against African Americans and other minorities. In respect of human rights, the UN pressed US government to protect minority groups by granting them civil rights.
7. Some politicians and a section of the white populace were worried by their conscience; They felt that it was not morally right to treat fellow human beings in such an unfair way. This group of politicians pushed for legislation of civil rights to support the efforts of African American activists.
8. The hard long struggle produced some desirable fruits. The zenith was reached in 2008 when Barrack Hussein Obama was elected first African American president. This is something which one could not expect in those days when discrimination was severe. Though no one of the profound civil rights activists like Dr. William Edward Du Bois, Martin Luther King Junior and Malcolm X was alive to celebrate the remarkable achievement, it will stay unforgettable to all people of African origin who had to endure segregation, discrimination, exploitation and humiliation in the hands of the whites for centuries. Indeed it opened the new chapter for black people’s history and the history of America in general.

Sample — revision question

1. Explain six reasons behind the rise of Atlantic Slave Trade. (NECTA 2014)
2. Analyse six problems encountered by the People of African Origin in the New World (NECTA 2013).

3. Examine six reasons that led to the enslavement of Africans to the America and the Caribbean during the mercantile period. (NECTA — Private Candidates 2015)
4. Compare and contrast Black Solidarity and Pan-Africanism. (Give three similarities and three differences). (NECTA 2016)
5. Explain three prejudices which faced People of African Origin in the New World and show their three legal struggles which brought about equal education. (NECTA 2017)
6. Account for the origin and problems of the People of African Origin in the New World.
7. Trace the genesis of the people of African origin in the New World.
8. Assess the historical essence of the People of African Origin in the New World.
9. To what extent did the Back to Africa achieved its stated goals
10. Explain six factors which hindered the success of the “Back to Africa Movement.” (NECTA 2015)
11. Discuss the roles of Marcus Garvey towards the struggle for liberating the Blacks.
12. Discuss the relationship between Black solidarity, Pan Africanism and the Back to Africa movement
13. Account for the origin and objectives of the Civil rights movement in USA.
14. The Civil Rights Movement by the Blacks in America was a struggle for genuine reasons. Account for 6 hardships faced during the struggle.
15. Discuss how the KU KLUX KLAN and other reasons hampered the struggle for civil rights in America
16. Appraise six achievements of the Civil Rights Movements in the USA (NECTA 2012)
17. Examine the mechanism used by people of African origin in their struggle for liberation in America.
18. Analyse the problems faced by the People of African Origin in the struggle for equality.
19. Account for the success of the People of African Origin in the New World in the struggle for liberation.
20. Account for change of attitude towards African Americans in the USA.

TOPIC FOUR

FROM COLONIALISM TO THE FIRST WORLD WAR, 1880s -1914

Colonialism is the imposition of foreign domination on a country/society by another country/society. In this situation a politically and economically powerful country extends its control over a politically and economically weak society with intent of exploiting it for economical gains.

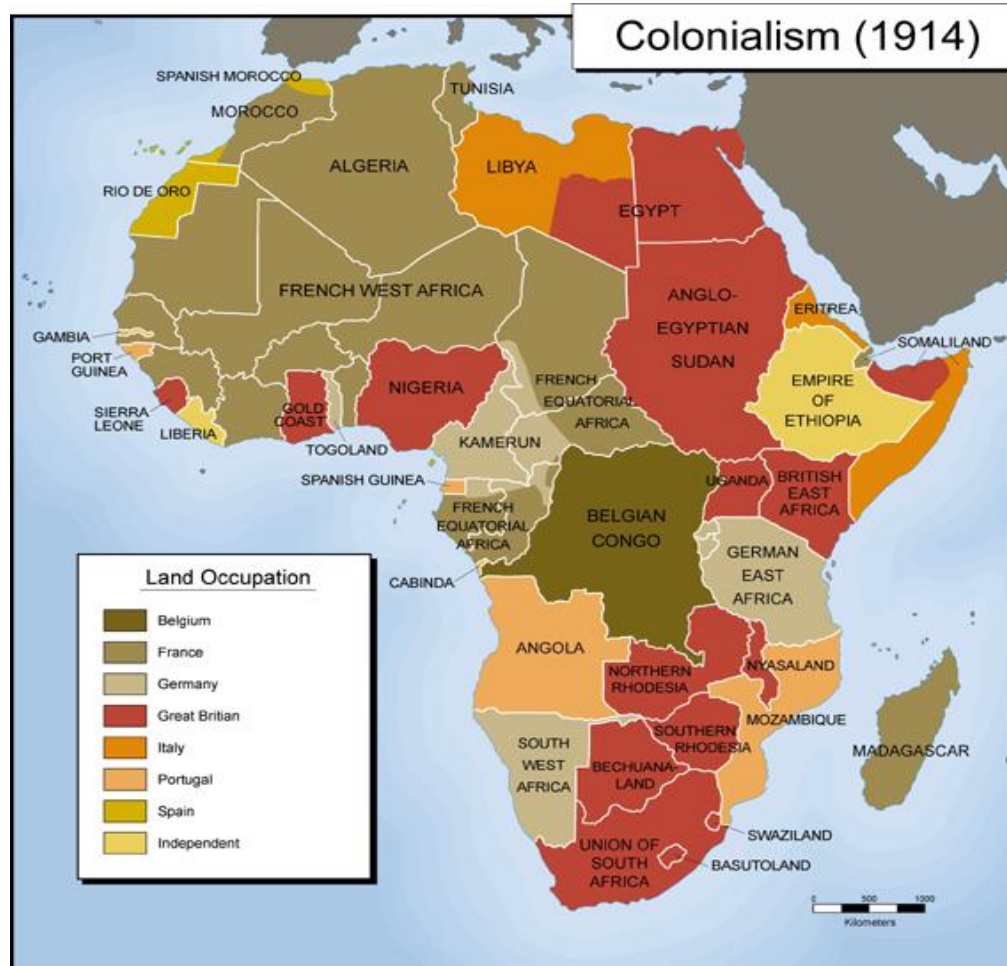
Colonialism is a very significant phenomenon in the history of Africa and the world at large. Its roots are in the rise of capitalism right away from mercantile stage. The colonisation of Africa however, took place when capitalism in Europe had reached the Monopoly Stage from 1870's. At the Monopoly Stage, there was stiff competition for capitalist (industrial) demands; investment of surplus capital, raw materials, market, cheap labour and settlement for the idle European populations that colonies could cheaply provide.

After the conquest of the continent, the *colonial State* was implanted as a devised mechanism for imperialist occupation and exploitation. Being foreign, undesired and repressive, the colonial state was imposed and upheld by coercion — from the start to the end, it worked with instruments of coercion; army, police, courts and prisons.

Colonial possessions in Africa;

- a) Belgium; the Belgium Congo (present day Democratic Republic of Congo), Ruanda-Urundi (mandated to Belgium after the first world war)
- b) Britain; Lesotho, British South Africa, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Egypt, Sudan and the British Somaliland (northern Somalia) and Togoland, British Cameroon, Namibia and Tanganyika mandated to her after the First World War.
- c) **France;** Benin, Albreda (in Gambia) Algeria, Chad, French, Congo), French Guinea (Guinea), Upper Volta, Burkina Faso, French Somaliland (Djibouti), Mali, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Senegal, Central African Republic, Tunisia and the French Cameroon and French Togo mandated to France after the First World War.
- d) Germany; Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, Namibia, Cameroon, Togoland, and Wituland.
- e) Italy; Eritrea, Libya and Italian Somaliland.
- f) Portugal; Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe.
- g) Spain; Spanish Morocco, and Western Sahara.

SKETCH MAP OF COLONIAL AFRICA ON THE EVE OF WORLD WAR I



THE COLONIAL STATE

Colonial State was an imperialistic administration established in the colonies to ensure smooth occupation and exploitation. In simple terms, it was an extension of the metropolitan state to the colony and so the colonial state was an imposed administration. It worked on a “remote system” implementing orders from the Metropolitan State for the fulfillment of the imperialist master plan of exploiting the resources in the colony to enrich the imperialist Metropolitan State. The administrative structure of the colony was composed of both European and African bureaucrats working in partnership, with the Africans serving at lower ranks, as minor functionaries.

General function of the colonial state

The cardinal objective of the colonial state was to safeguard the interests of imperialism in the colony. In response to that, all initiatives undertaken by the colonial state were geared towards creating conducive environment for exploitation of the colonies. What should be recalled is that ***the interest of the coloniser was to serve the coloniser and never the colonised*** and thus ***whatever*** was done by colonialists in Africa was to serve immediate (colonial) and future (neo-

colonial) metropolitan master plan of exploitation of Africa's human and physical resources. The functions of the colonial state included the following;

1. To maintain law and order. The coercive instruments (military) were mandated to keep law and order and implement colonial directives. African resistances such as the Maji-Maji (1905-07) in Tanganyika and Chimurenga (1896) in Zimbabwe aimed at restoration of African independence and ending exploitation were brutally quelled to consolidate colonial hegemony and smooth exploitation.
2. Linking the colonies to metropolitan states. The colony was an appendage to the metropolitan state and so, was significant in creating and maintaining the metropolitan-colony relations through systematic flow of information to and from the metropolitan state and implanting of orders from metropolitan state in colonies.
3. Establish and enforce capitalist relations of production in the colonies. The Colonial State was to guarantee smooth exploitation of the colony to attain the objective of colonisation. Forceful measures were applied like forceful cash crop cultivation, forceful labour, land alienation and taxation were put under the supervision of the military.
4. Implementation of colonial policies and laws. This meant carrying out administrative functions that focused on effective occupation and exploitation. Among others they included land and labour ordinances which ensured massive land annexation and African cheap labour. To show a few examples, the 1902 and 1904 land ordinance in Kenya legalised the appropriation of land for white settlers in central Kenya.
5. To defend the colonies from outside attacks. It was a duty of a colonial state by use of its military to guard the colony from attacks particularly from rival powers. During World War I for instance, the Colonial State in Kenya worked well in repulsing German invasion from Tanganyika.
6. Ensuring the colony was self-sufficient. The colony was supposed to meet its own administration costs so as to relieve the Metropolitan State from that financial burden. The colonial state was entrusted with the duty of maximising production to be in position to man its own running costs like paying administrators and construction of infrastructures.
7. To foster western culture. The Colonial State had the duty of imposing western culture to the colonial subjects for easy exploitation. The most significant tools used to alienate African culture were religion and education. These gave birth to brainwashed Africans who by dressing, speaking and worshiping like Europeans believed were as well Europeans and superior to fellow Africans and thus allied with the colonialist.
8. To protect colonial interests in the colony from competition. The colonial state sabotaged all possible competitors to safeguard metropolitan monopolistic positions in the colonies. For example highly demanded cash crops were reserved for only settlers; Asian and African middlemen were eliminated so as to give Europeans monopoly rights in production of certain goods and trade for maximum colonial exploitation. Also traders and investors from rival
9. European nations were restricted. Of all, the colonial states were functionally to create a basis for exploitation of the colonies. Colonial economy was therefore established as the basis of colonialism to meet the capitalist agenda of; acquiring cheap raw materials, reliable market for manufactured goods from Europe, new areas for surplus capital investment, cheap labour and settle European idle and poor excess population. This however, could not be maximally attained if African pre-capitalist self-sufficient

economies like barter trade and subsistence agriculture were left to compete with European capitalist oriented economies hence African economies had to be crushed.

Steps taken to destroy pre-capitalism production relations in the colonies

1. Monetisation of colonial economies. This was the major strategy of all others applied to destroy African's self-sufficient economies. Introduction of money discarded traditional subsistence production. As money became medium of exchange, subsistence agriculture and barter trade were replaced by cash crop production and wage labour as means to acquire money to spend on goods and service.
2. Destruction of local industrial sector. Superior quality manufactured goods from Europe were flooded into the colonies to deny local industries market. Yet also force was applied as manufacturing of certain items was illegalised and punitive punishments such as flogging and amputation were administered on those caught producing and using such items.
3. Liquidation of African trading system. Before colonisation. African merchants monopolised trade in the interior exchanging items with foreign merchants at the coast. Colonialism however, destroyed that trend by bringing in European companies like Royal Niger Company that were given exclusive rights to control trade in the colonies. It also crushed prominent African traders like Nana Olumu of Itsekeli, Jaja of Opobo and Samori Toure of Mandika who were substituted with European traders.
4. Taxation. A notorious taxation system was imposed on Africans who had to pay high taxes such as poll and house or face brutal punishments like flogging and imprisonment with hard labour in case of tax defaulting. To acquire money for taxes, Africans had to offer cheap labour to European ran economies like plantations and mines or cultivate the needed cash crops.
5. Denying African their means of production. The means by which Africans maintained their livelihood, land and cattle in particular were confiscated from them by the colonial authorities. Losing such means conditioned many to surrender their will for the service of colonialists as cheap labourers, working for low wages.
6. Establishment of cash crop economy. This substituted traditional self-sufficient subsistence agriculture for commercial agriculture. Africans were compelled to grow cash crops for money at the expense of food crops. Due to overconcentration on cash crop growing, sometimes colonies suffered from food insufficiency and had to import food.
7. Encouraging wage labour. Colonial subjects were encouraged to abandon their traditional occupations like subsistence farming and animal keeping in favour of the selling their labour for money. They were moved from their homes to work in plantations and mines ran by European capital investors.
8. Distortion of African culture. Alienation of Africans from their traditional cultural values tied them to European "***remote control***" By embracing western culture, many Africans adopted European lifestyle including consumption and production styles. They became dependent on wage labour and European manufactured goods like clothes. In so doing they provided cheap labour to colonial production and market to manufactured goods from Europe.
9. Monetization of the economies in the colonies turned Africans into money slaves. African had to abandon their traditional economies in seeking for work from the European

economies like plantations and mines or produce cash crops. It meant that people could not depend on their own without the colonial master hence Africans lost their self-dependency.

Role of the colonial state in the colonial exploitation

The main preoccupation of the Colonial State was to create and maintain effective conditions for an orderly running of economic activities of the colony. The colonial state undertook the following initiatives for easy exploitation human and material resources in the colonies;

1. Constructing transport infrastructure. Transport lines; railways and roads and shipping services were availed by colonial states to open the colonies for smooth exploitation. The lines projected to productive regions to connect them to the coast to ferry raw materials from the colonies and manufactured goods from Europe. Also labour was moved to unproductive zones. For example the Uganda railway opened Uganda to the coast while the central line in Tanganyika tapped labour from Kigoma to Morogoro, Tanga and Kilimanjaro.
2. Quelling resistances. The colonial state's coercive instruments such as colonial army, police and prison ensured peace and security in the colonies alongside enforcing production. They quelled resistances to colonial rule and exploitation, conducted land annexation, and forceful labour recruiting.
3. Effecting of taxation. Various taxes such as poll and hut taxes were imposed on colonial subjects to compel them to provide cheap labour to colonial economies like plantations and settler farms or to produce cash crops so as to get money to pay for the taxes.
4. Creation and implementation of laws. The laws were put in force to help in exploitation of the colonies. The laws were for example land and labour Acts. In Kenya the Master-Servant Ordinance of 1906 pushed Africans to squatters and obliged all adult Africans to provide cheap labour in settler farms for 90 days. Such laws eased land occupation and availed cheap labour to plantations and settler farms.
5. Colonial State linked the colony to the Metropolitan State. The type of economy that the colony had to develop was decided by the metropolitan state. The role of the colonial state then was to implement the directives given from the Colonial office in Europe. It could however, suggest or advise the metropolitan state on some matters.
6. Destruction of pre-capitalist economic system. Pre-colonial self-sufficient economic systems like barter trade, subsistence agriculture and industries were destroyed and replaced by economic systems of forced and waged labour and cash crop production.
7. It introduced cash crops and ensured constant raw material production. The Colonial State ensured cash crop production by providing seeds and the needed education and skills on production to African peasants who then were supervised to produce the required quantity of cash crops.
8. Land appropriation. The colonial state alienated arable land from the Africans and offered to settlers, plantation farmers, miners and to lay infrastructures to promote production in the colonies. Land was acquired forcefully by direct eviction or Land Acts. Such Acts included the 1915 Crown Land Ordinance in Kenya that provided land ownership to the settlers.

9. Provision of social services. Education, health, housing and other social services were provided in production areas to propel production. For instance, education provided necessary skills for production while health and housing maintained good health of European administrators and African labour. As these services were not provided free of charge, Africans had to sell labour or produce cash crops to earn money to get to the services.

The Nature and character of the colonial state

By nature, colonial state was;

1. Coercive and violent. Principally, foreign rule are always violent due their illegitimacy. The Colonial State employed maximum force from its imposition to its end when Africans fought for independence. It entirely relied on the military to implement its repressive policies. Cruel measures like flogging and imprisonment with hard labour and amputation were administered on those who went against colonial directives.

How the colonial state was violent (and Coercive,)

- a) Establishment of Colonial State; the Colonial State in Africa was implanted by forceful measures, involving compelling African societies into submission to colonial rule. By this, African resistances such the Hehe (1891-98), Shona-Ndebele (1896-97), Nandi (1895-1906) and Mandika (1882-89) resistances were brutally crushed.
- b) Establishment of colonial economy and enforcement of production; this involved application of forceful taxation, labour conscription and forceful cash crop production. In this view, because colonial economic system was exploitative, force had to be employed.
- c) Force was used to destroy pre-colonial African economies; traditional industries and barter trade for example were banned and victims were brutally punished. In the Belgian Congo, African artisans who were caught engaging in tool making after the prohibition, had their hands chopped off.
- d) Imposition of western culture; Africans were forcefully conditioned to abandon their culture to be assimilated into European ways. African bureaucrats and Christian converts were the main victims of culture distortion. Bureaucrats were compelled to adopt western dressing styles, and speak the languages of the colonial masters.
- e) Construction of colonial infrastructure; forced labour and land alienation was employed in the construction of transport lines, BOMAS, prisons and social infrastructure like schools and hospitals.
- f) Suppression of nationalists struggles; heavy arms confrontations were employed against nationalist movements such as the Mau-Mau in Kenya. National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria and Zimbabwe African National Union/Patriotic Front (ZANU/PF). In the same way, political parties were suppressed and nationalists detained and tortured.
- g) In ensuring peace and order; the colonial repressive organs i.e. the military observed the maintenance of law and order. Brutal punishments that included public flogging, unwarranted detention and amputation were administered on law breakers.

Colonial state established coercive instruments such as police, army, court and prison which were used to ensure smooth fulfillment of its exploitation agenda.

2. Exploitative in nature. The colonial state was to ensure the attainment of capitalist interest in the colony, so all possible measures were directed towards that. The agenda was only one, to exploit the colony's physical (land) and human resources to the maximum and nothing else. Untold exploitation was done to the colonies through a number of ways;
 - a) Forced Labour. Africans were obligated to offer free labour to the colonial authorities. For example in the Belgium Congo, an Act was passed in 1923 demanding an obligatory labour service of 60 days a year for all adult males, and even some had to work for 90 days. Similar laws were passed in other colonies like Master-Servant Act of 1902 in Kenya directed Africans to offer labour to colonial economies for at least 90 days a year.
 - b) Low wages. Despite of hard labour tasks and long hours of work, Africans received meagre payments. The wages were such low that African labour could hardly sustain their lives with, yet a large part of it had to be spent on tax payment. German colonial authority in Tanganyika fixed the wage of cotton planters at only 3 rupees per month.
 - c) Annexation of Africans' means of production. The major means of productions were land and cattle. These were confiscated by the colonialist to impoverish Africans and compel them to offer cheap labour to colonial economies like mines, plantations and settler farms which had grabbed their fertile lands. Land ordinances were passed to lease land to European authorities. The 1915 Crown Land Ordinance in Kenya that leased land to the settlers for 999 years give a reference to that explanation.
 - d) Taxation. Numerous taxes like hat tax, gun tax, poll tax, and many others were imposed on Africans. Taxes were forcefully collected from Africans or directly cut from their wages. Defaulters were heavily punished by subjection to forceful free labour. Taxes were mainly to compel Africans for labour and to raise funds for colonial administration.
 - e) Forceful cash crop production. Africans were coerced to cultivate the needed cash crops at the expense of their traditional food crops. Cash crops were the required raw materials to feed the industries in metropolitan industries. In southern Tanganyika, the Germans forced Africans to grow cotton and that contributed to the Majimaji resistance.
 - f) Destruction of pre-colonial economies. Local economies such as industries and trade were smashed to enable the Europeans monopolise the economies of the colonies. Africans were to concentrate on the provision of cheap labour and production of cash crops to avail market to European manufactured goods.
 - g) Long hours of work. African labour was made to toil in the plantations and mines for longer hours of at least 12 hours a day. Besides the rights to holidays was not extended to them like the European labour.
3. Segregation and discrimination tendencies. In respect of the colonial belief in Whiteman racial superiority, all top posts like commissioners and army Commanders were held by the Europeans, followed by Asian. At the bottom were the Africans who served as minor functionaries like junior clerks, messengers and manual labourers. Moreover, there were separate services like education and health for Europeans, Asians and Africans. The whites received the best services and attended to by qualified personnel from Europe. Next were

the Asians while Africans received poor services and attended to by lowly trained personnel like medical trainees.

4. Dependence tendencies. The colonial state never operated independently. Policies were designed by the colonial offices in metropolitan states and dictated on the colonies for implementation. Similarly, the colonial office appointed all major colonial officials like governors and commissioners whose role was to execute the directives given by metropolitan state.
5. Operated on an export - import oriented economy. The colonies mostly produced what they did not consume and consumed what they did not produce. The colonial state specialised in the production of raw materials for export to feed industries in Europe and also served as a steady market for manufactured goods imported from the metropolitan Europe.
6. Monoculture economy. Colonies were made to specialise in the production of a single type or group of raw materials. Mostly, the colonies were made to depend on agriculture and further still to specialise in a few cash crops like sisal in Tanganyika, cocoa in Ghana, cotton in Sudan, and sugar in Mauritius. Some colonies like Zambia were mainly concentrated on mining (copper) to supplement on agriculture. The aim was to keep the economy of the colonies undiversified so as to maintain dependence on Europe even after independence.
7. Weak industrial sector. The Colonial State had a small industrial sector mainly comprising of processing industries like cotton ginneries, sisal decorticators and mineral processors established purposely to reduce the bulkiness of raw materials to ease transportation to Europe. The manufacturing industrial sector was very small with a few Import Substitution Industries to make consumer goods like cigarettes, sugar, salt and drinks that were scarce in Europe or less profitable when imported from Europe. A strong industrial development was deliberately discouraged to;
 - a) Avoid competition between the colonies and the metropolitan states for raw materials, market and labour.
 - b) Strengthen dependence of the colonies on the metropolitan states for industrial manufactured goods and all other forms of technological and material assistance.
 - c) Make colonies specialise in the production of raw materials so as to serve as constant and reliable sources of raw materials for industries in the metropolitan industries.
 - d) Maintain ready market for European manufactured goods. This would enable capitalists producers remain dominating and enjoy lucrative trade with Africa. Colonies were to remain permanent consumers of manufactured goods from metropolitan countries.
 - e) Fear to create a large working class in Africa. Such a class of people would be a strong force to fight colonialism. The class would easily rise from the industrial workers and from the urban population in industrial towns.
8. The Colonial State was dynamic. The Colonial State was ever changing to fit new situations it faced as follows; in its initial stage between 1880's and 1914 it was predominantly militant because it had to encounter a series of resistances in the process of its establishment, yet from 1914 to 1945, it largely operated in form of civil bureaucracy, because most African resistance had been defeated and African societies had submitted to alien rule. From 1945 however, it went back to militarism to encounter independence struggles.

Methods employed to introduce, maintain and consolidate the Colonial state

The imperialist powers devised a number of political, coercive, economic and ideological capitalist oriented institutions to impose alien hegemony on Africa. The mechanism gives an explanation for despite of the few colonial administrators compared to African population colonial control was maintained for long.

1. Administrative mechanism. The colonial masters introduced different policies to administer their colonies depending on circumstantial dictates in the concerned colonies. For example while the British used indirect rule in Uganda and Nigeria, they used direct rule in Zimbabwe and the French continued with Assimilation in Senegal even after introduction of Association in other colonies. The main administrative policies employed were;
 - a) Indirect rule system. The system was applied by the British whereby the colonial subjects were governed through their traditional institutions as long as they did not contradict colonial interests. Local rulers were involved in colonial administration as subordinate rulers serving under the directives and supervision of European administrators.
 - b) Direct rule policy. The policy was openly used by the Germans, Portuguese and Belgians. In this system, the colonial master replaced native political systems and rulers with his own. He appointed his own local administrators who he used at lower levels but strictly had to implement his orders like the Akidas and Jumbes by the Germans in Tanganyika.
 - c) Assimilation policy. This was a French administrative system entertaining an idea that colonies and their peoples to resemble the metropolitan France. Africans were to behave, think, worship and speak fluent French like the real French. Colonies were to be part of metropolitan France as overseas provinces with direct representation to the French parliament and Assimilated Africans were to enjoy the same status like French citizen.
 - d) Association policy. This was used by the French after the failure of the assimilation policy. It meant establishing partnership with African rulers and their systems of administration. The French had to respect African institutions and culture and allow them develop independently other than forcing them to adopt French systems.
2. Military Principle. Colonial military institutions comprised of the army, police, prisons and courts of law established to maintain law and order for smooth exploitation. The forces were mainly made-up of Africans recruited from either within the colony itself or outside as mercenaries but working under the command of European officers. The Germans used the Manyema from Congo to crush resistances in Tanganyika. The British established the King's African Rifles (KAR), a military institution in most of their West and East African colonies.
3. Economic principle. Native economic systems were integrated into capitalist exploitative systems. Production was transformed from subsistence to monetary and external oriented to meet the demands of capitalism through which Africa's resources met extreme exploitation. Colonial economic sectors such as agriculture, mining and labour were established in three main strategies;

- a) Creation method which brought in new elements like cash crops and money;
 - b) Destruction method by which elements of traditional economies like local industries which did not favour capitalist exploitation were destroyed and;
 - c) Preservation method, by which some of the local economic system such as family labour and tools of production which could aid easy exploitation were spared.
4. The ideological principle. Colonial control went hand in hand with colonial ideology that aimed to create a brain washed Africans who do not believe in themselves and as well do not treasure their values and past. That is, a blind person about himself who believes in the Europeans and their values as best. By doing so, the imperialists made Africans themselves perpetuate colonialism for long even after independence in Neo-colonies. The dominant imparted ideologies were;
- a) Racism and racialism. Racism is an ideology that implants a belief that a particular race is superior to other races. Racialism is an ideology which emphasises that a certain colour is superior to others. Using the two, the Europeans claimed superiority of their race and colour over the Africans and made them believe that it is justifiable for the Europeans to rule them. Africans were made to condemn their colour, civilisation, religion and developments as not only inferior but also devoid.
 - b) Religion. The Christian religion was used as a tool for introduction and consolidation of colonialism. African converts were made to believe that other religions especially African Traditional Religion were uncivilised, paganism and inferior. Religion brainwashed Africans to soften their hearts for colonial rule and exploitation. It spread westernisation and created divisions among Africans, so, consolidated colonial policy of divide and rule.
 - c) Colonial Education. This education was meant to produce people who would fit in the colonial system hence was education for subjugation and exploitation. Schools and colleges focused on production of people who would assist in the exploitation of the colonies as follows;
 - Brainwashing Africans by making them lose confidence in themselves and what they have. To make them believe that colonisation was for their benefit. Syllabi were European oriented to emphasise on European developments and life to make Africans think on the importance of Europe.
 - Emphasis was on discipline and obedience. This produced loyal subjects who diligently served colonial interests. This also helped the colonialist avert resistances.
 - To produce colonial administrators. To create administrative machinery that would also serve as colonial agents. Africans were trained to serve as junior clerks, interpreters, messengers and the likes to help the coloniser in the administration of the colonies.
 - To serve the colonial relations of production. This education boosted colonial economy by providing basic skills needed for colonial production. For example farming skills to boost cash crop production.
 - To distort African culture. Its recipients were imitated to western ways of life by behaviour, dressing styles, language and thought. Indeed graduates of colonial education were more qualified to Westernisation and not in intellectual studies.
 - Creation of divisions. Colonial education created new classes of the African elites and non elites. The former mainly served as colonial agents employed by the colonial service and the latter mostly exploited as cheap unskilled labour.

- Consolidation of racism in the colonies. Education was racist; there were separate schools and syllabi for each race. Schools for Europeans offered best education followed by those for Asian, Africans received poor education for mental retardation.

The mechanism used to establish and consolidate colonial states are the same methods still being employed to consolidate Neo-colonialism to maintain the status quo of imperialists control and exploitation of the Third World countries, particularly Africa.

Phases of the Colonial State

The colonial state passed through three phases. The phases reflect the changing situations that faced it from its inception to its end when African countries attained independence.

a. *Phase I, 1880's - 1914*

This was the stage of colonial establishment. Being alien governance, the colonial state was forcefully imposed on African societies. Hence, *the stage was predominantly militant* since colonial masters had to crash a series of African resistances to impose alien rule in African.

b. *Phase II, 1914— 1945*

This was the stage of *civil bureaucracy*. In this period African resistances had mostly been suppressed and African societies had submitted to foreign rule. African societies sought for conformity with the colonial system but sought negotiations against colonial exploitation. Reaction against colonial rule and exploitation was manifested in welfare associations.

c. *Phase III, 1945—1960s*

This was the last period of colonial state characterised by militarism. It was the period of upsurge mass nationalism that pushed majority African countries to seek for a total eradication of colonial rule. In this period, the colonial state revived its militaristic nature to encounter nationalist movements so as to maintain its hegemony.

COLONIAL AGRICULTURAL SYSTEMS

The successful imposition of colonial state, after crushing African resistances, was followed by the fulfillment of the capitalist goal of colonisation, that is, exploitation of the colonies to enrich the metropolitan states. It was on such a basis that the colonial economy of which colonial agriculture was a central part was established in the colonies.

Agriculture was the most important economic activity in colonial Africa — the backbone of the colonial economy for all colonies. It was the easiest means to extract surplus from African labour and land resources. Agriculture production was organised around cash crop production which were introduced by colonialists all over Africa to provide raw materials for industrial production in the metropolitan countries and to generate revenue to run the colonies.

Aims for colonial agriculture

Like the entire colonial economic system or the colonisation agenda, agriculture was a means of making the colonies respond to the capitalist prospect. Agriculture had the following aims;

- a) To provide raw materials like cotton, sisal, coffee, tea, tobacco, pyrethrum, rubber and Oil palm to feed the machines of the industrial imperial power.
- b) To provide market to manufactured goods from the imperial power.
- c) To find room for further profitable capital investment for the enrichment of the colonisers.
- d) For African labour exploitation of their own resources for the benefit of the coloniser power.
- e) To provide employment opportunities to the unemployed and impoverished Europeans.
- f) To provide food to the population in the colonies; European, Asian and African. It also fed Europe during the crises like in the Second World War.
- g) To raise revenue for the colonial administration and development projects to help the colonies to be self-supporting.

Three agriculture systems were introduced in the colonies namely:

- a) Peasant agriculture;
- b) Settlers agriculture; and
- c) Plantation agriculture

The three forms of agriculture were introduced in response to either the dictates (interests) of the colonial state or the prevailing circumstance the colonial state encountered or both.

PEASANT AGRICULTURE

Peasant agriculture was a small scale agriculture production system by which African peasants working on their family holdings were obliged to produce the cash crops needed by the colonial master together with food crops for consumption.

Peasant agriculture was dominant in West Africa with colonies like Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast and Gambia and East Africa in Uganda and Tanganyika where African peasants specialised in a wide variety of cash crops depending on the climatic conditions of the area. Cash crops mostly produced on peasant basis were cotton, coffee, cocoa, tobacco and groundnuts. Nonetheless peasant farming was present all over the continent, even in settler and plantation colonies.

Characteristics of peasant agriculture

- a. Small scale farming; African peasants worked on their family plots which in most cases were not extensive and did not apply scientific methods to allow large scale farming.
- b. Dependence on family labour; the family attended to their own farms under the supervision of family heads. In most cases there was no hired labour.

- c. Production of both cash and food crops; peasant agriculture entertained inter-cropping. Peasants were required to produce cash crops needed by the colonial master and at the same time food needed for family consumption.
- d. African peasants retained their land; peasant agriculture did not entertain land annexation to allow African peasants to use their own lands and labour to produce cash crops for the colonialists.
- e. Use of simple tools; the instruments of labour remained the hand hoe and other related tools like the axe. This contributed to low output. Little capital was invested in peasant farming to hinder the development of agriculture in the colonies.
- f. It was not scientifically managed; peasant production depended on nature with no application of scientific techniques such as irrigation and application of modern machines like tractors. Due to this, production was vulnerable to natural difficulties like drought.
- g. High population; the system was practised in areas with high population because it was difficult to find extensive land for large scale farming. The large population could cheaply be exploited by cash crop production under supervision of local authorities.

Reasons for the preference of peasant agriculture

A number of factors favoured the introduction of peasant system of agriculture in the colonies;

1. Peasant agriculture was cheap. It needed little capital with use of simple tools like the hand hoe and the axe. In this way, it did not call for government subsidies or loans. Moreover, peasants were paid low prices for cash crops so the colonialist made super profits from them.
2. High population. Areas with high African population favoured peasant farming because it was difficult to find extensive land for large scale farming, also land annexation could hardly be done due to difficulties in displacing huge populations for Settler and plantation systems that operated on large scale farming.
3. Harsh climatic condition. Peasant agriculture was encouraged in areas where the climatic condition was hostile to European settlement. In areas with high temperatures and as well could not support cash crops like sugar and tea which could be cultivated on large scale.
4. To avoid resistances. Peasant agriculture could avert African resistances because it did not call for land alienation and forceful labour like settler and plantation agriculture. Resistances like the Chimurenga (1896) in Southern Rhodesia and Nama-Herero (1904-07) in Namibia against colonialism were propelled by such cases.
5. Presence of strong political organisations. Strong states like Buganda in Uganda and Asante in Ghana could create formidable resistance against colonial rule in case their land was grabbed to settlers and plantations. Besides that, they practised permanent agriculture under which cash crop growing could easily be implemented under the supervision of local rulers.
6. Readiness to grow cash crops. Societies that were willing to grow cash crops on their own were favoured for peasant farming. These either collaborated with the colonialists like the case of Buganda or had the tradition of producing cash crops like in West Africa where selling of palm oil to Europe as lubricants for machines had begun before colonialism.
7. Type of some crops. Peasant agriculture was preferred for crops that required extra attention like coffee, cotton and groundnuts. The extra care needed for such crops made it

difficult for them to be grown on large scale basis. Also were crops that were in low demand or crops like cocoa in (Ghana and Ivory Coast) that took long (15 years) to mature.

8. Role of the colonial agents. In areas where missionary work gained greater success, peasant farming was applied. Areas like the coastal West Africa and the East and Central African regions, the missionaries had prepared Africans for easy colonial exploitation. They softened their hearts, introduced cash crops and gave Africans skills needed for cash crops growing.
9. Production of both cash and food crops. Peasant production produced for both the capitalist needs by cultivation of cash crops and for local demands by producing food. That saved the colonies from frequent hunger and the same time provided the required raw materials.
10. Preference of the colonial state. Some governors like Hesketh Bell in Uganda (1905-10) and Donald Cameron in Tanganyika (1920s) preferred peasant agriculture. These discouraged white settlers coming into their colonies to save costs of settler and plantation farming.

Mechanism applied to encourage peasant agriculture

1. Introduction of cash crops. Cash crops were brought in the colonies and then Africans were instructed by colonial officers and agents to cultivate. For example, coffee was introduced in Tanganyika in Kilimanjaro and Kagera regions, in Kenya and in Uganda by the missionaries.
2. Taxation. Several taxes were introduced to make Africans grow cash crops. The brutal measures like imprisonment with hard labour and flogging used to enforce taxation conditioned Africans grow cash crops for money to pay taxes.
3. Importation of manufactured goods. Importation of essential and luxurious goods in Africa attracted Africans to grow cash crops to purchase them. Such goods included clothes, and bicycles and luxurious goods like mirrors, cigarettes, mirrors, and perfumes.
4. Use of force. Disciplinary actions were undertaken by the military against those who refused to grow cash crops or who failed to meet the expected amount. Punishments included imprisonment, amputation and flogging, notable example was the Belgian Congo. Laws were passed to prevent idleness purposely to force Africans produce cash crops.
5. Construction of transport and communication lines. Railway lines were directed towards cash crop producing areas. Feeder roads penetrated the interior and linked to railway lines to tap cash crops and access markets to purchase manufactured goods and social services.
6. Provision of social services. Education, health, religious and recreational services were brought to dominant peasant production areas. Because services were not provided free of charge Africans had to grow cash crops to attain money to pay for them.
7. Persuasion and rewards. Prize of goods like bicycles and clothes were given to peasants and local chiefs who reached the required amount of the needed cash crops. Also, missionaries encourage growing cash crops hand in hand with converting Africans to Christianity.

8. Agricultural education. Agriculture officers were sent to peasant areas to train them on cash crop production. Demonstration farms were established to experiment on better cultivation techniques, new seeds and pest and disease control.
9. Low prices for cash crops. This was a means of keeping African peasants produce cash crops. The low prices forced them keep on producing to gain more. It also limited their chances of starting other sources of income like trade.
10. Keeping land in the hands of Africans. Retaining their ancestral lands encouraged Africans to produce the cash crops required by the colonialist. They complied because they felt favoured since some societies had lost their land with the colonialist.
11. Cattle confiscation. In areas where Africans practiced livestock keeping or mixed farming, the colonialists dispossessed them of their livestock to make Africans concentrate on cash crop cultivation undisrupted by other activities.
12. Formation of Cooperative and marketing boards. The unions like the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union formed in 1932 were established to organise farmers to produce more cash crops. They encouraged peasants by eliminating middlemen who offered low prices and fixed prices to protect farmers against price fluctuations.
13. Use of missionaries. Missionaries never worked in isolation with the demands of colonial interests. Their converts were made to believe that Christianity and cash crop production were inseparable. That encouraged Christian converts to cultivate cash crops.
14. Provision of implements. Colonial masters provided farm equipment and tools like hoes and also fertilizers to encourage production. Mostly, the equipments were provided on loan basis so Africans had to pay back in cash crop.

Problems associated with peasant agriculture in Africa

1. Stratifications among the peasants. African peasants were divided into three classes namely; rich peasants (Kulaks) who operated on large scale farming and hired labour, middle class peasant who could occasionally hire labour and poor peasant who entirely depended on family labour and worked on small scale farming.
2. Food shortage. Famine attacked African societies due much concentration on cash crop production. As Africans were pushed to grow more cash crops to meet the demands of the colonialists, little attention was put on food production. Some colonies like Ghana had to import food at certain periods due to food shortage.
3. Exploitation of African peasants. The system was an easier means to exploit African labour. Africans were made to produce cash crops for the metropolitan states in return for low prices fixed by the colonial state. Consequently African peasants were impoverishment.
4. Monoculture. This led to the soil exhaustion due to permanent fields and repetition of the same crops over a long time. Soil exhaustion was as well due to poor farming methods. This led to poor yields of both cash crops and food crops.
5. Poor tools. The simple traditional tools were maintained such as hand hoe, axe and machete. The reason was to hinder agriculture development in Africa purposely to maintain dependence on Europe for market and economic assistance.
6. Low provision of social services. Peasant dominated areas were not given the same consideration like that given to the European settler regions. Low quality social services

were extended to peasant areas. For example dispensaries instead of hospitals like in the settler dominated regions.

7. Price fluctuations. The prices for agriculture goods were always not stable. When prices were high, cash crop producers were encouraged to increase production, when the prices were low, they were discouraged. The instability of prices subjected African peasants to higher exploitation and inhibited their planning.
8. Regional development. Colonial “development” projects like social services such as educational, health and religious services and transport infrastructures like roads and railways were mainly provided in areas with economic importance like cash crops producing areas. Areas with no economic advantages were not considered.

Integration of African peasant production into international capitalist system. Agriculture was commercialised with encouragement of cash crop production which were sold to the colonialists. In the system, Africa is the exploited by producing what they don't consume and consumed what they don't produce.

SETTLER AND PLANTATION AGRICULTURE SYSTEMS

SETTLER AGRICULTURE

Settler agriculture refers to farming by foreign immigrants who came to the colonies to participate in commercial farming. Settlers were foreign immigrants mainly from Europe and from colonising power who came to find permanent living in the colonies. They were mostly from the desperate groups of the poor and unemployed who were encouraged to come to the colonies to try their luck.

Most settlers had no capital of their own so acquired it from their governments and banks loans at lower interests. Colonial government expropriated extensive Arabic land from Africans and gave it to settlers who participated in large scale commercial farming, dealing with the highly needed cash crops like tea, tobacco, and coffee. Settler agriculture was predominant in southern Rhodesia, Kenya, Algeria, Angola. Mozambique and South Africa.

Factors that favoured settler agriculture

1. Cool climate. This form of agriculture was mainly preferred in areas with cool climatic conditions which favoured European settlement. Being from the temperate cool climate in Europe with low temperatures, European settlers could hardly bear with hot tropical climatic conditions of some areas of Africa. Areas with cool climate were mainly highlands like in central Kenya.
2. Low population. Settler agriculture was mostly established in areas with low population density. In such areas, extensive land was easily available for settler large-scale farming without dangers of African resistances.
3. Presence of weak political organisations. In areas where strong centralised states were not into existence, land alienation was easier due low population and weak resistance. Also it was hard to organise such societies for peasant agriculture. In Kenya for example, the

Kikuyu lived under small chieftaincies that could not resist colonial policies like land alienation.

4. Unwillingness of the Africans to produce cash crops. In colonies where Africans were not ready to participate in cash crop production, settler farming was the solution. Notable case is in Southern Rhodesia where the Ndebele resisted colonial systems right away from the inception. In such a society it was hard to persuade the colonised people to grow cash crops.
5. Support of the colonial state. Settler agriculture was dominant in the colonies where the colonial governments supported the system and laid ground for its success like in Southern Rhodesia where settlers were given more political rights in control of the country. In Kenya Charles Eliot, governor of Kenya (1900-04) encouraged settlers to move to the country.
6. Presence of white settlers. In some African societies like in Algeria and South Africa, white settlers had settled for a long time before colonial rule and were already participating in agriculture. In such states it was easier to establish strong settler agricultural system.
7. Nature of the crops. Crops like tea and pyrethrum that favoured cool climatic conditions and on high demand in Europe were produced by the settlers because they preferred such climatic conditions for settlement. In addition, the crops needed for large-scale farming like tea since settlers produced on plantation basis.
8. Availability of enough African labourers. Operating large-scale farming, settlers needed large amount of labour. This labour was recruited from the African populations which were evicted from fertile lands and relegated to unproductive areas which became labour reserves. Besides, labour laws like the Pass Laws made African provide cheap labour to settler farms.

Characteristics of settler agriculture

1. Massive land expropriation. Massive arable land was annexed to white settlers. The evicted Africans were pushed to labour reserves from where they were picked for cheap labour supply in settler farms. Land Acts were legislated to give settlers exclusive control rights of fertile land. Such Acts included the Land Apportionment Act in Zimbabwe and the Crown Land Ordinance of 1915 in Kenya which leased land to settlers for 999 years.
2. Intensive labour exploitation. Settler agriculture survived on forceful and migrant labour. Laws were passed to draw African labour to the settler farms. In Kenya, the Master-Native Act was passed in 1906 to force adult men to offer labour to settler farms for 90 days a year at 3 rupee monthly pay, the Resident-Native Ordinance of 1918 double to 180 days a year and reduced payment. Along with that, labour registration laws like the Kipande system (1921) in Kenya and Pass Laws in South Africa tied African labour to settler farms.
3. Settler agriculture employed high capital investment. Settlers were provided with capital by their mother countries, colonial states or banks which provided them with soft loans. Capital was invested in modern agricultural equipments such as harvesters and tractors, research, labour payment and social services.
4. Monoculture production. Operating on the large-scale farming basis, settler farms mainly specialised on the production single cash crops like tea, tobacco and pyrethrum. As more

land and labour was pooled to settler farms for the production of cash crops settler colonies experienced food shortages.

5. Segregation tendencies. European settlers were given the highest priority over other races. Africans were not allowed to procure land which was reserved for settlers neither were they permitted to cultivate cash crops produced by settlers like tea in Kenya. Besides, settlers were given political rights like direct representation in the Legislative Councils.
6. Infrastructural development. Settler regions were supplied with social and economic infrastructures like roads, railways, hospitals and schools for better wellbeing of the white settlers and to facilitate production. For example schools trained African labour and hospitals repaired labour in cases of labour break down (injuries and disease). The transport systems were to facilitate the ferrying of goods to and from the settler farms.
7. Export oriented. Settlers produced for export. They participated in commercial farming producing the needed cash crops (raw materials) to export to Europe. Little consideration was put on food production and as a result, settler dominated areas faced food shortages and sometime imported food.
8. Scientific management. Settlers applied advanced equipments and other scientific methods. Modern farm machines like tractors and harvesters and scientific methods such as irrigation, fertilisers and chemicals like pesticides were used by settlers. This means that settler farming was more efficient.
9. Intensive taxation. Africans were heavily taxed in settler colonies. Taxation was mainly aimed at pulling Africans from their homes to provide labour to settler farms because taxes were paid in cash. From their meagre wages, Africans paid taxes. Since brutal measures like flogging were administered on defaulters, Africans were conditioned to sell labour.

Means employed by colonial states to encourage settler farming

- i) Provision of capital. The settlers were provided with soft loans or credit by banks in the metropolitan states and within the colonies. That was a means to empower them purchase farm equipments like tractors and meet labour and social services costs.
- ii) Provision of free land. Colonial states seized fertile lands from the Africans and offered it to the white settlers. Ordinances were passed to give white settlers exclusive rights to own land. In Kenya by the crown land ordinance of 1902 land in central Kenya was leased to the white settlers for 99 years which in 1915 was extended to 999.
- iii) Development of infrastructures. Colonial states provided settler regions with transport facilities to accelerate the exportation of cash crops and importation of the needed manufactured from Europe. Industries were built to process the raw materials. They were as well offered better health and education services to ensure their wellbeing.
- iv) Provision of cheap labour. Colonial states passed laws to collect maximum cheap labour for settler farms for example the Resident-Native Ordinance of 1918 in Kenya required adult Africans provide labour to settler farms for 180 days a year. In addition there were Labour Registration Acts like Kipande system introduced in Kenya in 1921 which tied African labour to settler farms.

- v) Exemption from taxation. As colonial governments burdened Africans with forceful and heavy taxes levied on them from their meagre incomes, the white settlers were exempted from the taxes yet their incomes were far higher than those of the Africans.
- vi) Monopoly rights. Settlers were given monopoly rights to produce certain cash crops that were on high demand and fetched higher prices in the Europe. In Kenya for example, settlers were given exclusive rights to produce tea, coffee, sisal and pyrethrum.
- vii) Political rights. European settlers were given direct representation in Legislative Councils to defend their interests in the colonies. In some colonies they formed their own political parties like the ***Rhodesia Front Party (RF)*** in Zimbabwe where they also ran their own police. In some colonies they were offered minority independence like the ***Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI)*** in Zimbabwe from 1961 under Ian Douglas Smith
- viii) Marketing freedom and services. The white settlers were given freedom to fix prices for their cash crops and export goods. They were also allowed to directly export for higher prices. Such rights were not extended to the African peasants.
- ix) Provision of security. The government provided coercive instruments; the army, police, prison and court to ensure smooth and peaceful economic production to the settlers. Guards were provided to them to protect them from attacks by Africans.

Reasons for discouraging settler agriculture

- i) Settler agriculture was not the most preferred agriculture system in the colonies compared to peasant farming system. Most colonies were peasant dominated and indeed there were no exclusively settler colonies just like for peasant colonies like Uganda, Ghana, Ivory Coast and Nigeria. Settler agriculture led to primary and secondary contradictions in the colonies. A combination of circumstances account for that;
- ii) Need of high capital. Settler farming was too costly. Metropolitan and colonial states felt the economic burden of providing capital because most of the settlers did not have capital of their own hence home or colonial governments had to bear the costs of facilitating them.
- iii) African resistances. Settler agriculture attracted resistances from the colonised peoples mainly due to ruthless exploitation of intensive land appropriation and labour exploitation. More so, the segregation tendencies attached to settler colonies led to disgruntlement among Africans. The Chimurenga and Mau Mau are notable instances of the resistances
- iv) Contradictions between settlers and the colonial state. White settlers and the colonial state were always in conflicts. They struggled over the political and economic control of the state. Settlers demanded for more direct representation in Legislative Councils and independence. In some colonies they formed independent political organisations like in Zimbabwe.
- v) Conflicts between the bourgeoisies in Europe and the settlers. The bourgeoisies in Europe preferred peasant agriculture which enhanced easy exploitation through price fixing by which African producers were offered lower prices. This was contrary to the

- demands of settlers who fixed prices for their produce and sought for government protection against exploitations.
- vi) Difficulty in land acquisition. Settler agriculture needed extensive land for large-scale farming. Colonial states had to carry the burden of providing land which called for land alienation with its subsequent troubles like resistances and relocation of African population.
 - vii) The labour question. Settler farming also suffered from labour difficulties. Africans were always unwilling to provide labour to settler farms due to humiliating exploitation of lower pay, long hours of work and bad conditions of work. Colonial states had to use cruel measures like the labour laws such as Labour Registration Act of 1921 in Kenya.
 - viii) Need to integrate colonies in the capitalist system. Africans could easily be integrated into capitalist system through cash crop production that meant a shift from traditional subsistence production. This would simplify exploitation. Settler farming was an obstacle to that as it confined production into the hands of the whites.
 - ix) Food shortage. Settler agriculture dragged massive fertile lands and labour to settler farms for production of cash crops. This incapacitated the colonies to produce enough food as a result settler colonies faced food shortages and were sometimes forced to import food.

PLANTATION AGRICULTURE

Plantation agriculture is a large scale commercial farming. Plantation (an estate) is a large farm that mainly works on a monoculture system, specialising in production of a specific cash crop. Plantations in the colonies were operated by the capitalist companies or bourgeoisie businessmen who injected capital in the colonies for profitable commercial farming. These in most cases remained in metropolitan states but sent managers to operate business for them in the colonies. Plantations were also run by colonial states themselves.

Plantation agriculture was largely practiced in Madagascar (sugar and coffee), Mauritius (sugar), Belgian Congo (DRC), Gabon and Cameroun (rubber), Sudan and Egypt (cotton), Ivory Coast (coffee) and Tanganyika (sisal). All Portuguese colonies particularly Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde were mostly plantation agricultural economies.

Factors for plantation agriculture;

1. Low population density. Regions whose populations were low had plenty of land for plantation agriculture which requires extensive lands. That is regions or colonies with low population assured land availability for large-scale agriculture.
2. Africans unwillingness attitude to grow cash crops. Like settler agriculture, plantation agriculture was preferred in colonies or areas where the colonised peoples were not ready to cooperate with the colonial masters hence could hardly grow cash crops. In such areas colonial rule was forcefully implanted and the colonies were viciously administered like the Belgian Congo and Portuguese colonies.
3. Availability of enough cheap labour. Plantations required a large amount of labour force to operate. That explains why migrant labour was preferred. In colonies where plantation

agriculture flourished, labour reserve zones were located and Africans from such areas were ferried to work in plantations. In Tanganyika, labour zones were like Kigoma, Rukwa and Dodoma from where labour was taken to sisal plantations in Morogoro and Tanga.

4. Preference of colonial government. Some colonial states preferred plantation agriculture than other agriculture systems. Such governments mostly applied a direct rule system to administer their colonies like in the German East Africa, Belgian Congo and all the Portuguese colonies such as Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde. To attract investors, colonial states necessary infrastructure and security.
5. Presence of weak political organisations. The weak political organisations, besides having low population, could not resist colonial exploitative tendencies, notably, land expropriation, cattle confiscation and forceful labour. They could also hardly organise their people well for effective peasant production. In the Belgian Congo for example Africans were settled in weak and scattered chieftaincies that could organise strong resistance.
6. Willingness of capital owners. In colonies where capital owners were willing to invest in agriculture, colonial states supported plantation agriculture. Since plantation agriculture required huge capital for investment, colonial states depended on foreign capital investors from Europe.
7. Topography and soil fertility. Plantations required lowlands and fertile soils for prosperity hence they were established in areas with such characteristics. The low lands supported large scale farming and mechanisation while fertile soils could withstand monoculture and perennial cash crops for a number of harvests.
8. Climate. Plantation agriculture thrived best in climatic conditions that supported production of cash crops needed. For example, tropical climate favour production of sisal and equatorial climate for rubber and tea. It was practiced in climatic conditions that were not conducive to the settlement European settlers.

Characteristics of plantation agriculture

- i) It was large scale commercial farming. This involved intensive land alienation to create extensive farms (the plantations). Hundreds of acres were annexed to plantation owners to practice extensive farming.
- ii) Monoculture. Plantations dealt with production of single cash crops for export. The cash crops dealt with were the raw materials such as sisal and rubber needed in Europe.
- iii) Use of advanced tools and scientific methods. Plantation used advanced tools such as farm machines like tractors and harvesters and fertilisers and chemical elements like pesticides to maintain constant high production.
- iv) Plantations were owned by foreign companies and individuals. The owners of the plantation did not live in Africa but employed farm managers who work on their behalf in the colonies. Plantations were also run by the colonial state on behalf of the metropolitan states.
- v) Closer supervision. It needed closer supervision of estate managers and other workers. Estate managers were meant to meet the obligations set by the capital investors in Europe so had to supervise work to attain the expected results. African

- labourers were given numbers on which they were identified to ensure regular labour supply.
- vi) Infrastructure development. Colonial states constructed various infrastructures to facilitate plantation productivity. Health centres were provided to ensure good health for labour, transport lines to ferry goods and labour to and from the plantations and processing industries to reduce the bulkiness of raw materials from the plantations.
 - vii) Plantations were labour intensive. Despite the application of modern equipments, plantations were largely labour intensive. By use of coercive instruments of the colonial military, forced labour and migrant labour were used to ensure maximum labour exploitation in plantations.
 - viii) Export oriented. Plantation agriculture was entirely commercial dealing with production of only cash crops which had to be exported to metropolitan Europe as raw materials.

The methods used by the colonialist to ensure the constant supply of labour in settler farms and plantations

1. Confiscating Africans' means of production. The ordinances of land alienation and cattle confiscation deprived Africans their production means and thus laid the basis for wage labour. Victims of land alienation were relocated in reserves where they lacked sufficient means so had little choice but to move to European farms and plantations in search of work.
2. Compulsory taxation. Colonial governments imposed a number of taxes such as hut and poll taxes on Africans. Since the taxes were high, obligatory and to be paid in cash, they forced Africans seek for wage employment including in settler farms and plantations. In Kenya for example, taxes were equivalent of almost two months of African wages.
3. Use of force. Compulsory labour was omnipresent in colonial Africa. Various laws like the Pass (registrations) laws were passed to coerce African to offer labour in the settler farms and plantations. As well laws were passed against idleness and indolence.
4. Introduction of money economy as the only means of exchange in the colonies. Money motivated African men to move out of their homes to work in the settler farms and plantations so as to acquire it for buying basic needs and pay for social services.
5. Forbidding Africans to grow the most profitable cash crops. This was done to keep Africans from competing with European farmers and plantation owners and attract Africans to offer labour to settler farms and plantations as a means to raising incomes. In Kenya Africans were forbidden from cultivating coffee, tea, and sisal.
6. Regionalisation and setting labour reserves. Colonies were divided into productive regions and labour reserved regions. Africa labour was mainly recruited from the labour reserve regions which were the less or none productive regions to work in productive regions were settler farms and plantations were located.
7. Importation of manufactured goods from Europe. Various goods both luxurious and essential such as cloth, radios, bicycles, spectacles, wines and mirrors were brought to the colonies to attract African to sale their labour for money to purchase such commodities.

8. Provision of social services. Some Africans who received colonial education worked in settler farms and plantations. They were employed for low wages as labour supervisors, interpreters and messengers. Health services assured good health labour conditions. Besides, because social services that also included housing were not provided free of charge, Africans were forced to sell labour.
9. Use of inducements. The colonialist also used various attractions in the name of gifts through which items like bicycles, clothes and drinks were offered to African labourers for their hard work or after contracts hence attracted many African labourers.
10. The use of labour contracts. African labourers, mostly migrant labour were conditioned to sign labour contract with the colonialists. The contracts bonded Africans to work in settler farms, plantations and mines. Breaching of the contract was a criminal offence.

Effects of settler and plantation agriculture in the colonies

1. Intensive exploitation. Colonies where settler and plantation agriculture were practiced faced ruthless exploitation of African labour and land resources. They suffered from excessive land appropriation and unscrupulous labour exploitation in forms of forced labour, low wages and migrant labour.
2. Uneven development. Settler and plantation regions were supplied with infrastructures needed for swift exploitation. Transport facilities were laid to ease movement of goods and labour to and from the farms. Social services like health were provided to ensure good health of the whites and to repair labour. Regions with no economic importance were disregarded.
3. Famine. Much of the arable lands in dominant settler and plantation colonies like Kenya, Algeria, Zimbabwe and Portuguese colonies respectively, were reserved for cash crop production. Likewise, much of African labour force was taken to work in settler farms and plantations leaving family plots with little labour for enough food production.
4. Poverty to the Africans. Local populations were poverty stricken because as some were tied to settler farms and plantations to provide cheap labour, others remained on land taken by settlers as landless squatters. These also relied on providing cheap labour to the settler farms.
5. Unwillingness to grant independence. Settler and plantation colonies attained self-rule by warfare. Having made substantial progress in such colonies, the white settlers became more determined to deny Africans their independence. Worse, some colonies such as Kenya and Algeria and Portuguese colonies like Angola and Mozambique had been declared integral parts of metropolitan states in Europe.
6. Racism and segregation. The interests of the Europeans were always put first at all costs. Settlers were offered the best social services, were given full political rights with direct representation in Legislative Councils and full protection of the law. Economically they dominated cash crop production. Africans were downgraded to low levels for exploitation.
7. Resistances. Settler and plantation farming systems stimulated strong African resistances such as the Shona-Ndebele in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Nama-Herero in the Germany South-West Africa (Namibia) and MauMau in Kenya. The resistance were an

impulse of the untold suffering Africans had to face due to the excessive colonial exploitation.

8. Introduction of cash crops. New cash crops were introduced in the colonies where they were lacking. For example sisal was introduced in Tanganyika and pyrethrum and tea in Kenya. The same cash crops remained as sources of foreign exchange in Africa after independence.
9. Modernisation of agriculture. To a certain extent settler and plantation agricultural systems helped in the modernisation agriculture since they applied capital intensive techniques like use of machinery tractors and modern transport means alongside labour intensive methods.

General factors that determined the introduction of agricultural systems

The pattern of agriculture system in the colonies was dictated by the following;

1. Climatic factor. Colonies or regions with high temperatures and tropical climate were preferred for peasant farming because they did not favour comfortable European settlement. For that matter, Settler farming was preferred in areas with cool climate but also fertile soils and enough rainfall. In most cases, highlands were reserved for settlers like the Usambara and Kikuyu highlands and the low lands like Morogoro and Tanga for plantations.
2. Population factor. Areas with high population such as West Africa and Uganda were preferred for peasant farming since dislodging huge populations was burdensome to the colonialists and would easily stir resistance. Plantation and settler agriculture were encouraged in less populated areas because land for extensive farming was easily available.
3. Type of crops. Crops that required extra care like coffee and cocoa or seasonal crops like cotton were mostly produced on peasant basis as settlers and plantation farmers were discouraged by the long maturity time and high maintenance cost. On the other hand, crops that could survive with little attention or fetched high prices due high demand in Europe like sugar, sisal, tea and pyrethrum were produced by settlers or on plantation basis.
4. Nature of prevailing African political organisation. Areas with strong political organisations were preferred for peasant farming while areas with weak political system were preferred for settler or plantation agriculture. Strong Centralised states like Buganda practiced permanent agriculture which could easily be turned to cash crop production under supervision of the chiefs. Above all, there was the fear of resistance by colonial masters against land alienation from the strong states.
5. Readiness of Africans to grow cash crops. Areas that resisted colonial rule from like Ndebele and Nandi were set for settler or plantation systems since hardly could Africans be encouraged to cultivate cash crops on their own. While societies that collaborated like Buganda or that had cash crop economic tradition like the West African coast societies which sold palm oil and groundnuts to Europeans as natural oils even before colonisation were easily integrated into peasant agriculture.
6. The missionary factor. Areas where missionary work was effective mostly practiced peasant agriculture. Missionaries drilled well such societies like Buganda for conformity

with colonial expectations. They softened African hearts, introduced cash crops and gave them better skills for cash crop production. In Uganda and Tanganyika missionaries introduced coffee and trained Africans better on crop cultivation.

7. Preference of the colonial masters. The colonial state determined the type of agriculture system fitting its demands. In Uganda for instance, early governors like Hesketh Bell (1905-09) and from 1920s in Tanganyika, Horace Byatt and Donald Cameron preferred peasant agriculture despite pressure from white settlers to turn the colony into settler economy. In Kenya Charles Eliot the first Governor there (1900-04) encouraged settler farming and thus invited white settler to Kenya.
8. Nature of the soils. Regions with fertile soils in some colonies were preserved for settler and plantation farming. Africans in those areas were displaced and sent to reserves where they could be collected for cheap labour in the settler farms and plantation. Areas with poor soils were then left for peasant production.

Effects of colonial agriculture

1. Stratification of African peasants. African peasants were divided into three classes, namely; rich peasants the Kulaks who with assistance of the colonial government operated on large-scale farming and hired labour, middle class peasants who could occasionally hire labour and poor peasant who entirely depended on family labour.
2. Exploitation of resources. Agriculture was the easiest means of exploiting land and labour resources in the colonies. Africans lost their fertile lands for settler and plantation farming. To add salt to an injury, the evicted Africans were forcefully recruited for forced or low paid labour in settler farms and plantations. Where Africans survived land alienation, they had to encounter forceful cash crop cultivation and low prices for their goods and high taxation.
3. Regional development. Colonial “development” projects, notably, transport infrastructure and social services such as education, health, water, housing services were intended for regions with economic importance like cash crops producing areas to speed up exploitation. Areas without economic advantages were ignored
4. Food shortage. Much concentration was directed towards cash crop and little for food production. That meant putting much of agricultural land and labour force under cash crop production on settler farms, plantations and peasant farms. The result was low food production thus famine.
5. Introduction of cash crops. New cash crops were introduced in the colonies. For example sisal and coffee were introduced in Tanganyika and Kenya, cotton in Uganda and Tanganyika and cocoa in Gold coast. Cash crops were the raw materials needed in Europe.
6. Employment. Agriculture employed the largest labour force compared to other sectors like industry. Europeans flowed to the colonies as white settlers while others worked as estate managers and supervisors in the plantations. Many Africans worked as manual labour for low wages in settler farms and plantations.
7. Raised income to the colonial state. The colonial state raised income from taxing a large number of African labour working in settler farms and plantations. It also made super profits in trading with agriculture products since cash crops were bought from the Africans at lower prices and exported to Europe for higher prices.

8. Agriculture has become the backbone of Africa's economy. More emphasis on agriculture than other sectors like industry, prepared Africa to depend on agriculture as major economic activity. The colonial cash crops have been maintained as major foreign exchange earner of most African states for example cocoa for Ghana and Ivory Coast and sisal, cotton and coffee for Tanzania.
9. Integration of African economies into international capitalist system. Agriculture was commercialised by production of cash crop which were sold to the colonialists at low prices. In the system, Africa is the exploited and the imperial powers are the exploiters as Africans produced what they did not consume and consumed what they did not produce.
10. Environmental degradation and soil exhaustion. Forests reserves were cleared to open more land for cultivation. Also monoculture and over cropping led to soil exhaustion. This was due to permanent fields and repetition of the same crops over a long time.

Reasons why agriculture remained backward in the colonies

Though agriculture was the major economic sector of the colonial economy, no deliberate actions were undertaken by colonial governments to modernise the sector. Agriculture remained backward due to the following reasons;

1. Little capital investment. The colonialist invested little capital in agriculture. No enough bank loans were extended for agricultural development particularly to African producers. The maintenance of simple tools instead of modern sophisticated machines like tractors was also an obstacle to the development of the sector.
2. Weak sector linkage. Agriculture was not well linked to other sectors like industry. No heavy industries like textile industries were established in the colonies to manufacture agricultural goods but only processing ones like sisal decorticators, coffee processors, and cotton ginneries. Not only that, but also, peasant agricultural areas, were mainly remote with poor infrastructure something which discouraged agriculture production.
3. Plenty of cheap labour in the colonies. With ample cheap labour in Africa, the colonialists found no reason to make technological improvement in agriculture sector. They did not invest in modern machinery like tractors for agriculture production but heavily relied on the available plenty cheap African labour.
4. Labour was kept unskilled. Encouragement of migrant labour whose employment was temporary kept African labour permanently unskilled hence failed to acquire technical skills that would have helped improve agriculture production.
5. Upholding traditional relations. Agricultural prosperity in the colonies was limited due to maintenance of traditional relations. The maintenance of the family as the basic unit of production hindered the application of modern machinery and large-scale farming in the colonies.
6. Maintenance of export-import economy. Colonies were meant to specialise in production of raw materials which had to be exported to Europe for manufacturing and not develop industries. They had to depend on the importation of manufactured goods from Europe.
7. Maintenance to simple instruments of labour. The colonialists preserved the hand hoe and other related tools like the axe as major tools of production. This kept colonies behind in terms of technology and kept agriculture in the colonies backward.

8. Recruiting African labour in plantations. Energetic youth who would have been useful to develop peasant agriculture were taken to labour in plantations and settler farms. So the labour which would have developed African agriculture was concentrated in the development of foreign capitalist economies.

Significance of colonial agriculture

1. Production of raw materials. Cash crops like cotton, sisal, coffee, tea and cocoa were produced in the colonies and exported to Europe as the needed raw materials to feed agro-based industries like textile and food processing industries in the metropolitan states.
2. Food production. Agriculture produced food to feed the colonies to avoid occurrences of famine and saved the colonial states from costs of importing food. It also saved the imperial powers from starvation during and after crises like during the world wars one and two.
3. Capital investment. Agriculture was the major means for investment of surplus capital in the colonies since African had plenty of land and labour. Capital was invested in plantations, infrastructure, trade and industries like cotton ginneries and sisal decortications and food processing industries which depended on agricultural raw materials.
4. Market for European manufactured goods. Agricultural implements like tools, machinery and fertilizers were imported from Europe. Settlers, African peasants and farm labourers especially migrant labour spent large part of their incomes on manufactured goods such as cloth and bicycles imported from Europe.
5. Source of employment. A good number of Europeans were brought to the colonies to be employed in agriculture sector. Most of them came as settlers to participate in commercial farming but others as estate managers, supervisors and other related jobs. Africans were employed as cheap labour for low jobs and low payments.
6. Boosted other colonial economies. Other economies like trade, industry and transport were designed to boost agriculture. European trading companies came to Africa to deal in agricultural commodities. Processing industries like ginneries and sisal decortications were established and transport lines were extended to agricultural areas to carry agricultural goods.
7. Raised income to the colonial state. Agriculture was the major colonial economic sector. By involving many colonial subjects in colonial production, agriculture helped colonial states raise income through taxation and profits from cash crop sales and labour exploitation to meet its administration costs.

It can therefore be concluded, that the colonial period was an epoch of ruthless economic exploitation. The system tied Africa into exploitative centre-periphery relations that are now maintained in African countries as neo-colonies operating in agreement with the dictates of imperial powers. In the process African countries have remained price takers that cannot fix prices even on goods they produce on their own.

Sample — revision question

1. Examine four functions of the colonial state and explain its four characteristics. (NECTA 2015)
2. Analyse four objectives and four weaknesses of the colonial state (NECTA 2012)
3. Discuss the objectives, nature and functions of the colonial state.
4. Explain the stages of the colonial state from 1880s to 1960s.
5. Discuss the mechanisms employed by colonial state to maintain its rule.
6. State the roles of colonial state in imposing capitalist relation of production in the colonies
7. Highlight the roles of the colonial state in the introduction of capitalist relations of production in the colonies.
8. Examine six factors that determined the establishment of peasant agricultural system in the colonies (NECTA 2013)
9. Elaborate four features of peasant agriculture and four features of plantation agriculture during colonialism (NECTA 2017)
10. Discuss the reasons for encouraging peasant agriculture in some colonies.
11. Why the British colonialists did preferred peasant to other system of agriculture in Nigeria? (NECTA — Private Candidates 2015)
12. Account for the domination of peasant agriculture in west and eastern Africa during colonialism
13. Peasant agriculture was as well relevant to the colonial economy just like settler farming. Discuss six mechanisms employed by the colonial state to encourage peasant production.
14. Discuss the impact of domination of peasant agriculture in the colonies.
15. The factors that attracted the establishment of Peasant Agriculture are the same that discouraged Settler Agriculture system in West Africa. (Give six points)
16. Give four characteristics of Settler Agriculture and four means used to sustain the system by colonial states.
17. “Settler agriculture legalized land displacement between the two races in favour of the foreigner”. In light of this statement explain how the implementation of this system affected the natives.
18. Settler and Plantation agricultural systems shared the characteristics and impact. Show the relevance of the statement by analysing four points on each part.
19. Analyse six factors which determined introduction of various agriculture systems in the colonies.
20. Assess the importance of agriculture in the colonial economy. (NECTA 2014)

TOPIC FIVE

COLONIAL ECONOMY AND SOCIAL SERVICES AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War was the second imperialist global fighting from 1939 to 1945 between imperialist powers divided into two camps; the Allied power of Britain, France, Russia and the USA and the Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan. Though the war was mainly fought in Europe and the Pacific, the whole world was touched either physically or indirectly.

The impact of the war was appalling to imperial powers. Their economies were left in tatters; industry, agriculture, infrastructure and people were heavily shattered and surviving ones were dysfunctional. In such circumstances, the war clearly revealed the greater economic importance of the colonies to the imperial countries. During and after the war, they greatly depended on the colonies for supplies of the badly needed food and raw material such as cotton, rubber, leather, iron and tin for making war equipments, machines and for general economic survival. Practical measures were undertaken by colonial powers to effectively utilise the resources in the colonies to address the awful impact on the war on them - imperial powers.

Socio-economic effects of the Second World War on Europe and how the colonies were made to respond to them

The Second World War had direct and dreadful impacts on Europe than any other place in the world due to the fact that it was fought by European powers and on the European soil.

1. Loss of lives. The Second World War registered a historical death toll. Over 50 million people died in Europe alone leading to great shortage of manpower and sharp decline of production.
For compensation, colonial powers turned to the colonies to serve the great labour part in production. This resulted to excessive labour exploitation in Africa.
2. Destruction of property. The World War II had the heaviest infrastructure destructions in the history of the world. Transport, housing, factories, farms, schools and hospital were ruined. As a result there were acute shortage of essential goods and services such as housing, medicine and food stuffs. In the colonies, cash crop production campaigns, mineral extractions and labour exploitation were intensified to revive the crumbled European economies.
3. Socio-economic miseries. Misfortunes such as acute famine, diseases, unemployment, and general desperation hit Europe due to the war. For quick solution, imperial powers turned to the colonies where Agriculture schemes were introduced to provide raw materials and food to revive industries and feed the hungry Europe. More settlers were also encouraged to move to the colonies to check unemployment and boost cash and food crop production.
4. Financial crisis. A lot of state finances were used during the war until imperial powers ran bankrupt. During and after the war, they heavily borrowed from USA to meet war costs and reconstruct their economies. To restructure their economies and refund the loans, colonial masters intensely exploited the colonies to make them shoulder the financial burden of the imperial powers.
5. Decline of international trade. The fall in production in Europe and the war blockade affected international trade. To solve the crisis, colonial powers came up with Co-operative and Marketing Boards to enhance cash crop production to boost industry in

imperial countries. They also introduced Import Substitution Industries to make profits and check the scarcity of consumer goods like sugar, salt and beverages in the colonies.

6. Spread of socialism. The war tarnished capitalism and turned many towards socialism. In the colonies, socialism penetrated by supporting liberation struggles. To strengthen capitalism in the colonies for example the colonial masters introduced Master Farmers to consolidate class divisions among African peasants. Besides, changes were made in school curriculum to create a class of petty bourgeoisie who would perpetuate capitalist interests after independence.
7. Call for decolonisation. The upsurge demands for independence within the colonies and international pressure from Pan-Africanism, UNO and superpowers for the decolonisation contributed to the changes in colonial economies. To accelerate exploitation for economic recovery before decolonisation, colonial powers devised new mechanisms like Agriculture Schemes and mining expansion.

CHANGES IN COLONIAL ECONOMY AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Adjustments were made in colonial economy to respond to the war crisis on the imperial powers. The new plans, strategies and schemes were laid down during and after the war had a sole agenda of effectively exploit the colonies and make them carry the burden of reconstruction of the metropolitan war ravaged economies.

To effect “development” plans and strategies the British came up with the *British Colonial Development and Welfare Acts of 1940 and the Overseas Food Corporation in 1948* and the *French in 1944 came up with Economic and Social Investment Development Fund (FIDES)* to establish funds for socio-economic investment in their colonies. Much of the investment went directly to sectors like agriculture, infrastructure, industry and mining with more attention given to settler colonies like Kenya, Algeria and Southern Rhodesia. Portugal and Belgium had no clear new plans for any significant changes since were least affected by the war.

The colonial Development Plans

The development plans aimed at maximising colonial production and profits that would help metropolitan states recover from war losses. The plans were also to ensure that, colonies meet their own costs of administration at least with very few grants from the metropolitan states.

Examples of the Plans

1. The British Ten - years Development Plan, 1947— 1957

The plan was launched under the provision of the British Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1940 and 1945. In this plan, the British set strategies for overseeing large production in the colonies for their own benefit. The plan included investment in public health and education fields to ensure an efficient healthy work force and to equip Africans with few skills necessary for improving production. The Act provided credits of 50 million pound for the following 10 years. In total, Britain committed \$120 million for the plan.

The aims of the plan

- i) To train responsible bureaucracy capable of running ordinary functions of the colonial government.
- ii) To produce an economy capable of supporting the colony and of affording a reasonable standard of living.
- iii) To improve transport infrastructure so as to tap more raw materials from the colonies.
- iv) To educate Africans on the sense of judgment at various issues. Aiming at increasing cash crop production by instilling better farming skills in Africans.
- v) To develop natural resources like water supply, soil conservation, land usage, wild life, livestock, fisheries and forestry for easy exploitation of resources.
- vi) Improve on public health and life standards with the aim of ensuring an efficient healthy workforce to boost productivity.
- vii) To find employment for Europeans who were rendered unemployed due to the war. They were to be employed in different fields like agriculture, industry and administration.

2. The French, like the British also came out with their own Development Plans

a) Ten -year Plan 1942— 52

This made a small (modest) provision for colonies. The major aim of this plan was to protect foreign trade in the French empire by guaranteeing its markets.

b) The French Ten —year Development Plan, 1947-1957

In the Brazzaville Conference of 1944 French administrators met to plan for their colonies. They came up with the *Economic and Social Investment Development Fund* - FIDES (Fonds d'investissement de développement économique et social des territoires d'outremer). It was a ten-year plan to be implemented between 1947 and 1957. It was to be financed by the overseas territories investment and development funds. Through FIDES, the French gave loans and grants into their colonies for development of infrastructure, agriculture and industry.

Aims of the Plan

- i) To develop transport infrastructure to boost agriculture, trade and industry for the easy tapping of resources from the interior to the coast.
- ii) Promote the agricultural sector, so as to improve production of cash crops like coffee and cotton. Agriculture remained the base of the economy.
- iii) Develop small and light industry important in processing raw materials and production of a few consumer goods.
- iv) To promote foreign trade in the French empire by guaranteeing its (empire) markets.
- v) To produce an acceptable workforce (labour). In this the colonial practice of forced labour tended to give way to the establishment of a free labour market, in the form of the payment of wages in exchange for labour of the exploited Africans.

Generally, the plans' main objective was to reconstruct the metropolitan countries by using the resources of the colonies. Therefore the position of the colonies was never meant to change. The colonies remained exporters of raw materials and importers of industrial manufactured goods from the metropolitan Europe.

CHANGES IN COLONIAL AGRICULTURE AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR

Agriculture was made and maintained as the major economic (backbone) of the colonial economy from the start of colonial exploitation, even after the Second World War that situation was upheld. The leading colonial powers majorly involved in the war; British and France introduced a number of policies to improve agricultural productivity in the colonies. The agenda was to exploit the resources in the colonies as much maximum and hastily as possible in order to rehabilitate metropolitan war ravages economies.

Notably, there was increased agriculture commercialisation to stimulate crop production and strongly integrate the colonies into international capitalist system. A number of measures were either introduced or re-emphasised to increase agriculture production.

The changes made;

AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

During and after Second World War, colonial powers established some agriculture development schemes in the colonies. In British colonies the schemes were mostly established under the Overseas Food Corporation. The aim was to maximise agriculture production and profits by stimulating African peasants to adopt better farming methods. Direct colonial directives with local authorities were entrusted to carry out the schemes' implementation.

Among the several schemes established the following were the major ones in Tanganyika;

- i) Crop cultivation schemes. The schemes were introduced to boost production of cash crop and food crops due insufficiency of both raw materials and food stuffs in the metropolitan Europe after the war. Notable examples are the Groundnuts Schemes at Kongwa and Nachingwea due shortage of vegetable oils in Europe. Other schemes were for wheat in Mbulu and cotton growing in Sukuma land that required each Sukuma land household to grow an acre of cotton.
- ii) Land usage and rehabilitation schemes. These were mainly established in hilly areas to control soil erosion. For example the Uluguru Mountain Land Usage and Rehabilitation scheme in Morogoro where terraces were introduced on hill-slopes to check on soil erosion. Another one was the Mlalo Rehabilitation Scheme established for rice and cotton growing.
- iii) Dam construction and irrigation schemes. The dams were to control floods and soil erosion, preserve water for irrigation and help in power generation. Notable examples were Mlalo Basin Irrigation scheme, the Unyanyembe (and Owen fall in Uganda). Dam schemes were for hydro electricity power generation and irrigation purposes.

- iv) Destocking schemes. The schemes were introduced in areas where Africans practiced pastoralism like in Masai land, Mbulu and Sukuma land. Africans with large herds had to reduce the number of cattle (mostly by 1/3). The aim was to check soil erosion, retain soil fertility and create large areas and labour for crop cultivation.
- v) Resettlement schemes. Resettlement was mostly done in areas with dense population. People were transferred to areas with less population or less productive lands to expand land for cultivation. In Sukuma land for example, about 30,000 natives were moved from the highly populated areas of Mwanza like Kwiriba and Maswa to Geita district between 1947 and 1961 to give more land for cotton growing.
- vi) Bush Clearing Schemes. Bush clearance was done to control pests and diseases and expand land for agricultural and settlement. It was done in Tsetse fly infested areas to control Sleeping sickness and Nagana diseases. Such diseases affected labour productivity and crop and livestock production. In Mbulu about 600 square miles were cleared for new settlement.

Problems faced before the introduction of the agricultural and settlement schemes

1. Over population; the increasing population pressure on land caused serious land fragmentation which led to soil exhaustion and low peasant production due to limited land.
2. Soil erosion and exhaustion; this was mainly caused by poor land use techniques and land over exploitation. As a result, causing soil infertility and crop failure.
3. Need to resettle Africans under improved agricultural conditions, so as to boost crop production and improve their standards of living so as to expand European market.
4. Need to improve stability of peasant cultivation by developing commercial crops. to boost cash crop production so as to produce the needed amount raw material by colonial states.

The British established development schemes in several districts. The examples include; the Usukuma Development scheme for cotton, Mbulu Development Scheme for wheat, Mlalo Rehabilitation Scheme for rice and cotton, the Uluguru Land Usage Scheme for rice and the Nachingwea, Urambo, and Kongwa development schemes for groundnuts cultivation.

Crop cultivation schemes in Tanganyika

a) The Groundnut Schemes

The Groundnuts schemes were established under ***British Overseas Food Corporation (OFC)***. The scheme was established to address the acute shortage of Vegetable oils and fats in Britain after Second World War. During the war, Britain depended on importation of these commodities and after the war the commodities were in short supply on international market. In Tanganyika these scheme were opened up in Kon Nachingwea and Urambo.

The key player of the schemes was Frank Samuel, managing director of United African Company (UAC) which was a subsidiary of Unilever a multinational company that was leading supplier of margarine and soap in Western Europe.

Samuel's plan of groundnuts cultivation was welcomed by the British government which was willing to use any possible means to address the British vegetable oil and fats shortages. The British government immediately dispatched a commission of three experts for feasibility study. After nine weeks in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia, the commission found Samuel's proposal sound and advised the government to invest in a scheme for the mechanised production of groundnuts on 3,210,000 acres of land of which 2/3 of it was to be in Tanganyika. The three sites selected in Tanganyika were Nachingwea, Kongwa and Urambo in central Tanganyika along the central railway, and Nachingwea in the southern province.

The plan was approved by the British government in December 1946 and in February 1947 its implementation began. Unfortunately for the British however, the scheme was a failure by 1950's and was terminated in 1951 after utilising over \$ 36 million.

Reasons for the Groundnut scheme

- a) To address the problem of shortage of vegetable oils and fats to support the weakened British population due to the war.
- b) To increase food supply to British. There was food insufficiency in Europe after the war. Colonies were made to respond to that by increased food production.
- c) Raw materials. Groundnuts were a wanted fat content raw material needed for manufacturing margarine, soap, vegetable oils and lubricants.
- d) To be added to the existing colonial production system, that is, settler, plantation and peasant production so as to satisfy the metropolitan demands as the result of Second World War.

Effects of the Groundnut Schemes on Tanganyika

Though the scheme was to a greater extent a failure it registered some effects on Tanganyika or in areas where they were opened.

- a) Development of transport infrastructure. Transport lines were constructed to access the farms. An attempt was made to construct a railway line linking the Nachingwea to Port of Mikindani to transport groundnuts.
- b) Increase in the number of people in wage employment. A number people, Europeans and Africans were employed in the plantations to provide cheap labour. Others migrated from different regions to the plantation sites.
- c) Improvement of skills. Some skilled and semi-skilled African labourers like machine operators, drivers and in other agriculture fields were trained to work in the schemes.
- d) There was increase in wages and prices of goods and services. This was due increased mobility through labour migration, and shortage of social services like health services.
- e) Food shortage. The increased demand of food by the expanded labour in the projects and heavy reliance on groundnuts other than other food crops resulted to food shortage. Those who depended on food purchases like labourers suffered the more.
- f) Rise of social unrests and dubious behaviours. Habits like alcoholism, prostitution and theft arose around the schemes due inflation of wages and goods. The problem was escalated by migrant labour

- g) Urbanisation expanded around schemes' sites. These included Urambo, Tabora and Nachingwea where labourers and administrators resided for rest and recreation.
- h) Displacement of people. Implementation of the schemes involved resettlement of people to avail expensive land for large scale groundnut cultivation.
- i) Environmental degradation. Bushes and forests were cleared to expand land for large scale groundnut cultivation and infrastructure construction.

a) Wheat growing scheme

The British government decided to develop wheat growing scheme in the course of the Second World War to help feed a war-ravaged and severely rationed Britain and eventually Europe. The scheme had 50,000 acres (202 square km) on the Arda plains just outside Arusha; 25,000 acres on Mount Kilimanjaro; and 25,000 acres towards Ngorongoro to the west.

The scheme was put under the operation of Freddie Smith, an American farmer in Tanganyika and David Gordon Hines was the accountant responsible for the finances. All the machinery was borrowed from the USA, including 30 tractors, 30 ploughs and 30 harrows. There were western agricultural and engineering managers. Most of the workers were Italian prisoners of war from Somalia and Ethiopia. The Arda plains were too arid to be successful, but there were good crops in the Kilimanjaro and Ngorongoro areas.

Reasons for the failure of the schemes

Agriculture schemes introduced in the colonies after the Second World War mostly failed due the following reasons;

1. Insufficient funds. Colonial powers still suffering from the war damages and debt repayment faced shortage of funds to run projects in the colonies. They invested little resources but expected to reap a lot to recover from the war losses. When quick gains were not realised, the projects were immediately called off.
2. Poor planning. Colonial powers rushed into execution of the schemes with little preparation due to urgency to address the shortage of raw materials and food stuffs in their metropolitan countries. Insufficient research was done and little consideration was put on environment difficulties like droughts in some areas like Kongwa which accounted for the schemes' failure.
3. Poor Machinery. There was shortage of machinery in Europe after the World War II. The little machines available were mostly inefficient as they had not been tested in Africa and suffered from problems of recycling since were converted from war tanks hence faced frequent mechanical breakdowns. More so, their maintenance was affected by shortage of spare parts and inexperienced drivers and mechanics.
4. Poor management and administration. Most officers chosen to take charge of the schemes were unqualified and unskilled. They were mostly ex-soldiers from Europe who did not only lack agricultural skills and but also managerial skills. In some cases they were harsh and so incited African labour resentment.
5. African resentment and labour difficulties. The scheme managers faced serious labour problems. Local people did not support the schemes and resented due to the exploitative

and coercive nature of colonial authorities. They were racially abused and received low wages with high taxation and faced land alienation.

6. Ecological difficulties. Some sites where the schemes were introduced were not conducive for crop cultivation. For example, Kongwa, Urambo and Nachingwea where the Groundnut schemes were established received inadequate rainfall and had pests and diseases like Rosette that attacked groundnuts and humans. Moreover, some sites had poor soils.

MASTER (PROGRESSIVE) FARMERS

Master farmers were a section of African peasants selected after 1945 by colonial governments in specified areas in the colonies to operate large scale cash and food crop production. They were provided with modern facilities such as tractors, seeds, fertilisers and training to boost production as the need for agricultural products in the metropolitan countries intensified. In initiating Master Farmers, the colonialists believed that Africans were incapable to adopt modern farming without assistance of the whites and that they had limited capital of their own to invest in modern farming to boost production of raw materials and food highly needed in Europe.

Areas where Master farmers were introduced included; Mbulu where about 70 Master Farmers were introduced to cultivate wheat; Urambo to grow tobacco after the failure of the Groundnut scheme; Rungwe for coffee production; Isarni, to grow Maize and in Geita, they cultivated cotton under Mweli Farmers Union which grew in Buchosa chiefdom (in Sengerema).

Objectives of introducing Master farmers

- i) To boost agriculture production in the colonies. Master farmers were to work in partnership with settlers and state plantations in large scale cash crop production to increase cash crop production. Also were allowed to grow cash crops which previously were reserved for only white settlers.
- ii) To consolidate the colonial policy of divide and rule. Master Farmers would strengthen class division and exploitation among African peasants who came to be classified into three groups; the Rich farmers (Kulaks) - the Master Farmers; Middle class peasants and; poor peasants who participated in low scale production basing on only their family labour.
- iii) To help in penetration of capitalist relations in rural areas. By 1945, rural areas were still largely depending on subsistence agriculture and produced only little cash crops. Through Master Farmers, the colonial masters would smoothly entrench commercial farming in rural areas to encourage more cash crop production.
- iv) To modernise agriculture and make Africans fully participate in the production. The introduction of Master Farmers also looked increasing participation of Africans in the production of the highly needed raw materials and food. This was to be implemented by providing and using modern farming techniques like irrigation and fertilizers.
- v) For demonstration. Master Farmers were also to be used as a role model for other Africans learn and imitate better farming methods. Therefore they were used to encourage more Africans participate in cash crop production. The successes attained

- by the Master Farmers were to attract other African peasants to participate in cash crop production.
- vi) Expand job opportunities in rural areas. Since they operated in large scale farming, Master-Farmers had to hire labour from rural populations. From their wage incomes, Africans would expand market for manufactured goods in the colonies.
 - vii) To cool anti-colonial pressure. Colonial powers intended to use Master Farmers to check the momentum of African nationalism by increasing economic rights to the Africans and make them concentrate much on production. Besides, Master Farmers would also employ many Africans on farms to limit rural-urban migration that was also a source of anti-colonial drives due difficulties like unemployment in towns.

How the colonial government supported Master Farmer

- a) Financial support. Soft loans were extended to Master Farmers to facilitate production. They could spend the cash on purchasing tools and payment of labour and agriculture officers.
- b) Agriculture education was provided to them. Agriculture officers were sent to them and demonstration farms established to give them better techniques in farming.
- c) They were provided with farm implements that included modern machines like tractors and local tools like hand hoes
- d) They were as well provided with seeds for cultivation of essential cash and food crops like wheat, cotton and tea
- e) Assured market for their crops. Marketing Boards were established to make research on market and control price fluctuation. Also Cooperative Unions improved prices by removing middlemen.
- f) Provision of transport infrastructure. Transport lines mainly roads were projected to regions where intense agriculture production was conducted including where Master Farmers were.

Impact of Master Farmers

- i) More land was put under effective arable farming. The introduction of Master Farmers expanded land for agricultural purposes since Master Farmers practiced large scale farming like white settlers.
- ii) Increased raw materials production By operating large scale agriculture like white settlers, Master Farmers increased cash and food crop production and increased availability of raw materials like cotton and coffee and food crops like wheat that were highly needed in Europe.
- iii) Class divisions among African peasants. The introduction of Master Farmers classified African peasants in three groups; the Rich peasants, the Kulaks who were the Master Farmers sponsored by the colonial state with modern equipments to practice large scale farming; the Middle class peasants and: the poor class peasants who were small scale farmers depending on family labour.
- iv) Regional development. The areas with the Master Farmers were provided with economic infrastructures like transport facilities, roads and railways and social

- infrastructures like education and health services to enforce production. The non-productive areas were disregarded.
- v) Agricultural advancement. Deliberate efforts were done to equip Africans with better farming skills to boost agriculture production, for example, through agriculture education and demonstrations farms. Also, by the application of modern farm machines like tractors that were provided to Master Farmers.
 - vi) Effective utilisation of Africa labour Master Farmers were helpful in exploiting rural masses in the colonies. They employed fellow Africans in their farms and thus helped the colonial masters to put African labour into effective exploitation in agriculture production

PEASANT COOPERATIVE UNIONS AND MARKETING BOARDS

Marketing Boards

Marketing Boards were organisation set up by colonial governments to regulate the buying and selling of cash crops in the colonies. They were formed to help sell farm products by fixing prices and control price fluctuation of cash crops. In Tanganyika a number of capitalist companies were introduced in the marketing of cotton and sisal. They controlled the buying of cash crops from farmers and selling to the world market.

The boards had the following functions

The Marketing Boards were set for the following responsibilities;

- i) Fixing prices of cash crops. The boards fixed prices in relation to their demands in the world market.
- ii) Control price fluctuations so as to ensure constant or predictable prices to encourage cash crop production.
- iii) Buying cash crops in the colonies. The boards were entrusted with the duty of buying and collecting cash crops all over the colonies.
- iv) Issue licences to dealers of cash crops in the colonies. This was done to eliminate the monopoly of Asian middlemen in dealing with cash crops
- v) Link producers in the colonies with buyers in the metropolitan states. Through the boards farmers could be informed of the required cash crops in the metropolitan Europe.

Cooperative Unions

Cooperative unions were associations formed by African peasants with the help of the colonial government to encourage cash crop production. They were formed against Asian middlemen who exploited peasants by offering them lower prices for cash crops.

Cooperative Unions began in the 1920s (inter-war period) as the impact of capitalist crises of First World I and Great Economic Depression worsened to the imperial powers and the colonies. After World War II however, the colonial administration undertook systematic efforts to develop

cooperatives into powerful business ventures that controlled agricultural production, marketing and processing in rural areas, specifically export crops.

Examples of these marketing boards and cooperatives include the: Kilimanjaro Native Planters Association, Victoria Cooperation in Sukuma land in Mwanza, Usambara Native Growers Association in Tanganyika; the Bataka Association, Coffee Marketing Board and the Uganda Cotton Marketing Board in Uganda; the Kikuyu Central Association, Taita Association and Kavirondo Association in Kenya and the Abaingine association and The Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board in Ghana.

Aims of Co-operative Unions

- i) To eliminate middlemen. The Co-operative Unions and Marketing Boards were formed to do away with the middlemen who were discouraging African peasants by offering lower prices for their cash crops. The middlemen were mostly Indians and Arabs in East Africa and Lebanese and Syrians in West Africa.
- ii) To stabilise producer prices and peasants' incomes. Among the primary aims of the boards was to provide efficiency in marketing for the cash crops by controlling price fluctuations. In Kenya Co-operative Unions and marketing Boards attempted to fix prices for cash crops.
- iii) To promote agriculture transformation and rural development. They encouraged peasants to participate in cash crop cultivation to boost incomes. In addition, they helped them make collective use of surplus acquired from sales for example like building stores and roads.
- iv) They aimed at uniting peasants for collective bargaining and fight intensive exploitation such as low prices, taxation, forced labour and land and cattle confiscation. African peasants could negotiate for better terms and prices as a group than on individual basis.
- v) To link farmers and the colonial government. They represented African peasants to the colonial government. They reported peasants' grievances and negotiated for better terms like better prices. In Tanganyika, Co-operatives of coffee growers in Kilimanjaro helped farmers by negotiating for better terms.
- vi) To handle the problem of supply and distribution of farm facilities. The unions aimed at uniting farmers and provide them with agriculture equipments, marketing, storage, packaging and transport facilities, in the Gold Coast cocoa farmers and in Tanganyika and Uganda coffee farmers were so advanced that their cooperatives provided such facilities.
- vii) To educate African peasants on farming techniques and scientific methods like pests and disease control. They set demonstration farms and experimented on new seeds and scientific methods. In Egypt the co-operative established irrigation projects to boost production.
- viii) To fight for the betterment of peasant welfare. They grouped peasants for collective societal and economic issues. By this for example they resisted against colonial development schemes. For example in 1938 colonial government in Kenya wanted the Kamba to destock the cattle, but the Ukamba peasant cooperative resisted it.

Marketing Boards and Cooperative Unions were solely formed to encourage cash crop production by for example controlling price fluctuation and eliminating middlemen. However, they sustained exploitation by offering lower prices and maintained low means of production.

Problems encountered by Cooperative Unions

- i) Leadership problems. Leaders of the unions had no organisation experience to run the unions effectively. Since the unions were new in Africa, Africans had no reference from where copy the skills. Also the unions were mostly led by dropouts of colonial schools hence lacked skills in administration, record keeping and accountancy.
- ii) Persistent price fluctuations. The problem continued even after establishment of Marketing Boards. It demoralised farmers by affecting their planning and draining their financial reserves especially when prices went down in the world market. For instance cocoa prices dropped by 16% in 1949.
- iii) Interference from colonial government. They were established under the guidance of the colonial states and were expected to serve the interest of colonialism yet that contradicted the expectations of Africans. On that matter, they exploited African producers by lowering the prices
- iv) Financial difficulties. The boards relied on loans from banks or contributions made by members who were largely low income earners hence had no enough cash reserves for their smooth running. Due to that they suffered from finance deficits.
- v) Low production. This was caused by poor farming techniques that include poor pest and disease control and facilities. The low production lowered farmers' incomes and efficiency of the boards.
- vi) Low awareness rate by African peasants. Majority of the African peasants were illiterate and ignorant hence could hardly be convinced to join the unions since, they did not know the importance of the unions or their rights.
- vii) Poor transport and communication networks. This kept many peasants isolated and thus could not easily access the boards and marketing centres. It also discouraged peasant production.
- viii) Persistence of exploitation. African peasants' expectations were not realised as prices did not considerably improve and so African peasants' income remained low. This incited a number of peasant protests against colonial exploitation. For example in the Gold Coast peasants reacted against low prices and failure to control swollen shoot disease that attacked their cocoa farms in the 1940s.

SETTLER AND PLANTATION FARMING AFTER 1945

In the course of and after the Second World War, more white settlers were encouraged to migrate to the colonies to participate in commercial agriculture and trade to boost colonial production and help the metropolitan countries rebuild their war devastated economy and solve the problem of unemployment in Europe that tremendously increased after World War II. They were more attracted to the already settler colonies like Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and Algeria but also in peasant colonies like Tanganyika, Nigeria and Ghana. In Tanganyika the British expanded settler estates and gave more rights to British settlers for example in Meru (Arusha) which developed into what came to be known as the Meru Land Case. Other areas included where Kilimanjaro.

Effects of colonial agricultural reforms in Africa

The agriculture reforms after Second World War had the following impacts on the colonies.

1. Excessive exploitation. Land and cattle appropriation were intensified to acquire more arable land and cheap labour for agriculture production. For example in Meru in Tanganyika the colonial government attempted to force about 3000 Africans to surrender their land to white settlers. Also African labour in settler farms and plantations received low wages while African peasants received low prices for their goods.
2. Classification of African peasants. Agriculture strategies such as Master Farmers and schemes stratified African peasants into three classes; the rich peasants known as the Kulaks who were the Master Farmers facilitated by the colonial state with modern equipments like tractors; the Middle class peasants who could hire labour seasonally and; the poor peasants who depended on family labour and produced on small scale mainly for consumption.
3. Regional development. Regions with agriculture importance were provided with adequate socio-economic infrastructures like transport lines, education, health, housing and water services to enforce production, areas with no importance were disregarded. That is the major reason for the development of settler dominated areas like central Kenya than other regions.
4. Shortage of food. Concentration was much put on production of the highly needed cash crop production like cotton, sisal and coffee with little attention directed to food crop production. As a result some colonies ran short of food supply leading to famine.
5. Rise of class consciousness among Africans. In response to intensified exploitation African farmers formed welfare associations like Farmers Associations and cooperative Unions that campaigned to fight exploitation. For example the 1949 peasant riots and strikes in Uganda mobilised Africans against Asian and European exploiters. On such foundation African nationalism developed.
6. Environmental degradation. Opening more land for large scale agriculture for white settlers or plantations called for deforestation, bush clearing, swamp drainage and displacement of African populations to unproductive lands that were harmful to the environment. Also, agro-based processing and manufacturing industries emitted toxic fumes to the atmosphere.
7. Agriculture maintained the backbone of Africa's economy. The efforts made on agriculture than other sectors maintained it as the major colonial economy and prepared Africa to stabilise on it as its major economic sector even after independence. Until today African states are still stuck on exportation of colonial cash crops like cotton, coffee, and sisal despite of possessing other natural resources like minerals.
8. Development of infrastructure. Transport, education, health facilities and etc facilities were developed in the colonies to smoothen exploitation. Roads and railway lines ferried cash crops to the coast for exportation. For example the Mwanza-Tabora and Nachingwea-Mikindani rail lines served the groundnut schemes there.
9. Increased agricultural production. New strategies like the Master Farmers and schemes and provision of agriculture education, research and application of modern techniques

in response to the “grow more cash crop campaigns” increased export as large parts of the colonies was put into arable farming.

10. Improved incomes. Agriculture improvements increased incomes of the colonial state, settlers and plantations and Africans. Little incomes acquired by Africans from selling cash crops or labour helped pay for manufactured goods and social services like education. Colonial states raised revenue from taxes and profits from selling raw materials.

CHANGES IN COLONIAL INDUSTRIAL POLICIES AFTER 1945

After the Second World War colonial powers showed a slight serious interest in the industrial future of their African colonies. Nevertheless, the changes never meant a shift from the policy of de-industrialisation since colonies were to be maintained as suppliers of raw materials. By large, no deliberate efforts were made to establish a strong industrial sector in the colonies in fear of competition with the metropolitan state for industrial demands such as markets.

Before the Second World War, only the processing and extracting industries had been established in the colonies, however, after the war a few Import Substitution Industries were established to make a few consumer goods such as drinks, soap and matches in the colonies. The British passed the colonial *Development and Welfare Act* in 1940 and the French passed *FIDES* in 1944 with the idea to mobilise imperial funds to assist in the “modernisation” of the colonies. It was on such efforts that few light manufacturing industries were set in the colonies.

Changes made in colonial Industry after 1945

1. Introduction of Import Substitute Industries (ISI). These were light goods manufacturing industries set in the colonies to make consumer goods such as soap, cigarettes, textiles and drinks that were formerly imported from Europe. The intention was to bring such goods to closer to consumers in the colonies particularly Europeans and save costs of importing such goods from Europe.
2. Increase in processing industries. As the need for more processed raw materials intensified after the war, processing industries like cotton ginneries and coffee processors were added to reduce the bulkiness of more raw materials for easy exportation. The goal was to export more raw materials from Africa to arrest the acute shortage of raw materials in Europe after the war.
3. Establishment of more extractive industries. This was mainly in the mining sector. Indeed from 1939 modern technology was initially fostered in mining sector and more mines were opened to increase the siphoning of minerals like iron and tin from Africa to meet the needs of revamping the war affected metropolitan economies like industry and infrastructure.
4. Increased power generation. A number of electric power plans were constructed to supply electricity to the increasing industries, mining and urban centres. For example the Owen fall Dam in Uganda (1956). Kariba Dam in Mozambique, Akasombo Dam in Ghana to generate more hydro electric power in the colonies.

Import Substitution Industries (ISI)

Import Substitute Industries were small scale manufacturing industries that were established in the colonies to make consumer goods that were formerly imported from Europe. They made only light consumer goods like soaps, cigarettes, foodstuffs and drinks fitting local needs.

Import Substitution industries kicked in the colonies after World War II. The industries were technologically elementary concentrating mainly in making of consumer goods that were, particularly costly to transport in relation to their value. Preference was mostly given to settler colonies like Zimbabwe, Kenya, Algeria and Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

Characteristics of import substitution industries

- i) Production of light consumer goods; like soap, matches, and drinks that fetched very little profit when imported from Europe. Also goods that were on high demand in Europe hence making their importation from there difficult.
- ii) ii) Production for local demands; the industries were aimed to bring consumer goods closer to consumers in the colonies especially colonial administrators, white settlers and colonial labour and not production for export.
- iii) They mainly produced luxury goods; like soft drinks, hard drinks and cigarettes such goods could not bring any development in Africa but were aimed at strengthening western culture.
- iv) They were unevenly distributed; the industries were established in major towns and cities like Dar es Salaam, Lagos, Nairobi, where they could easily find market and cheap labour.
- v) The industries were mainly private enterprises; in most cases they were owned by private companies or rich capitalists from metropolitan states that invested capital in the colonies for further profit making.
- vi) They applied advanced technology; they were largely capital intensive because they combined both the processing and manufacturing industrial stages.

Reasons for Industrial Changes after the Second World War

(Objectives for establishment of Import Substitution Industries in the colonies after the Second World War)

1. To reduce expenditure on imports. Transportation and insurance costs incurred by colonial states in the importation of certain goods from Europe would greatly be reduced by manufacturing necessary consumer goods in the colonies. This called for the setting of Import Substitution Industries in the colonies.
2. Increased consumption in the colonies. This was brought by the increase of European settlers and administrators, expansion of labour exploitation and expansion of urban population in the colonies after World War II. Such changes expanded market for consumer and luxurious goods like drinks and cigarettes.
3. Need to discourage a strong industrial sector in the colonies. Setting up of heavy industries in the colonies would threaten the metropolitan industrial monopoly. A weak industrialisation was thus intended to lock African countries into a position of

inferiority and dependence. That is why only Processing and few Import Substitution Industries were established.

4. To reduce dependence on the metropolitan states. Establishment of Import Substitution Industries was to enable colonies make on their own certain necessary goods like soap, salt and matches for their local needs to reduce reliance on metropolitan states for industrial supplies.
5. To expand capital investment. After World War II, Europe was not conducive for profitable investment due to war destabilisations. Colonies were viable for profitable investments due cheap raw materials, market and less competition. In addition, manufacturing of light consumer goods in the colonies would reduce importation costs of such goods and so, ensure maximum profit.
6. High demands of labour. Labour tied in colonial economies like plantations and mines could easily be exploited by the availability of consumer goods. Since it could not provide enough for its subsistence like foodstuffs, it became ready market for consumer goods and in this way helped in profit maximisation and improvement in labour productivity.
7. Expand employment opportunities for Europeans. The industries would help reduce the high unemployment imperial states encountered after World War II by employing many Europeans as managers, accountants, operators, etc.

Factors that influenced the choice of location of the industries in the colonies

1. Availability of raw materials. Both processing industries such as cotton ginneries and mineral processors and Import Substitution like soap and oil making industries were located near raw material sources like plantations and mines to avoid high transportation costs of raw materials. For example the establishment of the copper smelting plant in Kasese near Kilembe copper mines in Uganda.
2. Population factor. Industries were mostly located in areas with high population like in towns such as Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Lagos and mining centres to take advantage of availability of enough cheap labour and wider markets for consumer goods from the Import Substitution Industries.
3. Power sources. Industries were located near sources of power like dams that generated hydro electric power. Jinja town of Uganda became the main colonial industrial town after the construction of the Owen Falls Dam in 1954. Dams were as well constructed on the Pangani River in Tanga since 1936 to run industries in Tanga and Mombasa.
4. Transport Infrastructure. Industries were located in areas which were accessible; transport lines railways and roads could easily connect raw material area, with processing and manufacturing plants and then the market places. For example, Mombasa, Nairobi and Jinja became major industrial towns partly because they major railway terminals.
5. Social services. These included Housing services to provide accommodation to industrial workers, water services for human use and for cooling industries, health services which were important in repairing labour and education services to impart a few needed skills to operate machines.
6. Government policy. The colonial Governors and officials decided where the industries could be located in consideration with the interests of the metropolitan states, capital investors and local needs.

Reasons for little industrial development in the colonies

1. Little capital was availed for industrial development in the colonies. More capital was invested in agriculture and mining. Colonial powers aimed at maintaining the metropolitan industrial monopoly by keeping industrial development in the colonies behind, to avoid competition for industrial demands and lock Africa into dependence.
2. Poor sector linkage. Economic sectors like agriculture, mining and education were not strongly linked to industry to support industrial growth. Education was not scientific oriented to produce efficient skilled and inventive labour for industrial progress while agriculture and mining were to produce raw materials for export.
3. Poor technology was imported to Africa. Outdated technology was dumped to the colonies hence could not allow a serious industrial development. This could only allow the existence of processing industries like cotton ginneries and sisal decortications and a few Import Substitution Industries. No heavy industries for capital goods manufacturing were availed.
4. Destruction of local technologies. Measures like importation of superior manufactured goods from Europe and the coercive means like prohibiting Africans to produce certain goods were applied to kill African technology. Stagnation of local technologies was a setback since it would have been easier to advance the same technologies into sophisticated ones.
5. Plenty of cheap labour in Africa. Colonies had abundant cheap labour, so the colonialists found no reason to develop industrial sector and use advance technology in the colonies on production of raw materials. African labour could easily be exploited and do the work that would otherwise be done by machines.
6. Fear to invest capital in the colonies. European capital investors were afraid to invest in industries in the colonies after 1945 due to an upsurge of nationalist demand for independence. They were scared of losing their investments when Africa countries attained independence.
7. Government Policy. There was lack of interests by governors to make significant industrial development programmes. For example in 1930's, the Uganda blanket industries, the Sisal Twin Industry and the Match making industrial in Tanganyika were all discouraged. They feared that industrialisation might discourage agricultural exports.

Why the colonialist deliberately discouraged industrial development in the colonies?

Colonial states took deliberate measures to maintain industrial backwardness in the colonies due to a number of reasons;

1. Colonies were to specialise in production of raw materials; they were to be maintained as dependable sources of raw material that were exported to the metropolitan Europe to feed the hungry manufacturing machines.
2. Colonies were to serve as reliable markets; the colonial agenda was to widen market for manufactured goods from imperial countries. For that matter, colonies were to guarantee markets for manufactured goods and not to develop strong manufactured industries.
3. Avoid competition against metropolitan industries; if a strong industrial base was established in the colonies, it would challenge the metropolitan industrial monopoly by

competing with metropolitan industries for industrial demands, the raw materials, market and skilled labour.

4. To maintain the export-import economy; colonies were exploited through the unequal export-import economy. They were made to export raw materials to the metropolitan countries at lower prices and import from them cheap manufactured expensively.
5. Consolidate dependence; Africa was forever to be tied to Europe by maintaining a weak industrial base in the continent. A weak industrial base in Africa was therefore to consolidate dependence on Europe for technology through which exploitation is maintained.
6. Fear of creating a large working class in the colonies; a strong and large industrial based would create a strong working class and urban desperate people suffering from unemployment that would form a strong anti-colonial force to fight colonial exploitation.
7. Abundance of cheap labour in the colonies; availability of enough cheap labour in the colonies meant that large work in production that would have been done by machines was done manually hence no need of a strong industrial framework in the colonies.

On in this regard agriculture was to be the backbone of African economies. To implement that much effort was put on agriculture the colonies.

Effects of colonial industry in the colonies

1. Discouraged the development of a strong industrial base in Africa. A weak industrial sector was set in the colonies to protect industries in imperial countries from competition of market, raw materials and labour. Only a few Processing and Import Substitution industries were set to maintain metropolitan manufacturing monopoly.
2. Exploitation of resources. African labour working in colonial industry met low wages, long hour of work and hard working conditions that included poor housing and protection. Similarly, raw material producers met low prices for their goods.
3. Consolidation of dependence. The reluctance of colonial powers to develop heavy industries and demolition of local technologies in the colonies was a deliberate measure to make Africa depend on the metropolitan countries for expensive manufactured goods and technology.
4. Stagnation of local technology. Colonial industry destroyed local technological initiatives in Africa to preserve industrial manufacturing monopoly of the imperial powers for market and raw materials that would be threatened by African local industrial production.
5. Regionalism. Colonial industries were established in only productive areas; cash crop producing and mining centres and in towns. Due to that only those areas like Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Morogoro were provided with essential transport and social services. Regions with little/no colonial interests like Singida and Kigoma were disregarded.
6. Development of towns. Areas where industries were established developed into major towns and cities such as Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Algiers and Lagos. Towns developed as numerous houses sprung around industries to accommodate industrial workers, owners and traders. Besides, provision of transport and social services to facilitate industrial production.
7. Employment. Industries expanded job opportunities to both European and African labour. While European labour was mostly employed for skilled jobs like mangers, accountants

and technicians. Africans were mostly employed for unskilled tasks like porters and cleaners.

8. Created a small working class in the colonies. African labour recruited to work in industries created an African proletariat class. They formed Trade Unions and together with other groups like African elites, reawaken African masses to fight colonial rule.
9. Technological development. New and more advanced technology was brought in the colonies. The new technology was used in processing of raw materials to be exported to Europe and manufacturing consumer goods needed for consumption in the colonies.

COLONIAL TRADE AND COMMERCE AFTER 1945

Colonial masters made reforms in the sector of trade and commerce after 1945 as they did in other sectors like agriculture and industry. The aim was the same; to hasten exploitation of the colonies to make them shoulder the burden of economic revival of the war ravaged metropolitan states' economies. What should be kept in minds is that the changes were never meant to alter the Export-import trade system and the dominance of the Europeans in trade.

Roles of colonial trade and commerce

The importance of colonial trade never changed even after 1945, what added was the intensity of exploitation through trade. The roles were means to fulfill capitalist agenda of colonialism;

1. To acquire raw materials; European traders tapped and exported the largest amount of raw materials of cash crops and minerals from the colonies to their home countries through trade.
2. Find market for manufactured goods; colonies were extended markets. European companies exported industrial manufactured goods from their home countries into them to find market.
3. Expand employment opportunities; a number of unemployed Europeans were employed by European trading companies operating in the colonies as managers, accountants, drivers, etc.
4. Investment of capital; European traders and companies invested capital in the lucrative trade with colonies. They made maximum profits by buying raw materials cheaply and sold expensively to Europe and sold cheap goods from Europe to colonies expensively.

Changes in colonial trade and commerce after 1945

- i) Establishment of Marketing Boards. The boards were set by the colonial states to organize marketing and export activities of goods, mostly cash crops. Through them, prices of cash crops were fixed. They were mostly found in British West and East African colonies like the Cocoa Board in Ghana formed in 1948 and the Coffee Board in Uganda formed in 1956.
- ii) Expansion of banking and financial services. The banks included Standard Chartered Bank and Barclays Bank that operated in most British colonies. In West Africa there

- was the Bank of British West Africa and the British and French Bank established in 1952. Banks facilitated financial requirements and motivated business. They offered loans and credits to European traders.
- iii) Strengthening currency boards. These were established to help finance export trade and to issue colonial currencies convertible value to metropolitan currencies. In West Africa, British colonial officials gave more strength to the West African Currency Board to finance export trade and to determine the convertibility of West African Currency to British pound sterling.
 - iv) Expansion of transport services. Rail-roads were expanded to open the interior of the colonies for easy tapping of resources. Shipping services improved with expansion of ports and harbours to increase the volume export-import trade. As a result more raw materials were shipped from the colonies and manufactured goods into the colonies from Europe.
 - v) Issuing trade licences to Africans. Unlike before, when trade was monopolised by Europeans and Asian middlemen, after 1945, trading licences were extended to Africans allowing them to actively participate in wholesale, retail and export trade. The aim was to increase the volume of exports and improve the incomes of Africans to expand market for consumer goods.
 - vi) Encouraging Co-operative Unions. Co-operatives were to support cash crop production by organising peasants in productive units and provide them necessary training and facilities. Also they were to remove middlemen who discouraged peasants by lowering prices.

Impact of colonial trade

1. Exploitation intensification. Colonial trade was an imbalanced trade. African producers were mere price takers and thus met lowest prices possible for their goods, cash crops in particular and lowest wages while goods imported from Europe were sold to them dearly.
2. Technological backwardness. Colonial trade made Africans dependants on manufactured goods from Europe. Consequently, local technologies were stagnated as African tool makers, textile makers and etc lost their market to imported manufactured goods.
3. Colonial trade discouraged modern industry. The colonial masters purposefully discouraged strong industrial sector in the colonies to sustain metropolitan industrial monopoly and the unbalanced export-import trade with the colonies. Through that Africa was exploited by low prices of raw materials and high prices for manufactured goods.
4. Development of towns and ports. New towns like Nairobi and Kampala emerged while existing ones like Dar es Salaam and Mombasa expanded due to trade. The towns were market centres and terminal where traders met and goods collected.
5. Development of infrastructures. Transport infrastructures such as rail-roads and harbours were provided to connect productive areas with industrial towns where raw materials were processed to ports through which raw materials were exported and manufactured goods were imported to the colonies. Other infrastructures constructed included warehouses, accommodation and health services

6. Linked societies. Trade enabled Africans from different places within the colonies meet at trading points for transactions. This united them to discuss their problems, particularly colonial exploitation by which they formed associations for their liberation.
7. Improved incomes. Cash crop producers, middlemen and traders acquired cash by participating in trade. The incomes acquired improved their living standards by paying bills for social services like health and education and buy manufactured goods.
8. African traders were sidelined. The monopolisation of trade activities by Europeans and Asians pushed African traders and middlemen out of business. Pre-colonial trading systems were disrupted as the positions of African were taken by Europeans and Asians.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS/SERVICES

Similar to other economic sectors and social services, adjustments were made in Transport and Communication sector after the Second World War. The goal was the same; to make the colonies compensate what imperial powers had lost in the war by facilitating easy and fast exploitation of the colonies. Transport and communication system were the veins through which the “blood” of raw materials were siphoned to the metropolitan Europe. Road, railway and water transport systems remained dominant in the colonies.

Changes made in transport and communication systems

1. Construction of new transport and communication lines. Newly built roads and railway lines were laid down looking at deeply opening t- interior to further exploitation zones. In the same way, more docks and harbours, bridges and storage facilities were constructed. Examples of the new railway lines
 - East Africa; Msagali-Flororo (1948), Kaliua-Mpanda (1949-50) and a line linking the port of Mikndani with the regions for the Tanganyika groundnut scheme in the interior of the southern Tanganyika — that is in Tanganyika; in Uganda was Kampala-Kasese line to transport copper
 - West Africa; Accra-Kumasi, Lagos-Kano;
2. Expansion of the old transport lines — the roads and railways were extended to access areas that had not been reached before to tap more resources.
3. Expansion of insurance and freight services. This handled the increasing volumes of export raw materials from the colonies and manufactured goods imported from Europe.
4. Introduction of Air transport. Air transport was introduced during the Second World War to speed up the transportation of troops and raw materials from the colonies. Also due war blockade system that hampered transportation by the sea.
5. Introduction of postal services. Post offices were built at major district headquarters to ease communication in the colonies by letters, telegrams and parcels. After establishment of the East African High Commission (EAHC) in 1948, a common postal and custom services was set to facilitate the region of three colonies; Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda.

6. Expansion of private owned facilities. Before 1945 transport facilities were ran by the colonial authorities and mostly for carrying goods. From the 1950s however, due to high demands for transportation of goods and people, few rich people mostly Asians and Arabs started possessing private transport means for both passengers and goods.

Reasons for the colonial transport and communication systems

The aim of the changes made in this sector after 1945, remained the same as the reasons for the establishment before;

1. Transportation of goods. The main purpose was to tap raw materials from the colonies and importation of manufactured goods from Europe. This explains why transport lines ran from the coast towards productive regions in interior of the colonies. The Dakar-Niger Railway opened the interior of Senegal, Mali and Niger to the Atlantic coast to tap resources, likewise Uganda railway started from Mombasa, opened Kenya and Uganda for exploitation.
2. Movement of labour. The lines were extended to labour reserve zones to move Migrant labourers to work in plantations and mines. For instance, the Dar es Salaam-Kigoma line was put in place to move labour from Kigoma to sisal and coffee plantations in Morogoro, Tanga and to Kilimanjaro.
3. Link the colony to the metropolitan states in Europe. Communication between colonies and colonial offices in Europe was enabled by the transport means. Bureaucrats, technocrats and policies were sent to the colonies and within the colonies with the aid of transport systems.
4. Movement of troops. The transport lines were as well important for the swift movement of colonial military personnel to areas of need for example the Uganda-Kenya railway was vital in the British flashing out of the Mau-Mau resistors.
5. Movement of agents of colonisation. These were missionaries, catechists, teachers and traders. They were instrumental in the consolidation of colonial administration and exploitation and spread of western culture. The missionaries as well moved to different regions for evangelisation.
6. To transport administrators. European official like commissioners and managers and African bureaucrats were to be moved to different regions the colonies. These were needed for effective occupation and implementing effectual economic exploitation.
7. Transportation of production and administrative implements. Machinery for farming, mining and infrastructure like roads construction and military equipments were brought into the colonies from Europe. Agriculturural implements were also moved to different parts of the colonies.
8. To attract capital investors and settlers. Development of transport infrastructure was also a means of encouraging capital owners from Europe to invest in the colonies. Investment in plantations, mines, trade and social services needed efficient transport system for effective profit making.

Pattern of colonial Transport and communication means

1. The layout of transport and communication lines in the colonies portrays the selfish intention of the colonisers. That is, pattern shows that the target was to accelerate easy siphoning of the resources from the colonies to aid the colonial master quickly reap as much as possible.
2. Transport and communication lines pointed towards the coast; railway and road lines ran perpendicular to the coast to tap raw materials from the heart of the continent and then ferry them to Europe. From the coast manufactured goods from Europe were moved to the interior.
3. Roads were mostly seasonal; most roads were feeder roads connecting interior raw material producing areas to the railway lines. Due to the presence of railway lines, only a few permanent roads were made and mostly to connect the urban centres.
4. Transport facilities were mainly for carrying goods (not passengers); trains pooled wagons for goods, likewise were Lorries for the road transport. Passenger facilities were few with few train carriers, buses and cars for colonial bureaucrats and white races.
5. Unevenly distributed; transport services were mainly connected to areas of economic importance. They were connected to plantations, mining centres, labour reserve zones and industries to make possible easy tapping of raw materials and labour. For example the Port Harcourt-Enugu railway line was mainly for the transportation coal from Enugu to the port for export and the Tanga-Moshi was for sisal and coffee transportation.
6. Absence of inter-territorial linkage; transport lines ran directly to the coast to connect the colonies to Europe. In case neighbouring colonies belonged to different colonial masters no territorial network linkages were developed because colonies were ran as separate entities.
7. Featured with racial segregation element; transport facilities were provided on racial lines in reference to the three main races in the colonies. First class services in trains, ships and buses were for the Europeans; second class for Asians and; third class for Africans.
8. Connection with Europe was by water transport; from the interior, Africa was opened to the coast by the railway lines and roads. From the coast goods were shipped to Europe. Preference to water and railway transport was due to its cheapness and efficiency in carrying bulky volumes of goods as compared to air transport that was still underdeveloped.
9. Use of coercive policies; forceful measures such as forced free or low waged labour and forceful land appropriation were employed in the construction of colonial transport facilities like roads, railway lines, bridges and harbours.

Effects of colonial Transport and communication on African societies

1. Intensification of colonial exploitation. The interior of the colonies was opened further to tap more resources. More plantations and mines were opened and labour mobility was eased due to expansion of transport lines. Likewise, the movement of raw materials from the colonies to the coast for shipment to Europe and of manufactured goods into the colonies was quickened.
2. Regional development. Transport infrastructures were provided to regions with economic importance like plantations and mining centres to ease economic exploitation. For example the Tanga Arusha line was to transport coffee and sisal and Accra-Kumasi line

was to carry cocoa to the coast. Less productive regions like Singida and northern Kenya were ignored.

3. Displacement of Africans. In the construction of railway lines and stations, roads, and harbours many Africans communities were displaced and their land taken. The displaced people were recruited for labour or resettled in other places to continue producing cash crops needed by the metropolitan countries.
4. Development of towns. Major railway stations, road junctions, ports and harbours like; Dares Salaam, Mwanza, Jinja, Nairobi (East Africa); Takoradi, Kumasi, Bamako (West Africa), Bulawayo, Maputo, Kinshasa (Central Africa) developed into major towns and cities. They served as collection and marketing centres for transportation of goods and labour.
5. Facilitated development of economic activities. The transport systems enhanced the whole colonial economy. Agriculture, mining, trade and social services were boosted. Goods from plantations and mines were easily moved to the ports for export and trading activities were easily conducted in different regions of the colonies and access to social services were provided.
6. Employment opportunities. The development of transport and communication systems provided variety of jobs to Europeans, Asians and Africans in the colonies. Many were employed as station and dock managers, accountants, technicians; Africans were mostly employed for unskilled jobs like porters, construction works and cleaners.
7. Consolidated colonial governance. Bureaucrats, troops and agents of western civilisation could easily be moved to different areas of the colonies for administration and supervision. For instance the Uganda- Kenya railway line was helpful to the British in flashing out the Mau Mau resistance. Also delivery of information was eased within the colonies.
8. Attracted more capital investors. Development of transport and communication infrastructure was an incentive to attract more capital investors like plantation owners, trading and mining companies and settlers in the colonies because they were assured of accessibility to and from the colonies and thus easy exploitation of resources in the colonies.
9. Facilitated the development of African nationalism. Transport facilities were as well a boomerang to the colonial masters by facilitating decolonisation campaigns. Nationalist leaders and their supporters used the very transport means established to exploit their countries to spread the nationalist ideas.
10. Improved interaction among the people. Development of transport and communication systems eased mobility of people and services. People from different regions and countries could meet for various reasons; trade and adventure. On such basis common markets and custom unions were established in Africa.

CHANGES IN COLONIAL LABOUR AFTER 1945

African labour was the backbone of colonial exploitation. It was used to drain its own resources for the imperial powers. After the Second World War, the situation did not change. Rather the reforms made meant to increase labour productivity to hasten the exploitation of resources in the colonies to help imperial powers revitalize their war devastated economies. Colonial labour was mainly on two areas;

- Labour attached to plantations (settler and state plantations). In Tanganyika labour from Kigoma, Rukwa, and Dodoma were recruited to sisal plantations in Tanga and Morogoro.
- Secondly, it was labour related to commerce, industry and infrastructure. These were found in mining docks, railway stations and urban centres.

Changes made in colonial labour after Second World War

1. Encouraging more migrant labour. Migrant labour was intensified to have large cheap labour force to exploit plantations and mines. To encourage more Africans, migrant labourers were allowed to move with their families or to marry at their work stations. Also were employed on permanent basis other than before when they worked on short term contracts of 6 month to 2 years. To minimise costs, labourers had to provide for their families food.
2. Increase in permanent labour. After 1945, the colonialists encouraged permanent labour especially for jobs that needed special skills such as such as constructors, clerks and drivers. Also were professions like teachers and nurses. Such labourers could also come with their families in areas of work unlike before.
3. Increase in wage labour. To encourage more Africans provide labour in the colonial socio-economic sectors wage labour was encouraged. Wages served as a motivation for work. Africans received lower wages so as to keep them working.
4. Introduction of labour recruitment agencies. Specific organs were established in the colonies and entrusted with the duty to recruit labour to the colonial enterprises like settler and state plantations. In Tanganyika for example the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was established in 1941 to find labour fix sisal plantations. In Mozambique was WANELA.
5. Encouraged self-employment. Self- employed workers increased after 1945 due to increased industry, labour training and urban centres that increased the number of unskilled, semi skilled and skilled labourers such as drivers, carpenters and constructors. They also encouraged rural- urban migration of both men and women in search for better opportunities. Some people opened restaurants, retail-shops, saloons and casual labour around industrial areas.
6. Increase in skilled and semi skilled labour. The introduction of Import Substitution Industries, mining and increase in infrastructure construction works such as roads, railways and builds forced colonial government train more Africans for skilled labour jobs such as clerks, accountants, technicians, drivers and teachers.
7. Formation of Trade Unions. These were workers associations established to fight for workers rights and fight against exploitation through collective bargaining. The unions were formed to present workers to their employers in relation to workers-employers relations.

The changes were made with a sole intention of integrating more Africans into the colonial structures and make them directly participate in colonial production. By their own muscles, their countries' resources were grabbed. Migrant labour was most preferred after 1945.

Migrant labour

Migrant labour was the form of labour that was moved from regions of its origin **to** work in other areas. The less productive regions in the colonies were made labour reserve zones from where migrant labour was drawn to work in productive regions in plantations, mines and industries. In the beginning, migrant labourers were not allowed to move with their families. They were paid “bachelor’s wage” due to that and were housed and fed with their employers. They signed short term contracts of a maximum of two years to tie them on plantations or mines. After Second World War however, these labourers were allowed to move with their families or allowed to marry while at work. This was a strategy to keep them forever and so instead of contracts, they were employed on permanent basis.

Forms of migrant labour

There were mainly two forms of migrant labour;

1. Intra-state Migrant labour. These were moved from labour reserve zones to productive areas within the same colony. For example in Tanganyika, the labour reserve regions were Kigoma, Dodoma, Singida and Rukwa from where labour was moved to sisal plantations in Tanga and Morogoro; In Uganda from South Western region of Kigezi to central region to work in coffee plantations.
2. Inter-state Migrant labour. This form of migrant labour moved from the state of their origin to work in other states. For example labour migrated from Zimbabwe, Botswana, Zambia, and Malawi to work in the mines in South Africa; in West African, Nigeria Tin mines received labour from states like Togo and Niger.

Reasons for increase in Labour Migration after 1945

Migrant labour was a very big bill.

Mechanisms applied to maintain/acquire migrant labour

The mechanism employed to acquire/maintain labour in the colonies were mainly two; the direct and indirect means.

The Direct means

1. Setting up labour zones. Regions that were less productive were declared labour reserves. The colonialist even discouraged agricultural practices in such areas so as to tap labour from them. In Tanganyika regions like Kigoma, Singida and Rukwa served as labour reserve areas.
2. Legislations and force. Laws were passed compelling Africans to provide labour to colonial economies. For example the Pass Laws in South Africa and Kenya (Kipande system) were maintained to tie African labourers on the plantations, settler farms and mines.

3. Establishment of labour recruitment organisations. In Tanganyika the Sisal Labour Bureau (SILABU) was found in 1941 for the enrolment of labour for sisal plantations. Local chiefs were required to collect the needed amount of labour from their areas.
4. Through contract system. Migrant labour was forced to sign contracts which favoured the colonialists as they kept African labour on land for exploitation. In most cases the contracts were between six month and two years.

The Indirect means

1. Thorough taxation. Higher and different forms of taxes such as poll and house taxes were imposed on Africans and tax defaulters were heavily punished. To find money for taxes, Africans were forced to work on colonial economic sectors like plantations and mines.
2. Social services. Services like education, health and water were not provided freely. Africans were persuaded to sale their labour to colonial economic sectors to obtain money to pay for the services. The services were mostly located near plantation, mines and in urban centres.
3. Confiscation of Africans' means of production. Land and cattle were the major means of production to the Africans. When they were grabbed by the colonialists, Africans lost means of living. In desperation they were forced to provide cheap labour in plantations and mines.
4. Use of European manufactured goods. Manufactured goods either from Europe or those made by Import Substitution Industries in the colonies attracted many Africans to sale their labour for money to access the goods like clothes, bicycles and radios.
5. Low wages. Africans were paid low wages. This tied them to work more and more aiming at collecting more cash for their survival. Low wages maintained labour supply in that sense.
6. Use of rewards. Labourers who always met targets or pleased the colonialists received presents of manufactured goods like cloth, mirrors and perfumes. The rewards encouraged hard work and lured many to supply labour to the colonial economic sectors.
7. Use of money. The monetisation of economy meant that money was the major medium of exchange for goods and services like education and health. The need to acquire money attracted many Africans for labour in colonial enterprises.

Rise of African Working Class

Working class is a group of wage earners. It is a group of people who earn a living by selling their labour for wages. African working class was a group of Africans who were integrated into wage labour service in colonial economies: plantations, mines, industry and contraction works.

African working class in the colonies expanded after the second world war due to increase in colonial exploitation. Plantations, mines, industries and infrastructure construction expanded and so was African labour.

Characteristics of African Working Class

- a. It was mainly unskilled; the colonial masters deliberately kept African labour unskilled so as to exploit it intensively. Indeed the semiskilled and skilled Africans were very few.
- b. It was scattered; African workers were scattered thus, while as a few were in urban centres working in industries and colonial civil service, the majority were engaged in rural areas working in plantations and mines.
- c. It was small in size; African workers were numerically few because of a few economic sectors like industry and plantations. The largest part of African population was engaged in peasant farming.
- d. Migrant and temporary in character; African labour was mostly migratory due to the seasonal nature of colonial economies. It was moved to plantations and mines on seasonal basis depending to the need.
- e. Low consciousness; this was due to low awareness which barred them from knowing their rights and proper means to attain them. Also the colonial system kept African labour divided and thus did not organise itself into strong class movements until 1950s.
- f. It was segregated and discriminated; African labour always worked at lower ranks such as cleaners, junior clerks and messengers and was lowly paid compared to its European and Asian counterparts even in case where Africans had higher knowledge and skills than them.
- g. It was not totally dispossessed of its means of production; African labour, particularly migrant labour did not lose its means of production like land and cattle to the colonialists. This helped their families continue making their own means of living in the rural areas.
- h. Intensively exploited; In return for hard tasks in plantations, mines and industries and all areas of work and long hours of works, African labour received low wages and poor working conditions. Above all it was also forcefully recruited.
- i. It was largely confined in urban centres; a large number of African working class was in towns working in colonial government civil service, social services and in industries

Factors for the rise of African working class

1. Role of colonial education. This education provided skills in various fields like agriculture, carpentry, masonry and painting, it trained some professions like teachers, nurses, secretaries and messengers. Graduates of this education were absorbed to labour in colonial sectors like industry, mining, education and health.
2. Confiscation of Africans' means of production. Colonial subject evicted from their lands and those whose cattle were confiscated were easily employed for labour. Being denied of the major means of production such African had no other alternative other than selling their labour for wages in plantations, mines and industries.
3. Taxation policy. Colonial governments imposed several taxes such as poll tax, house tax and matiti tax on Africans. Taxes were mostly paid in cash or labour but also in cash crops and defaulters were heavily punished. To raise money for tax payment and also avoid punishment that included imprisonment with hard labour, Africans offered themselves to provide labour to the colonial economies like plantations, mines and industries.
4. Monetisation of the economy. When money became the major medium of exchange, wage became the easier mean of living than other means like agriculture hence many

opted to selling their labour for money. It meant that one had to possess money to acquire essential needs hence many opted for selling labour to earn money.

5. Introduction of colonial economic sectors. Colonial economies like plantations, industry, and mining heavily relied on African cheap labour that was either migrant or forceful. A few Africans were trained to provide skilled and semi-skilled labour like technicians, operators, drivers, and messengers and more for unskilled jobs like porters, cleaners and tillers. Expansion of these sectors after 1945 necessitated the expansion of African working class.
6. Development of urban centres. As towns developed they attracted more people to migrate from the rural areas for labour in them other than working on the land. People in towns heavily depended on selling their labour in industries and social services to earn a living.
7. Culture conversion. Adoption of western culture was accompanied by change in labour relations, production and consumption habits. Westernised Africans preferred to sale their labour for wages other than their subsistence production systems. Moreover, preferred industrial manufactured goods. The easiest means to acquire the goods was selling labour.

Labour Conditions

African labour conditions were always appalling and became worse in the period after the Second World War with intensified exploitation.

1. Africans worked under close supervision. Labourers were assigned specific tasks to accomplish. Supervisors who were mainly local chiefs monitored labour in plantations. Sometimes fines and punishment were administered on those who failed to meet the target.
2. Poor conditions of work and living. African labours lacked security in terms of insurance and hardly were they given protective gears like clothes and helmets at work like in mines. They were poorly housed in crowded dormitories with poor sanitation.
3. Intensively exploited. African labour received low wages in return for hard workloads, and long hours o work in plantations, mines and industries. As if that was not enough it was sometimes forced labour.
4. African labour was subjected to segregation. They always worked at lower ranks and were lowly paid compared to the European and Asians labour even in cases where African labour was more skilled than the European and Asian labour.
5. Signed contracts. African labour, more especially migrant labour signed contracts which bounded them on plantations and mines. Breaching of contracts was punishable. Punishments included denial of payments and brutal punishments.
6. Movement restrictions. African labour was required to move with passes. Reference is given to the Pass Laws in South Africa and Registration laws (Kipande system) in Kenya that restricted free movement of labour as the passes tied them to their specific areas of work.
7. Migrant in character. African labour was mostly worked on temporary basis due to the seasonal nature of colonial economies. It was moved to plantations and mines on seasonal basis depending to the need.

Trade Unions

Trade Unions are workers' associations formed to fight for workers' rights and protection against undesirable and exploitative working conditions. The unions are a reaction against exploitation of workers by employers. They were formed for collective bargaining on issues covering employment, payment, conditions of work and rights of workers.

In colonial Africa, Trade Unions started in 1920's against the impact of the World War I (1914-18) and Economic Depression (1929-33) that were felt harder in the colonies because they subjected to increased exploitation. The unions gained more strength in 1950's when labour exploitation intensified.

Examples of African Trade Unions included;

- In Tanganyika: Tanganyika African Government Servant Association formed in 1944 by Rashid Mfaume Kawawa; Tanganyika Railways African Association; African Commercial Employees Association; Tanganyika Federation of Labour formed in 1955
- In Zanzibar: the Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labour by Nassor Hassan Moyo.
- In Kenya: the Kenya Local Government Workers Union — a popular trade unionist Tom Mboya was its General Secretary; Transport and Allied Workers Union; Domestic and Hotel Workers Union; Night Watchmen Workers Union; etc.
- In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia): Copper Belt Shock Assistant Union formed in 1948 by Africans working copper mines; Northern Rhodesia African Mine workers Trade Unions also by mine workers.
- In Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe): the Rhodesia Railways African Employee Association by Joshua Nkomo; and the Federation of Bulawayo African Workers Union
- In French West Africa; Confederation General du Travail (C.G.T) which grouped together all trade unions in French West Africa.

Aims for the formation of Trade Unions

- i) To create a sense of unity among African workers. Unity would help them cooperate and form strong bargaining force that would press for better payments and working conditions.
- ii) To fight against exploitation of workers. This meant fight for better payment and working and living conditions which employers were reluctant to offer.
- iii) To fight against discrimination. African labour was discriminated courtesy of their African race. They served at lower ranks and paid lowly even in cases where they were more educated/skilled than their European or Asian counterparts.
- iv) To fight for workers rights and freedoms. For example the right to bargain or strike for better payment and better working conditions, the right for protection at work and for holiday.
- v) The unions were to fight for the security in employment. This was against the colonial arbitrary dismissal of workers without notice.

- vi) To link workers and employers. The unions presented workers and reported their grievances to employers and government for harmony and acceptable on environment.
- vii) To fight for workers job and social benefits. Such benefits included retirement or termination benefit, holidays, medical and housing benefits. These were denied of African workers.
- viii) They were also to fight for high productivity among workers by improving workers skills. In 1955, the year of its foundation, the Tanganyika Trade Union Congress for example invited Torn Mboya from Kenya to give them a seminar on how to organise their union.

Characteristics of African Trade Unions

- a. African trade unions were small in size due to the small size of African working class; the low class consciousness among African workers also worked against the willingness of some workers to join the unions. Their small size failed them to have a strong bargaining force.
- b. They faced the problem of shortages of funds; they had little cash to meet their operational and administration expenses. The small size of African working class and their low incomes failed the unions to raise enough funds and thus failed to expand to reach many areas.
- c. Poor leadership; the unions were not managed by well educated and experienced personnel. As a result many of them were inefficient and ineffective in the execution of their duties.
- d. They were not autonomous; African Trade Unions were controlled by the colonial government yet the colonialists were the exploiters. This made their work difficult to make significant changes.
- e. They were largely urban based; operated much in towns and cities. This divided workers as those in rural areas felt isolated hence limited the spirit of unity among African workers.
- f. Unskilled workers; the presence of large groups of African unskilled labour, made many unions unprofessional. Unskilled labour lacked the necessary capability of mass movements.
- g. Lacked experience; Trade unionism was new in Africa; their leaders lacked references on how to operate and lacked exposure of the international world of unionism. Due to that some leaders operated the unions in the form social welfare associations.

Factors for the rise of African working class movements in the colonies

- 1. Role of colonial education. Colonial education raised and spread awareness for Africans to know their rights and how fight against exploitation. It is no wonder therefore that founders and leaders of the unions like Rashid M. Kawawa and Tom Mboya were graduates of colonial education. Along with that, its graduates formed the African working class of teachers, builders, miners and so on.
- 2. Role of the ex-soldiers. Some African Second World War veterans were taken to serve in Europe after the war. While there, they were trained in a number of fields like driving, clerks and messengers and borrowed knowledge and skills on labour

- aspects like the Trade Unions and their importance. Such valuable experience was brought with them back home to Africa.
3. Rise of African working class. This was an outcome of the colonial economy that relied on exploitation of African labour in its sectors agriculture, mining and industry. It was as well a production of colonial education that produced the profession and semiskilled African working class. The expansion of colonial production after the World War Tiled to expansion of African working class and had an impetus on the formation of trade unions as workers had to unit to form a strong bargaining force and fight exploitation
 4. Colonial exploitation and oppression. African working and class movements were a direct product of the colonial exploitation. The movements were formed to fight exploitation that was manifested in low wages, long hour of work, poor working conditions. On top of that African workers were tortured with punitive punishments that included imprisonment with hard labour and flogging.
 5. The influence of socialism. The spread of socialist ideas in the world after the Second World War had a bearing on the rise of working class movements in the colonies. Socialism calls for workers to form class alliance and take the lead in the fight oppression and exploitation. In that, it raised class consciousness among African workers and encouraged them to form unions.
 6. Role of Pan-Africanism. The movement called for unity of Africans of different classes to form strong force to overthrow exploitation. It encouraged African to form pressure groups that would raise awareness against colonial oppression. It was from such a call that Africans formed Trade Unions, Political Parties and Welfare Associations.
 7. Influence of foreign trade unions. Africans, particularly those who studied abroad and ex-soldiers witnessed the activities of trade unions while abroad in Europe and America. From there they brought back home their organisational experience with them. Besides, they forged links with such movements abroad that they enlightened them on union matters.
 8. Development of urban centres. As towns developed they attracted more people to migrate from the rural areas for labour in them other than working on the land. People in towns heavily depended on selling their labour in industries and social services to earn a living. The challenges faced in towns like housing rent and high bill in restaurants, shops and water forged unity between them to unions like workers' movements.

Roles Trade Unions Played

1. United African workers. To a certain extent Trade Unions raised a sense of solidarity and co-operation among African workers. This enabled them have a strong bargaining force. Also organised strikes and demonstration to force improvements on wages and working conditions
2. They boosted class consciousness among African workers. Trade Unions raised African awareness against the colonial exploitations. By enlightening Africans on their rights, the unions raised anti-colonial sentiments to fight for independence.

3. They were a forum on which African workers could express their grievances and seek for solutions for their problems. On this ground the unions served as well served advisory roles to their members.
4. They mobilised their members and provided them with better skills to improve their productivity. This to a certain level improved efficiency.
5. They campaigned for improvement in payments and conditions of work. In same way they demanded for workers' better living conditions like better housing and security at work. These improved the living standards of workers.
6. They provided a fertile ground for the rise of nationalist leaders. Some of the union leaders like Rashid Mfaume Kawawa (Tanganyika), Tom Mboya (Kenya) and Joshua Nkomo (Zimbabwe) became nationalist leaders that championed independence struggles.
7. Raised some funds for the welfare of their member. This helped to improve members' standards of livings and solving socio-economic problems like financial benefits for occasions like weddings and funerals.
8. They linked African workers with their employers the colonialists. In presenting their members, they ensured that the problems faced by their member could be tackled as quickly as possible. This was through persuasions, strikes and demonstrations.

COLONIAL SOCIAL SERVICES AFTER 1945

Social services are facilities provided for the wellbeing of the public. In principle these facilities provide essential rights like education and health provided to the people by :ne government itself or through public agencies.

The social services provided by the colonial masters were mainly; education, health, water, housing, religious, electricity and transport and communication services. The services were provided by colonial governments and the capital investors that included public agents like missionaries

Social services served the colonial economy and whole agenda of colonisation that involved westernising colonial subjects and implant inferiority in them. After the Second World War, colonial governments made reforms in of social services in the colonies to march the intensive exploitation that ensued the war to help imperial powers recover from war ruinations and importantly also to prepare the colonies for neo-colonialism.

Aims of social services

- i) Boost colonial exploitation. This was the paramount aim. It should be recalled that the interest of the coloniser was only to benefit the coloniser and not the colonised. Social services were provided to ease exploitation and never for the welfare of the colonised people.
- ii) Cultural erosion. They were a means to implant western culture and civilisation to Africans. Through them, mostly education and religion Africans were to adopt western living styles.
- iii) Create classes. Services were provided on racial and religious lines to strengthen notion of Whiteman's superiority over Africans and create class divisions among

- Africans. For example Christian converts and graduates of colonial education were made to look superior.
- iv) Profit making. Colonial governments, private capital owners and public agents invested in social services for profit making. That is the services were never provided free of charge.
 - v) To attract capital investors in the colonies. Capital owners would easily be encouraged to invest in the colonies with assured services like transport, health and housing.

Pattern of colonial social services

- i) Areas of economic importance. Cash crop producing areas like central Uganda, Kilimanjaro and Karagwe (Tanganyika) and mining regions like Katanga (Zambia), Mwadui (Tanganyika) and Kasese (Uganda) were given greater consideration. Education, health, housing, electricity and transport and communication services given to such areas facilitate support exploitation.
- ii) Presence of urban centres. Towns such as Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala, Lagos, Accra and Maputo developed as colonial administrative and commercial centres. With large European population of administrators, traders and investors and African labour, colonial government were forced to provide them with sufficient housing, fresh water, electricity, schools, hospitals, post offices and transport services.
- iii) Presence of missionaries. Missionaries were considered due to their role in consolidation of colonial rule an exploitation. Also, with assistance of colonial government they provided services like education and health for their evangelisation and western civilisation mission. Examples of mission schools are; St. Mary's School Nyegezi and Peramiho in Tanganyika
- iv) Influence of white settlers. Settler economies like Kenya, Southern Rhodesia, Algeria, and Angola were more developed. To encourage settlers and ease their commercial farming, colonial states provided adequate services such as transport, schools, hospitals, housing and fresh water. This tells the difference in development between settler and peasant colonies.
- v) Labour sources. Transport services, rail-roads were projected to labour reserve regions to tap labour to the productive regions. The central railway line in Tanganyika from Dar es Salaam to Kigoma was laid down by the Germans to deliver labour from labour reserve of western and central Tanganyika regions of Kigoma, Dodoma, Singida and Rukwa to sisal plantations in Morogoro and Tanga and coffee plantations in Kilimanjaro.

COLONIAL EDUCATION AFTER 1945

Colonial education is the type of education provided by colonialist with the aim of consolidating their rule and accelerating exploitation in the colonies through ideological means. Education was mainly provided by the missionaries with the aid of the colonial states, metropolitan states and religious groups in Europe.

Colonial education was meant to serve the immediate (colonial) and future (neo-colonial) capitalist needs of colonial masters. Its ideology emphasised discipline, obedience and respect for authority to produce loyal subjects while providing limited skills required for smooth exploitation.

The consequences of the Second World War forced the colonial masters to make some reforms in their education system in the colonies to reflect the arising new demands. More education services were extended to the Africans to boost exploitation and help imperial powers recover from the war setback and prepare the colonies for independence and neo-colonialism.

Changes made in colonial education after 1945

1. Establishment of more elementary (primary) schools. More of these schools were constructed and some old ones expanded to increase enrolment and availability of efficient labour force to increased colonial production. Primary schools emphasised the teaching of the 3Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic), agriculture and crafts
2. Introduction of secondary school education. Secondary and college education began to be given to the Africans after 1945 with the aim of preparing more “elite” Africans to be integrated into the colonial system. They introduced intellectual subjects like history and geography. Some primary schools were upgraded to secondary schools. Notable examples include Kings College in Uganda and Nigeria, Bo-School in Sierra Leone, Fourah-Bay in Ghana and Gordon Memorial College in Sudan.
3. Establishment of Native Authority Schools. The schools were from standard 1 to 4 under the partnership of the colonial state and native authorities. Their syllabus was rural oriented and emphasis was on agriculture and manual labour. Subjects included farming, crafts, literacy, numeracy and hygiene. Graduates from these schools were meant to go back to the villages to improve agricultural production.
4. Increased involvement of missionaries in provision of education. Colonial governments encouraged missionaries to establish more schools to march the increased demand of education and to relieve itself of financial burden to provide education. Important also, was to increase religious education to soften the hearts of African and stave off anti-colonial feelings. Such schools included Tabora Central School, Old Moshi School, St. Marian School and St Francis College (now Pugu High School) in Tanganyika.
5. Establishment of more vocational institutions. The institutions were to train Africans for different vocational trades like carpentry, painting and driving needed to meet the demands of the established industries and colonial production in general.
6. Increase in Teachers’ Training Colleges (TTC). The need for more teachers called for this change. More teachers especially Grade III (three) teachers were required to march the increased number of elementary (primary) schools.
7. Introduction of institutions of higher learning. Colleges and universities such as Makerere (East Africa), Ibadan (Nigeria = Khartoum (Sudan) were set. The goal was to create African elite class that was Europe in outlook to fit for colonial service and that would take over at independence and serve imperialist interest as puppet leaders of the neo-colonies. Emphasis was on white collar jobs.

8. Changes in the curriculum and teaching methods. More agricultural and handcrafts education was given to train Africans for different trades needed for colonial production like farming, carpentry, basketry, art and music. Similarly, more religious education was given to humble Africans and to arrest the rising anti-colonial campaigns.

Expansion of education services after Second World War doesn't imply that large percentage African children were enrolled. By independence around only 2% of the population in sub-Saharan Africa was literate. Education meant to expand the labour force only to necessary requirements of colonial production and not to liberate Africans.

Motives behind education reforms after 1945

The reforms centred towards hastening exploiting the colonies for the benefit of the metropolitan states and at the same have a focus on the future interests in the neo-colonies.

1. To boost colonial production. Education changes after Second World II were a response to the need to improve labour productivity in the production of the badly needed raw materials so as to hasten the exploitation of the colonies to reconstruct metropolitan war damaged. The increase in elementary, vocational, agricultural and higher learning institutions reveals that.
2. Expand literate labour force. The expansion of colonial production activities and shortage of European labour that was kept in Europe to reconstruct European economies after the war forced colonial masters increase African literate labour force. The increase in the number of learning institutions was to create more secretaries, teachers, catechists, carpenters, drivers etc that would help in administration and production activities.
3. Pressure from the United Nations Organisation. The United Nations in its Universal Human Rights declaration stressed that education is a fundamental human right which all people are entitled to without discrimination of any kind. Basing on that UN conditioned colonial powers to expand education services to have room for more enrolment of colonial subjects.
4. Preparation for neo-colonialism. With the upsurge of nationalism after Second World War, adjustments were made in colonial education to prepare colonies for independence and neo-colonialism. Secondary and higher education was introduced to create an elite petty bourgeoisie class that was European in outlook through whom imperialist interest would be perpetuated in neo-colonies.
5. To contain socialism. The wide spread of socialism after the Second World War worried the capitalist world. Colonial powers feared that if socialism became a great force in Africa, it would jeopardise colonial exploitation. In that sense education also aimed at consolidating capitalist relations in the colonies and create a class of African petty bourgeoisies that would defend capitalism.
6. Pressure from African elites. African elites like Kwame Nkrumah and Nandi Azikiwe pressurised colonial governments to expand education rights to Africans. They believed that education would raise awareness for mass nationalism against colonialism.
7. Ideological purposes. Changes in education looked at increasing indoctrination of Africans to cherish Western values and religion and consolidate European superiority and

create a class of Africans that would help consolidate colonial rule and thus stave off anti-colonial feelings and would serve neo-colonialism after independence.

8. Capital investment. Colonial states, private individuals and missionaries invested in education services for profit making. Profits were accrued from school fees and business boomed with selling of food and fuel within and along learning institutions. Also capital was invested in housing, water and electricity services provided to learning institutions.

Strategies used to implement the changes in education policies

1. Increasing the number of schools. In particular more elementary, middle and secondary schools were established to increase enrolment. The aim was to equip Africans with few skills required for colonial exploitation, culture distortion and to cool anti-colonial feelings.
2. Training more teachers. The increase in the schools and learning institutions called for training more teachers. More Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) such as Marangu TTC were facilitated to produce the required number of teachers to relate to the increased enrolment.
3. Strengthening colonial state partnership with missionaries. This helped in expansion of provision of education services to create more learning institutions like Marangu TTC and Panda Hill School in Tanganyika. They helped the financially weak metropolis reduce costs in education. The integration of education with religion also was to cool anti-colonial pressure.
4. Provision of overseas scholarships. Some Africans students were given scholarship to study abroad to be prepared for leadership and be exposed to European socio-political systems which they were to emulate after independence and thus serve as puppets to metropolitan Europe. These included Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta and Namdi Azikiwe.
5. Establishment of universities and higher institutions of learning. Universities like Makerere in Uganda, Ibadan in Nigeria and Khartoum in Sudan were opened to provide few Africans with elites' education for white collar jobs and to create an African elite class that would succeed from the colonialists and would perpetuate colonial systems in the neo-colonies.
6. Exchange student programmes. This was introduced and some students from colonies of their origin were taken for further education to other colonies. For example Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was taken to study at Makerere (college) in Uganda.
7. Involvement of Native Authorities in education. Due to financial constraints after the Second World War, financial responsibilities for primary schools was given to Native Authorities. This favoured the cash crop producing areas because their Native Authorities had more money from taxes and sales of cash crops and their people could afford school fees.
8. Expansion of military education and training. This was aimed at preparing a militant African class that would serve as puppets and would be used to overthrow anti-western regimes. For instance the coup d'états against Kwame Nkrumah in 1966 and Milton Obote in 1971 due to their socialist inclinations was planned by the West and implemented by graduates of colonial military General Busia (Ghana) and General Iddi Amin (Uganda) respectively.

Colonial education was a tool of imperialism and indeed succeeded in the fulfillment of imperialist motives. It created and strengthened divisions and dependence; African graduates were merely agents of western civilisation and; the fact that education is still handed down in foreign languages, relies on foreign based syllabuses and transmitted through bookish and rote learning methods, African genuine liberation is still a day dream.

NB: Other elements of colonial education are found in Topic Seven

COLONIAL HEALTH SERVICES

Health is a general state of the body or mind. Health services are medical facilities (care) given for the wellbeing of the people's bodies and minds. Colonial health services were the medical facilities given by colonial masters in the colonies. They included few hospitals and health centres, dispensaries and drug shops.

Colonial health services were provided by;

- a) Government health services. These were mainly hospitals, health centres (clinics), mainly built in urban centres to serve Europeans, Asian and few favoured African bureaucrats. They include; Ocean Road Hospital in Dar es Salaam, Mulago and Mengo in Kampala and the Native Civil Hospital (named Kenyatta National Hospital after independence) in Kenya.
- b) Mission health services. These were mainly health centres and dispensaries ran by missionaries in the colonies. They were mostly along mission centres in villages and towns.
- c) Private health services. These medical services were established in the colonies by rich investors. Notable example in colonial Africa was Aga Khan Hospitals.

Characteristics of colonial health services

- a. Health services were limited to a small number of people. The services were offered to groups of special interests like government officials, European traders and settlers, Christian converts and African labour — the groups that were important in the colonial production.
- b. Provided on denominational basis. There were separate Health Centres and dispensaries for Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans and others.
- c. Racial links. The right and quality of Health services were determined by racial basis. Grade I services were for Europeans, Grade II for Asians and low quality Grade III for Africans.
- d. Health services were commercialised. Colonial social services were not offered free of charge therefore people in need of them were required to pay.
- e. Regionally provided. Like other social services, Health Services were confined in the regions of economic importance like plantations, settler areas, dominant peasant production areas, mining centres and urban centres to facilitate production.
- f. Medicines provided were curative - not protective. No medicines were provided to prevent Africans from being contracted with disease but treated them after falling sick. This was a

strategy to make Africans market for the European manufactured medicines and get them for labour services.

- g. African medicines were disregarded. Traditional medicine was discouraged to kill competition against European imported medicines. Traditional medicine was branded 'evil'.
- h. Presence of few qualified medical personnel. The qualified personnel served in hospitals and Health Centres in towns and mainly attended to Europeans and Asians. African trained personnel were few and mainly served at lower ranks like wound dressers and in villages.

Motives for the expansion of Health Services after 1945

1. Expansion of the colonial bureaucracy. The increase in the number of colonial officials, both European and African, after the Second World War, forced colonial governments to expand health services to ensure their good health for effective colonial control and exploitation.
2. Increase in labour exploitation. Increase in the number of African labour in response to expansion colonial production in plantations and mines called for expansion of health services to ensure good health for African labour for intensive and quick exploitation.
3. To expand capital investment. Capital from the metropolitan states by colonial governments, missionaries and rich capitalist was invested in health services for profit making.
4. Expansion of colonial military. The military was increased to ensure effective exploitation and quell down nationalist campaigns that escalated after the Second World War. The health of military personnel was a prerequisite for effective colonial rule and exploitation.
5. To attract more capital investors in the colonies. Capital investors from Europe needed assurance of good health maintenance to risk for investment in the colonies. They invested in industries, plantations and mining in the colonies.
6. Increased influx of settlers to the colonies. This also conditioned colonial states to expand Health services in the colonies. Settlers demanded for such services for their wellbeing. Increase in missionary activities.
7. Due to the bankruptcy of imperial states after World War II, colonial states entrusted the missionaries with more powers to provide social services Health Services inclusive.

HOUSING AND WATER SERVICES

Housing schemes and fresh water services were provided by the colonial states to special groups to areas with colonial importance. Thus like other social services such as health and education, housing and water services were characterised by the following;

Characteristics/pattern of colonial water and housing services

- a. Housing and water services were few and offered to groups of special interests like bureaucrats and African labour. The groups which were important for colonial exploitation.

- b. Racial links. The Europeans were given best housing and fresh water services followed by the Asians. Africans were provided with low quality housing and water services for example, African labour was camped in dormitories with poor sanitation along plantations and mines.
- c. Services were commercialised. African labour paid rent for houses and water and electricity bills because these services were a response to capital investment so not offered freely.
- d. Unevenly distributed. Like other services, housing and water services were offered to areas of economic importance like plantations, settler, mining and urban areas to ease production for example accommodation to labour - non-productive regions were neglected.
- e. Provided on religious grounds. Mission centres were built with housing facilities for the missionaries and their African labour. Colonial states also favoured the mission centres with clean water service.

Reasons for the expansion of housing and water services after 1945

- 1. Labour expansion. Expansion of colonial production; plantations and mines called for expansion of housing and water services to accommodate more labour. Moreover they heavily relied on migrant labour that were resides in camps near plantations and mines.
- 2. Influx of settlers. More unemployed Europeans were encouraged to migrate to the colonies to try their luck there. Houses were established to accommodate more settlers and assure them security and good health.
- 3. To attract more capital investors in the colonies. These services were inducement to attract more capital investors in the colonies who needed assured reasonable standards of life.
- 4. To intensify exploitation. Housing services were provided near plantations and mines to keep labourers and supervisors near the premises of work to ensure constant labour supply.
- 5. Expansion of urbanisation. The expansion of town populations in the period after the Second World War demanded the expansion of housing, water and electricity services to keep Europeans, Asians, traders and African labour.
- 6. Capital investment. Housing and water services were income generating projects by capital investors or the colonial state itself. For example labour paid bills for using those services.
- 7. The expansion of other social services. Other social services like education, health and religious services called for more housing and water services. Labour and tools used in these services required to be kept near their working places.

By and large the interest of the coloniser was to serve the coloniser and never the colonised; the projects introduced in the colonies by the colonisers were always to see the smooth exploitation of the colonies. The role of the Africa the Africans was to aid the colonial master exploit the resources in the colonies consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly.

Sample — revision question

1. Account for the changes in the colonial socio-economic policies after the Second World War
2. Analyse the various development schemes undertaken in the colonies after 1945.
3. Appraise the transformed economic strategic plans of the colonial state after the Second World War. (NECTA 2012)
4. Analyse six strategies which were undertaken by the colonial states to improve agriculture in Africa after the Second World War. (NECTA 2017)
5. Explain six objectives of introducing Progressive Farmers in Africa after the Second World War. (NECTA 2015)
6. Cooperative unions and marketing boards were much encouraged by the metropolitan policies after 1939. Account for such development.
7. Account for the failure of colonial agriculture reforms in Africa after the Second World War (provide six points). (NECTA 2013)
8. Explain six factors that influenced the choice of location of industries in Africa during colonial time. (NECTA 2016)
9. Migrant labourers were preferred by the colonialists to other types of labour. Substantiate this statement with six points. (NECTA 2014)
10. Show how the colonial states maintained constant supply of labour in the plantations and settler farms in Africa during and after the Second World War. (Give six points). (NECTA— Private Candidates 2015)
11. Explain six reasons for the rise and consolidation of the African Working Class Movement after 1945. (NECTA 2013)
12. Examine five features of African trade unions after 1945. (NECTA — Private Candidates 2015)
13. Examine two roles of colonial trade and use four points to show how Africans were affected by this trade after the Second World War. (NECTA 2017)
14. Assess the impact on the expansion of transport and communication systems in the colonies after 1945 by using six points. (NECTA 2016)
15. Examine six major socio-economic changes which occurred in colonial economy after the Second World War. (NECTA 2014)
16. Examine the measures taken by the imperial powers to stabilise metropolitan crises ridden economies after the Second World War.
17. Colonial education was an instrument of consolidating colonialism in Africa. Elaborate six points to substantiate this statement. (NECTA 2012)
18. Examine four reasons behind and four strategies employed to effect changes in colonial education after 1939.
19. Assess three salient features and three effects of the colonial health services. (NECTA 2015)
20. Colonial social services served metropolitan interests. Discuss

TOPIC SIX

INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL FORCES AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM AND STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Before providing a description of African Nationalism, it is imperative to note that nationalism is by its very essence dynamic. The variations in the concept of nationalism may vary depending on the nations' surroundings, background, aims and intended future of the people associated.

In Europe for instance, nationalism may be referred to as; a sense of loyalty of the individual for a nation. Therefore to Europe it is a deep identification of one's interests with those of a nation with the interests of the nation coming before individual interests and all other interests.

In the case of Africa, nationalism is the total rejection of colonialism and all its forms and manifestations so as to attain social, economic and above all political independence. In other words, African nationalism is the expression of hostility towards colonialism and neo-colonialism and therefore the willingness to stamping out all forms of foreign rule.

The generally accepted view is that; Nationalism is an ideal agenda characterized by expression of hostility to foreign rule or influence by people who recognise themselves as members of certain nation.

Origin of African nationalism

The feelings of national consciousness in Africa are as old as the formation African societies. Pre-colonial societies of all forms expressed feelings of national identity and belonging that they were ever ready to defend. Modern African nationalism is however, a product of colonialism in Africa. It is traced from colonial imposition in 1880s with anti-colonial resistances such as the Mandika (1882-89), Nandi (1895-1905), Hehe (1891-98) and Majimaji (1905-07) resistances. African nationalism grew in intensity and complexity with the years after the formation of colonial states and intensification of colonial oppression.

African nationalism reached its intolerant height during the decade following the end of World War II as colonial exploitation intensified to intolerable state. It passed through three phases; the Proto nationalism phase, 1884-1919; the Cooperatives, Welfare, Workers and Independent Religious Movements phase, 1920-1945 and Mass Nationalism, 1945-1960s. Independence was achieved by three major forms; constitutional means, warfare and revolutionary means.

The factors for African nationalism were of two types; the internal forces caused by the internal pressure within the colonies created by the contradictions within the colonial political, economic and social systems and; the external forces caused by the world socio-political and economic system that pressed colonial regimes to wither and give- up their colonial hegemony.

Attention in this topic's discussion shall be put on the external forces and how they contributed to the rise of African nationalism as well as the struggle for independence. The factors include;

IMPACT OF THE 1919 VERSAILLES TREATY AND THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The Versailles Treaty was a post World War I peace agreement signed between the victor nations of the war and the defeated Germany on June 28, 1919 at Versailles in Paris to evaluate the cause of the war and work on the possibilities of preventing another war. Nations represented were 27 in the meetings which started in January and ended in June 1919; however, the major decision makers were a group known as the “Big Four” of Woodrow Wilson of the USA, Georges Clemenceau of France, David Lloyd George of Britain and Vittorio Orlando of Italy.

The treaty also looked to assess the damages and punish the aggressors. The contribution of the treaty based on the 14 points raised by the American president Woodrow Wilson.

The 14 points of Woodrow Wilson

1. Abolition of secret diplomacy by open conventions openly arrived at.
2. Freedom of the seas in peace and war, except as the seas may be closed in whole part by international action for enforcement of international conventions.
3. Removal of international trade barriers wherever possible and establishment of an equality of trade conditions among the nations concerning to the peace.
4. Reduction of armaments consistent with public safety.
5. Adjustment of colonial disputes consistent with the interests of both the controlling government and the colonial population.
6. Evaluation of Russian territory, with the provision of self-determination.
7. Evaluation and restoration of Belgium.
8. Evaluation and restoration of French territory, including Alsace and Lorraine.
9. Readjustment of Italian frontiers along clearly recognisable lines of nationality.
10. Autonomy of the people of Austria-Hungary.
11. Evaluation and restoration of territory to Serbia, Montenegro and Romania, granting of seaports to Serbia, and readjustment and international guarantee of the national ambitions of the Balkan nations.
12. Self-determination for non-Turkish peoples under Turkish control and internationalisation of the Dardanelles.
13. An independent Poland with access to the sea.
14. Creation of a general association of nations under specific conventions to give mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity.

Aims and objectives of the Versailles Treaty

- i) To maintain peace, security and stability. The conference targeted to re-organise Europe back to normal where peace and tranquillity prevailed.
- ii) To restore the balance of power. Germany aggression had destroyed the European balance of power that needed to be restored.
- iii) To carry out general disarmament policy. Both the victor and defeated powers of the World War I were to be disarmed thoroughly to avoid the arms race which greatly contributed to the outbreak of World War I.

- iv) To recognize the principle of nationalism and self-determination. The treaty also focused at addressing the question of nationalities which also centrally contributed to the occurrence of World War I.
- v) Reconciliation between the victor (Allied) and vanquished (alliance) powers. This meant to end dangerous rivalries like the Franco-Germany conflicts which resulted to World War I.
- vi) Punishment of the aggressors. Germany and her allies were found guilty of the war, had to pay indemnity to the Allied powers, and lost their external territories and colonies.
- vii) To weaken Germany to the position that she would not cause trouble again. A huge war indemnity of 6600 million pounds was forced on her, lost her colonies and was not allowed to form alliances.

The role of the treaty in the rise of African nationalism and the struggle for independence

1. The treaty raised the principle of self-determination. The principle was proposed by the USA president Woodrow Wilson in the 14 points. It meant that people under foreign rule should be granted self-rule. The principle was ratified by the League of Nations and United Nations Human Rights Charter in 1948 and inspired African countries to demand for independence.
2. Formation of the League of Nations. The league formed in 1919 as an international peace keeping body was a product of the Versailles Treaty and the 4th point of Woodrow Wilson that called for formation of international organization that would guard peace and independence of all states. The failure of the league due to the occurrence of World War II led to the formation of UNO (1945) which was a great deal for African decolonisation.
3. Mandate system. To punish Germany, her colonies were mandated to the victor powers of World War I. Tanganyika was given to Britain; Cameroon and Togo to France; Rwanda and Burundi to Belgium and; Namibia to South Africa. The mandate system was a step towards self- rule as the territories were to attain semi-autonomous status with full independence planned to be granted soon. That is why most of these colonies like Tanganyika got independence earlier.
4. The treaty attained independence for some European nationalities. Nationality groups like Czechs, Slovaks and Slays that for long had been subjugated by Austria were freed by the treaty and new independent states like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were created. Such a move was an inspiration to African colonies to struggle for their independence.
5. Reactivated the activities of Pan-Africanism. As delegates were meeting for the Versailles Treaty, Pan-Africanist also convened the Paris Pan-African congress in the same city and time, 1919. Pan-Africanists saw this as good moment to confront the delegates attending the Versailles Treaty with the grievances of Black People. Du Bois, who attended the Versailles conference, appealed to President Woodrow Wilson for self-determination to the colonized peoples.
6. Involvement of USA in international affairs. The Versailles Treaty made USA suspend her isolation policy for the first time and therefore was the first step to interact USA into world politics. Though the US congress disapproved it, since then USA has centrally involved herself in world affairs including, anti-colonial campaigns through her “open door policy.”

7. Occurrence of Second World II. The treaty precipitated the outbreak of World War II by provoking the rise of vengeful dictatorships in Italy, Germany and Japan that were frustrated by its outcomes. The war was a blessing in disguise to African nationalism; it weakened European imperialism and led to rise of new superpowers and UNO and etc that were vital forces for the liberation of Africa.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

The principle of “Self-determination” states the “right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live.” It advocates for the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them by the foreign nations.

The principle was among the 14 points of the US president Woodrow Wilson on which the Versailles Treaty of 1919 was made. It was proclaimed by the Versailles Treaty and incorporated in the Atlantic Charter of 1941 and the UN Charter. After World War II, promotion of self-determination among colonised peoples became one of the chief goals of the UN.

Role of the principle of self-determination in development of African nationalism and the struggle for independence

1. Raised awareness and determination. The proclamation of the principle of self-determination enlightened the colonised subjects that colonialism was illegal and denial of their essential right to independence. Africans became more determined to apply all possible means to win independence. That is why, the failure of peaceful means through political parties in some colonies like Algeria and Kenya, prompted Africans to turn to warfare to liberate their countries.
2. Raised awareness and determination. The proclamation of the principle of self-determination enlightened the colonised subjects that colonialism was illegal and denial of their essential right to independence. This made the Africans lose hope and respect for colonial rule to demand for independence. The awareness increased their determination to fight for independence.
3. Promoted unity. The declaration of the principle solidified the colonised peoples to fight for self-rule. They united to form pressure groups like Welfare Associations and Trade Unions, mostly Political Parties such as CPP (Ghana) and TANU (Tanganyika) and militant movements like the Mau Mau in Kenya through which they would free themselves from the shackles of alien rule.
4. Intensified pan-Africanism. Energised by claims of the principle of the right to independence for all people, pan-Africanists waged international campaigns to eradicate colonialism from 1919 when the principle was declared in the Versailles treaty. For example the Manchester (1945') and Accra conferences (1958) demanded immediate decolonisation for Africa.
5. Commitment of the UN. The principle of self-determination was incorporated into the UN Charter. By doing that, the UN had to take responsibility to ensure the respect of the principle by challenging colonialism for the colonial subjects to attain self-governance.

Its Decolonisation Committee and Trusteeship Council pressed colonial powers to grant independence to the colonies.

6. Attracted the attention of the superpowers. The USA and USSR approved the principle of self-determination. They influenced the decolonisation of Africa for their own vested interests but under the pretext of the respect of the right to self-determination for colonial subjects to choose their political destiny by attaining independence.
7. Involvement of the League of Nations in the colonial affairs. In respect to the right to self-determination the League that declared the principle took guardianship of Mandate territories that it entrusted to the victor powers of the World War I. It monitored the activities in those territories and demanded for their preparation for early self-rule.

The principle inspired Africans to demand for participation in the colonial government. Africans demanded for constitutional reforms to allow or increase their representation in the Legislative Councils and participation in colonial administration. This was a good foundation for nationalism and independence as it gave them experience and desire for self rule.

How African nationalist used the principle to demand for independence

1. Formation of political parties. Political parties like CPP (Ghana), TANU (Tanganyika), KANU (Kenya), UPC (Uganda), ANC (South Africa) and many others were formed by African nationalist to mobilise masses in the struggle for independence. The parties were an expression of national consciousness and a will for self-determination.
2. Demand for fair representation in the Legislative Councils. In the awake of nationalist ambitions and demands of equal rights and self-governance, Africans demanded for equal representation in the Legislative Councils with the Europeans. The aim was to defend their interests and rights.
3. Militant nationalism. The unwillingness of some colonial powers to grant independence forced nationalists in some colonies to turn to militancy. Militant movements like the Mau Mau and the Front for the Liberation of Algeria (FLN) were manifestation of demands for self-determination.
4. Approached the UN. African nationalist like Julius Nyerere were invited to the UN to express their desire for self-rule. Also independent Asian and Africans states used the UN platform to denounce colonialism. The UN gave hand to assist in the decolonisation through her Decolonisation Committee by pressing colonial powers grant independence to African countries.
5. Conferences and demonstration. These were done within the colonies organised by nationalist leaders and abroad by Pan- African movements. After the invasion of Ethiopia, West African students organised street matching in Nigeria, Lagos to demonstrate their bitterness against imperialism. Pan-Africanism had several conferences like Manchester (1945) and Accra (1958) to denounce colonialism.
6. Formation of pressure groups. These included welfare associations and separatist religious movements that rose to fight for Africans' socio-political and economic rights. Their attention was to liquidate colonialism and set African peoples free to decide on their own.

PAN-AFRICANISM AND RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide ideological, political and cultural movement for encouraging and strengthening links of solidarity between Peoples of African Descent all over the world. The movement looks at uniting the Peoples of African Origin in the world to fight for their freedom and equality in all parts of the world. The idea of Pan-Africanism emerged in the late 19th C among the People of African Origin in the New World by intellectuals like Henry W. Sylvester and William E. B Du Bois.

Historical background of Pan-African Movement

The movement traces its roots from the bitter experiences of exploitation, oppression and racial segregation of people of African descent in the New World. That harsh life experience in the New World made some look at Africa with admiration and so demanded for its freedom by eradicating colonialism. Through conscious elevation of their African identity, black activists in America and the rest of the world began to reclaim the rights previously denied them by Western societies since the days of slavery in the New World and during colonialism in Africa.

From 1900, the movement's leaders and intellectuals such as Henry W. Sylvester, William E. B Du Bois and George Padmore from North America, Caribbean, Europe and Africa organised several conferences at which common sufferings including colonialism on Africa were discussed and strategies developed for eventual political liberation of Africa. Below are some of the conference, their goals, resolutions and impact of Africa - London (1900), Paris (1919), London (1921), Lisbon (1923), New York (1927) and Manchester (1945). After 1945, conferences were held in Africa, starting with the Accra conference (1958).

Pan-African conferences

The Paris Pan-African conference of 1919

The Paris conference of 1919 was the first to five Pan-African Congresses held outside Africa. It was organised by the African-American thinker and journalist, William E. B. Du Bois. The conference was timely and coincided with the Versailles Peace Conference, held in Paris at that time. Du Bois, who attended the Versailles conference, expressed hope that the peace treaty would address "the future of Africa" and grant self-determination to the colonised peoples.

The conference drew up a series of recommendations:

- i) The need to abolish slavery and capital punishment for Black People.
- ii) The need for African participation in the development of the colonised countries as soon as possible.
- iii) The need for international laws to protect Black People.
- iv) The right of Africans to be educated.
- v) The need for African land to be held in trust, the need to prevent the exploitation of the Africans by foreign companies.

The 1921 Pan-African Congress - the second Pan-African Congress

This congress met in three occasions in London, Paris and Brussels. It featured representatives from the America, the Caribbean, Europe, and Africa who echoed earlier Pan-Africanist reformist ideas, denouncing imperialism in Africa and racism in the United States. Above all the delegates demanded local self-government for colonial subjects.

The 1923 Pan-African Congress - the third Pan-African Congress

The congress was held in London and Lisbon. Unfortunately, it was not well organised and attended. It repeated the demand such as for self-rule, defining the relationship between Africa and Europe, as well as mentioning the problems of the Diaspora in a number of ways:

- a) The development of Africa should be for the benefit of Africans and not merely for the profit of Europeans.
- b) Home rule and responsible government for British West Africa and the British West Indies.
- c) The abolition of the pretension of a white minority to dominate a black majority in Kenya, Rhodesia and South Africa.
- d) The suppression of lynching and mob law in the United States.

The 1927 Pan-African Conference — the fourth Pan-African Congress

This congress was convened in New York featuring delegates mostly from America and Europe. Africa was represented by few delegates from the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Nigeria. The small number of African delegates was partly due to travel restrictions that the British and French colonial powers imposed on those interested in attending the congress. Most of the delegates were black Americans and many of them were women. Similar to previous congresses, it discussed the status and conditions of black people throughout the world.

The Manchester Conference 1945 — the fifth Pan-African Congress

The Manchester Pan-African conference (1945) was the fifth of the series of Pan-African conferences. The conference was held shortly after World War II in Manchester, England from 15th to 19th October 1945 and chaired by W. E Du Bois, while Nkrumah and Padmore were joint secretaries.

The conference was possibly the most prominent and unique in the history of Pan-Africanism, colonialism and decolonisation of African continent; for the first time in the history of Pan-African movement, African delegates predominated at the Manchester Congress; and openly demanded for the independence of the colonised Africa. Delegates from Africa included Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo (Nigeria), Hastings Kamuzu Banda (Malawi) and Peter Abrahams (South Africa)

Aims and objectives of the Manchester conference

- i) It advocated for the urgent and total eradication of colonialism in all forms and thus encouraged African mass nationalism, unlike the tribal and welfare association of the past.
- ii) The conference advocated for the formation of political parties in Africa which would spearhead nationalist struggles by uniting African masses.
- iii) Spread the idea and spirit of nationalism quickly through imparting the nationalist ideas to the young politicians.
- iv) Arousing awareness and consciousness among the colonised Africans against colonial domination.
- v) Advocate for the need of solidarity among the people of African origin basing on the principle of fraternal alliance of common brotherhood based on common background.

Significance of the Manchester conference in the liberation of African continent

The role of the Manchester conference in the decolonisation of Africa is an evident truth of how it was more significant and epoch-making compared to other Pan-African conferences.

1. Change in ideology. The Manchester congress bitterly attacked colonialism by clearly proclaiming the goal of stamping it out unlike the previous conferences which sought amelioration of colonial conditions. Thus, it shifted Pan-Africanism from a reformist ideology to adopt a radical approach that bluntly demanded for urgent and total independence of Africa.
2. Proposed the methods of struggle for independence. The congress clearly spelt out that Africans should first use constitutional and nonviolent methods. However, in case the Europeans were unwilling to grant independence, the congress urged them to use force to achieve freedom. The methods encouraged formation of political parties and militant groups that championed liberation struggles in Africa.
3. Strengthened unity among liberation fighters. Since it was the first to be attended by many delegates from Africa, the congress solidified unity of African nationalists like Nkrumah and Kenyatta who attended it and those also those in Diaspora to work closely together for liberation of African continent. More so, it called upon different groups like workers, intellectuals, urban and rural masses to unite for effective action against colonialism.
4. The conference was dominated by African delegates. The fact that majority delegates were from African, the conference prepared many nationalists who returned to Africa and led their people to independence. Men such as Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenyatta of Kenya and Hastings Banda of Malawi dispersed to their home countries with a clear goal in mind and in the spirit of the congress launched or joined the ongoing campaigns for independence.
5. Advocated for the shift of Pan-African affairs to Africa. It was concluded at the Manchester congress that future Pan-African conferences were to be held in Africa itself, not outside the continent anymore - Accra 1958 conference being the first to be held in Africa. This breathed new spirit into African nationalists who were solidified to work closer for their independence

6. Formation of parallel organisations. The Manchester conference raised nationalistic desire higher that fostered the formation of other organisations that would fasten African unity. For example, Nkrumah established the *West African National Secretariat (WANS)* on December 15, 1945 aiming at uniting Africans in colonies of West Africa for a joint liberation struggle. In the same line *Pan-African Federation of West African States* was formed.
7. Strengthened the consciousness of Africans. The spirit of the Manchester congress aroused the political conscience of Africans especially intellectuals and students that whenever they met they talked of little else but nationalist politics and colonial liberation movement. It also let African nationalist know that colonialism had to be ejected by actions and no mere words.
8. It largely attracted international concern for African cause. The popularity of the congress due to its liberation agenda, venue of Manchester and timing of 1945, immediately after World War II, drew interest of international bodies like UNO and western politicians who came to side with Africans by supporting African decolonisation.

THE 1958 ACCRA PAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

The 1958 Accra conferences were the first Pan-African conferences to be held in Africa and first experiment in cooperation among African states. They were two pan-Africanist conferences organised in Accra by Nkrumah immediately after the independence of Ghana in 1957. The first was the First Conference of Independent African States on April 1958, which was attended by leaders of eight African independent countries: Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia. The second was the First All-African Peoples Conference held in December (1958) attended by 28 independent and non-independent African states, liberation movements and public organisations. Tom Mboya from Kenya was chairman of the meeting.

The agenda and resolutions of the conference centred on;

- 1) African unity. The meeting sought to build strong relations among the independent African states to establish and maintain solidarity between independent African states.
- 2) Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. Members pledged to offer assistance to the liberation movements throughout Africa and to defend their own sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- 3) The relations between independent Africa and the UN. African countries pledged to remain faithful to the UN charter.
- 4) Anti-racism. The conferences urged the eradication of all forms and manifestations of racial discrimination.
- 5) The ways and means of protecting Africa from the divisiveness of the East-West Cold War.

Kwame Nkrumah (21/9/1901 — 27/4/1972) was an influential Ghanaian Politian, revolutionary, advocate of Pan-Africanism and founding member of the Organisation of African Unity. After graduating from Lincoln University in Pennsylvania (1935-39), he went to earn a master's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He studied socialism, especially the writings of

Marx and Lenin, and nationalism, especially the thinking of Marcus Garvey. He returned to the Gold coast in 1947 after twelve years abroad pursuing higher education and organizing with other Pan-Africanists in Diaspora. He formed the Convention People's Party (CPP), which achieved rapid success through its unprecedented appeal to the common people and led his country to independence in 1957. He is a notable Pan-Africanist who led a continental and international campaign against colonialism.

Contribution of Accra Conference in the duty of Nationalism in Africa

- 1) A shift of Pan-Africanism activities to Africa. The Accra conference was significant in that it represented the first Pan-African Conference held on African soil. The delegates to the conference agreed to hold future Pan-African conferences in Africa and thus it was followed by a series of conferences in Africa to achieve African independence and unity. The subsequent conferences include Addis Ababa, Tunis, Lagos, Casablanca and Dar es Salaam.
- 2) The conference provided leadership in the liberation struggles. It was at this meeting that the decision was made to establish a permanent secretariat led by Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana to coordinate liberation struggles in the whole of Africa.
- 3) Reaffirmed the strategies for liberation struggle. The Accra conference passed a resolution encouraging nationalist to use non-violent methods in efforts to achieve independence. However, it also saw the need of violence against the colonial powers that would be reluctant to grant independence.
- 4) Morals and material support. The conferences asked independent African states to offer aid and support for the liberation of Africa. In that regard, independent states, at the conference, vowed to facilitate liberation movements in countries still under colonial rule, Egypt and Ghana for instance offered support to Algerian and Cameroonian independence movements.
- 5) Laid ground for establishment of regional groupings. The conferences advocated for the establishment of continental common market and called for the removal of customs and other restrictions on trade among African states. On such background regional integrations such as EAC, ECOWAS and SADC were found for economic liberation of African states.
- 6) Led to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The Accra conferences called for political integration (unity) of Africa to link independent African countries together. The call matured in 1963 in Addis Ababa conference into establishment of the OAU that also was instrumental for the fight for political independence of African continent.
- 7) Solidified unity and cooperation. The conference provided an opportunity for African politicians who met at Accra establish long-lasting friendly relationships such as the one between Nkrumah and Lumumba that propelled liberation struggles. Solidarity was a key strategy for joint action against colonialism and neo-colonialism.
- 8) Openly denounced colonialism. The conference took a more radical approach by openly attacking colonialism and imperialism, which brought so much suffering to African People. It demanded for immediate and unconditional independence of all African people and fight against neocolonialism for independent states.

- 9) Strong stand against racial segregation. At Accra, delegates vigorously denounced the policy of racial segregation applied by colonialists and demanded for abolition of apartheid in South Africa and white minority regime in Zimbabwe and demanded the immediate independence of those countries. The conference raised the slogan “Hands off Africa” and demanded for “Africa for Africans.” This raised the nationalist quest to another level with demands for immediate independence the driving force.

Significance of Pan-Africanism in the rise of nationalism and the struggle for independence in Africa

- 1) First and foremost, Pan-African movement internationalised African’s nationalist activities. Certainly, the movement gave African nationalism and struggle against colonialism an international picture. This attracted international bodies like the League of Nations and its successor the UN besides other movements (bodies) to de-campaign colonial rule.
- 2) Secondly, it strengthened the consciousness of blacks throughout the world. Pan-Africanism helped awake in Africans awareness of their common plight as a down trodden and oppressed race since the days of Atlantic Slave trade to colonialism in Africa and therefore won more converts to intensify the nationalist cause in Africa.
- 3) The movement provided a forum. Pan-African congresses were a platform on which the People of African Descent discussed problems and hatched solutions to overcome them. The Manchester congress for example proposed appropriate liberation strategies urging Africans to first use peaceful means until when they fail then resort to militant strategy.
- 4) The movement was a key uniting force. Pan-Africanism brought the realisation that the People of African Origin have the same ancestry in Africa and share similar degradation, humiliation and exploitation at the hands of Whiteman. Accordingly, it bonded together those in Diaspora and those in Africa for a concerted liberation effort.
- 5) The movement groomed nationalist leaders. A number of nationalist leaders were exposed to the ideas of Pan-Africanist intellectuals like Du Bois and Garvey on leadership and liberation struggle. It was not by accident that many of those who attended the Manchester pan-African conferences in 1945 like Nkrumah, Azikiwe and Kenyatta came back to Africa in high gear to lead their countries to self-rule.
- 6) Formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). Pan-Africanism was the forerunner of the OAU. Among the major aims of OAU was to speed the decolonisation of Africa. To this end the OAU sponsored liberation movements in a number of countries such as Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.
- 7) Formation of regional economic integrations. It was from the movement’s call for unity, collective self-reliance and economic independence to end dependence on imperialist countries that the regional grouping such as EAC, ECOWAS and SADC were formed in Africa. To a certain level, the integrations have united African countries against imperialism.
- 8) The movement facilitated political activities of sub-regional organisations like the Pan-African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) and the Pan-African Freedom Movement for Central and Southern Africa (PAFMECSA). These speeded up independence in their respective regions by providing the needed coordination.

- 9) Lastly, Pan- Africanism was the first step towards the restoration of the status and dignity of the people of African origin. It helped them believe in themselves as a special people like other races that deserve respect. Such development encouraged and promoted determination in the struggles for independence among African countries.

Pan-African leaders and activists such as Garvey and Du Bois very much influenced the emerging nationalist and pan-African ideas and activities in Africa and prepared the stage for the onslaught on the colonial system in Africa. The movement created among the Africans a focus and greater commitment to African issues, an instrument they put to fight foreign domination.

IMPACT OF SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE SUBSEQUENT CHANGES

The Second World War was the second episode of the global imperialist fighting that occurred from 1939 to 1945 between the Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan and the Allied powers of Britain, France and Russia, later joined by USA.

The war dealt a serious blow to the colonial powers. Belgium and France were defeated and occupied. Britain was seriously depleted. The colonised people lost confidence in them and took advantage of their damaged masters to crack down colonial regimes. African servicemen (soldiers, drivers, cooks and porters) taken to fill the ranks of allied armies in war time were motivated by the war experience to break the colonial ties that still held them to Europe, now ruined and stripped of its resources.

Role of Second World War in the rise of nationalism and struggle for independence in Africa

1. Decline of European economy and imperialism. The war was a serious blow to European imperialism. Their economies were dwindled with the crumble of industries, farms and infrastructure. For reconstruction, they intensified exploitation of the colonies. The result of all was escalation of anti-colonial feelings in the colonies.
2. The Ex-soldiers. Africans conscripted to fight for their colonial masters during World War II learnt a great deal from the war. The war gave them new experience, confidence and awareness. By witnessing the cowardly behaviour of European soldiers, the myth of Whiteman's superiority was erased from them. On returning home they joined the ongoing anti- colonial campaigns or started movements like the Mau Mau in Kenya by men like Dedan Kimathi and Waruhiu Itote and the FLN in Algeria by Ahmed Ben Bella to overthrow colonialism.
3. Emergence of new superpowers. The USA and USSR surfaced from the war as new outright superpowers that replaced the European powers, Britain and France in particular. The two condemned colonialism to have access to Africa to spread their ideologies and exploit resources. By their Veto powers de-campaigned colonialism through the UN and morally supported African nationalists. The USSR gave financial and military support to liberation movements of many states like Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.
4. Formation of the UNO. UNO was formed immediately after World War II to replace the League of Nations which failed to keep world peace. In respect to the right of Self-determination, UNO formed the Decolonisation Committee and Trusteeship council

which were assigned duties to press colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies.

5. Change of government in Europe. The drastic impacts of the war brought political changes that affected the colonial system. In the General Elections of 1945 in Britain for example, the Conservative Party leader Winston Churchill was defeated and a socialist labour government led by Clement Attlee, took over. The socialists were committed to the decolonisation. They condemned colonialism as an outdated system of exploitation.
6. Role of Pan-Africanism. The war gave fresh impetus to Pan-Africanism to intensify the pursuit for the liberation of Africa. The Manchester Congress held immediately after the war in 1945, advocated for a total end of colonialism in African. It certainly reactivated nationalist spirit since majority of its delegates that included Nkrumah and Kenyatta were from Africa and when they returned to their home countries led liberation struggles.
7. Independence of Asian countries. The war led to attainment of self-rule of Asian countries soon after its end; Indonesia in 1945, India and Pakistan in 1947 and Burma in 1948 because the war was directly fought in these countries and weakened their colonial masters militarily and economically. Their independence was a boost to liberation campaigns in Africa. African nationalist borrowed Asian experiences like Gandhi's strategy of civil disobedience, Asians provided moral and material support and led to Bandung conference and NAM.
8. The Bandung conference and NAM. The Second World War resulted into the dangerous Cold War. To fight imperialism and find their position during the Cold War, the first Afro-Asian conference was convened at Bandung in 1955 and six years later (1961) at Belgrade NAM was formed. The two, forged Third World solidarity against colonialism and neo-colonialism.
9. The Atlantic Charter of 1941. In the course of the war, American president, Franklin Roosevelt, and British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill met in the Atlantic on American warship, Augusta and came up with the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941. The charter declared the principle of self-determination that aims to see self governance restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of it. This was a gear to push for decolonisation in Africa.

THE ROLE OF EX - SOLDIERS IN THE RISE OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM AND STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Ex-soldiers were Africans recruits of the world wars who were brought back to their home countries after the war. African troops were mostly engaged in the Second World War as a result of the colonial occupation of their countries and the compulsion of the colonial powers on the colonies to provide manpower for the war effort.

More than 1 million African troops served in the Second World War, mostly for Britain; 334,000 from South Africa; 289,530 from British eastern Africa (Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Malawi). Tanganyika alone sent 100,000 and Kenya 75,000; British West Africa (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone and Gambia) sent 243,550 and Egypt 100,000. French African colonies combined sent about 200,000 soldiers. These men are generally referred to as ex-servicemen because not all served as soldiers, others were supportive staff such as drivers, cooks and porters.

The war experience changed their outlook. It instilled in them new confidence and awareness. They came back home with a strong belief in the equality of people and urgent demand for the extension to Africa the freedom for which they were told to be fighting for. Indeed, when they returned to Africa, these men had great zeal to support the cause of African independence.

Contribution of the ex-soldiers to the rise of Africa nationalism and struggle for independence

1. They formed militant movements. The military experience acquired in the war, helped them form militant liberation movements such as the Mau Mau by world war men like Waruhiu Itote (General China) and Didan Kimathi and the National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria led by a renowned World War II military commander Ahmed Ben Bella emerged in encounter the unwillingness of colonial masters to grant independence peacefully.
2. Financial support. After the war, some African soldiers were rewarded with well paid jobs in Europe. From their savings, they financially supported nationalist struggles. Others, opened small business as retailers and vendors from where they had funds to support liberation movements.
3. Formation of political parties. Some political parties in Africa were formed by the exservicemen. The National Liberation Front [(FLN) Front de Liberation Nationale] that championed the Algerian struggle for independence was formed and led by a notable World War II commander Ahmed Ben Bella.
4. Brought new ideas in Africa. During the war, African soldiers learnt democratic ideas by interacting with American soldiers who also exposed to them the history of American liberation from the British. They also witnessed democratic procedures like the 1945 General Election in Britain by which the Conservative party leader Winston Churchill was defeated and a Socialist Labour Party government led by Clement Atlee took over. The same ideas they carried back home to de-campaign the undemocratic oppressive colonial rule.
5. They helped to re-awaken the Blackman's conciseness and confidence. The war experience and life in Europe destroyed the Whiteman's myth of racial superiority. African soldiers like Ahmed Ben Bella who were appointed as top commanders realised that they were more competent fighters than their cowardly European counterparts. More so, they saw white baggers, lumpens, prostitutes and drunkards. Such realisations raised African confidence and encouraged them to fight for their freedom.
6. Ex-soldiers were a moral boost to liberation struggle in Africa. Participation of the war veterans in liberation campaigns motivated many to join the struggles. They gave African masses new hope with their war experience and enlightenment. Their active participation convinced many for victory against colonial regimes.
7. Development of international allies. The war was an opportunity African soldiers utilised to establish international links. As they were mostly taken to Asia; Burma, India and Sri Lanka to fight the Japanese, they interacted more closely with Asian soldiers with whom they shared the same colonial experience. Such a background contributed to the 1955 Bandung Conference and NAM which were helpful in the independence struggles for Africa.

They were victims of colonial exploitation. Coming back from the war, some ex-soldiers found their land offered to White settlers like in Kenya. To add salt to the injuries, while back home, they again became victims of forced labour, taxation and low wages while their European counterparts were rewarded with well paid jobs like commissioners and estate managers. That awful situation incited their anger against colonial system

ECONOMIC DECLINE OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM IN FACILITATING THE DECOLONIZATION OF AFRICA

Western Europe dominated the world since the 15th C with Mercantile Capitalism. They were the first to undertake significant economic and technological progress in the world with Britain being the first to undergo Industrial Revolution. Powers like Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Holland possessed large colonial empires since the 15th Century in the Caribbean, Americas, Australia and Asia and from the last quarter of the 19th C in Africa and Asia until mid 20th C.

From the last quarter of the 19th C however, the light in the European control of the world affairs, started to grow dim due to contradictions within the capitalist economy. Nevertheless, the Second World War was the major fiasco to them. The war created by them, fought by them, moreover on their soil and resources depleted them. Certainly, it was a remarkable world event that wiped-out European supremacy and ushered in the dominance of USA that ascended to the supreme capitalist position with the USSR as its immediate rival.

Factors for the decline of European capitalism

1. The economic depression of 1873-96. This depression hit Europe most because by then she was still the only one heavily industrialised with Britain on the lead. With the depression, production declined, unemployment and inflation increased and domestic market declined.
2. Rise of other industrialized states outside Europe. New strong industrialised powers particularly USA and Japan emerged in the second half of 19th century due to the spread of Industrial Revolution. Such powers challenged European industrial and commercial supremacy in the world by competing for control of sources of raw materials and markets.
3. The Russian revolution of 1917. The revolution intensified workers' struggles against capitalist exploitation which affected production in capitalist Europe. Also, the socialist Russia adopted a closed economy, closed her borders to protect her industries hence denied capitalist powers the wide Russian market.
4. The Russian revolution of 1917. The revolution challenged European capitalism in a number of ways. It intensified workers' struggles against capitalist exploitation which affected production. Secondly the socialist Russia adopted a closed economy, closed her borders to protect her industries hence denied capitalist powers the wide Russian market.
5. The Great Economic Depression, 1929-33. The depression hit Europe harder than other capitalist countries. For recovery from World War I economic decline, Europe depended on USA loans, goods and investment. However, when the depression started, USA abruptly stopped giving loans to Europe. As a result, European factories closed and unemployment, scarcity and inflation soared.

6. The World Wars I and II. Europe suffered the heaviest economic setback of the world wars because both wars were mostly fought on her soil leading to untold economic destruction and suffering. Similarly, Europe used a lot of her resources to facilitate the wars until running bankrupt.
7. The Marshall Aid plan. In 1947, USA offered a \$13 Billion loan to 16 European countries to rebuild their war ruined economies. Being indebted to USA meant suffering from interest which benefited USA and falling under USA influence through which for example was conditioned with the “Open Door policy” that demanded them to decolonize their colonies
8. Decolonisation of European colonies. The major European capitalist powers like Britain, France and Portugal possessed colonial empires in America, Africa and Asia on which they heavily depended, for cheap raw materials, markets for manufactured goods and capital investments. When the colonies attained independence, European colonial powers were economically hard knocked.

Contribution of European economic decline to the rise of African nationalism

1. Excessive exploitation of the colonies. The decline of European economies after the Second World War led to increased exploitation in forms of intensive labour exploitation and land requisition that aimed at using resources in the colonies to recover from the war losses. The severity of exploitation aroused grievances among Africans to stir anti-colonial campaigns.
2. Rise of USA as leading capitalist power. The decline of European capitalism was utilised by the US to rise to the helm as the supreme capitalist power. Europe became dependent on USA for financial aid, mostly the Marshall Aid for economic recovery. In that desperate position, USA conditioned them to decolonise for the “Open Door” policy on which USA would occupy Africa as a neo-colonial master.
3. Economic weakness. In a state of bankruptcy due to economic decline after Second World War, imperial powers felt heavy burden of meeting colonial administrative cost while at the same time needed to make swift economic recovery at home. In the end, they sought to decolonise and concentrate on rebuilding their home economies.
4. Rise of anti-colonial groups in Europe. The alarming economic situation of imperial powers changed public opinion against colonialism. Anti-colonial feelings emerged among politicians, bourgeoisie, socialists and the public who now saw colonies as a burden since some were not resourceful and metropolitan tax payers’ money was spent on running them.
5. Military weakness. The colonial powers who directly involved in the war; Britain and France were militarily weak after the war. They could hardly support huge armies that could easily quell anti-colonial movements. Their military weakness gave morale to Africans to intensify liberation campaigns like the Mau Mau in Kenya and FLN in Algeria.
6. The change of government in Europe. The economic hardship faced as a result of the World War II brought in new regimes. In Britain the Socialist Labour Party led by Clement Attlee took over when the Conservative Party of Winston Churchill lost in the 1945 elections because of its failure to find solution to the adverse war socio-economic

effects on Britain. The new regimes vowed to end colonialism to concentrate on rebuilding home economies.

7. Change in ideology. The heavy economic burden faced by colonial powers, Britain and France to be specific compelled them to shift their minds from colonial policy in favour of neo-colonialism to recover from economic losses. They concluded that colonial system was too expensive and that it would be easy to exploit African countries in the neo-colonial system.
8. Strengthening of socialism. It was not until after World War II, from which colonial powers emerged economically and politically weakened, that the socialist world began taking a close interest in Africa. The socialist world led by the USSR gave support to the African anti-colonialist movements in order to weaken their common enemy; international imperialism.

THE SUPERPOWERS AND THE RISE OF NATIONALISM AND DECOLONISATION IN AFRICA

In the period after the World War II, as Western Europe surrendered her dominance of the world, two new superpowers emerged; the USA and the USSR. The two with divergent ideologies were on strange competition to dominate the world through spreading and consolidation of their ideologies; capitalism for USA and communism for the USSR. Both looked at Africa as great opportunity not only for propagating their ideologies but also the desire for economic opportunities to invest capital, reap cheap resources and market. They involved themselves in de-campaigning colonialism to win the confidence of African states for themselves.

THE USA AND THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

USA attained independence in 1776 after a successful revolutionary warfare (1776-83) after a period of 169 British colonial rule. Having assumed the superpower position and guardianship of world capitalism after World War II, USA abandoned her isolation policy to entirely engage herself in international matters to defend capitalism and to impose her dominance over the world as the leading capitalist power. It was on this agenda, the USA drawn herself in supporting the decolonization of African. Her efforts were in response to own designed “*Open Door*” policy.

Reasons for the USA support of African decolonisation

1. To contain the spread of communism in Africa. USA was worried that delays in granting independence to African countries would attract them to communism. Moreover, the communists accused capitalism for colonial exploitation of Africans to encourage Africans to see communism as a solution to their problems.
2. To consolidate capitalism. USA wanted to have permanent position in Africa, to monitor the development of capitalism in the continent. European capitalism had dwindled so much and Africans had lost confidence in capitalism due to severe colonial exploitation.
3. Need to acquire Capitalist demands. Pressure from American commercial groups and Multi-national Corporations involved USA in the decolonisation of Africa as a quest to find more room for surplus capital investment. Similarly, American investors looked on

the newly independent African countries as potential market and source of cheap raw materials.

4. USA had no colonies. USA wanted to expose her power through decolonisation of Africa. After independence, USA would step-in in the newly independent African states to establish her political and economic supremacy as a neo-coloniser.
5. Challenge European imperialism. Decolonisation was a means for USA to consolidate her new position as the leading capitalist superpower. It would deny European powers cheap sources of raw materials, market and room for surplus capital investment.
6. Revenge motives. USA was antagonistic to colonial empires. In reference to her bitter colonial experience in the hands of the British, she wanted to revenge against colonial powers by campaigning for African decolonisation.
7. To propagate American political and social values. An independent Africa, would find space for USA to impose her political and cultural imperialism on Africa. She would implant puppet regimes, military bases and culture and values that are desirable to her.

Role played by USA in the decolonisation process

1. Marshal Aid Plan. 1947. The Marshal Aid Plan was the USA loan scheme to the European countries shattered by Second World War, to help them recover. Receiving the aid trapped European countries into the USA influence under which she imposed on them the “Open Door” policy, conditioning them to grant independence to the colonies.
2. Use of Veto power at the UN. USA being a permanent member of the UNO with power to Veto, pushed for decolonisation. Through the UN Decolonization Committee, USA hard-pressed colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies.
3. Moral support. Morally, USA provided scholarships to African students like Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe who studied in the US, who returned home to lead liberation struggles; also, encouraged African nationalists to form political parties to rally masses against colonialism.
4. The Cold War. The Cold War fuelled by USA drew her in the support of decolonisation campaigns of Africa as a strategy to win African states on her side. Besides that, the Cold War led to formation of the Non-align Movement which also stood firm against colonialism.
5. Promotion of the principle of self-determination. USA played a key role in the development of the principle of self-determination. By the Versailles treaty (1919), the US president Woodrow Wilson raised the principle and in the Atlantic charter (1941) another American president Franklin Roosevelt reaffirmed it. By stressing the right of the people for self-rule the principle re-energised liberation, struggles and also was enshrined in the UN charter.
6. Through promotion of human rights. USA used human rights as a pretext to achieve her political and military goals in Africans by engaging herself in supporting decolonisation drive of African countries. She for example used UN conferences to condemn colonisation as a violation of human rights and freedom, as a form of slavery and as an obstacle to world peace.

USA’s involvement in the decolonisation process of Africa clearly reveals her selfish motives in the process. She showed her double standard by supporting decolonisation in French, British and

Belgian colonies because she had not been allowed direct access and discouraged decolonisation in Portuguese colonies which were already under influence and investment.

The double standards of USA in the decolonisation of Africa

The double standards discussed here is the contradictory attitude of USA, exposed in the decolonisation process of Africa. She strongly agitated for decolonisation of British and French colonies and the Belgian Congo while supporting the prolong stay of colonial regimes in Portuguese colonies of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde and racist regimes of Zimbabwe and the Apartheid South Africa.

Reasons for the USA contradictory role in the decolonisation of Africa

1. Britain and France were USA direct rivals. USA decolonisation agenda looked at consolidating her capitalist supremacy by weakening her capitalist rivals France and Britain who heavily depended on the colonies for cheap resources, market and capital investment.
2. Investment in Portuguese colonies. American investors were heavily investing capital in industries and exploitation of petroleum and mineral resources in the Portuguese colonies. To protect their investment and exploitation, USA favoured prolonged Portuguese colonisation.
3. The cold war. The close ties of Portuguese colonial regimes to USA attracted communist bloc to support liberation struggles in those colonies. Movements like MPLA and their leaders like Augustino Neto of Angola and RENAMO of Eduardo Monlane of Mozambique were heavily supported by communist powers of USSR, Cuba and China. This forced USA to support Portuguese prolonged colonial rule as strategy to contain communism.
4. Absence of protectionism in Portuguese colonies. Portugal had little industry she thus allowed USA make commercial ties with her colonies and also did not restrict American investors to inject their capital in her colonies. The British and French on the other hand had not opened for American investment in the colonies.
5. Great potential of Portuguese colonies. Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique in particular, were very rich in natural resources than many other colonies. Angola is rich in petroleum and mineral resources: diamond and gold. USA wanted to tap the resources.
6. Portugal was politically and economically weak. Metropolitan Portugal is geographically small in size and lacked natural resources and thus politically poor as well. Such weakness kept her behind and could not resist Americans penetration and demands in her colonies.
7. Conflicts between liberal politicians and investors. Liberal politicians felt sympathy for Africans urging that it was against human rights to impose foreign rule on people and so called for decolonisation. On the other hand. capital investors campaigned for prolonged colonialism where they were not sure of security of their interests after independence.
8. Role of racist groups. Racist elements along with capital investors in USA supported racist colonial regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Portuguese colonies to protect the interests of the white population and their investments.

It can safely be concluded from the above presentation that, the USA engagement in the decolonisation campaigns of African countries was not at all a philanthropic or generosity act but undoubtedly a means to impose neo-colonialism on Africa. By the “open door” policy USA wanted to have a direct access in the exploitation to resources in the continent.

THE USSR AND THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

The USSR emerged a world superpower to dictate world politics after the Second World War. As leading communist power, the USSR adopted a new role in world politics, aiming at fulfillment of the Marxist ideology of propagating communism in the world and fight against capitalism and imperialism. In the period (1880s - 1960s), European imperialism manifested itself in colonialism. That pressed the USSR to give support to anti-colonialist movements in Africa so as to weaken international imperialism. The USSR worked in alliance of other communist countries like China and Cuba to crack down colonialism in Africa.

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Reasons for the USSR support of African decolonisation

1. To spread socialism. USSR, the leading communist power, felt the need to spread socialism to Africa in the fulfillment of Marxist theory spreading socialism to entire world to destroy capitalism. Decolonisation would quicken its spread in Africa and win USSR more allies.
2. To contain capitalism. Capitalism had entrenched into African through colonialism. By supporting decolonisation, the USSR nursed a belief that in a free Africa it would be easy to wipeout capitalism because European capitalism was strengthened by colonial exploitation.
3. The USSR had no colonies. With no colonies, the USSR would benefit from decolonisation. While decolonisation would weaken capitalism, it would help the USSR compete with the capitalist world on fair ground in world economic and political matters by getting more allies
4. For economic gains. An independent Africa would give room for free investment of the USSR. Her industries were still inefficient so demanded for trading partnership with Africa which possessed abundant raw materials and could serve her as reliable market.
5. To defend international proletarians. This was the effort to stimulate class consciousness among exploited groups to fight capitalist exploitation. Defending international proletarians would build solidarity of the exploited masses to overthrow imperialism. It would also win global support to the USSR in her propaganda to consolidate socialism in the world.

6. Strategic areas to establish military bases. The USSR also aimed at opening military bases in the newly independent African countries so as to protect these countries from capitalist encroachment beginning with Egypt and Libya which were pro-socialists and others that would embrace socialism later like Tanzania, Ghana, Angola and Mozambique.

Role played by the USSR in the decolonisation process

1. Material support. The USSR extended financial and military aid for the decolonisation of Africa. Financial help was offered to political parties like CPP in Ghana, KANU in Kenya, and UPC of Uganda. Weapons and military training were provided to militant liberation movements like FLN (Algeria), MPLA (Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique), ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe) and to the ANC of South Africa to dislodge hesitant colonial regimes.
2. Used of her Veto power at UNO. Using her position as co-founder of UNO, the USSR used her veto power to denounce colonialism and press colonial powers to grant independence to the colonies. In 1960 for instance the USSR submitted a draft resolution to the UN General Assembly calling on the colonial powers to grant independence to their colonies.
3. The Cold War. The Cold War drew the Communist bloc to the support of liberation movements in Africa like the FLN (Algeria), MPLA (Angola) and FRELIMO (Mozambique) in a bid to outwit the USA and Capitalist camp by turning Africa against capitalism. The Cold War as well led to formation of the Non-align Movement which also fought colonialism
4. Moral support. Morally the USSR encouraged African nationalists by spreading anti-colonial propaganda. She also provided scholarships to African students like Augustinho Neto of Angola and Samora Mashel of Mozambique who studied in Moscow. While there, African students were acquainted with socialist and revolutionary spirit to overthrow colonialism.
5. Ideological influence. African nationalist were encouraged by Marxist-Leninist ideology of class alliance to unit different groups of colonial workers, farmers and intellectuals to form effective organisations to fight colonial exploitation. On such basis dominant political parties such as CCP, TANU and KANU emerged to champion for independent.
6. Through calls for respect of human rights. The USSR as well promoted calls for the respect of human rights to undermine colonial rule. She used different avenues like the UN conferences and mass media to attack colonisation as a form of slavery, a violation of human rights and freedom and obstacle to world peace.
7. Fight against Apartheid system. The Soviet Union has been involved in the struggle against Apartheid system in South Africa. She supported the formation of Communist Party of South Africa which intended to lead that country to a socialist path. Also the ANC received all kinds of support from the USSR to crack down the racial system in South Africa.

Once they had gained their independence, several African states sought the co-operation of the USSR and Eastern bloc to escape neo-colonialism. The USSR provided technical, military and

financial aid to development projects in Africa. These initiatives gained her friendship of the Africans and represented her major diplomatic victory over Western colonial powers.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION AND THE DECOLONIZATION OF AFRICA

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) was formed on October 24, 1945 in the San Francisco Conference in California in America to replace the ineffective League of Nations that failed to keep world peace leading to the outbreak of the Second World War. Its formation was dominated by the Allied powers of USA, Britain, USSR and France who also attained the Veto power.

The organisation was formed to keep peace in the world and promote cooperation between nations. Decolonisation became an activity of UNO because it was seen that peace and freedom would be realised if all peoples would live under governments of their choice.

Role played by UNO in the decolonization of Africa

1. The UNO was a forum for decolonisation campaigns. In its anti-colonial programs, UNO invited African nationalists in its sessions to express their anti-colonial feelings. For example in 1955 Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika was invited to the UN to present the claims of his country's independence and 1960 Nkrumah of Ghana presented the grievances of colonised Africans.
2. Formation of the Decolonisation Committee. This Special Committee on Decolonisation was created in 1961 by the UN General Assembly to implement the UN declaration on the granting independence to the colonised peoples. The committee was charged with the duty of establishing claims by the colonised. It pressed colonial powers to present independence programs for their colonies.
3. Formation of the Trusteeship Council. The council was established to take charge of the Trust territories - former German (mandate) territories like Tanganyika, and Cameroon and Italian colonies like Libya to prepare them for smooth independence. The council dispatched fact finding commissions to verify the claims of those colonies and supervised the progress of constitutional developments in them. The commission was sent to Tanganyika in 1954 to establish the claims for independence. It is no wonder therefore why Trust territories with exception of Namibia achieved independence on silver plate, by peaceful means.
4. Guarantee of human rights. On December 10, 1948, the UN General Assembly made a declaration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Among other rights, the charter, reaffirmed the right to "Self Determination" that declared the "respect of the right of the people to choose the kind of government under which they will live." To the colonies, that ignited independence demands.
5. Use of sanctions. UNO used sanctions against colonial regimes that were unwilling to grant independence to compel them to surrender their colonial rule. UNO sanctioned trading embargoes against selling of arms to South African Apartheid regime, Portuguese colonies and the white minority regime (UDI) of Zimbabwe to arrest the violent and tyrannical inhuman measures used by the regime against the African's liberation.
6. Moral Support. The organisation encouraged African nationalist to form political parties that would mobilise masses and respect democracy. It also recognised liberation

movements such as FRELIMO of Mozambique, ZANU-PF of Zimbabwe and ANC of South Africa as true representatives of their countries. It invited their leaders to present their claims in its summits.

7. It empowered the new superpowers. Using their Veto powers the two superpowers were very vocal at the UN against colonial empires. Given the fact they had divergent ideologies, namely, capitalism for USA and communist for the USSR, they supported liberation struggles to win Africa for their camps.
8. Inspiration by independent states. African countries that attained independence through the assistance of the UNO like Ghana in 1957 became strong motivation to decolonisation movements in other countries. For example Patrice Lumumba (Congo) was encouraged to form the National Congolese Movement in 1958 that led to Congo (present day DRC) to independence in 1960.
9. Material support. The UNO extended military and financial help in some instances to support African nationalism. For example in 1960, a peace keeping mission was sent to Congo (now DRC) in order to prevent the state from disintegration. Financial help was sent to facilitate the independence referendum in Cameroon in 1961.

The unfortunate reality is that, the UNO is now a mere shadow of its original goal of promoting peace and cooperation among countries. By naked eye evidence, it is now an umbrella under which western powers achieve their imperialist goals. Under the guise of keeping peace and promoting democracy, USA and her associates like Britain and France invade nations with valuable resources such as the oil rich Iraq (2003) and Libya (2011). Anti-imperialist regimes in such countries are overthrown and replaced with puppet ones for easy exploitation of resources.

That explains why, there are no troops from western powers in a barren Somalia with no oil, no gold and other valuable resources to fight Al-Shabab.

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE, 1955

The Bandung Conference was a meeting of Asian and African states, mostly of which were newly independent, which took place on April 18-24, 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference was convened to promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural cooperation; to oppose colonialism and neo-colonialism by any nation and; find the position of member states in the Cold War era. It was sponsorship by five (5) Asian countries; Indonesia, India, Burma, Sri Lanka and Pakistan. Popular leaders of the conference included Ahmed Surkano of Indonesia, Jawaharlal Nehru of India and Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt. It was made up of 29 countries, 23 Asian and 6 African that is, Egypt, Algeria, Libya, Sudan, Ethiopia and Ghana.

Gamal Abdel Nasser Hussein (15 January 1918 — 28 September 1970) was the second President of Egypt, serving from 1956 until his death. Nasser led the 1952 Egyptian Revolution along with Muhammad Naguib and Anwar Sadat. Nasser's popularity in Egypt, the Arab world and entire Third World skyrocketed after his nationalisation of the Suez Canal and his political victory in the subsequent Suez Crisis. At the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations in 1955, he emerged as a world figure. He was a founding member of the NAM. He waged a continental and international campaign against imperialism in the third world and colonialism in Africa. He supported liberation movements in a number of countries like Algeria and Cameroun.

Historical background of the Bandung conference

The Bandung Conference has its background on; The bitter colonial experience of oppression and exploitation and anti-colonial processes suffered under western imperial powers united Asian and African countries. That unity laid foundation for the Bandung conference and post colonial movements like NAM as a fight against imperialism.

The 1927 Brussels Conference was significant for the Bandung Conference as well. It was convened by the League of Nations against imperialism and colonialism involving Asian and African nationalists that included India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Vietnams' Ho Chi Minh and Senegal's Lamine Senghor. The conference forged linkages between Africa and Asia nationalist.

The Second World War also provided a great opportunity to strengthen Afro-Asian unity. Many African soldiers were taken to Asia; Burma, India, Ceylon where together with their Asian counterparts fought for their colonial masters. The war gave them chance to interact more closely and together planned to do away with their common problems; colonialism and neo-colonialism.

Also was the role of the UN. From the 1950s, independent Asian and African countries that included Liberia, Ethiopia and Egypt teamed up at the TIN to fight against colonialism. They formed the Asian-African caucus at the UNO in the 1950s which was an important step that led to the Bandung Conference.

Aims (objectives) and principles

- i) To promote good will and co-operation among the nation of Asia and Africa. To explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.
- ii) To consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the Asian and African countries.
- iii) To consider problem of special interest to Asian and African peoples for example problems affecting national sovereignty, racism and colonialism.
- iv) To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in world and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.
- v) To fight colonialism and neo-colonialism and all the evils of imperialism that subjected Asian and African peoples to abject life of exploitation and oppression.

Contribution of Bandung conference to nationalism and struggle for independence

1. Condemnation of colonialism. The Bandung conference assigned the importance of right to self determination to openly condemn colonialism as an evil denial of fundamental human rights and an obstacle to the promotion of world peace and co-operation. The conference then demanded for immediate steps to be taken to grant independence to the colonised peoples.
2. Strengthened togetherness. The conference furthered the unity and solidarity between Asian and African countries to fight their common problems, particularly colonialism,

neo-colonialism and poverty. Their togetherness inspired a joint campaign against colonialism globally.

3. Formed a forum for discussion. The conference provided an opportunity for African and Asian countries to discuss colonialism and how to get rid of it. They exchanged strategies to be used in independence struggles. African nationalist like Nkrumah borrowed the strategy of Non-violence (Gandhism) employed by Indian nationalist Gandhi to weaken colonialism.
4. Led to formation of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM). NAM was founded in 1961 in Belgrade, by countries mostly attendants of the Bandung Conference hence claimed its foundation at Bandung and was formed to find the position of Third World states during the Cold War. The movement was also more concerned with a fight against colonialism and neo colonialism.
5. Conscious awakening and moral boost. African nationalist at the conference and the rest in the continent were motivated by their African and Asian counterparts who had already attained independence. They were encouraged to increase pressure on the colonial states by forming mass political parties and militant groups to force colonial regimes grant self-rule.
6. Material support. Materially, independent African and Asian states at the conference became more determined to support those that were still under colonial rule. For example Egypt extended material support to Algerian and Ghana nationalists. Support as well came from abroad from China to many liberation movements.
7. The conference linked with Pan-Africanism. African countries that attended the Bandung conference like Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia and Libya were anxious to hold the Accra Pan-African meeting immediately after the Ghanaian independence of 1957. They looked at strengthening African unity and share strategies to wipe-out colonialism in Africa.
8. Attracted the attention of superpowers. The declaration of the neutral position between the Cold War parties by states at the conference influenced the super powers to recognise the ability of Asian and African countries to influence world politics. That situation won African nationalism assistance of both Cold War superpowers.
9. Condemnation of racism. The conference also denounced racism as an offense to human dignity. It urged colonial powers to extend equal rights to colonial subjects like education rights. Nevertheless, greater reference was made to South Africa and its Apartheid regime on which the conference invited the world attention to solve the problem of racism.

By and large, the Bandung Conference of 1955 was a catalyst that reactivated nationalist quests in the continent. From there on the trend in nationalist demands, strategy and ideology changed and indeed the realisation of the dream for independence came soon for countries.

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT (NAM) AND THE DECOLONISATION OF AFRICA

The Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) was a group of states which were not formally aligned with or against any major Cold War power blocs. The organisation was officially launched in Belgrade in 1961 and its founding fathers were five: Indonesia's president, Ahmed Sukarno;

India's Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru; Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser; Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah; and Yugoslavia's president, Josip Broz Tito. Among other things a fight against imperialism; against colonialism and neo-colonialism was the movement's agenda.

Origin of the movement

The foundation of NAM was laid at the 1955 Bandung Conference of Asian and African states hosted by Indonesian president Ahmed Sukarno. The delegates at Bandung Conference adopted a "declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation" and a collective pledge to remain neutral in the Cold War. Six years later, an initiative of Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito led to the conference in September 1961 in Belgrade that officially launched the NAM.

The countries of the Non-Aligned Movement represent nearly two-thirds of the United Nations' members and contain 55% of the world population. Membership is particularly concentrated in countries considered to be developing or part of the Third World.

Aims of NAM

- i) To find the position of member states in the Cold War politics. NAM here consolidated the neutral position against great power and bloc politics.
- ii) To ensure national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries.
- iii) To struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination, interference or hegemony.
- iv) Fight against racism and all sorts of racial inequality.
- v) Peaceful resolution of disputes and the abstention from the big power military alliances and pacts.
- vi) Opposition to stationing of military bases by foreign countries.

Role played by NAM in the decolonisation of Africa

1. Condemnation of colonialism. NAM openly sharpened anti-imperialist thrust by denouncing and declaring a fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism. Using the international arena, like the UN and OUA, NAM members called for the international bodies to help in de-campaigning colonialism.
2. It was a platform to air-out views. On the NAM summits, Third World countries raised their concerns about colonialism and neo-colonialism. It also provided an opportunity to share experiences of the former colonies and raise new strategies on how to combat colonialism.
3. Material and moral support. African countries were morally uplifted by the efforts of NAM for their decolonisation. More so NAM solicited financial and military aid to boost liberation movements in several African countries. For instance the CCP (Ghana), FLN (Algeria), ANC (South Africa) and ZANU-PF (Zimbabwe) received financial and military help from NAM members like Egypt, India, Yugoslavia and China.

4. Solidified Third World states together. The movement bonded Third World countries more firmly together to wage a tough campaign against colonialism. Indeed NAM member states formed strong alliance at all possible avenues like at the UN and OAU to bring down colonialism.
5. Captured the attention of great powers. NAM was a symbolic gesture of the power and role of Third World in deciding the course of world politics hence arrested the concern of the great powers to acknowledge the need of sovereignty of the Third World countries. As a result, it lured the Cold War super powers, USA and USSR to assist liberation movements in Africa.
6. Fight against racism. NAM called for the UN to adopt sanctions against South Africa for its apartheid policy and against racist colonial regimes. Racism denied Africans chance for equal opportunities in employment and social services like education and thus hampered improvement of their living standards and delayed their independence.
7. Teamed with international bodies in the fight against colonialism. NAM worked hand in hand with international bodies like the UN and OAU to fight colonialism. NAM members regularly reported to the UN on conditions of the colonies. That teamwork forced colonial powers grant independence.
8. Raised awareness. NAM popularised the urgent need of independence to the colonies. This in one way or the other made colonial subjects and international audience become more aware of the plight of the colonised people. As result it stimulated nationalist struggles in Africa.

Since its official foundation in 1961, NAM was the main mouth piece and representative of the Third World countries in the fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism. However, the movement has struggled to survive since the end of the Cold war hence the neutral position of the member states has vanished with the dissolution of the USSR and fall of communism from early 1990s. The movement now operates under the South- South Commission.

CONTRIBUTION OF INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA AND BURMA TO THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN AFRICA

Asian countries share the same experience of imperialism with Africa. Like Africa, they were colonized by the European imperialist powers and suffered a long period of oppression, exploitation and segregation. India was under British, Burma and Sri Lanka (Ceylon) were under Britain, Indonesia was under Holland, Vietnam under France, and also China faced imperialist influence under the British, Americans, French and Japanese for long-time.

The period immediately after Second World War, saw the wind of change passing through Asia. Nationalism intensified very fast with demands for immediate termination of colonial rule. The irreversible upsurge of independence demands forced colonial powers to surrender and thus soon after the war, independence was attained in Indonesia in 1945 led by Ahrned Sukarno, India in 1947 led by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahral Nehru; in Pakistan in 1947, Burma in 1948, and Vietnam in 1955 by Ho Chi Minnh. The independence of these countries triggered the same impulse in Africa and thereafter mass nationalism intensified in the continent.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (2 October 1869 — 30 January 1948) trained in law in London. He was an Indian influential activist who was the leader of the Indian Independence Movement against the British rule. Employing non-violent civil disobedience, Gandhi led India to independence and inspired movements for civil rights and freedom across the world. He was a role model of a number of nationalist movements and leaders in Africa such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda who in emulating him employed the non-violent methods in their independence struggles against colonial rule.

How the independence of India and Burma (Asian countries) influenced nationalism in Africa

The impact of the independence of Asian countries cannot be underrated in influencing nationalist developments and independence struggles in Africa.

1. Role model. African nationalists copied strategies employed by Asian countries like India in their independence struggle. The philosophy of Gandhism which called for non violence with forms such as boycotts and demonstrations used by nationalists in India was adopted by Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda and Tom Mboya among others to fight colonial rule in their countries.
2. Moral support. The independence of Asian countries was in itself a moral encouragement to independence campaigns in Africa. Not only that, but also, after their independence, they extended support to Africa in the provision of social services and development projects. India offered scholarship to African students like Kintu Musoke and Kirunda Kivejinja of Uganda who on their return offered a lot to their country.
3. Contributed to militant nationalism. After independence, Indian prime minister, Nehru showed example to Africans when he used military approach to evict the Portuguese from Goa. This emphasised the need for warfare in cases of failure of peaceful means. Besides, Asian countries that included china and India gave military and financial help to Frontline states in the liberation campaigns of Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.
4. Formation of NAM. The independence of Asian countries strengthened the Afro-Asian solidarity, leading to the Bandung Conference of 1955 which laid foundation for formation of NAM in 1961. The conference and NAM condemned imperialism and laid down strategies and solicited for support to fight colonialism.
5. Teamed up with the Communist bloc. Independent Asian countries like India and Burma lined-up with Communist bloc that involved the USSR, China and Cuba to denounce and fight colonialism in Africa. For example at the UN, they sided with Africans to demand for independence. They also lured the communist bloc to offer support in the fight against colonialism in Africa.
6. Asian independence weakened European imperialism. It meant the end of colonial empire in Asia which decisively weakened imperial states economically. Asian countries like India and Vietnam were rich European foreign market, source of cheap labour and raw materials due to their large populations. Their independence was by all means a blow to European economies.
7. Contributed to the increase of political consciousness in Africa. The independence success of Asian countries was a stimulant to African political awareness in a number of ways. It erased the Whiteman's invincibility as Africans realised that it was possible to overthrow

colonial powers. Africans also learnt that they had to struggle as colonialism cannot easily be put to end.

8. Pressurised UNO. Independent Asian countries pressed the UNO to push colonial powers to grant independence to colonies. Using the UN platform they condemned colonialism as an abuse of fundamental rights of nations. Also at UN they consolidated Afro-Asian solidarity by formation of the Afro-Asian caucus which as well was vital in independence struggles.

Sample — revision question

1. Explain the role of the principle of Self-Determination in the development of nationalism and the struggle for independence
2. Show how African nationalists in Africa applied the principle of Self-Determination to demand for the independence in their countries
3. Examine three causes of the rise of Pan-African Movement and by giving three points, show its significance in the rise of nationalism in Africa. (NECTA 2015)
4. The Manchester Pan-Africa Conference was a turning point in the history of colonial control in Africa. Analyse by basing on six points
5. Evaluate the impact of the 1958 Accra Pan African Conference on the development of nationalist struggles and unity in Africa. (NECTA — Private Candidates 2015)
6. Assess six effects of the 1939-1945 capitalist crisis on the development of the struggle for independence in Africa. (NECTA 2012)
7. The year 1945 was the turning point towards nationalist struggles in Africa. Justify this statement by giving six points. (NECTA 2016)
8. Show how the consequences of the Second World War accelerated Nationalist struggles in Africa. (Give six points). (NECTA 2017)
9. Elaborate three effects of the Second World War on European economy and explain three contributions of the decline European capitalism in accelerating decolonisation process in Africa. (NECTA 2013)
10. Show how the decline of European capitalism accelerated African decolonisation and explain why USA developed the anti-colonial tradition. Give three points in each part. (NECTA 2016)
11. After the Second World War, both USSR and USA advocated the dissolution of colonialism in Africa with different motives. Verify the statement by analysing three motives for each state. (NECTA 2012)
12. Evaluate six contributions of USA in the process of decolonisation of Africa. (NECTA 2013)
13. Why and how did USSR support decolonisation process in Africa? (NECTA 2015)
14. In six points, evaluate the role of socialism in championing decolonisation process in Africa after the Second World War. (NECTA 2017)
15. The role of the USA in the decolonisation of Africa was not an act of generosity. Evaluate the statement in six points.
16. Discuss six contributions of the United Nations Organisation in the decolonisation of Africa.
17. Analyse the roles of the Bandung conference to the development of African nationalism and the struggle for independence. (NECTA 2014)

18. Evaluate the contribution of the independence of India and Burma to the development of African nationalism and the struggle for independence.
19. Show how external forces influenced the rise of African nationalism and the struggle for independence after 1945 (give six points). (NECTA 2014).

TOPIC SEVEN

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Tanzania is a United Republic of two countries namely, *Tanganyika* and *Zanzibar*. The union of the two countries was formed on the April 26, 1964 under the guidance of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere who became the first President of the union government and Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume who became its first vice president but also retained the Presidency of Zanzibar and Chairmanship of the Revolutionary Council. Mr. Rashid Mfaume Kawawa became the second Vice President of Tanzania and leader of Government business in the National Assembly.

Tanganyika was a German colony (1884 — 1918), but was mandated to the British by the League of Nations following the defeat of Germany in the First World War. Her mandate colonial status was transformed to the Trust Colony under the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations Organisation after the Second World War. Her colonial status (Trust colony) was a boost to her smooth attainment of independence by peaceful means.

Tanganyika's achievement of political independence on 9th December 1961 was notable for absence of conflicts between racial, tribal or religious groups as to who would monopolize power in the new state. Independence was achieved under the leadership of Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) led by Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere who became the first Prime Minister of the country and shortly afterwards its first president. Other parties that vied for power at independence included the African National Congress (ANC) formed in 1958 by Zuberi Mtemvu and United Tanganyika Party (UTP) formed in 1958.

After independence other new political parties emerged in 1962;

- Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) of Christopher Kasanga Tumbo.
- The Peoples Conversion Party (PCP) led by Samson Mshala
- The Nationalist Enterprise Party (NEP) led by Hessein Yahya.
- All Muslim Nationalist Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT)
- The African Independence Movement (AIM) which was a merger between PCP and NEP

Julius Kambarage Nyerere (13/4/1922 — 14/10/1999) was the head of state of Tanganyika and Tanzania. He was Prime Minister of Tanganyika from 1961 to 1962 and its president from 1962 when the country became a republic to 1964. He became president of Tanzania from its foundation in 1964 to 1985. Mwalimu Nyerere was a co-founder of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party which he led for independence of Tanganyika from the British. As well he was a co-founder Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM). He was known by Swahili honorific **“Mwalimu”** (Teacher), his profession prior to politics. He is also referred to as **“Baba wa Taifa”** (Father of the Nation). Mwalimu was educated at Tabora Secondary School, Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda and Edinburgh University (Britain) where he graduated with an M.A. in history and economics in 1952. Ideologically Mwalimu Nyerere was an African nationalist and African socialist; he initiated and promoted the Ujamaa political philosophy from 1967.

Zanzibar is a group of islands lying in the Indian Ocean off the coast of Tanganyika. It consists of the main southern island, **Unguja**, the smaller northern island of **Pemba**, and numerous surrounding islets. Zanzibar became a British protectorate in 1890 after the Heligoland treaty. She got independence on 10 December 1963 as a constitutional monarchy under the Sultan. This state of affairs was however, short-lived. On 12 January, a revolution occurred and led to the overthrow of the Sultan (Jamshid bin Abdullah) and his government by local African revolutionaries. The moderate Afro Shirazi Party leader Abeid Karume became the country's new president and head of state of the newly created People's Republic of Zanzibar and Pemba.

After independence however, Tanganyika and Zanzibar had to worry about further threats to their sovereignty, this time from outside. To consolidate their integrity the two countries merged and formed the United Republic of Tanzania on April 26, 1964. The union had the basis of the spirit of Pan-Africanism. Even after the merger with Tanganyika, Zanzibar maintains a Revolutionary Council and House of Representatives which has power over domestic matters. The domestic government is led by the President of Zanzibar. The parties that vied for power at independence of Zanzibar included;

- Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) formed in 1955. It was Arab dominated political party.
- Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), formed on 5 February 1957 under the leadership of Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume after the merger of two ethnic associations, the African Association formed in 1934 and Shirazi Association formed in 1938.
- Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, formed in 1959. The party was founded by a splinter group from the Afro-Shirazi Party and Sheikh Muhammad Shamte was appointed chairman.
- The Communist Party of Zanzibar founded in 1962
- The Umma Party formed in 1963 by those who quit the ZNP

Abeid Amani Karume (4/8/1905 — 7/1972) was the first President of Zanzibar. He became president as a result of a revolution which led to the deposing of the last Sultan of Zanzibar, Jamshid bin Abdallah in January 1964. He became president of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in 1957 when it was found. Sheikh Karume and Mwalimu Nyerere found the United Republic of Tanzania and he became the first Vice President of the United Republic with Mwalimu Nyerere of Tanganyika as president of the new country. He left Zanzibar in the early years of his life, travelling among other places to London, where he gained an understanding of geopolitics and international affairs. Karume developed an apparatus of control through the expansion of the Afro-Shirazi Party and its relations with the Tanganyika African National Union. He was assassinated in April 1972 in Zanzibar Town.

After the creation of the union, the government declared a contest for the creation of the name of the new country through the then Minister of Information and Tourism Mr. Idrisa Abdul Wakil Nombe. Muhammad Iqbal Dar who created the name "**TANZANIA**" won the contest. Muhammad Iqbal Dar, Tanzanian of Asian origin claims that he took the first three letters, that is, "**TAN**" of the name **TANGANYIKA**, to represent Tanganyika and then took the three letters, that is, "**ZAN**" of the name **ZANZIBAR** to represent Zanzibar. To accomplish his creation he picked the first letter of his name **Iqbal**, that is "**I**" and the first letter of his **Ahmadiyya Muslim Community**, that is, "**A**" and subsequently the name "**TANZANIA**" was complete. He was

convinced by his creation bearing the fact that a considerable number of African countries' names such as Algeria, Nigeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, and Zambia end with "IA."

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere mixes the soils of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in a pot symbolises the union the two independent countries decided to form on April 26, 1964

Development generally refers to the quantitative and qualitative changes. It can involve a number of areas including; development of human capital, infrastructure, technology, health, safety, literacy and public awareness, and other initiatives that promote the standard of living and economic health of a specific area.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Reforms in the political status of the country started immediately after independence, beginning with constitutional changes. The TANU government under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere made several changes in the country's constitution to Africanise the governance system, protect the rights of the majority and consolidate independence of the new born country.

Political situation at independence

1. The partial independence. The independence constitution was drawn by the colonial office in London and based on the Westminster model. By this constitution, the country gained statehood as a part of the British monarchy headed by the Queen of England who was represented by the Governor General as the Formal head of the state followed by prime minister being Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere.
2. The appointment, promotions and dismissal of civil service were made on the basis of the norms of the British bureaucracy.
3. The military was colonially structured. Tanganyika inherited the military and the security system of a colonial outlook. However, after the army mutiny of 1964, the government took initiatives to restructure and define the role of the Military.
4. Shortage of skilled manpower to run administrative role of the government. Clerks, accountants, managers, judges and so on, were very to help run the country.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES SINCE INDEPENDENCE

A country's constitution is the supreme law on which all other laws are based. It is also referred to as the social contract between the rulers and the ruled. All the laws, by-laws, rules and regulations in the country derive their legitimacy from the country's constitution. By that the constitution is the most important legal document of the country. Since the independence, Tanzania has had several constitutional changes;

1. The independence constitution (1961)
2. The Republic constitution (1962)
3. The interim constitution of the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar (1964)
4. The interim constitution of 1965

5. Permanent constitution (1977), known as the *Constitution of Tanzania* or *Fourth Constitution of Tanzania*
6. The constitution of Zanzibar (1979)
7. The constitution of Zanzibar (1984)

1. THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION (1961 - 1962)

At independence from the British, Tanganyika adopted a first constitution based on the *Westminster model* except that it had no *Bill of Rights*. This constitution defined a Governor General as the representative of the Queen of England, as the formal head of state, while the executive was under the Prime Minister chosen from the majority party. It also established a cabinet of ministers responsible to the parliament, an independent judiciary and provided a legal constitutional framework for the existence of Multiparty democratic system.

2. THE REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION (1962 - 1964)

In 1962, the Tanzanian Parliament formed itself into a constituent assembly and considerably revived the 1961 constitution. The remarkable change was the establishment of a strongly Presidential system and the declaration of a republican system.

- The president was given the privileges of both the former roles of the Governor General and Prime Minister to serve as the *head of state and government* as well as *commander in chief of the armed forces* of the country. He was granted the right to designate the vice president and ministers and could under certain circumstances dissolve the parliament.
- The president also inherited security-related, repressive powers that were formerly of the Governor General, with the addition of new ones; the Preventive Detention Act, for example, gave the president the right to detain any person without trial.

3. THE INTERIM CONSTITUTION (1964 - 1977)

The interim constitution, 1964-77 was a response to the merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar that gave birth to the United Republic of Tanzania in on April 26, 1964. The constitution of the new born nation was a modification of the Tanganyika's 1962 Republican Constitution, adapted according to the agreements between TANU and Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) - the majority parties in Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The agreements between the two states were ratified under the name "Articles of Union" and became part of the new constitution as "Acts of Union".

The most notable feature of the Acts of Union was the establishment of the double government structure that is also part of Tanzanian's current constitution. The structure described one government for the union and one largely autonomous independent government for Zanzibar. Zanzibar's government had its own parliament and president. The president of Zanzibar also served as vice-president of the union. This constitution was adopted at interim/temporary basis.

4. CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF 1965

The interim constitution was modified several times after the first layout. A major change was made in 1965 to formalize the single party nature of Tanzania government. Consistent with the double government structure defined in 1964, the 1965 constitution identified two government parties; TANU for the Union and ASP for Zanzibar.

In the following years several amendments were added; there was an increase in the number of matters under the authority of the Union government, which led to further limitation of the autonomy of Zanzibar and; the consolidation of one party state and the undermining of the National Assembly in favour of the National Executive Committee of the Party. At time, TANU and ASP were about to merge into Chama Cha Mapinduzi CCM, that happened in 1977.

Reasons for changing from Multi-Party system to Mono-Party system

The followings were the reasons as to why Tanzania changed from multi-party system to mono-party system in 1965:-

- i) To promote national unity. A single party system was thought crucial for strengthening national unity. A multiparty system was seen dangerous to national unity of a newly independent country since it would create political parties based on religious, ethnic and even regional lines and this would jeopardize the national unity.
- ii) To avoid civil war. Mono-party system was seen as a remedy to political chaos and probably civil wars that would result from the struggle for power between rival political parties within a multi-party system. After elections the defeated parties may not be contented with the result hence leading to war.
- iii) Development orientation. It was argued that a single party was a fast way to development for a country that was just coming from colonial exploitation. The ruling party would not have to spend most of its energies on winning election and staying in power, but would focus on developing policies for economic growth.
- iv) To avoid imperialist influence. It was thought that with a single party system chances for the imperialists to interfere with the country's local politics are minimal as its politics is centrally managed by the ruling party. With a multi-party system, imperialist states would seek alliance with different political parties and through them interfere into the country's affairs.
- v) Low political awareness. Multi-party system was rejected because it was seen necessary for Western democracy and not fitting for young states like Tanzania where political sensitization was parochial. It was thought that it would be wise to develop enough political awareness among the people before introducing them to a multi-party system.
- vi) To avoid challenges from opposition parties. In a multi-party system, opposition parties would oppose some of the functions of the ruling party which sometimes would delay decision making and prevent the proper functioning of the government of the newly independent state.
- vii) Influence of socialist states. USSR and her communist allies like China, North Korea and Cuba believed in single party system as the way for development. Tanzania being

an ally of these countries, and receiving aid from them was attracted by their political ideology of a single party politics (vanguard party) and later socialism (Ujamaa) from 1967.

- viii) African tradition. It is also believed that single party system was adopted to preserve the traditions of African. It was argued that traditional African states were governed by kings or chiefs and their advisors and did not allow any form of opposition for the king.

5. PERMANENT CONSTITUTION (1977-Todate)

The Permanent Constitution was approved a month after the merger of TANU and ASP to form ***Chaina Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)***. This constitution basically affirmed the main principles of the Republican and Interim constitutions, that are a strong presidential system, double government structure and single party state.

Since its confirmation in 1977, this constitution has had many amendments to modify the original constitution. Many of these are related to the relationship between the Union and the Zanzibar governments and political systems.

i) *The 1983 Constitutional Debate.*

There was a serious debate on the constitution change in 1983 initiated by the NEC of CCM. The ruling party, being supreme under the constitution, declared areas to be changed. These were:

- The power of the president
- Consolidation of the authority of the parliament
- Strengthening the representative character of the national assembly
- Consolidation of the union
- Consolidation of the peoples power

In this debate, people suggested the abolition of the one party supremacy and introduction of multi-party system. Also they suggested introduction of three governments; one for Tanganyika, one for Zanzibar and one for the union of the two — Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

ii) In the early 1990s, President of the ***Union Ali Hassan Mwinyi*** launched a program of liberal reforms. In 1991, he nominated a commission named ***Nyalali Commission*** after its president Francis Nyalali. The commission was tasked to collect people's views on whether Tanzania should continue with a Single Party system or should adopt a Multi-party system. As a result Tanzania adopted the multi-party political system in 1992. Based on the commission's works, several amendments were promulgated on both the Union and Zanzibar constitutions, to make the whole of Tanzania a Multi-party state.

- a) The Eighth Constitutional Amendment (May 1992) which paved way for Multi-party system come into effect. It established that a member of any registered political party could run for any political seat; parliamentary and presidential candidates could be

nominated by any registered party. That meant that independent candidates could not stand for elections any more.

- b) The Ninth Amendment (December 1992) reorganized presidential elections and introduced the possibility of removal of the president by way of impeachment by the Parliament; further, it separated the functions of President and Prime Minister.
- c) The Eleventh Amendment (December 1994). The system of running mate was introduced that paired a presidential and vice-presidential candidate. It established the President of Zanzibar and the Union vice president as two different, independent roles but the President of Zanzibar became a member of the Union cabinet.
- d) The Thirteenth Constitutional Amendment (April 2000) introduced some changes; a presidential candidate required only a simple majority to be declared president unlike before when a candidate needed 50% of votes; allowed the president to nominate up to ten members of parliament to give him/her opportunity to appoint some 'experts' to the parliament that can always be called to assist the parliament to clarify complicated issues; it also allowed the increase of the number of the special seats for women from 15% to 20% plus.

Reason for the change from Mono-party to Multi-party system

The reasons for readopting Multi-party system in Tanzania were internally and externally influenced:

Internal factors;

1. Failure of One Party system to bring development. After attaining independence people had great expectation for socio-economic development, but their expectations were not realised. People continued to live under extreme poverty which was the result of poor economic policies and plan under one party system. So they advocated for multi-party system that would bring in balance and checking of government activities.
2. The dictatorial tendencies of the one party system. Majority of people in Africa opposed the system because it was working against democratic values and rights of the people such as right to vote, freedom of expression, as well as freedom of association. Also it was in the hands of the president or the ruling party, it was conservative and a leader could stay on power for long and everything left to him.
3. The role of elites. The increasing number of elites and workers in Tanzania pressed for the transition to Multi-party democracy. For instance the Tanzania Law Society (TLS) and University of Dar es salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA) played a vital role during 1980s to pressurise the government to make changes in the constitution so as to adapt multiparty system that will involve people in decision making.
4. The economic crisis in Africa in 1980s. During that period, many Sub-Saharan African countries including Tanzania faced problem in their economies. Some associated the crisis with the authoritarian rule of mono-party system. When they approached the IMF, World Bank and western countries for assistance, African countries were conditioned to embrace multi-party system.
5. The need for transparency and accountability. The system was sought as a way to increase transparency and accountability of leaders in their duties. Transparency is one of

the basic principles of democracy since the leaders are elected by the people and they should be answerable to the people. This was difficult in one party system.

External forces

6. Collapse of the USSR. The USSR was the main supporter single party state regimes including in Tanzania hence its disintegration in the early 1990s meant that they lost the political and economic muscles and military support to uphold Single Party system. As a result, they adopted Multi-party system as demanded by the new western states masters.
7. Influence of donor countries. Western powers that African countries needed assistance from notably USA and Britain and also the European Union pressed African countries for multi-party politics. Their intention was to win African states for capitalism and exploitation under the pretext of promoting democracy. The fact that African countries including Tanzania were heavily bothered by economic troubles, they had no option but to comply with their demands to qualify for aid from them.
8. Pressure from the Breton Wood Institutions. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank pushed African countries to adopt multi-party politics from the 1980s. The two institutions conditioned African countries including Tanzania in the economic crisis during the 1970s to 1990s to embrace Multi-party politics if they wanted to qualify for loans and aid from them.
9. The influence of UNO. The UN put pressure on African states including Tanzania to increase democratisation through Multi-party politics. It claimed that political pluralism is in respect to Human Rights since it gives people the chance to have leaders or systems of their choice. Since African states were part of the UN and receiving its aid, were forced to adopt Multiparty politics.

THE CONSTITUTION OF ZANZIBAR, 1979

This 1979 Constitution of Zanzibar was a result from the personal efforts and initiatives of the then President of Zanzibar, Aboud Jumbe, who became President of Zanzibar following the assassination of President Abeid Karume in April 1972. President Jumbe who directed his energies to the democratization of Zanzibar's institutions of government seems to have been dissatisfied with this state of affairs of the time.

This constitution was enacted on the 12th February, 1979, by a Constituent Assembly which had been appointed specifically for that purpose. It was in fact the first Constitution of Zanzibar to be enacted after the 1964 Revolution had abrogated the Zanzibar Independence Constitution of 1963. Although Presidential Decree no. 5 of 1964 had served as a basis for the governance of the Zanzibar State, it was really not a Constitution in the conventional sense of that word.

The most important features of the 1979 Constitution of Zanzibar were that; it established the Zanzibar House of Representatives, whose members were to be elected by the people of Zanzibar from constituencies established for that purpose. It also made provision for the election of the President of Zanzibar by the people of Zanzibar.

THE CONSTITUTION OF ZANZIBAR, 1984

The 1984 Zanzibar Constitution was a product of some major policy review which was undertaken by the National Executive Committee of CCM in 1981. Its principle objective was to identify suitable ways and means of consolidating democracy within One Party system which was in operation at that time. It made review of some areas of the 1977 constitution of the Union, as well as the 1979 Constitution of Zanzibar.

Many important decisions were made in respect of these matters; the limiting of the President's period of service to a maximum of only two five-year terms; the reduction of the President's powers of appointment of public officers to a much smaller number; the introduction of special seats for women representatives in Parliament and the House Representatives and; the introduction of Local Government Authorities at the District and the Village levels.

Ali Hassan Mwinyi (born 8 May 1925) now a retired politician, served as the second President of Tanzania from 1985 to 1995. Before his presidency, Mr. Mwinyi had served the country as interior and vice President. He became chairman of CCM in 1990 after the retirement of Mwalimu Nyerere and served the post until 1996. During Mwinyi's presidency Tanzania took the first steps to reverse the Ujamaa policies to move towards political and economic liberalisation. He encouraged private enterprise, relaxed import restrictions and re-introduced multi-party politics. Due to his liberalisation policies Mzee Mwinyi is often referred to as "**Mzee Rukhsa**"— **Rukhsa** means permission. It meant liberalisation (freedom) of issues but without breaking the law.

Impact/significance of the constitutional changes to political development in Tanzania

1. Increased participation of people in the political process and decision making. Constitutional amendments such as the reintroduction of Multi-party politics in 1990s after the Nyalali Commission findings indeed widened the political platform to increase people's participation in the political process and decision making in their country.
2. Growth of civil society organizations. Following the adoption of multiparty politics from the early 1990s, Tanzania has experienced unprecedented growth of civil society organisations with more than 1 500 civil organisations registered in the 1990s alone. The development of the organisations that had been marginalised by Mono-party politics was an attempt to independently participate in the country's development without direct state assistance.
3. Accountability and transparency. Since the reinstallation of multi-party politics in Tanzania, there is an increase in accountability and transparency. Opposition groups check the actions of leaders, making them accountable to the public on different matters like governance, corruption and development.
4. Consolidation of independence. The transformation from the Independence to the Republican constitution affirmed the independence of Tanganyika and later Tanzania. The Independence Constitution maintained the presence of the Queen of England who was represented by the Governor General who served as the formal head of state of the country. The Republican Constitution however, declared Tanganyika a republic and established a presidential system with the president serving as sovereign head of state.

5. Increased women participation in politics. BAWATA (Baraza la Wanawake Tanzania) came up with a policy document on the 1995 election to educate women voters and candidates and analyse the position of political parties on women issues. With such efforts special seats for women in parliament were increased from 15% in the 1995 election to 20% in 2000 election.
6. Protection of human rights. Constitutional changes stipulated and guaranteed human rights and assured people constitutional protection. For example the constitutional amendments that followed the Nyalali Commission findings that led to transition to Multi-party system in early 1990s guaranteed rights and freedoms of speech, association, press and others.
7. Consolidation of the union. With the merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar that formed the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964, the constitution has been revised a number of times to consolidate the union. For instance, the Republican Constitution (1962) was revised to bring about the Interim constitution (1964-77) that accommodated the Articles of Union that endorsed the agreements between the two states.
8. Promotion of national unity. To begin with the constitutional merger of Tanganyika and Zanzibar that united the people of the two states and the subsequent Mono-party system. Also, the restoration of Multi-party system has also played part in uniting Tanzanians in their respective parties to fight for the common good of people like the war against corruption.

DEMANDS FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION

Even though there have been several constitutional amendments on the current Permanent Constitution, to fit the new demands of the people, there are still demands for the enactment of a new constitution. A number of reasons account for the demands;

That whenever there were major political changes, a new Constitution was written. Such major political changes include:

- Tanganyika's attainment of independence in 1961, brought the Independence Constitution of 1961;
- Tanganyika's becoming a Republic in 1962, gave the Republican Constitution of 1962;
- Formation of the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 led to the Interim Constitution of the United Republic in 1964.
- With the adoption of a Single party political system in 1965 led to the 1965 Interim Constitution of the United Republic and eventually it was enacted to the 1977 Permanent Constitution.

Logically therefore, it is construed that; the establishment of a multiparty political system was a major political and historical event that necessitates a new Constitution.

1. People's needs to be involved in the constitution making process. There are claims that existing Constitution is not legitimate because people were not involved in its making. Therefore people need a constitution which is a production of their participation.

2. The existing Constitution is based on a One Party system. It was enacted under One Party system and therefore people claim that it is only adequate for that system.
3. The Nyalali Commission recommended enactment of a new Constitution. The commission's work led to many changes like the adoption of Multi-party system that could convincingly lead to the making of new constitution.
4. Numerous patches on the current constitution. The existing Constitution has too many patches and thus there is need for making a new Constitution that will be adequately comprehensive. The many patches are leading to loss of originality to the constitution.
5. Increase in public awareness. The increase in the number of the educated people and the general public awareness especially through the mass media has increased demands for a new constitution. The public can now note the weaknesses in the current constitution to demand for a new one.
6. The role of political parties. These, especially, opposition political parties have ever been on the frontline in campaigning for a new constitution. They claim that the current Permanent Constitution favours the ruling CCM party and that it doesn't match the new changes of Multi-party politics.
7. Influence of other African countries. Some African countries, notably the neighbouring Kenya have recently embraced a new constitution that widely involved the masses in the decision making. The new constitution in Kenya seemed to have had success in many areas and has inspired some people to feel the need for a new constitution.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

Economic development is the process in which an economy grows and becomes more advanced, especially when both economic and social conditions of the people or a country are improved. It calls for proper and effective utilisation of the country's human and physical resources for the improvement of per capita income and economic income (GNP and GDP) of the country.

ECONOMIC SITUATION OF TANGANYIKA AT INDEPENDENCE

At independence Tanzania like other African states inherited backward economies. All sectors of production like agriculture and industry were underdeveloped and tied on metropolitan British economy. Tanzania was still expected to produce raw materials and then rely on Europe for market of her raw materials and for imports of manufactured goods.

The nature of the economy inherited at independence was as follows;

1. The economy was export oriented. The economy of the country was an off-shoot of the colonial economy, therefore dependent on the international capitalist economy. Tanzania continued to export primary products largely agricultural and mineral raw materials to advanced industrial powers and imported manufactured goods from them.
2. Backward agriculture. Agriculture was largely peasant with low productive forces; unscientific - using primitive tools like hand hoes and dependent on nature, so, peasants produced very little surplus for sale. Therefore production of export cash crops such as sisal, cotton, coffee and cloves was low that the country could not raise enough export earnings.

3. Low industrial development. The industries inherited were mainly processing like cotton ginneries and sisal decortications and a few Import Substitution Industries for manufacture of few consumer goods drinks, soap and textiles. Such industrial frame could contribute very little to economic development.
4. Limited skilled labour. A large part of labour force inherited from the colonial masters was unskilled. Consequently, there was low productivity and low per capita income. To arrest the acute shortage of skilled labour like doctors and teachers the government invited expatriates.
5. Limited and poor transport infrastructure. The provision of transport and communication networks by the colonialists was directed to the productive areas. Roads and railways ran from the ports to cash crop or mineral producing areas to tap raw materials. Most parts of the country were remote with no communication lines.
6. Low power supply. Very little electricity was generated. The little produced served export and commercial areas like Dares Salaam, and Tanga to run the few colonial industries. After independence the trend continued, for example over 80% of electricity was sold to commercial city of Dar es Salaam. Very little electricity was sold for domestic use.
7. Existence of classes based on economic and racial lines. At independence, there was a small class of elites and the majority peasants. Besides them were a small wealthy class of Europeans, Asians and Arabs and a small section of African rich class.
8. Limited social services. Health, education and other social services were poor and inadequate. These services were confined to commercial urban centres and raw material production areas to boost production. They were mainly ran by mission centres on denominational basis and for evangelical and commercial purposes.
9. Neo-colonialism. The British maintained their influence and control over Tanzania even after independence. Neo-colonialism operated by giving aid to former colonies and control of industrial capital and world market through price fixing and imbalance trade.

DEVELOPMENT OF MAJOR ECONOMIC PROGRAMS BETWEEN 1962 AND 1966 AND THEIR IMPACT

Immediately after attaining independence, Tanganyika government sought to bringing quick development to its people to meet people's expectation of independence. To achieve that, the government embarked on various economic programs. In the period between 1962 — 1966, the government came up with two *development plans* as a strategy to alleviate the socio-economic hardships the country suffered even after independence.

Firstly, Three Years Development Plan (1961-1964)

This was a model of communist development plan. The plan aimed at improving agriculture, communication, transport and education.

The government directed its efforts to agriculture which was the backbone of the economy. A National Program for Construction of Transport lines was launched to improve accessibility of different areas of the country, and so, improve agriculture and stimulate economic development.

Secondly, Five Year Development Plan (1964 — 1969)

In 1963 a new ministry of Development Planning was formed. International experts were hired to study the country's economic problems and suggest realistic methods by which they could be tackled and in May 12, 1964, President Nyerere announced the Five Years Development Plan to the National Assembly. Costing altogether £246 million, the plan covered the period from July, 1964 to June 30, 1969, although it looked as far ahead as 1980 for long term effects.

The plan had three main objectives as follows;

- i) To raise the country's average income per head from 19 British pounds in 1964 to 45 by 1980.
- ii) To produce enough skilled labour by 1980 to meet the country's trained man power needs in full. This could be achieved by provision of more secondary education from Form Four (1) to Form Four (4) and expansion of technical education.
- iii) To raise the average expectation of life. The plan was aimed at raising the average life expectation which was at 35 to 40 years, to an expectation of 50 years by 1980.

The money was distributed to different ministries such as the ministry of Lands, Settlement and Water Development, Ministry of Communication and Works and Ministry of National Education to implement the development programs.

Problems encountered during the implementation of the plan

1. Inadequate project preparation. They were to be ready for implementation during the first year of the plan. This caused shortage of information on the preparatory stage of the project.
2. Shortage of trained manpower. Tanzania faced the problem of insufficient skilled labour like agriculture officers and engineers for accurate planning and implementation of the projects.
3. Shortage of funds. The government did not have enough income to facilitate the projects. Money borrowed from abroad did not come in time and came with high interest rates.
4. Low sensitization. Politicians took the plan as their own therefore did not give civil education to the masses. As a result there was low public participation for project the implementation.
5. Low technology development. This slowed the development pace as all economic sectors. It led to low output of goods, low income per capita and low government income.
6. Environmental constraints. Environmental difficulties hinder the connectivity of the country. For instance poor physical infrastructures hinder the connectivity of the country.

THE ARUSHA DECLARATION AND SOCIALIST STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 was an attempt aimed at making Tanzania a socialist state. The declaration spelled out the policies of socialism (Ujamaa) and Self Reliance as a pathway to attain genuine political and economic sovereignty and development for Tanzania. It sought to draw up a program for development on egalitarian and cooperative bases.

The declaration was proclaimed by the then president of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere on 5th February 1967 as he stated “the policy of TANU (the then ruling party) is to build a socialist state.” The policy came to be referred to as Ujamaa villagization (extended family) which Mwalimu Nyerere described as the basis of African socialism.

The policy of Tanzanian socialism

The declaration enlists the following characteristics to a socialist state in which TANU leaders should work to create them:

- a) **Absence of exploitation.** A truly socialist state is one in which all people are workers and in which neither capitalist nor feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people, a lower class composed of people who work for their living, and an upper class of people who live on the work of others. Every worker obtains a just return for the labour he performs.
- b) **Major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers.** The declaration stated that; the way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the farmers and the workers themselves through their government and their cooperatives. It is essential that the ruling Party should be the party of peasants and workers.
- c) **The existence of democracy.** For a country to be a socialist, it is essential that its government is chosen and led by the peasants and workers themselves. A true socialist state cannot exist without democracy also existing in the society.
- d) Socialism is a belief. A socialist society can only be built by those who believe in it, and who themselves practice the principles of socialism. Mwalimu Nyerere argued that, the successful implementation of socialist objectives depends very much upon the leaders because socialism is a belief in a particular system of living, and it is difficult for leaders to promote its growth if they do not themselves accept it.

The policy of Self-reliance and basis of Ujamaa Villagisation policy

The basis of Ujamaa was to create economic self-reliance which was believed to be the only way to build a healthy development and winning a genuine political, social and economic independence. The policy of self-reliance stresses that as far as possible Tanzania should depend on her own local human and physical resources for her development. That never meant that country should not receive foreign aid, but foreign aid was only to be a supplement.

The Arusha Declaration stated further that the development of the people of a country is brought by the people, not by money. For the case of Tanzania the declaration stated that that “it would be quite unwise for a poor country like Tanzania to depend on money, a commodity that she does not have, as her main weapon in the war against poverty, backwardness and exploitation. It argued that money and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development.

In declaration it is clearly stipulated that Agriculture (not industry) is the basis of development. It was argued that because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for

our needs, our purpose must be to increase agricultural production.” Mwalimu Nyerere further stated that “this is in fact, the only road through which we can develop our country.

The Declaration identified four prerequisites of development which are; land, people, good policies and good leadership. Land is abundant, and there is relatively little difficulty in using this all-important means of production.

Since Tanzanian society under colonial rule remained mostly rural, pre-industrial and underdeveloped with plenty of land and labour, no indigenous class interests and, and with its people still living in kinship groups, Mwalimu Nyerere was certain that it was entirely possible to build an African socialist society in modern Tanzania through the Ujamaa villagisation policy.

Reasons for (adoption of) socialism — Ujamaa

- a) Promote unity and solidarity. Unity was to be promoted by a single party system and Ujamaa villages. A single party system would help avoid irresponsible divisions and rivalries created by multiparty politics which divided masses along religious, regional and ethnic line since the colonial era. As a result Tanzania was declared a single party state under TANU.
- b) Attain self-reliance. Ujamaa was thought to be a road for Tanzania to attain self-reliant economy. This was to be achieved by collectivisation policy through mass participation in economic activities and dependence on the available resources for development. The aim was to win economic independence and stop depending on foreign assistance.
- c) Eradicate imperialist influence on Tanzania. By creating a socialist state and self sustaining economy, Tanzania would be able to eliminate foreign influence from capitalist powers to ensure political independence. Influence by foreign powers is sustained by foreign assistance.
- d) Create a classless Tanzanian society. The policy was also focused on creating a classless Tanzanian society by ending income inequalities and social classes created by colonialists. The aim was to create a society of a common people who live and share equally.
- e) Promote good governance. The system would check corruption and favouritism basing on religious ethnical, regional lines. Also, through decentralisation of authority to regional and district authorities it will allow mass decision making from the grassroots in villages.
- f) Create balanced development for regions in Tanzania. It gave attention to rural development by providing rural areas with basic social services such as transport, education, and health to encourage agricultural production and control rural-urban migration. Development focused majority of the population in rural areas to avoid urban centred development.
- g) Eradicate poverty and ignorance. Poverty and ignorance were the major enemies of the country. Ujamaa would provide social services like education and health and encourage collectivisation to enlighten the people and raise society income rather than individual incomes which perpetuate inequalities and poverty.
- h) Influence of the Socialist block. The bloc headed by USSR included China and Cuba. Their success in creating socialism inspired Mwalimu Nyerere to introduce socialism in

Tanzania. But also the socialist bloc offered material support to Tanzania to encourage socialism.

- i) Socialism was not new in Africa. Pre-colonial African societies lived in social settings of kinship and clan organisations.

So the Ujamaa hoped to revive the same systems that were distorted by colonialism. Besides that social living was still evident in Africans daily lives through extended families and village collectivisations.

Economic aspects (content) of the Arusha declaration

1. Emphasis on development was to shift from urban to rural areas. This aimed to balance the social and economic growth of urban and rural areas. This strategy stressed the need for communal living through establishment of Ujamaa villages which were to form the unit of production and centres of rural development. Ujamaa villages established by peasant families would work with producer cooperative and practicing cooperative labour.
2. The ownership and control of the major means of production and exchange was transferred to the people through their government. The first step in the implementation of the Arusha declaration therefore was the nationalization of the major means of production such as industries, import-export firms, wholesale, real estate sector and part of the estate sector.
3. Self-reliance was made the cornerstone of the strategy for development. This stressed that, Tanzania had to depend on its own internal initiatives and resources for the whole process of development. Foreign would be welcomed, if it supplemented local efforts and not as substitute for them.
4. The emphasis on production was to be guided by local demands. This meant that production to meet the national demands first and exports second. So, emphasis shifted from encouraging the production of export crops to increasing the production of food crops. In the same way, industries were to produce more farm necessities and less luxury goods. These attempts would minimise economic imbalances and distortions which led to dependence.
5. Local technology was to be revived and encouraged. This was to be done through 'the expansion and increased investment in the small scale industries through Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO). Foreign technology was expensive and inappropriate to local people who were eager to develop their own country.

Implementation of Ujamaa policy

Soon after the Arusha Declaration on February 5, 1967, a number of measures were done to apply its stipulated policies;

1. Nationalisation of the major means of production. Soon after the Arusha Declaration in February 1967 private companies; all commercial banks, import-export firms and insurances services were nationalized. These measures were taken so that the government have a say and control over the commanding heights of the economy.

2. Revision of the curricula and teaching methods in schools and institutions of high education. Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was adopted to enable schools shape the attitude of the nation. Mwalimu Nyerere published a pamphlet entitled ***Education for Self Reliance*** in September 1967. In this document he criticized the education system inherited from the colonialists and stressed that ESR will enable a young nation to struggle and develop. Education for Self Reliance was to prepare students and pupils to serve their communities.
3. Establishment of Ujamaa villages. Government and party officials mobilize people all over the country to join Ujamaa villages. In the beginning it was by persuasion, but later from 1973 by force. Mwalimu Nyerere published a policy paper ***“Socialism and Rural Development”*** on socialist living in rural areas and stressed that Ujamaa villages were the best answer to equality and cornerstone of socialism. In 1972, Mwalimu Nyerere himself participated in developing the Ujama village of Chamwino in Dodoma. By March 1973 about two million people, 15% of the population were living in 5,556 Ujamaa villages
4. Decentralisation of authority and responsibility. The decentralisation of government powers from the executive ministries in Dar es Salaam to the regions and districts aimed to promote participation in decision making by the people at the grassroots levels. It was to give people greater participation in different development programmes. It was also hoped that it would facilitate rapid identification of priorities at local level and implementations of plans.

The economy of Tanzania in the post-Arusha Declaration, 1967- 91

1. Change of pattern of ownership of the major means of production. After the Arusha Declaration the ruling party the government carried out initiatives to transform the national economies into the socialist line. The first step was to change the pattern of ownership of the means of production from the foreign private domination of the economy to state ownership.
2. Efforts in the production of materials for local needs first and for export second. The pre-Arusha declaration economies concentrated on the production of export raw materials however, after the declaration emphasis was put on production of food crops for national needs. For example efforts by, the National Agriculture and Food Corporation (NAFCO) concentrated on the production of cereals especially wheat and paddy.
3. Priorities in industry and manufacturing sector also changed. Priorities changed from emphasising luxury goods such as cigarettes, beer and other urban related industry to basic needs for rural and urban areas such as construction materials (cement and steel needs) farm inputs, (implements and fertilizers) and textiles industries. For example Ubungo Farm Implements (UFI) had to produce farm implements; each region was allocated a textile industry to meet the need of the people such as Mwatex (Mwanza) and Mutex (Musoma).
4. The government put emphasis on infrastructure development. This was mainly done to serve the rural areas and to facilitate the movements of goods and services within the rural areas and urban centres. Great emphasis was directed on the development of especially feeder roads and the improvement of trunk roads. Besides transport infrastructure, storage facilities were constructed to handle both perishable and non perishable commodities. The government established various corporations to deal with

perishable and non perishable. For example the National Milling corporation (NMC) and the National Agriculture Products Board (NAMP).

5. The development of technology was an evolutionary process. Colonialism discouraged local technology but after the Arusha declaration the government put emphasis on the development of small scale industries through the Small Industries Development Organisation (SIDO) which was sought to harness both local and modern imported technology.
6. Expansion of education services. This was done to enable the country shift from dependence on foreign technical aid which was often expensive and irrelevant to Tanzania's ideology. Measures were taken to expand secondary and technical education by laying emphasis on the development of high level manpower right to university level both at local and overseas. At the same time national priority of having a literate nation was maintained through free primary education and a national campaign of adult-literacy and national education.
7. Emphasis on self-reliance policy. National development was to depend on available abundant resources. The declaration stipulated that the development of Tanzania will not depend much on financial resources but on the abundant resources which are the land and the people. This meant that foreign aid and foreign capital were no longer regarded as a major tool for development but supplement to Tanzania's own internal resources.

Achievements of Ujamaa

1. Nationalization of private enterprises. Soon after the Arusha declaration, private companies, all commercial banks, insurances services and foreign trade were nationalised. In February of 1967, commercial banks, import-export firms, and milling firms were nationalised.
2. Improvement in provision of social services. In the education field, there was expansion of primary, secondary and technical education. Also was introduction of free primary education and national campaign for adult-literacy. As a result, literacy levels rose to about 80% and number of technical skills increased. Also, medical and clean water services were supplied to rural areas to facilitate the campaigns of "*Mtu ni afya*" and development.
3. Expansion of transport infrastructure. More feeder roads were constructed to access the rural areas (Ujamaa Villages) and some all weather trunk roads to improve mobility in the country. It was during this time when the TAZARA line was constructed with the assistance of the government of the Peoples Republic of China. Also KIA was constructed.
4. Creation of Ujamaa villages. Government and TANU officials supervised mass movements of rural population from their ancestral homes to new village sites. In the Ujamaa villages people were to live in a communal system and share their labour and fruits of labour. At first in 1967 the mobilisation of people was by persuasion but later from 1973 was by force.
5. Agriculture development. Agriculture was the backbone of Ujamaa economy, so, the government provided facilities of tools, seeds, education, storage and transport through village cooperatives to enhance agricultural production. In the 1970s, agricultural exports

were more diversified to include several cash crops such as coffee, cotton, tobacco and cashew nuts unlike before when sisal was the largest export commodity.

6. Formation of various government corporations. The government found a number corporation to coordinate social and economic issues and provide service to the people. These included Ubungo Farm Implements (UFI), National Shipping Agency Company (NASACO), Small Industry Development Organisation (SIDO) and Regional Transport Company (RETICO).
7. Forged national unity. National unity was strengthened by a single party system and through Ujamaa villages also referred to as extended families that encouraged social living and collectivisation policies through cooperatives.
8. Reduced income inequalities. Income inequalities were checked by reduction of class differentiations through nationalisation of private property and village collectivisation which raised rural incomes. For instance income ratio between highest government salaries and minimum wage was reduced to 6:1.
9. Decline in dependence on foreign funds. Tanzania's dependence on foreign funds for development purposes was declining. For example, in 1962/63 external funds financed 92 percent of the government development budget compared to 27 percent in the period of 1968/69.
10. Low diversification. The policy put much effort on agriculture and little efforts to other sectors like mining and industry. Development can be achieved well with economic diversification and without it Tanzania could not overcome foreign influence.
11. Government leaders hijacked the democratic participation in the villages. They imposed a direct state control. Even leaders of village co-operatives were government appointees and were answerable not to the people they were serving but to the government. That did not win full support of the masses.
12. Increase in import prices and decline in imports. The period between 1967 and 1972 was characterized by an increasing import prices and falling in export prices. The net effect is that real income grew at lower rate than the real output and therefore low foreign earnings for the country and scarcity of goods.
13. Low productivity. In terms of performance some Ujamaa villages, in particular those that grew annual food crops such as maize and paddy were not doing well. A typical example was the Ismani area in Iringa. In the pre-Ujamaa times Ismani was the top producer of maize in the country. In 1973/74 its production was very low. Those that did well tended to have established export oriented cash crops such as tobacco, tea and cashew nuts.
14. In the international arena Tanzania did not fare very well. Domestic exports grew at a very low rate, that is, at only 3.5 percent. This low growth was attributed to the decline of prices for Tanzania's major export commodities especially sisal and coffee between 1969 and 1971.
15. Lastly, the destruction of ancestral homes and forceful mass movement of rural populations to the Ujamaa village sites was not welcomed by many people. This also contributed to low productivity.

Collapse of Ujamaa ideology

A number of factors accounted for the demise of the Ujamaa policy;

1. Foreign capitalist powers were hostile to the plan for it had a socialist nature. In response, Tanzania was not warmly welcomed in the capitalist world led by USA and did not receive enough aid for her development projects.
2. The ideology was sound in theory but in practice lacked a clear plan of the Marxian orientation towards a true socialist development. It was built by evolution and not by socialist revolution and thus left room for capitalism to mushroom amidst Ujamaa societies.
3. The food crisis of 1973. The crisis occurred particularly as a result of forceful transfer of people to new village sites. Sometimes the village sites were remote and others dry where agriculture could not do well. Consequently, societies were hit by severe famine.
4. The government did not consider the true village needs. Government support to the villages was either too little or too late and. As a result villages remained lacking essential needs like health, infrastructure, education and farm implements.
5. Depended on foreign aid. The government depended on assistance from the Socialist states like the USSR and China and Scandinavian countries like Sweden and Denmark. Besides the provision of little aid, the country was plunged into debts and her independence threatened.
6. Corruption. Management of state enterprises suffered from corruption. A lot of public funds were embezzled by state officials. Consequently, there was low production which caused acute shortages of essential goods and little assistance to Ujamaa villages.
7. Decline of the USSR. The USSR was the main influencing power of socialism in the world. She defended and materially supported socialist countries in the world including Tanzania. Her political and economic decline was a heavy blow to Tanzanian socialist policy.
8. Economic crisis of 1980s. The crisis was caused by Kagera war (1978-79) and the debt crisis among others. The crisis endangered the country's economy and its socialist approach. It depleted its income reserves leading to bankruptcy. To deal with the crisis Tanzania approached the IMF which imposed on her capitalist economic conditions to qualify for assistance.
9. Established on theoretical assumption of traditional village life of communal living. This had been interrupted by the capitalist-colonial system of individualism so it was impossible to drive Tanzanian societies back to pre-colonial systems. Similarly, the assumption of village societies being classless was wrong because classes have been there even before colonialism.
10. Wrong timing. The time at which the Arusha declaration (1967) started was not appropriate for a socialist success. Experience shows that Socialist takeovers succeeded immediately after a revolution like in Russia (1917) and China (1949). Thus immediately after overthrowing exploitative and oppressive systems. On the basis of that, it would have been much appropriate to declare a socialist state immediately after independence when the pains and memories of colonial exploitation and oppression were still very fresh and disgusting.

The Ujamaa policy left a longstanding mark in the development of Tanzania; it laid guidelines on good governance, established a number of state enterprises like TANESCO that still serve the country and strengthened national unity that has suffocated elements of divisionism like tribalism.

TANZANIA'S CHALLENGES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND WAYS OF OVERCOMING THEM ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TANZANIA IN THE 1970s AND 1980s

The efforts to bring economic liberation and modernisation in Tanzania were weighed down by a number of issues. Among those issues was the economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. The crisis resulted into a serious economic breakdown that led to low government incomes and acute shortage of goods including food. The crisis was attributed to a number of factors;

The cause of economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s

The causes of the crisis are internal and external influenced

Internal factors

1. Severe drought. In 1973/74 Tanzania was hit by a severe drought leading to crop failure. To alleviate the problem the government was forced to import food from abroad. Food importation depleted the country's foreign reserves that it could not import non-food products from abroad.
2. The Kagera War. In 1978/79 Tanzania went to war with Uganda. The war was given strong support from outside but Tanzania had to finance it from her own sources. It is estimated that about 500 million US dollar was spent on the war. The wars shocked government's budget seriously that in turn led to the deterioration of Tanzania's economy.
3. Bad economic policy. Ujamaa villages did not produce enough to support economic growth due to inefficiency. This led to the decline of export production, the backbone of the Tanzania's economy and so weakened the economy.
4. Corruption and economic mismanagement. The government failed to properly monitor its parastatals hence corruption, mismanagement and efficiency cropped in. Most of government corporations such as Tanzania Railway Corporation (TRC) and National Shipping Agency corporation (NASACO) and were operating on loss due to economic mismanagement.

External factors

5. The oil crisis. In the 1970s the price of oil rose due to the Arab-Israel war of 1973 that affected production of petroleum oil. The low production of petroleum oil led to scarcity which in turn led to high prices. This forced Tanzania to spend much of her foreign money on buying petroleum and so drastically weakened her ability to import goods.
6. Bad terms of trade. The prices of Tanzania's exports which mainly were agriculture goods declined sharply while the prices imports increased. This affected the country's economy badly since it largely depended on such exports to raise foreign exchange.
7. Foreign debt. After independence, Tanzania like other developing countries borrowed from the developed countries like USA and Britain to finance her development projects. For example, in the 1962/63 external funds financed 92% of the state development budget. The loans had high interest rates that led to economic crisis because almost all the export earnings were used to pay foreign debt.

8. Collapse of East African Community (EAC) in 1977. The disintegration of the EAC destabilised the economy of Tanzania. She was made to shoulder alone the services that were shared by other community members; Kenya and Uganda. That affected the economy of the country and deteriorated the provision of social services.

Effects of the economic crisis on Tanzania

1. Acute shortages of goods. The shortage included basic commodities like food. The shortage was due to the decline of both industrial and agricultural production which was due to severe droughts, Kagera war and decline of state revenue.
2. Deterioration of social services. Water supply, education and health were in bad state. There was lack of medicines in hospitals and school did not have facilities such as books and classrooms. The funds were used to import food, spent in Kagera war and dept payment.
3. Deterioration of basic economic infrastructure. Transport infrastructure and building suffered destruction during the Kagera War. The Kagera River Bridge and the sugar factory in Kyaka were destroyed. The government slowed down the construction works due low incomes.
4. The decline of government revenue. This was brought by poor performance of state owned enterprises which suffered from inadequate managerial and technical skills, embezzlements, over-employment and others. But also due to bad weather that led to poor harvest.
5. Increased government borrowing. The crisis led to excessive government borrowing from banks and abroad to finance her budgets. For example, in 1974/75 to 1979/80 external funds financed 45.6% of the government budget compared to 27% in period 1968/1969.
6. High rate of Inflation. Inflation means high prices of commodities. The high prices reduced the purchasing power of the consumers and also increased the cost of production to producers. For example, Tanzania in late 1980s, the inflation rate was 28% per year.
7. Decline of per capita income. The amount of money held by a person per year in Tanzania declined for example from sh. 1328 in 1976 to sh. 1185/ in 1983 a drop of 11 percent. This affected the whole economy since the purchasing power declined sharply.
8. The Structural Adjustment Programs. The deterioration of the economy in the period compelled Tanzania to approach the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for financial assistance. To qualify for the loans, Tanzania was conditioned to transform from a socialist approach to economic and political liberalisation among other conditions.

STRATEGIES ADOPTED TO RESOLVE ECONOMIC CRISIS IN TANZANIA

From the early 1980s, the government devised a number of measures to combat the crisis;

- a) Debt rescheduling and asking for debt cancellation. The country's debt had largely swollen and it was very hard for the government to pay in the prescribed time. The government approached the debtors for more time or for forgiveness of loan payment
- b) Tanzania also institutionalised anti-inflationary programmes. This included control of budget deficits by increasing taxes, taxing the formerly free public goods and services such as education, health, water and housing services.

- c) Import restriction and increase of exports. The government undertook measures to reduce imports so as to save her foreign reserves and the same tried to increase exports to raise income. Unfortunately however, there was a sharp fall in output.
- d) Lastly, Tanzania turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank for emergency foreign exchange and for further loans to help her strengthen her economy and pay the interests on loans which were already too large for the country ever to refund. To qualify for the loans, Tanzania was given a condition for the “***Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)***” by which she had to reform her economic and socio-political systems.

The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

The Structural Adjustment Programmes were economic revival measures imposed on Sub-Saharan African countries including Tanzania by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank as a precondition for loans from them and a measure to arrest their economic crises from 1980s.

African countries bothered by severe economic troubles of the 1970s -1980s had to comply with the demands of the IMF and World Bank. Under the supervision of the two monetary institutions that had given loans, African countries had to work with a number of conditions.

Reasons for the Structural Adjustment Programme Formation/acceptance

1. The rapid decline of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Tanzania experienced a sharp decline of GDP and state incomes as her economy seriously trickled from 1970s. Economic statistics show a decline of 20% in the GDP of African countries including between 1980 and 1987.
2. Fall of Export earnings. African countries faced a sharp decline in export earnings. In 1986-87 for example, exports fell by about 40% and the decline went further down with the coming years due to continued fall of prices of Africa's primary goods in the world market.
3. Fall in import purchases. Import purchases as well fell by about 40% between 1981 and 1985 mainly due to high tariffs on imported goods in many sub-Saharan African countries including and fall in foreign exchange caused by fall in export earnings.
4. Expansion of external Debt. By 1987, external debts had reached \$129 Billion making it difficult for African countries to make economic progress since a large part of their revenues were spent on debt and interest repayment.
5. Decline in provision of social services. There was a steady fall in education standards in all levels, health services had deteriorated and diseases were rampant, and infrastructure was in a sorry state, making no progress due to fall in state incomes.
6. The dependence syndrome. Many Sub-Saharan African countries had developed a culture of dependence on foreign aid.. When they faced such economic hardships of 1970s to 1990's, the easiest solution was to rush to the IMF and WB for assistance.

Objectives of SAPs

- a) To introduce tax reforms and elimination of quantitative restrictions in trade sector.

- b) To rationalise the public sector so as to enhance employment opportunities.
- c) To improve the public investment programme.
- d) To introduce reforms in agricultural sector, market liberalization and institutional reforms.
- e) To improve the sectoral resource allocation and mobilise domestic resources to restore growth to the economy.
- f) To devalue local currencies so as to check the exchange rates and therefore to balance the domestic currency price.
- g) To reduce poverty by improving the living standards of the people in the Low Developed Countries.

Conditionalities of SAPs

SAPs had the following principles as economic recovery measures;

- a) Tanzanian government was required to balance her budgets. In theory it meant a cut in annual growth of government debts, but in reality it meant reduction on government expenditure on socio-economic infrastructure development and provision of social services.
- b) Trade liberalization. This was to make changes in trading patterns. Tanzania was enforced to abandon trade restrictions by eliminating tariffs and promoting the role of private sector in export trade. Also she was to abandon foreign exchange controls to promote free trade.
- c) Currency Devaluation. In theory, this meant helping African states easily pay foreign debts and increase money in circulation to promote trade. In reality however it was to weaken local currencies against foreign currencies to favour developed countries in international trade.
- d) Privatization of the economy. This called for the sale of public enterprises to individual or private firms and handing the private sector control of the economy. The government was required to end nationalised economic approach.
- e) Retrenchment. The government was conditioned to reduce the number of civil servants so as to reduce government expenditure and enable balanced budgets.
- f) Decontrol of Price. That meant removal of state price control. This was seen as a way to boost internal and international trade and allow market mechanism of demand and supply of a free market economy determine prices of goods and services.
- g) Removal of subsidies. The government was meant to stop providing subsidies which were offered to farmers so as to reduce expenditures.
- h) Government reduction of spending on Public social services and introduction of cost sharing. This implied stopping the provision of free services like education and health by government. Instead costs were to be shared between the government and the citizen/private groups.
- i) Political liberalisation. Tanzania had to shift from the Mono-party political systems to Multi-party political system. Multi party politics was seen as the ideal system to promote democratic governance in Africa but indirectly was to inflame chaos by rival political groups.
- j) Formation of Revenue Authorities. The Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) was to be formed to deal with taxation to raise governments' revenue. Similarly to play an advisory role in helping governments on taxation, budgetary and financial policies.

Effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes on Tanzania

Negative effects;

1. Threatens national sovereignty. The imposition of political and economic reforms on Tanzania through the IMF and World Bank is enough to tell that the country was subjected to neo-colonialism. The donor countries that finance the two international monetary institutions tend to have influence on the country courtesy of their foreign aid and investments.
2. The change in ideology had some problems. The shift from a socialist to a free market economy frustrated her Tanzania's economic and political planning programmes and she was forced to reform her systems in the line of capitalism. In the actual sense the country has remained a mixed economy to embrace elements of both socialism and capitalism.
3. Increased unemployment. The condition for retrenchment forced the government to lay off many civil servants. Also with the privatisation of government enterprises, many workers lost their jobs for the new owners to reduce production costs and increase profits.
4. Increased debt burden. SAPs increased the flow of foreign aid and loans from IMF, World Bank and donor countries. The loans provided were entirely on business basis, attached with high interests and hence the loans maintained a cycle of debt burden to Tanzania.
5. Inadequate provision of social services. The government had to reduce expenditure on social services like education and health and introduce cost sharing. This has contributed to increased deterioration of social services and expansion of economic inequalities.
6. Decline of agriculture production. Reduction of government subsidies for agriculture caused the decline of peasant production as peasants lacked sufficient inputs. This affected peasants' and government incomes since agriculture is the main export earner of the country.
7. Foreign exploitation. Foreign investment has handed the country's economy for foreign control and exploitation. To a certain degree Tanzanians lost control over their economies like the mining and industrial sectors that needs huge capital to operate. For years now foreign companies dominate such sectors and repatriate wealth to their mother countries leaving the citizens poor.
8. Currency devaluation. This has put Tanzania and other recipients of SAPs, in awkward position in international trade and foreign exchange. It has made imports from developed countries more expensive and exports from Africa cheaper, so, contribute too little income.
9. Corruption. Parts of the loans acquired ended in pockets of some officials who embezzled the funds. Also the process of privatisation of government enterprises allowed corruption to crop in.

Positive effects

1. The ideological change had some advantages. Adoption of a free market economy increased people's participation in economic process without government assistance and has increased efficiency to a certain level. In addition expansion of the private sector

reduced the burden on government of provision of essential services like health and education alone.

2. Checked the acute scarcity of goods. The removal of trade restrictions increased the flow of imports and thus dealt with the problem of acute shortage of the basic commodities and others goods in the country.
3. The increase in imports reduced scarcity of goods. SAPs attracted more foreign aid to Tanzania.
In the process, Tanzania has increased her revenue to finance development projects and for debt repayment. For example from the 1990s a good part of Tanzanian budget is financed with foreign aid.
4. Restoration of Multi-party political system. To respond to the demands of IMF for political liberalisation, multi-party democracy was restored in Tanzania in the 1990s. To a certain level, this has increased accountability and transparency and provides check and balance to the government by the opposition parties such as CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR and ACT
5. Foreign investment has some benefits. Since local investors mostly have insufficient capital, high capital venture like mining, industry and telecommunication were operated by foreign investors. For example, besides, the government owned TTCL, the other telecommunication companies such as Vodacom and Halotel are of private capital investors.
6. Economic liberalisation has expanded the provision of services. Private capital investors and the government are now involved in the provision of services such as health and education and industry. Since strong local investors largely lack sufficient capital, the government and foreign investors are investing large ventures like telecommunication and mining. For example, the likes of Vodacom and Halotel companies are foreign based.

All in all, the SAPs were not for the specific needs of African countries to alleviate their economic problems but for the benefit of the loan makers. Indeed what SAPs presented as solutions to the problems, carried with them greater problems to African states. Africa has now been opened for easy exploitation through increased Foreign aid and foreign investment.

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE COLONIAL EDUCATION POLICIES UP TO 1961

Education is the transmission of knowledge, skills, experiences and values from one individual or generation to another.

Colonial education was the education type provided by the colonialists to the Africans during the colonial period. Education was mainly provided by the missionaries with the aid of the colonial state, metropolitan states and religious groups in Europe. It focused on brainwashing the colonised peoples by propagating the values needed for smooth exploitation and westernisation.

Aims of colonial education

- a. Create humble subjects for smooth colonial rule and exploitation; it was education for subordination and exploitation. It buried Africans in submissiveness, a sense of inferiority.
- b. Impart skills needed for colonial exploitation; few skills were passed to Africans in fields like agriculture, masonry, secretaries, clerks and teachers to facilitate administration and exploitation.
- c. Create classes among African population; this served best the colonial policy of divide and rule that looked at distorting African unity. The classes created based on race, religion and education status of “elites” and “none-elites.”
- d. Create a small class of African bureaucrats; this would serve in the colonial administration as junior clerks, messengers, interpreters, secretaries and etc. This class would collaborate with them in fulfilling colonial activities and perpetuate colonial system after independence.
- e. Impart western values; it instilled a sense of inferiority among Africans as a means of killing African cultural heritage and civilisation for Africans to value and embrace western culture and religion.
- f. Convert Africans to Christianity; Africans who served in colonial governments were mostly graduates from mission schools. They were to be used to perpetuate colonial rule.

Characteristics of colonial education

- a. Colonial education was more theoretical. This education was mainly bookish and knowledge was passed through rote learning.
- b. It was limited to a small number of people needed to be groomed for the colonial structure for example sons of chiefs and Christian converts.
- c. It was pyramidal. The number of learners decreased as one went to the next level. That is, the higher level, the lesser the number of schools and learners.
- d. Denomination oriented. Education was attached to religion. There were separate schools for Catholics, Lutherans, Anglicans and etc. Each mission provided education to its converts.
- e. Education was racial. There were separate schools for Europeans, Asians and Africans, and the syllabuses differed accordingly.
- f. Education was formal. It was given in schools, involved reading and writing, with systematic curriculum and given by qualified teachers. It was limited to specific timetables.
- g. It was commercial. Education was not offered free of charge that is why it was provided in productive areas like cash crop producing areas where Africans could afford school fees.
- h. It was foreign based. The curricular were designed in the metropolis and content passed on to the Africans centred to the European environment like history, geography and literature.
- i. Sex bias. More education opportunities were given to boys to provide efficient labour force and bureaucrats. Girls were given little education only to be literate wife of a

government official. The coloniser believed that the proper place for African woman was the kitchen.

Impacts of colonial education

1. Facilitated easy exploitation. Colonial education was for exploitation. It gave skills needed to boost exploitation like agricultural training for better cash crop production. It produced African bureaucrats like secretaries and supervisors who gave hand in colonial exploitation.
2. Creation of classes and divisionism. Colonial education created divisions among Africans. Since it was given on racial and religious lines, the Europeans and Asians were most favoured followed by sons of chiefs and Christian converts. Traditionalists and Muslims were disregarded. Its recipients formed the “elite” class while those who did not receive it formed the non-elite class.
3. Regional imbalance. Like other colonial social services, colonial education was provided to productive areas to impart essential skills required for exploitation. On that ground, cash crop producing areas such as Kilimanjaro, Morogoro and Karagwe were provided with schools to give skills needed to improve cash crop production.
4. Spread of western culture. This education transformed its recipients into ‘Black Europeans.’ African graduates were trained to imitate the colonial masters’ social ethics and norms like speaking their languages fluently and dress up like them. The certificates they received were qualifications in European civilisation and entry into the jobs in the colonial system.
5. Consolidated dependence. It shrunk creative thinking among Africans due to its non-practical nature. It implanted in Africans the inferiority feelings, lack of self confidence and disrespect for African pride.
6. It was given to only a few Africans. Colonial education was given to special groups to aid colonial administration. Mainly sons of chiefs, Christian converts and a few from cash crop producing areas had access to schools. A large section of African population was not given chance. This tells why there are only few educated Africans at independence.
7. Spread of Christianity. Colonial education was also for evangelisation. Its recipients were mostly converts to Christianity. This arrangement was made to attract Africans to Christianity and indeed many were converted. In addition, mission schools produced most of the bureaucrats who served in the colonial government.
8. Development of African nationalism. Incidentally, colonial education produced a class of African elites that was instrumental in spreading awareness against colonial rule. The class that included men like Julius Nyerere, Abeid Karume and Rashid Kawawa took leadership roles to champion the liberation of what is Tanzania today.
9. Colonial education was a tool of power, wealth and employment. Its recipients formed the elite class of African professions like teachers, clerks and doctors. These were vital in the development of colonial and independent Africa’s economies.
10. Preservation of African history and languages. Some African history, cultural values and languages were written down. For example the translation of the Bible in Kiswahili and other languages has not only assisted in the evangelisation purposes but also in the preservation of those languages. A lot of the country’s historical facts have been preserved using the literature spread during the colonial period.

Strength of colonial education

Though colonial education was entirely for exploitation, underdevelopment and mental retardation, it accidentally benefited the colonial subjects against the expectations of the colonisers.

1. Imparted some necessary skills. Skills in fanning, carpentry and masonry were instilled to the Africans to accelerate colonial exploitation but incidentally helped them improve their productivity and standards of living.
2. Development of nationalism. Some of the graduates of colonial education like Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and Rashid Kawawa were enlightened and used the knowledge acquired to inspire masses and champion the campaigns against colonial rule. They turned against the system that nurtured them.
3. Spread of Christianity. Through colonial education, Christianity won many converts in Africa. The fact that education was provided on religious basis, the denomination that could establish more education centres, stood higher chances of winning more converts. To entice more converts, graduates from mission schools were mostly employed in the colonial system
4. Preservation of history and languages of Tanzania. Some books including the Bible and dictionaries were translated and written in Kiswahili. Also some useful information of the past has been written in Kiswahili and other languages in the country.
5. Laid foundation to current education in the country. The modern education type in the neo-colonies in Africa is more of a continuation of colonial education. Though still carries the same limitations like being bookish and theoretical, it provides help in enlightenment and availing a few professionals like teachers and doctors.

Weaknesses of education system inherited from colonialist (Weaknesses of colonial education)

The independent state of Tanzania in fact inherited a system of education which was in many respects both inadequate and inappropriate for it;

1. Colonial education was discriminative. It was provided on racial and religious lines. There were separate schools for each race and religion. Schools for the Europeans provided the best education followed by schools of Asians while Africans received poor education. Similarly, each religious denomination provided education to its converts. For example Tabora (St. Mary's) and Pugu (St. Francis) were for Roman Catholics while Minaki (St Andrew College) was for Protestants.
2. It was basically elitist in nature. It catered for the needs and interests of the very small proportion of those who manage to enter the hierarchical pyramid of formal schooling. Only the few who had it had a better life with better paid jobs.
3. The education system divorces its participants from the society for which they are supposed to be trained. It indeed imparted a western oriented mind to its recipients which made them inefficient in serving their society.
4. Education was too theoretical. It lacked the practical orientation and thus did not involve students in productive work. By doing so, it deprived society of their much-needed

contribution to the increase in national economic output and also breeds among the students contempt for manual work. It also prepared job seekers instead of job creators.

5. The education system induced attitudes of human inequality. It created class divisions since it was based upon race and religion and trained only a small elite class. It was mostly meant for sons of chiefs, Christian converts and a few who could afford school fees. This arrangement did not promote education for Muslims and Traditionalists and the majority poor who could not afford school fees. It was also gender biased by discouraging girls' education.
6. Education provided was inadequate and narrow in scope. Education was given to a few individuals that by independence in 1961, the country had too few people with the necessary educational qualifications to man the administration of Government and undertake the big economic and social development work which was essential. At independence for example, Tanganyika had only 41 secondary schools with only 11,832 students.
7. Education was unevenly provided. Regions with economic importance to the colonial masters Kagera and Kilimanjaro cash crop production areas were provided with some education facilities like schools to boost exploitation. Less productive regions like Kigoma, Singida and Rukwa were disregarded.
8. Culture distortion. Colonial education was a deliberate attempt to change traditional African values and propagate western culture. Indeed its graduates were more assimilated, westernised than being elites of true sense of knowledge disposition. It looked at brain washing African by alienating them from their culture that were a basis of their unity, identity and development.
9. Colonial education was largely irrelevant to the African needs. Its syllabuses were prepared from the metropolis basing on European environment. Alongside that, Africans were given poor quality education to the extent that very few African graduates were competent to handle political and economic sectors of their countries after independence.

In short, Colonial education was a tool of imperialism and indeed succeeded in the fulfillment of imperialist motives. It was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society. Above all, it was indeed not an education for national development but to undermine the potential of the people and keep them tied to the mercy of the metropolitan colonial masters. As a result it created and consolidated divisions, dependence and mental retardation.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN POST-INDEPENDENT TANZANIA

a) Educational changes in Tanzania between 1962 and 1967

After independence in 1961, the Tanzanian government made changes in the education system to cater for the development needs of post-independent Tanzania. The changes were mainly geared towards expansion of provision of education so as to; fight ignorance, poverty and diseases and produce more experts to implement government plans to bring about development. For immediate impact, new education policy Plans and Acts were passed;

Education situation at independence

(Refer to the weaknesses of education system inherited from colonialist)

EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT PLANS

I: THE THREE YEARS EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1961-1964)

This plan was designed immediately after independence of Tanganyika. The plan had two objectives;

- a) To expand primary, secondary, technical and university education so as to create more educational opportunities for Tanzanians.
- b) To remove any kind of discrimination in education as it was during the colonial time since it was an obstacle to young Tanzanians to acquire education opportunities.

Implementation of the plan

1. Change of the education structure. The government changed the education structure from the British colonial structure of 4:4:4:2 to 8:4:2 that is:

- 4 years of Primary school;
- 4 years of Middle school;
- 4 years of Secondary school, and;
- 2 years of High school (Form 5 & 6).

The government instead adopted 8:4:2 education structure. That is:

- 8 years of Primary school;
- 4 years of Secondary school and;
- 2 years of High school

Those who passed high school examinations were qualified for university education. To accommodate them, Dar es Salaam University was established in 1961 (as an affiliate college of the University of London.)

2. Increase in teacher training. This was to meet the increased number of students. Many secondary school education (Form IV) leavers were enrolled in Teachers Training Colleges (TTCs). This called for establishment of more TTCs for both boys and girls. Besides that, the government employed foreign teachers in secondary schools.
3. Educational Councils were introduced in districts so as to encourage and implement the education plans at district level.
4. To remove discrimination in education services, the National Assembly passed a law for a uniform education structure for all races in the country, that is, Africans, Asians and Europeans. The law was officially put into use in 1962.

The education policy Act of 1962

To implement the reforms enshrined in the Education Three Years Plan of 1961 — 64, the government passed the Education Policy Act number 37 of 1962. The Act intended to do the following:

- a) Abolish racial discrimination in the provision of education.
- b) Streamline the curriculum, examinations as well as the administration and financing of education to provide for uniformity.
- c) Promote Kiswahili as a national language by making Kiswahili and English media of instruction in schools.
- d) Make local authorities and communities responsible for the construction of primary schools and provision of primary education.
- e) Establish a unified Teaching Service for all teachers.

THE FIRST 5 YEARS TANZANIA'S EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1964-1969)

In this plan most emphasis was given to the completion of implementing the Three (3) Years Education Plan (which included having Tanzania's experts by 1980).

Also, it was aimed at strengthening and improving the quality of primary education and expansion of secondary education.

The implementation of the plan

1. The primary education structure was changed to seven (7) years instead of eight (8) years. That is, a change from 8:4:2 to 7:4:2 education structure.
2. Kiswahili was declared to be a national language in 1965 and it started officially to be used as a language of instruction in primary schools.
3. Different steps were taken so as to improve the quality of primary education, these included; improving the quality of teacher training courses by increasing the number of Grade A teachers; introduction of teacher training courses even at their working places so as to make them shift from Grade C to Grade B and; establishment of diploma teachers training courses in 1965. Those who graduated from this course were posted to teach secondary schools. The aim was to reduce the number of foreign teachers in secondary schools.
4. Boarding schools started to be abolished in 1965. The aim of this was to have more educational opportunities for day scholars. Another aim was to reduce costs of running secondary education.
5. Most of the schools which were built by parents under the leadership of Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA) were taken by the government so as to reduce the cost of running these schools to the parents.

Weakness of the plan

1. The primary education only prepared pupils for secondary education which many could not have the opportunity to have. This meant that Standard Seven (7) leavers who were not selected for secondary education faced a difficult life since the education given in primary school did not prepare them to use it in different environment situations in the country.
2. In relation to the above, students job opportunities were only given to those who completed secondary education as Standard Seven (7) leavers did not have skills for work and were still young to have self-employment.

Major education changes in the period of 1961 to 1967

Generally, the following changes were made in education sector in the period of 1961 - 1967;

1. Change of the education structure. The education structure was changed from the British colonial structure of 4:4:4:2 to 8:4:2 and finally to 7:4:2 for Primary: Secondary: High schools. Those who passed were qualified for higher institutions of learning.
2. Removal of discriminatory racial education services. The Education Policy Act number 37, passed by the Parliament in 1962 abolished racial discrimination in education services to advocate for a uniform education structure for all races in the country.
3. Expansion of education services. Primary, secondary and higher learning institutions like Teachers Training Colleges and universities were expanded to increase enrolment and skilled personnel.
4. Establishment of Educational Councils. These were established at district level so as to encourage and implement the education plans at district level. Kiswahili was made the language of instruction in schools alongside English. Immediately after the declaration of Kiswahili to be the national language in 1965, it started officially to be used as a language of instruction in primary schools.
5. Change of ownership of some schools. Most of the schools which were built by parents under the leadership of Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA) were taken by the government.

Weakness of educational system from 1961-1967

The reforms maintained elements of education inherited from colonialists such as;

1. Education remained elitist. It still met the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system. The education system benefited only those who acquired it not the majority.
2. It maintained the growth of class structure. The creation of the classes of educated and uneducated continued in the country. The uneducated felt inferior over those educated.
3. It divorced its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing for. It still maintained imparting western oriented minds to its recipients who only thought of white collar jobs and its graduates stayed in urban centres instead of going back to rural areas.

4. It was theoretical. Education remained bookish by putting more emphasis on theoretical part with a general absence of practical education.
5. The education system built a mentality to student that all knowledge which is worthwhile is acquired from books or from educated people. The knowledge and wisdom of other old people is despised and they regard themselves as being ignorant and of no value.
6. High dropout. The pyramid structure left by the colonial persists with high school dropouts. Many citizens could finish specified education courses or reach higher levels due to poverty (failure to pay fees), low sensitization and ignorance, early marriages and false customs.
7. Unevenly distributed. Most of the schools left by the colonial masters remained dominant. These were mostly mission schools and provided in areas which were of greater economic importance to the colonial masters.

THE POLICY OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE (1967-1985)

Education for Self Reliance (ESR) was a sequel of the 1967 Arusha Declaration that aimed at creating a socialist and self-reliant Tanzania. For that reason, ESR encompassed socialist (Ujamaa) outlook, which required a sense of collective responsibility and a willingness to co-operate and share on equal terms and an ability to appreciate and develop national culture.

The policy of self reliance meant that Tanzanian's development should depend on her natural resources so ESR intended to educate the community as well as children to be confident, resourceful, inventive, self-supporting and cooperative. It was thus offered to generate positive attitudes which could be carried over into life outside the school.

ESR was declared shortly after the Arusha Declaration. In September 1967, Mwalimu Nyerere published a pamphlet entitled *Education for Self Reliance* in which he stressed that this will prepare learners to serve their country effectively and enable a young nation to struggle to develop unlike the colonial education.

Proposed changes for ESR

Mwalimu Nyerere set out his vision in 'Education for Self Reliance' stressing that education had to work for the common good, foster co-operation and promote equality. Further, it had to address the realities of life in Tanzania. The following changes were proposed:

1. Education should be oriented to rural life. The curriculum had to be set in a way that it prepared learners to serve their communities and be self-reliant. The school became a community which practiced self-reliance.
2. Teachers and students should engage together in productive activities and students should participate in the planning and decision-making process of organising these activities.
3. Productive work should become an integral part of the school curriculum and provide meaningful learning experience through the integration of theory and practice.
4. The importance of examinations should be downgraded. The intention was kill the notion of judging peoples' ability by basing on passing examination but instead they should be judged by their ability to put what was taught to work and serve the community.

5. Children should begin school at age 7 so that they would be old enough and sufficiently mature to engage in self-reliant and productive work when they leave school.
6. Primary education should be complete in itself rather than merely serving as a means to higher education. It had to prepare pupils for life and services in their rural areas.

Objectives of Education for Self Reliance

The philosophy of education for self-reliance had the following aims;

- a. Equip learners with knowledge, skills and attitudes for tackling societal problems. Productive work was to become an integral part of the school curriculum. This could prepare Tanzanians to attain different careers for national building.
- b. Prepare the youth for work in Tanzania's predominantly agricultural society. It had to produce good farmers but also prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens of a free and democratic society.
- c. Enable learners know, appreciate and develop a culture of Tanzania that reserves the national tradition, individual freedom, responsibility, tolerance and respect.
- d. Develop in each citizen an inquiring open mind; ability to learn from others; basic confidence in one's own position and ability to learn and contribute to the society.
- e. Make learners be self-confident, cooperative, and develop critical inquiring minds. In this, it was to help learners to be curious and creative enough.
- f. Shape Tanzanians to work for the common good, foster co-operation by living and working together and promote equality. That is, was about work by everyone and exploitation by none; it is about sharing of the resources which are produced by fellow humans.

Achievements/strength of ESR

1. Raised literacy rate. By 1980, a large part of the Tanzanian population could read and write. This was achieved by free primary education and mass adult education.
2. Untied Tanzanians across ethnic lines. Since ESR based on socialist ideologies of equality and non-exploitation elements, it left Tanzania untouched by the tribal and political tensions which affected the rest of Africa and set many countries on turmoil.
3. ESR linked well with the economy (environment) of the country. The relationship between what goes on in the school and what goes on in the villages, that is, agriculture and practical skills such as carpentry made this education relevant to the true needs of the people.
4. It built attitudes of self-reliance to a certain degree. Encouragement of practical skills like masonry, carpentry and engineering works instilled creativity among many of its recipients.
5. Spread and consolidation of socialism and self-reliance ideology. Education for Self-reliance inculcated attitudes of commonality of living and working together for the benefit societies from which individuals belonged.
6. Reduced government expenditure on education. The community building of various schools' infrastructures such as classrooms, laboratory and sports facilities was possible

without government assistance. Also some schools produced their own by self-reliance activities.

Failures/weaknesses of ESR

1. Low involvement of stakeholders and students in the planning and formation process. Its implementation came from top. Local authorities, teachers and students mostly remained recipients of instructions from government. This reduced the sense of commitment among the members of school and communities.
2. ESR was entirely locally oriented. More emphasis was put on addressing local environmental issues. This left many people unaware of the world outside their localities (Tanzania).
3. Misunderstanding of the philosophical basis of Education for Self-reliance. Its policy needs and how to be implemented mostly remained unclear. Teachers and students associated it with only manual work while neglecting academic activities. In some of schools *“shamba work”* and outside activities were labelled *“Elimu ya Kujitegemea”* while this is not true.
4. Resistance from pupils and parents. Many students didn't attend school due to self-reliance activities and punishment on absconding from the activities. They could lose equipments of work in order to discourage the whole affair. There were complaints from the parents that their children were overworked and over punished.
5. Persistence for white collar jobs and contemptuous attitudes towards manual labour. Society had been corrupted by colonial education that true education was elitist and prepared students for white collar jobs hence emphasis on manual skills by ESR, made many disregard it.
6. Shortage of teachers and instructors. Agricultural technical teachers to supervise self-reliance activities were inadequate contributing to its failure. The self-reliance activities were supervised by prefects and few teachers who had insufficient technical information.
7. Insufficient capital. The government did not provide money to start the farms or workshops; this was to be done by the communities. In some areas this was not possible and communities lacked modern equipments, fertilizers and insecticides. Some schools like those in urban areas lacked land for self-reliant activities like agriculture while others had infertile lands.
8. Corruption and misallocation of self-reliance money. Some school heads and self-reliance committees misused and embezzled funds for the development of education projects. This reduced morale among the students and teachers to engage in self-reliance activities.

In Mwalimu Nyerere's viewpoint, Education for self-reliance is a practical oriented education meant to provide real solutions to the societal needs. It was meant to set people free in order to encourage the citizens to rely upon their own developments and realize their full potentials.

Changes in education after the Arusha Declaration

After the declaration of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-reliance in 1967, the government took several steps to put in the systems in operation. It enacted several laws in order

to legalize actions taken for the policies. The laws and steps included the Education Acts of 1969 and 1978; Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the Musoma Resolution in 1974. Through these and others, the following changes were effected in the education and school system:

1. Expansion of educational facilities. More primary, secondary, post-secondary school levels and as well higher institutions of learning were provided. Community schools were started and the existing ones expanded. Post-Primary Technical Centres and universities like of Dares Salaam (1970) and Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA - 1984) were started to equip citizens with the necessary skills of self-reliance and national development.
2. Reforms in curricula and teaching methods. Changes were made in content of education to make it more relevant to the country's needs. Practical education like work on farms and workshops were made an integral part of education along with theory. Civics classes were introduced in schools to give children an understanding of the organization and aims of the state and syllabuses were Africanised in schools and universities.
3. Abolition of racial and religious distinctions within education. By the Education Act of 1969, the government banned racial education. The Act also banned religious education institutions in a bid to establish common form of education for all people in the country.
4. Introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE). In 1973, all primary school fees were abolished and primary school education was made compulsory and universal. The policy was enacted after the Musoma Resolution (1974). Children were supposed to begin school at age of 7 years so that when they leave school, they would be sufficiently mature to engage in self-reliant and productive work.
5. Introduction of political education. It was education that was ideological in nature to indoctrinate Tanzanians to praise socialism, raise patriotism and join hands in the development of the country.
6. Increased emphasis on provision of vocational education. Schools gave practical education on fields like agriculture and carpentry. Post-Primary Technical Centres were started to equip learners with skills in different areas such as carpentry, masonry and driving to help the youth acquire skills for self-reliance.
7. Introduction of adult education. In the 1970s, government initiated adult education and in 1975 started the Tanzania Institute of Adult Education was started to equip people with necessary knowledge and skills to usefully participate in national development.
8. Establishment of the National Examination Council. It was found in 1973 to handle issues of examinations of schools and colleges in the country. With its creation foreign examinations were abolished and the National Examination in the Formal school system was introduced.
9. Voluntary Agency schools were nationalized. Private owned schools ran by religious and individual private institutions were nationalised. Such schools included Kilaka (St. Marian College), Pugu (St. Francis) for Roman Catholic Church; Minaki (St. Andrews) for Protestants church; schools ran by Aga Khan Institution like Mwanza Secondary School and others. The schools were put under government control to eliminate religious and racial discrimination and to give equal and same education to all children in the country.
10. Diversification of secondary education. Secondary schools which were known as "Mchepuo" were introduced. These aimed at producing secondary school graduates who

have learned some vocational skills and knowledge, and could directly utilize them to sustain their lives.

Changes to the educational policies from the failure of the policy of Education for Self Reliance Following the collapse of the Ujamaa (socialism) system in Tanzania, the government had to make changes in the education policy to fit new changes as the country had to transform to a liberalised system. In 1990, the Government constituted a National Task Force on education to review the education system and recommend a suitable Education System for the 21st Century. Since then a number of changes have been made in the education system of the country

The changes include;

1. Introduction of cost sharing in the 1990s. Cost sharing meant the halting of free education. Parents were called upon to contribute towards their children education. On one hand it reduced government expenditure while on the other, it left out of education services for the vulnerable groups like the orphans, poor and disabled who could hardly afford school fees.
2. Expansion of educational facilities. The government has invested more in education, building more primary and secondary schools and higher learning institutions. Together with the universities of Dar es Salaam, Sokoine, Mzumbe and Dodoma Universities, the government had 11 higher learning institutions and about 4,753 secondary schools by 2015. Besides that, it runs many vocational (VETA) and Tertiary institutions at regional levels.
3. Change in curriculum. The changes looked at making adjustments in the content of education given to make it more relevant to new changes. As the country had to transform from a socialist to a liberal systems, the teaching content that initially based on socialism had to change to encourage capitalism.
4. Liberalisation of education sector. The adoption of liberal system following the abandonment of socialist system encouraged the government to strengthen its bond with private sector in the provision of education. It legalized and provided licenses to private individuals to invest in education. By 2015, out 5,814 secondary schools in the country, 1061 were private schools and out 30 higher institutions of learning, 19 are run by private sector.
5. Introduction of Education Sector Development Programs (ESDP). The government launched the Primary Education Development Program (PEDP) in 2002 and Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP) in 2004. By these programs, the government abolished school fees and increased capitation in primary schools, started community secondary schools (shule za kata) and reduced school fees from 40,000 to 20,000 per annum. The aim was enrolment expansion, quality improvement in the provision of primary and secondary school education.
6. Introduction of Higher Education Student Loan Board in 2004. The board receives and considers students loan applications from eligible students wishing to be considered for award of loans and also it grants money to students who have been granted such loans and determines conditions governing the granting of students loans among other duties.
7. Establishment of Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU). The commission was established in 2005 to oversee university education in Tanzania. Applications for

university education pass through it for recognition and approval before one enters university. It also receives and considers applications from those seeking to establish universities, or university programmes in the country and make recommendations to the minister among other duties.

8. Efforts have been undertaken to improve the quality of education and training. This is mainly done through strengthening in-service teacher training programmes; the supply of teaching and learning materials; rehabilitation of school/college physical facilities, research in education and training, and streamlining the curriculum, examinations and certification.
9. Re-introduction of free education in secondary school education. The government under President Dr. John Magufuli has re-established free education in secondary education in 2016 along with free Primary education to enable all children in the country access primary and secondary education.

Considerably, the increased emphasis on sciences along with arts education will speed scientific, technology progress that will boost the entire economy. All major socioeconomic sectors, notably, agriculture, industry, fishing, tourism, infrastructure, education and health need a strong and efficient education system based on improving science and technology.

Weaknesses in the education system of Tanzania (Africa)

This has been focused on the practicability point of view of the education system.

1. More theoretical. Education is still more bookish and less practical. Even the sciences taught in schools lack a true scientific orientation of research, experimentation and discovery. Furthermore, education is bias to practical works (vocational skills) as they are mostly designed for low performers. Such a mentality has prepared more job seekers than makers.
2. A tool of cultural imperialism. Education in African countries still embodies a western outlook. The use of western languages and dressing code is more of alienating children from their cultural heritage and prepares them to imitate westemisation. Sometimes one who can imitate Europeans well for example speaking English fluently is seem more learned.
3. Pyramidal. The pyramidal element of the colonial education system still survives as the number of learners sharply decreases as one goes in the next level, that is, high drop-out rates. For example in 2015 the number of candidates who sat for CSEE (Form 4 final exams) was 433,633 while those that sat for ACSEE (Form 6 final exams) were only 40,753.
4. Examination oriented. Education is focused on making students pass examinations. The performance of schools, teachers and students is judged on the basis of their ability to pass examinations and not in measuring the competencies acquired. So, education still embraces the false view that passing formal examinations is the only determinant of children ability.
5. Socio-economic stratification. Education in Africa favours only a small section of society and thus limits chances for the majority to have it. Children from wealthy classes and/or in urban centres stand higher chances of attending better schools and passing

examinations and reach higher learning than those from poor families and/or in rural areas.

6. The issue of language of communication. The use of Kiswahili language for a medium of instruction makes the use of English in secondary schools and higher learning institutions teaching controversial. It is quite hard for students to grasp new and broader contents of secondary and higher learning in a language they were not taught since primary school.
7. Foreign based. To a certain degree, education systems in African countries are still inclined to Western curricula. Some topics of some subjects like history and geography deal a lot with what happened to Europe and America other than on their countries or at least Africa. Moreover the language used for instruction is English.

CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION AFTER THE FAILURE OF EDUCATION FOR SELF RELIANCE

1. The disadvantages of cost sharing. Cost sharing has negative impact on the education system particularly to low income families and vulnerable groups like orphans, street children and disabled who can hardly pay school fees and other school due that needs cash.
2. Low funding of education. Low provision of facilities like classes, laboratories and staff housing and teaching materials like books to match the increasing enrolment since independence. Likewise, the general complaint of low motivation to teachers. Learning can effectively be conducted by well motivated teachers. Besides working environment, particularly in rural areas does not attract teachers especially those with high qualifications.
3. The issue of the quality of education. Some parents and other stake holders are not contented with the education given to the children. They claim that the education given is irrelevant as its effect is not seen in their children's life. That is, they can hardly utilise what they learnt in schools to support their family day to day production activities.
4. Education is examination oriented. Learning is largely content based (theoretical) and not yet transformed to the desired competence based (practical) system. The major aim of schools, teachers and student is only to pass examination at any cost, not to gain skills and knowledge to support in their life after graduation. Indeed most graduates can hardly implement the knowledge acquired at school or colleges into their daily life situations.
5. Unclear and unstable education policies. The ever changing education policies confuse learners, teachers, parents and other stakeholders. For instance in 2014 and 15 the Grade Point Average (GPA) system was used to grade candidates' performances of Form IV and VI national examinations, however, shortly afterwards the Division system was restored in 2016. Also the issue of whether Form II, exams should determine promotion or not.
6. Poor coordination between different education levels. This is in terms of language of instruction and content. In Public primary schools Kiswahili is used as the language of instruction, but when the child goes to secondary school he/she is introduced to new and broader contents in English, the language he/ she doesn't know. This has made the teaching-learning process in secondary schools quite difficult.
7. Low public sensitisation. Some people especially, in rural areas are entangled with old customs. They still do not look at education as an essential requirement and so, they are

reluctant to spend on education of their children. Even after free primary and secondary education many do not wish to buy other essentials like books. Children are looked at as a source of income and therefore girls are forced to early marriages for dowry while boys are engaged in economic activities like farming and herding to support their families.

8. Poverty. This is another detriment. Some people in the country fail to attend schools due to financial inabilities. Though the government has come in to provide free primary and secondary education, some families fail to meet the necessities like books, uniforms and fare for their children.

CHALLENGES TO DEVELOPMENT IN TANZANIA AND WAYS TO OVERCOME THEM

The major hurdles to development in Tanzania

From the start, at independence, Tanzania was beset with a number of hindrances which are limiting her from a quick development. These are in all spheres; economic, political and social. The challenges are of both internal origin and external influence;

Internally created hurdles;

1. Low levels of science and technology. This is slowing the progress of all sectors. For example industry is weak with a few Import Substitution Industries to produce simple consumer goods like soap and sugar capital goods making industries are still lacking. On the same reason agriculture lags behind. The situation has maintained Tanzania as a producer of primary goods and dependant on Developed Countries for market and expensive technology.
2. Corruption. This is a serious disease which eats the heart of Tanzania economy. Parts of public funds are embezzled into a few individuals' pockets whose aim is to amass wealth for their egotistic purposes than to cater for the general public needs. Serious issues include the External Payment Arrears (EPA), RICHMOND and Container Terminal Company (TICS) by which billions of public funds that would have been injected for development were lost.
3. Poor planning and misallocation of resources. This includes deficit budgets where expenditure is higher than revenue leading to borrowing. There is also, misallocation and poor utilisation of resources. For example having many professionals in politics yet there is insufficiency of skilled labour like doctors and engineers.
4. Weak economic diversification. Tanzania is still principally agro-based economy. However, little efforts have been put to modernise the sector that is still centred in the production of colonial cash crops such as coffee, cotton and sisal. The other sectors like industry, fishing and mining are still lagging behind and thus their contribution to the economy has not reached the desired levels. For example, industry is still processing and Import Substitution.
5. Disease. Malaria and HIV/AIDS are the most deadly but as well others like Diabetes, Blood Pressure and Typhoid. Diseases claim a reasonable part of the country's useful workforce as for example most of AIDS victims are energetic youth whose mental and physical energies are needed for the country's development. Moreover, reasonable parts

of government revenue that would be injected on development are spent on combating diseases.

6. Natural disasters. Tanzania has been afflicted by natural hazards such as droughts, floods and earth quake. These hamper economic progress by devastating infrastructures and agriculture and heavy loss of lives. For example; the severe drought of 1973-74, the heavy rains (Elnino) of 2000-02, the floods of 2013 and 2014 that hit parts of the country and the earth quake that hit the Kagera Region on September 1, 2016. The government used a lot of its scarce resources to combat the crises and bring life to normalcy.
7. Education System. Education is more theoretical and thus lacking a strong practical, scientific and technological approach needed for the development of inquisitive and innovative skills of its recipients. In that case more of its products are job seekers than job makers. Also, little attention is put on research and agriculture, the backbone of economy. For example agriculture is not taught much in primary and secondary schools.
8. Low infrastructure development. The government has indeed tried to develop social and economic infrastructure but still more is needed to bring quick development. Some areas of the country are still lacking enough schools, health centres and efficient transport means. That has kept economic and social sectors like trade, agriculture and industry behind and thus has contributed to low income per capita and low government revenue.
9. Power problems. The fluctuation of electricity power supply in the country contributes to low production in factories and other small and big businesses like workshops and saloons leading to increased unemployment, low per capita income and low government revenue and thus low economic progress. Besides, low power supply forces majority to rely on wood as a main source of energy. This in turn leads to the environment pollution and degradation.

Externally influenced hurdles;

10. Market problems. Tanzania like other Third World countries faces unfavourable trade terms and price fluctuation in the world market. Imperialist powers fix lower price for the Third World exports (raw materials) and high prices for their imports (manufactured goods). Domestically, locally made goods face stiff competition from advanced technologies from developed countries. Also the low per capita income leads to low purchasing power.
11. Debt crisis. Financial aid is given to Tanzania like other Third World states by the developed nations and Monetary Institutions like the IMF to finance development projects like health, education and infrastructure. But, because the aid is given on business basis, it carries high interest rates that has plunged the country into heavy debt burden.
12. Foreign investment. The dominance of foreign investment in some sectors especially lucrative high capital ventures such as mining, industry and telecommunications has little benefits to the country. Foreign capital investors monopolise trade, exploit resources and repatriate profits to develop their mother countries leaving the country poor.
13. The problem of drug abuse. This is also another dreadful problem Tanzania is facing. Drugs have caused a number of scoundrels in the population of the country especially among the youth and so, a reasonable number of the country's workforce is lost to drug use. The problem has increased crime and spread of diseases like AIDS.

14. Oil Crisis. Tanzania like many other Third World countries heavily depends on oil supplies from the Middle East. However, the region has been destabilised by the imperialist powers of USA and her allies like Britain and Israel leading to fluctuations in oil supply. Consequently the Third World suffers from frequent rising oil prices that indeed affects government planning and leads to rise in commodity prices due to increase in transport and energy costs.
15. Brain drain. Tanzania has lost a number of its skilled labour in favour of greener pastures to the advanced countries. This has denied it the services of some of the manpower on which she has spent a lot to prepare. Due to shortage of skilful personnel in some fields the country spends a lot from her foreign reserves in hiring expensive expatriates like doctors and engineers from advanced countries to meet her technical labour deficiencies.
16. Imperialist influence. Western powers have taken a role of watchdogs over the Third World countries, Tanzania inclusive. They tend to influence and sometimes dictate economic and sociopolitical policies on Third World countries because they offer them aid. For example the adoption of Multi-party politics and economic liberalisation was a condition imposed on Tanzania to qualify for loans from the western controlled IMF and World Bank.

WAYS TO OVERCOME THE HURDLES TO DEVELOPMENT

The remedy to the challenges faced by the country is within the hands of Tanzanians themselves. It is the duty of every citizen; leaders and the led to play his/her role to rescue the country from its economic and socio-political woes and bring the desired development for the country. The measures to be undertaken may include;

1. Economic diversification. Endowed with abundant natural resources like vast fertile lands, minerals, water resources and tourist attractions, Tanzania should develop all economic sectors like agriculture, industry, fishing and tourism concurrently. By doing so, the economy will shoot up, will promote trade and expand employment opportunities.
2. Agricultural reforms. Efforts should be made to modernise and diversify agriculture being the backbone of Tanzania's economy and largest employer in the country. Modern scientific methods like irrigation should be applied to help farmers not depend on nature and experimentation on new cash crops and animal breeds will help widen market for agriculture goods within and outside the country.
3. Education improvements. There is a need for transformation in education for the real capacity human resource development. Focus should be on essential course studies that can bring self-dependent economic development. Emphasis should be put on vocational, business and modern science and technological studies that would promote practical skills and innovativeness to enable individuals effectively utilise resources for the development.
4. Good planning and policy implementation. Planning should base on available resources to avoid or minimise borrowing. Policy implementation should adhere to effective utilisation of the abundant available resources like land, mineral and water resources. Priority should be given to basic sectors like agriculture, industry, infrastructure and man power training.

5. Developing local technologies. Efforts should also be directed on scientific and technological research to develop appropriate local technologies needed for development of economic sectors like industry, agriculture, fishing, transport and mining. This would expand employment opportunities and reduce dependence on imperialist powers for technology.
6. Encouraging private sector. This should however, focus on local investors. Encouraging local investors will help checking the dominance of foreign investment in major sectors like mining and industry. This will expand employment opportunities and reduce foreign exploitation. Local investors can be encouraged by providing them with soft loans, tax holidays and use of tariffs to protect them from rough external competition.
7. Use of the regional integrations. Tanzania is a member of a number of regional integrations like SADC and EAC. She should use the integrations to widen market for her goods, find employment opportunities for unemployed population and for technology transfer.
8. Infrastructure development. More investment should be done in the expansion of economic and social infrastructure to open all areas for uniform development. For instance, the expansion of transport networks to rural areas will improve agriculture and trade and will encourage the development of other social services like education and health. It will also boost development of other sectors like industry and tourism.
9. A fight against corruption. The government should empower the anti-corruption bureau (TAKUKURU) and increase support on it with all the necessary organs to detect, investigate and pass quick judgment on confirmed cases. If corruption is checked the country will be assured of good governance and justice.
10. More investment in power generation. The government should invest in alternative sources of power to avail abundant power supply instead of heavily relying on hydro electricity power supply which depends on the availability of rain. The availability of abundant natural gas and coal can provide alternative power sources. Improved power supply will boost economic sectors like industry and increase employment opportunities.
11. Restoration of self-reliance policy. The reinstallation of the self-reliance policy will help Tanzania rely on her own abundant natural resources like land and water resources for development other than relying on foreign aid (loans) which has put the country in a debt cycle. Effective mobilisation of such resources will bring Tanzania a genuine development.
12. Building the spirit of patriotism. This would serve as an ideal strategy to arrest unscrupulous tendencies like corruption. From early childhood, people should be taught patriotism that they should put their nation first and their self second. Religious institutions also should stress on moral ethics and create God fearing society.

The suggested strategies can help reform the economy by improving the mobilisation and utilisation of resources that will bring qualitative and quantitative economic growth. Economic growth will improve employment opportunities, increase taxes, raise per capita income and improve the general life standards of the people.

Steps taken by the government to improve the economy since independence

Since independence the government has been troubled by the unpleasant poor socioeconomic situation in the country. It taken a number of measures of alleviate the situation;

1. Adoption of socialism. After the Arusha Declaration of 1967, Tanzania underwent a transformation from the capitalist oriented systems inherited, from colonialism to socialist system. By this approach, the government hoped to build a self-reliant classless society by adopting central planning system and state control of means of production.
2. Encouraging scientific and technology development. The government has undertaken Measures to develop technology. In 1970s, the government came up with the Small Industry Development Organisations (SIDO) to effect technological revolution in the country by encouraging local technologies. It also encourages study of science and technology courses to increase the availability of local technocrats in fields like medicine and engineering.
3. Manpower training. The government is endeavouring to train more skilled labour in a variety of fields like medicine, education, engineering and humanities. More colleges and universities are being opened, moreover, some on specialised courses like Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA) and Chuo cha Ardhi. Enrolment in higher leaning is expanding through student loan schemes.
4. Utilisation of natural resources. To speed up economic development, Tanzania has turned to exploitation of her natural resources like land, minerals and tourist attraction which she is blessed with in abundance. Mineral exploitation is done in areas like Geita and Nyamongo and exploitation of natural gas in Mtwara. More efforts are underway to improve Tourism.
5. Agriculture reforms. Agriculture being the backbone of the country's economy as the largest export earner and employing almost 80% of the country's population, the government has made some efforts to improve the sector. For example the **"KILIMO KWANZA"** "programmes were laid down to improve agriculture productivity and farmers' incomes.
6. Fight against corruption. The government has institutionalised measures to deal with corruption and to check on other forms of bad governance. In 1996, it formed the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (TAKUKURU) aimed at investigating, preventing and sanctioning corrupt individuals. A number of cases have been detected and handled by the institution. Currently corruption cases as part of **"kutuibuwa majipu"** are being done under the leadership of President J. P. Magufuli.
7. Infrastructure development. The government is investing in socio-economic infrastructures. Miles of roads have been renovated and new ones constructed; a new milestone was reached under President Jakaya Kikwete when more than 17,000 kilometres of roads were constructed. President J. P. Magufuli started the implementation of the construction of the standard gauge railway in 2017. More schools and higher institutions of learning and more hospitals, health centres and dispensaries have been constructed and facilitated.
8. Regional Economic Co-operations. Tanzania is a member of a number of integrations like the East African Community (EAC) and SADC. This has helped the country widen

market for her goods and employment opportunities for her citizens and receive more experts like teachers and doctors from member states of the integrations.

9. Seeking for foreign aid. Since independence, Tanzania has been receiving foreign assistance from the developed countries like USA and Britain and from monetary institutions like the IMF, World Bank and African Development Bank to finance her development projects.
10. Reduction of government expenditure. The government takes initiatives of cutting costs so as to avail enough funds for development purposes. This has been done by encouraging the public to participate in developing projects like the construction of community schools (Shule za Wazazi and za Kata). Secondly, by narrowing the governance sectors and personnel. For example, President Magufuli has reduced ministerial posts and ceremonial occasions to avail more funds for economic development.
11. More investment in power generation. The government has taken initiatives to expand power generation by use of different energy sources. Besides the hydro-electric power, the tapping of natural gas in Songosogo Mtwara has added an alternative energy sources. Also, the investing in the construction of more dams, specifically the Stieglers Gorge hydropower project investment is underway. These efforts might provide a solution to insufficient power supply in the country.

Sample — revision question

1. Discuss the constitutional changes in Tanzania since independence
2. Explain the effects of multi-party politics in Tanzania.
3. Discuss six important issues which need changes in the 1977 Tanzanian constitution for strengthening Tanzania as a democratic society (NECTA 2017)
4. Discuss the significance of constitutional changes in Tanzania since independence. (Give six points). (NECTA— Private Candidates 2015)
5. Explain the demands for a new constitution in Tanzania.
6. Discuss the problems faced by the Tanzanian government in its efforts to come up with a new constitution.
7. Explain six distinctive features of the economic situation of Tanganyika at independence. (NECTA 2012)
8. Explain three measures that were undertaken to implement the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and three achievements of Ujamaa policy.
9. Analyse six major economic changes that were adapted by Tanzania from 1967 to 1990s. (NECTA 2012).
10. Analyse six effects of colonial education in Tanzania (NECTA 2014)
11. Analyse three changes that were proposed by the policy of Education for Self- reliance in Tanzanian education system and show how this policy failed to bring fundamental changes in Tanzania by providing three points. (NECTA 2013)
12. Assess changes in the educational policies from the failure of the policy of education for self-reliance
13. Examine six major hindrances to development in Tanzania. (NECTA 2013)
14. Explain by giving six points how Tanzania Government has been combating her social and economic challenges to development since independence. (NECTA 2014)

15. "Economic crisis in Tanzania is inevitable." Justify this statement by giving six reasons. (NECTA 2015).
16. In six points, explain how African countries can disengage from neo-colonialism. (NECTA Private Candidates 2015)
17. Analyse six challenges to industrial development in Tanzania. (NECTA 2015)
18. Discuss the major problems facing the agricultural sector in Tanzania. (NECTA 2016)
19. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are among the hurdles to Tanzanian social, political and economic development. Argue for this statement by giving six points. (NECTA 2016)
20. Evaluate six challenges to Tanzania's economic growth. (NECTA 2017)
21. Suggest six practical ways of overcoming Tanzania's economic development

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