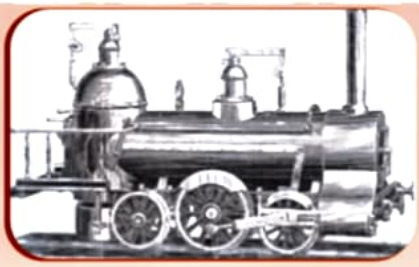
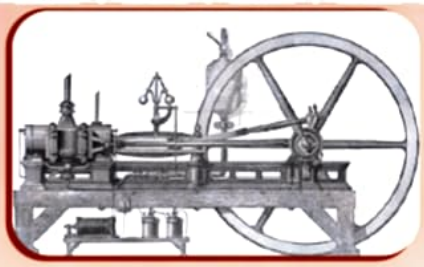
History

for Advanced Secondary Schools

Student's Book **Form Five**





Tanzania Institute of Education

History

for Advanced Secondary Schools

Student's Book Form Five

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Table of Contents

List of Figures vi

Acronyms and Abbreviations vii

Acknowledgements ix

Preface x

Chapter One: **Pan-Africanism** 1

The concept of Pan-Africanism 1

Slavery and Pan-Africanism from 15th to 19th centuries 4

The rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade 6

The emergence of the African-Americans in America 7

Black Solidarity and the Back- to-Africa movement 15

Pan-Africanism from 1900 to 1960 18

From Pan-Africanism to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) 23

Pan-Africanism since 1960s 24

Revision exercise 1 29

Chapter Two: **Industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries** 30

The concept of industrial revolution 30

Phases of industrial revolution 30

Transition from cottage to factory system (1750s-1870s) 33

Industrial revolution and the rise of working-class movements in Britain 38

The second phase of the industrial revolution (1840s-1870s) 53

Revision exercise 2 60

Chapter Three: **Industrial revolutions in the 20th and 21st centuries** 61

Background to industrial revolutions in the 20th and 21st centuries 61

The Third Industrial Revolution 61

FOR ONLINE READING ONLY

The fourth industrial revolution and its impacts 65
Changes and continuities of industrial revolutions up to the 21st century.....69
The impacts of industrial revolution in Asia and Latin America 77
The industrial development in Africa from 1945 to 1960.....78
Revision exercise 3.....87

Chapter Four: Administrative systems in the Ancient World 88

The concepts of administration and administrative systems.....88
Administrative systems in Ancient Asia 90
Administrative systems in the Ancient Middle East 98
Administrative systems in Ancient Europe 101
Administrative systems in Ancient South America.....120
Administrative systems in pre-colonial Africa.....123
Revision exercise 4.....135

Chapter Five: World religions and their influence on administrative systems 136

Historical background of religions on administrative systems 136
The influence of religion on administrative systems from the Middle Ages to the 18th century 138
Transition from religious-based to secular administrative systems from 15th to 19th centuries 157
Revision exercise 5.....167

Chapter Six: Slavery and feudalism in ancient administrative systems.....168

Slavery, feudalism and changes of the administrative systems in the world 168
Slavery in Ancient Rome 171
Ancient China.....175
Feudalism and administrative systems in the world 183
The socio-political structure of feudal Japan 189
Revision exercise 6.....196

FOR ONLINE READING ONLY

Chapter Seven: Political revolutions and modern administrative systems in Europe 197

The concept of political revolution 197
The English Revolution (1640-1689) 198
The Glorious Revolution (1688) 204
The French Revolution of 1789 212
The 1848 revolutions in Europe 224
Revision exercise 7 230

Chapter Eight: The capitalist crises and alternative governance systems ... 231

The concept of capitalist crisis 231
The rise of fascist governments in Germany, Italy and Japan 232
The Great Depression and the rise of Fascist Governments 239
Impacts of the rise of Fascist Governments on the World history 243
The rise of Socialism and new governance system 260
Impacts of the Bolsheviks Revolution on the world 262
Revision exercise 8 271

Chapter Nine: Administrative systems in post- colonial African states ... 272

The nature and character of African administrative systems 272
The forms of administrative systems adopted in Africa since independence .. 276
Factors that influenced the varied governance systems in Africa 286
Revision exercise 9 288

Glossary 289

Bibliography 292

FOR ONLINE READING ONLY

List of Figures

1. 1: Triangular Trade 7
1. 2: Major slave trading regions of Africa 8
1. 3: The Manchester Conference of 1945 21
1. 4: Independent African states that attended Accra Conference of 1958 .23

2.1: Some of the inventions in the first phase of industrial revolution 31
2.2: Internal-combustion engine as innovation in the second phase of industrial revolution 53
2.3: The spread of industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century 55

3. 1: One of the innovations in the fourth industrial revolution..... 67
3. 2: Some industrialised countries in the Pacific Rim 71
3. 3: Some industrialised countries in Latin America 75

4. 1: Ancient Mesopotamia Empire 99
4. 2: Administrative hierarchy in Mesopotamia..... 101
4. 3: The Ancient Roman Empire..... 115
4. 4: The Roman Provinces during the reign of Emperor Diocletian 116
4. 5: Location of the Inca Empire in South America 121
4. 6: Hierarchical administration of Ancient Egypt 128

5. 1: The spread of Christianity during the Roman Empire 140
5. 2: The Frankish Empire and Papal States 149
5. 3: The spread of Islam..... 153

6. 1: Roman Cavalry 174
6. 2: Feudal hierarchy in the Medieval Europe..... 188
6. 3: Feudal socio-political structure in Japan..... 191

8. 1: Benito Mussolini of Italy (left) and Adolf Hitler of Germany(right) 233

9. 1: Some African countries with diverse administrative systems..... 285

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACS	American Colonisation Society
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AGA	African Governance Architecture
AMISON	African Mission in Somalia
ANC	African National Congress
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AU	African Union
BPU	Birmigham Political Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPZs	Export Processing Zones
FDIs	Foreign Direct Investments
4IR	Fourth Industrial Revolution
FIPA	Foreign Investment Protection Act
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GFC	Global Financial Crisis
ICDC	Industrial-Commercial Development Corporation
ICT	Information and Communication Technology

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IoT	Internet of Things
ISI	Import-Substitution Industries
LRC	Labour Representation Committee
LWMA	London Working Men's Association
MP	Member of Parliament
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNAMID	United Nations/African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
SADC	Southern African Economic Community
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SEZs	Special Economic Zones
SQA	School Quality Assurance
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SOEs	State-Owned Enterprises
SMS	Short Message System
TIE	Tanzania Institute of Education

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Dr Aneth A. Komba

Director General

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Preface

This textbook, *History for Advanced Secondary Schools,* is written specifically for Form Five students in the United Republic of Tanzania. It is written in accordance with the 2023 History Syllabus for Advanced Secondary Education Form V and VI, issued by the Ministry of Education Science and Technology. Some of the themes in this book are taken from the previous books titled History for Advanced Secondary Schools Form V and VI published in 2022 in accordance with 2010 syllabus

The book consists of nine chapters, namely Pan-Africanism, Industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries, Industrial Revolution in the 20th and 21st centuries, Administrative systems in the Ancient World, World religions and their influence on administrative systems. Others are Slavery and feudalism in ancient administrative systems, Political revolutions and modern administrative systems in Europe, Capitalist crises and alternative governance systems, and Administrative systems in post-colonial African states. Each chapter contains illustrations, activities and exercises. You are encouraged to do all the activities and exercises, as well as other assignments your teacher will provide. You are also required to prepare portfolio for keeping records of different activities performed in various lessons. Doing so will enable you to develop the intended competencies.

Additional learning resources are available at TIE e-library at *http://ol.tie.go.tz or ol.tie.go.tz/*

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Chapter One

Pan-Africanism

Introduction

The development of Pan-Africanism in Africa is directly linked to the history of the development of capitalism in Europe and the Americas. In this chapter, you will learn about the concept and origin of Pan-Africanism. You will also learn about the origin and development of Pan-Africanism from the 15,th the 20th to 21st centuries. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate the initiatives taken by the Africans towards self-determination. You will also be able to respect and value African identity, dignity, and freedom.

Think

Pan-Africanism as a vision of continental unity

The concept of Pan-Africanism

The term Pan-Africanism is derived from two words: 'pan', meaning all, and 'Africa', meaning the continent. Pan-Africanism is a belief that African people have much in common, including common identity, common culture, common destiny, and the shared history of colonialism and imperialism. This movement originated in the Caribbean Islands, U.S.A. and other parts of the New World under the influence of different social, economic, cultural and political factors. The belief in Pan-Africanism is based on the uniqueness and spiritual unity of the people of African origin. Although Pan-Africanism was started by the people of African origin in the New World, it became a worldwide movement that encouraged and strengthened the solidarity of all black people. The movement sought to bring all people of African origin together so that they could fight against racial discrimination, colonial domination, and the evils of imperialism.

Pan-Africanism was founded by Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) and later strengthened by Henry Sylvester Williams (1869-1911), both from the Caribbean Islands. The latter was a lawyer from Trinidad and he is remembered for convening the first Pan-African Conference in London in 1900. The London Conference was attended by a few representatives from Africa and a big number of delegates from America and the Caribbean Islands. It was also attended

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by students such as William H.B. Du Bois, who later became a prominent scholar and famous Pan-Africanist. In 1910, Du Bois and his fellow civil rights activists formed the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP), through which they advocated Pan-Africanism.

Objectives of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism sought to spread democracy all over the world and to lead Africans in their struggles to regain their freedom and dignity worldwide. As a result of the slavery and slave trade, Africans were scattered in many parts of the world and they faced economic, political, cultural and social discrimination. To overcome the problem, Africans resolved to form an organisation that would unite them and coordinate their efforts towards liberation and attaining racial equality.

Pan-Africanism started as a movement geared to restore black identity and dignity within the capitalist system in the New World, but later it turned out to be a worldwide movement to protect black people against colonial oppression and imperialist domination. The major objective of Pan-Africanism was, therefore, to liberate Africans from imperialism. This would be achieved by organising global black solidarity.

In Africa, Pan-Africanism focused on the liberation of African countries from colonial rule. This goal was made clear during the Manchester Conference of 1945, which called for African solidarity to end imperial domination. Therefore, after the conference, the activities of Pan-Africanism shifted to Africa and its first major success was the independence of Gold Coast (Ghana) in 1957. Following Ghanaian independence, Accra was chosen as the headquarters of Pan-Africanism in 1957, meaning that Pan-African activities had effectively moved to Africa.

Importance of Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is still relevant today because it integrates and connects the African people, especially as the world becomes more competitive, integrated, and interconnected. It creates a sense of togetherness among the people of African descent in a number of ways. Firstly, Pan-Africanism promotes unity and solidarity among the people of African descent, regardless of the geographical location or national identity. By fostering a sense of interconnectedness and shared destiny, the Unity is able to overcome divisions created by colonialism and promote cooperation for common goals, such as social justice, economic development, and political liberation. It has fostered the view that the black people share a great deal among themselves more than just their skin colour.

Secondly, Pan-Africanism has been a driving force in the struggle against oppression, racism, and colonialism. Historically, Pan-Africanism has provided a framework for resistance movements, anti-colonial struggles, and civil rights movements across the African continent and among the African diaspora. By

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uniting diverse communities under a common cause, Pan-Africanism has empowered individuals and groups to challenge the systems of oppression and proclaim their rights.

Thirdly, Pan-Africanism celebrates the rich cultural heritage of Africa and its diaspora, promoting cultural exchange, appreciation, and preservation. It emphasises the importance of reclaiming African history, languages, traditions, ideals, and values which were often suppressed or distorted during the periods of enslavement and colonisation. Through cultural activism and education, Pan-Africanism fosters a sense of pride, identity, and belonging among the people of African descent.

Fourthly, Pan-Africanism has aroused awareness of the need to research African history, culture, literature, religion, music, and art which act as tools to make Africa known to the outside world. For example, John Bruce researched and wrote about the foundation of human civilisation by showing the achievements reached by Africans, particularly in ancient Egypt and Ethiopia.

Fifthly, Pan-Africanism presents a sense of African commitment to fight against white supremacy and other forms of foreign domination on the African soil. A notable example was the effort to end Apartheid regime in South Africa.

Sixthly, Pan-Africanism promotes economic liberation and development within Africa and among the African diaspora. It advocates for fair trade, resource sovereignty, and equitable distribution of wealth to address poverty, inequality, marginalisation and underdevelopment. By fostering economic cooperation, investment, and entrepreneurship, Pan-Africanism seeks to uplift communities, create opportunities, and reduce dependency on external powers. Home-grown initiatives, such as the establishment of African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), were taken to ensure economic liberation throughout the continent.

Lastly, Pan-Africanism advocates for political empowerment and self-determination for African nations and communities. It seeks to eliminate neo-colonial structures, promote democracy, and advance the interests of the African nations on the global stage by fostering political awareness, and proper leadership. Pan-Africanism also advocates for the creation of a just society worldwide that respects the sovereignty and rights of all nations.

Exercise 1.1

Explain the essence of the phrase "Africa is for the Africans."

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Slavery and Pan-Africanism from 15th to 19th centuries

The historical development of Pan-Africanism from the 15th century to the 19th centuries is linked to the development of slavery and trans-Atlantic slave trade in Africa, particularly on the West African coast. Slavery is a situation in which a person is legally owned and treated by another as an object of labour. It is an ancient form of exploitation and oppression. Slaves were deprived of their rights as they were bought and sold like commodities. Sometimes, slave masters could kill their slaves without anyone questioning them. Slaves owned nothing, except their labour.

Slave trade was the process of capturing, selling, and buying human beings as commodities. The Trans-Atlantic-Slave Trade is the best example of how slave trade worked. The main participants in the slave trade on the African continent were Europeans, Arabs, and some African rulers especially chiefs. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to take slaves from West Africa, whereby Antão Gonçalves was the first Portuguese sailor to buy Africans along the western coast of Africa in 1441. The trade gained momentum from the early 16th century when many slaves were shipped to the New World, especially Brazil, the Caribbean Islands, and North America. During the voyages, slaves suffered humiliation and deprivation, and most of them died. As a result, there was a serious population decline in Africa. For example, it is estimated that the population of the Savannah region and the Horn of Africa declined by about 10 to 15 per cent, which was equivalent to over three million people. Further estimates indicate that the population of Sub-Saharan Africa would have been nearly one hundred million instead of fifty million by 1850.

In essence, therefore, Pan-Africanism started as a reaction of the oppressed and exploited Africans, both on the African continent and in the diaspora, against slavery, slave trade, and racial segregation. It resulted from the denial of African identity and dignity by the white world.

The origins of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

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

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

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

(a) The American-Indians who had been initially used by Europeans as labourers had lower immunity to tropical diseases, such as smallpox and malaria, compared to the Africans;

(b) The indentured labour from Europe proved to be unreliable, owing to its limited supply and high mobility. The indentured labourers worked on contract terms, meaning that they were free to leave their employers after the contracts had expired;

(c) American-Indians could escape from the slave masters because they were familiar with the environment, while African slaves could easily remain in the locality because they did not know much about the environment;

(d) African slaves were financially cheaper than European slaves or indentured labourers. The European-indentured labourers were to be paid at the end of their contracts, usually in the form of a piece of land or a precious metal (gold and silver). Moreover, European slaves were criminals who were serving their sentences and, therefore, they would be released at the end of their sentences. This was different from African slaves who were tied to their masters indefinitely;

(e) West Africa was nearer to America; hence, it was easy to transport African slaves across the Atlantic Ocean to America; and

(f) Most of the Indian-Americans were hunters and gatherers (foragers), hence, they were not experienced in working the land contrary to African slaves who were experienced cultivators and could tolerate long working hours in the fields.

Activity1.1

(a) Conduct library research to distinguish slavery from slave trade.

(b) How far was slavery profitable to Europeans?

(c) Share your findings with the rest of the class.

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The rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade started following the activities of the European merchants and geographers who came to Africa and America around the 15th century. The Italian sailor and explorer, Christopher Columbus, who was working for Queen Isabela of Spain, discovered America (sometimes called the New World) in 1492. His discovery prompted the Europeans to open up various economic projects such as mines, plantations and trade in America. These projects spearheaded the development of mercantilism. The Portuguese established themselves in Brazil, the Spanish settled in various parts of South, Central, and North America, while the English, the Dutch, and the French settled in the Caribbean Islands and North America. European activities in these areas, mainly plantations and mining, demanded massive labour power.

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, which is also called the Triangular Trade or the Great Circuit, involved three continents, namely Africa, America, and Europe. The items of trade from Africa included slaves, gold, ivory, timber, dye-hoods, gum, beeswax, animal skins, and spices. America supplied raw materials such as tobacco, cotton, indigo, and sugarcane to European industries. Europe provided managerial direction and manufactured goods. The major participants in this trade were African local chiefs, the Dutch, the British, the Portuguese, as well as the French. In West Africa, slaves came from the areas stretching from the Gold Coast (Ghana) to Cameroon. Other slaves were obtained from as far south as Congo and Angola. Slaves were transported from the interior to the coastal centres or ports. Among the famous ports were Axim, Elmina, Bissau, Christiansburg, Cape Castle, Whydah (Benin), Lagos, Bonny and Old Calabar. Figure 1.1 shows the interconnection of the Triangular Trade between Europe, Africa and the New World.

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Figure 1. 1: *Triangular Trade*

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Exercise 1.2

The presence of the people of African origin in the New World is the legacy of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Explain.

The emergence of the African-Americans in America

The massive shipping of the African slaves to the New World began early in the 16th century and continued until the last quarter of the 19th century. On the Barbados Island, there were 11,200 white farmers owning 5,680 African slaves by 1645. Later in 1667, these small-scale white farmers were replaced by only 745 big capitalist farmers owning 8,203 African slaves.

European slave traders bought and shipped slaves to the Western Hemisphere. The number of enslaved people sold to the New World varied throughout the slave trade. As for the distribution of slaves from the regions of activity, certain areas produced more slaves than others. Between 1650 and 1900, 10.2 million enslaved Africans arrived in the Americas from the following regions in the specified proportions: Senegambia (Senegal and Gambia) 4.8 percent, Upper Guinea (Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, and Sierra Leone) 4.1 per cent, Windward Coast (Liberia and Ivory

Coast) 1.8 percent, Gold Coast (Ghana and the eastern part of Ivory Coast) 10.4 per cent, Bight of Benin (Togo, Benin, and Nigeria west of the Niger Delta) 20.2 per cent, Bight of Biafra (Nigeria east of the Niger Delta, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon) 14.6 per cent, West-Central Africa (the Republic of Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola) 39.4 percent and South-Eastern Africa (Mozambique and Madagascar) 4.7 per cent.

In terms of ethnic composition, it is estimated that over 45 different ethnic groups were taken to the Americas during the Triangular Trade. According to slave documentation and modern genealogical studies, the ethnic groups which were enslaved were the BaKongo of the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Republic of Congo and Angola; the Mandé of Upper Guinea; the Gbe speakers of Togo, Ghana, and Benin (Fon, Ewe, Adja, Mina); the Akan of Ghana and Ivory Coast; the Wolof of Senegal and the Gambia; the Igbo of south-eastern Nigeria; the Ambundu of Angola; the Yoruba of south-western Nigeria and Benin; the Tikar and Bamileke of Cameroon; and the Makua of Mozambique. Figure 1.2 shows a map of the major slave trading regions of Africa, from the 15th to the 19th centuries.

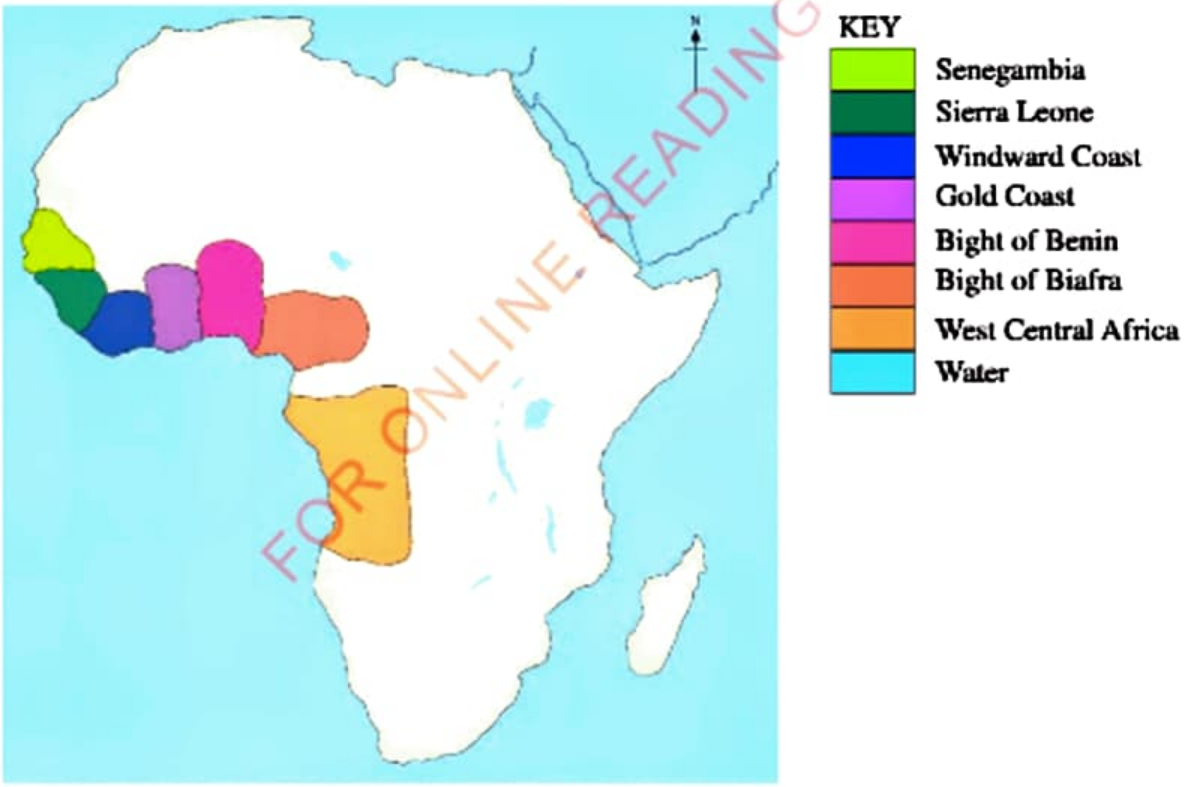

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Figure 1. 2: *Major slave trading regions of Africa*

West-Central Africa was the largest source of African slaves, while Portuguese America (Brazil) was the largest destination. The African slaves were distributed to different parts of the New World as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1: *Distribution of African slaves in different parts of the New World*

Destination	Per cent
Portuguese America (Brazil)	38.5%
British West Indies	18.4%
Spanish Empire	17.5%
French West Indies	13.6%
English/British North America (United States)	9.7%
Dutch West Indies	2.0%
Danish West Indies	0.3%

Source: *Behrendt, Stephen (1999). Transatlantic Slave Trade. Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience. New York: Basic Civitas Books.*

African experience in the New World

Millions of Africans who were shipped to America starting from the early 16th century faced various problems, especially after the Virginia Assembly of 1619. The Assembly passed a resolution that black slaves in the New World should be slaves forever. It means that they had no any civil rights, including the right to marry or the right to own property. The Virginia resolution made Africans face serious economic, social, and political problems, as explained in the following section.

Political problems

The African slaves in the New World faced political exclusion as they were denied the right to vote or to be voted for. Those slaves did not have the right to vote for people who would represent their interests. They were subjected to harsh conditions which limited their opportunity to obtain political rights. In order for one to vote, one had to pass a literacy test, which most African slaves failed, since they did not attend formal school and, therefore, they could not read and write. This trick was used to put African slaves in a disadvantaged position, the situation did not change even after the attainment of independence in 1776. It appeared, therefore, that the anti-colonial campaigns and the solidarity which accompanied the wars of independence did not mean equality between whites and blacks.

On 1st January 1863, President Abraham Lincoln initiated a movement to abolish slavery in the United States. From that point, the status and respect for the African-American people were somehow elevated. The assassination of President Abraham Lincoln on 14th

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April 1865 reversed the situation, leading to intensified political discrimination against African-Americans. They were not allowed to assemble or hold any meetings as a way of prohibiting them from organising collective action in the form of strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations.

Social problems

Having lost their language, customs, traditions, and homeland as a result of the slave trade, Africans in the diaspora were subjected to acts of enslavement, persecution and racial discrimination. On the plantations and in the mines, for example, African slaves were treated badly and were oppressed as opposed to their European counterparts. Laws, which were passed in various states such as Virginia and Maryland were aimed at oppressing Africans socially.

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

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

Economic problems

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

Liberation struggles by African-Americans

The African-Americans resisted capitalist exploitation and this came to be known as Black American Nationalism. Their struggle started to be ignited by the Virginia Assembly of 1619 and was accelerated by the American war of

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independence between 1775 and 1783. Therefore, to resist such injustices, they adopted different forms of struggle ranging from small-scale to large-scale struggles. Small-scale struggles included escape, whereby slaves escaped from their slave masters and hid in the forests, mountains and swampy areas. This form of struggle also involved demonstrations; destruction of equipment such as hoes, rakes and machines; burning plantations; killing slave masters; or committing suicide.

Riots, revolutions, and demonstrations constituted a significant category of large-scale struggles by African-Americans. Riots against slavery happened in the USA and other parts of the New World. In Brazil, for instance, slaves revolted against their slave masters and ended up establishing their own African state called the Palmares. Palmers lasted for one hundred years before the Portuguese slave masters destroyed it. Similarly, in Jamaica, frequent slave revolts were reported during the 18th and 19th centuries. The revolts taught the European slave masters that slavery was increasingly becoming unsafe and expensive to maintain. For instance, a group of slaves known as the Maroons revolted against their British masters. They established and maintained their own self-governing farming communities before they were defeated by their masters. However, the biggest event in the form of a revolution happened in Haiti, where French slave masters owned sugarcane plantations. In Haitian revolution, Toussaint L'ouverture led his fellow slaves to revolt against the French masters in 1791. Many French slave masters were killed by the slaves. The frequent slave revolts in Haiti worried the French, so they organised navies to suppress them in 1803. Surprisingly, their navies were defeated by the angry slaves and consequently, the slaves established the independent republic of Haiti. The collective impact of such slave rebellions was that the government leaders and bankers in France and Britain gradually stopped supporting slavery and slave trade. This was a major achievement for the African slaves in the New World.

African-American intellectuals, activists and international communities spearheaded the struggle. Although Great Britain spearheaded the abolition of slave trade and consequently banned the trade in 1807, the shipment of African slaves to Brazil and Cuba continued until the 1860s. Thus, the movements to abolish the slave trade became part of African-American struggles in the United States of America. The anti-slavery movements were well intensified during the American civil wars, which began in 1861 and ended in 1865.

For the most part, the anti-slavery coalitions used non-violent means to liberate African-Americans from capitalist domination and exploitation. Such movements were supported by African-American leaders, activists, and intellectuals, including Frederick Douglass, Booker Taliaferro Washington, Marcus Aurelius Garvey, Martin Luther King Junior, Malcom Little Early (popularly

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known as Malcom X), Edward Wilmot Blyden and William Du Bois, whose contributions are explained below.

Frederick Douglass (1818-1895)

Douglass was an African-American social reformer, abolitionist, orator, writer, and statesman. He was born as a slave and worked in Maryland as a slave, before he escaped and became a national leader of the abolitionist movement in Massachusetts and New York.

Douglass concentrated his efforts on programmes meant for complete emancipation of African-Americans. He was an integrationist who wanted African-Americans to be integrated into American society politically and economically. After the abolition of slavery in the USA, Douglass struggled for political equality between the people of African origin and others. His efforts bore some fruits as a few African-Americans got voting rights and others were elected into various state legislatures. For example, some African-Americans were elected as congressmen and one was promoted to the position of a senator. However, this political success was only short-lived because in the 1880s and 1890s the whites in the southern states became so reactionary.

Booker Taliaferro Washington (1856-1915)

Washington was an African-American educator, author, and orator. He was born into slavery and rose to become a leading African intellectual of the 19th century. He was the founder of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute (now the Tuskegee University) in 1881 and the National Negro Business League, two years later. He also served as adviser to several presidents of the United States.

Between 1890 and 1915, Washington was the most prominent leader in the African-American community. Originally, he was a slave in the south, but later fought for his education to the point of becoming

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an activist, fighting for the rights of African-Americans. He advocated for economic progress through the attainment of industrial vocational skills. He was convinced that the black people had first of all to acquire economic power as a prelude to acquiring political rights. He also believed that this could be achieved through the provision of industrial education.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963)

Du Bois was a prominent African-American sociologist, historian, author, and editor. He was an important leader of the African-American struggles in the USA during the first half of the 20th century. He wanted African-Americans to attain political power, which was the first step towards the integration into American society. He formed an organisation known as the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People. He wanted African-Americans to struggle for their civil rights and to be part and parcel of American society. He was an integrationist who wanted to use constitutional means to attain African-Americans' civil rights. Later, he was engaged in organising Pan-African Congresses, including the Manchester Conference of 1945. His organisation was an elitist one and did not get mass support from the African-American community.

Marcus Mosiah Aurelius Garvey (1887-1940)

He was a Jamaican and a leader of the Pan-Africanist Movement. Garvey attended school in Jamaica until he was 15 when he left St. Ann Bay and went to Kingston, where he worked as an apprentice in a print shop. He did not advocate for the integration of black people into American society but wished to build a separate culture and power for the black people worldwide. His desire to establish a separate identity and culture for African-Americans explains his adoption of the slogan "Back to Africa." Garvey believed that Africa was

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black people's original homeland and thus an ideal place for their emigration. His organisation, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), was formed in 1916 and lasted until 1927. Like Du Bois, Marcus fought so that black people could achieve political and economic prospects. He set up Negro economic enterprises, including Negro factories and a shipping line known as the Black Star Line for conducting trade between North America and West Africa. Marcus Garvey was jailed in 1923 after he was found guilty of forgery. In 1925 he was released, after being pardoned by the President of the USA. He was deported to Jamaica in 1927.

Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912)

Blyden was born in St. Thomas, Virgin Island, in the Caribbeans. He was a Liberian educator, writer, diplomat, and politician, who was primarily active in West Africa. Having felt the impact of racial discrimination, he joined the waves of black immigrants who migrated to Liberia in 1850. He dignified African personality and condemned white superiority and the exploitation of black people. He wanted the people of African origin to dismantle the white superiority complex by showing their ability to manage themselves. He published on Pan-Africanism and campaigned for the Back-to-Africa Movement.

Apart from the elitist movements, the African-Americans also staged demonstrations. For example, in 1955, there were demonstrations in Montgomery, the capital city of the state of Alabama in the United States, to condemn racial segregation. African-Americans started breaking the rules made by the white government. They violated the racial rules that prevented them from accessing the public services provided to the white people only, such as stores and restaurants. Similarly, they protested against racial discrimination in public transport. Protests against racial discrimination in the American transport sector were sometimes referred to as transportation protests; they were common in the United States in the 1920s. Events involving protests against segregation in the transport system are widely documented in American history books. During the 1850s, African-Americans were strictly forbidden to board buses which bore huge signs that read "Colored Persons Not Allowed."

Furthermore, African-Americans used

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songs, poems, and slogans as techniques for raising and instilling consciousness among themselves. The slogans included "We shall overcome" by Martin Luther King, Jr. and "It is better to die than to live as slaves" by Frederick Douglass. Such slogans fostered and reinforced black solidarity.

American government took significant initiatives to end slavery and slave trade. On 22nd September 1862, the American government issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. That was after the introduction of the Emancipation Proclamation or Emancipation Act by President Abraham Lincoln. The law demanded the abolition of slavery and slave trade in all American states. The law declared slavery and slave trade illegal. The proclamation was formally signed and issued by President Lincoln on the 1st January 1863. However, the introduction of "Black Codes" and the formation of the Ku-Klux Klan terrorist groups during the presidency of Andrew Johnson from 1865 to 1869 prevented African-Americans from emancipating themselves from the institution of slavery, although the black people never gave up. They began to devise new methods to achieve their civil rights and freedom. Such movements were organised under the name of Black Solidarity. The champions of Black Solidarity were Marcus Mosiah Garvey and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Exercise 1.3

Examine other large-scale struggles used by African-Americans to resist capitalist exploitation

Black Solidarity and the Back- to-Africa Movement

Black Solidarity refers to the spirit of cooperation and togetherness among the oppressed and exploited people of African origin in America. These people were united by common forms of capitalist exploitation, and collective black identity was essential in the struggle against racial oppression. The philosophy of Black Solidarity led to the formation of such movements as the Back-to-Africa Movement as explained in the subsequent sections.

Back-to-Africa Movement

The Back-to-Africa Movement was African-Americans' collective movement for liberating themselves from American oppression, discrimination, humiliation and exploitation. It encouraged them to go back to their original homeland, that is, Africa. The emigration of African-Americans to Africa was considered a solution to the problems they were facing in the diaspora. The Back-to-Africa Movement was founded by Marcus Garvey in 1920 and it mobilised thousands of African-Americans who wished to go back to Africa. Garvey believed that the blacks in the New World could find a true

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home in Africa. To him, the duty of the people of African origin in the New World was to find ways to return to Africa, where they could work together with their fellow Africans and build a free and mighty nation.

However, such migrations started in the early 1800s, especially after the formation of the American Society for Colonising the Free People of Colour or American Colonisation Society (ACS) in 1816. The first attempt to take slaves to Africa was made in 1820 when some ex-slaves were taken to Sierra Leone, but they died of tropical diseases. In 1847, the ACS founded the Republic of Liberia and many African-American ex-slaves emigrated there. The substantial number of African-Americans migrated to Liberia in the 1880s and 1890s.

Objectives of the Back-to-Africa Movement

The movement intended to promote a sense of cooperation among black people all over the world. The Back-to-Africa Movement believed that all the black people in the New World and Africa were one; as such, they should unite and fight for their rights. The idea was that the Africans in the diaspora should support their fellow Africans to fight for independence. In order to build a sense of unity among Africans, Garvey established connections with some political leaders in Africa, including Abd el-Karim of Morocco, and created a parliament in the form of an international convention, where members from different parts of the world could discuss their common problems and strategies for overcoming them. The Back-to-Africa Movement emphasised the need to utilise African resources for the benefit of the African people. Moreover, the movement sought to bring together all black people from the Caribbean Islands, America and Europe, who shared a common history, race and dignity. Garvey emphasised separate development between whites and blacks and said that such separation could only happen if Africans struggled for economic and political sovereignty.

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

The leaders of the movement worked hard to eradicate all forms of segregation that African people had been subjected to. In an effort to liberate the people from racial oppression, the leaders frequently called on African-Americans to unite for social change.

Exercise 1.4

Suggest different ways that Africans can use to value their identity and promote unity among themselves

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Achievements of the Back-to-Africa Movement

The movement succeeded in repatriating some of the African-Americans who were willing to go back to Africa. They were transported by the Black Star Shipping Company, which belonged to Marcus Garvey. They settled in Liberia and Sierra Leone. They were given fertile land to cultivate and to establish new settlements.

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

Another important achievement of this movement is that it laid a foundation for the philosophy of Negritude, as reflected in Garvey's idea of "pride no shame in black skin." The movement influenced further movements of emancipation in Africa such as the *Kimbangu* Movement in the Belgian-Congo.

Problems which faced the Back-to-Africa Movement

In 1923, Marcus Garvey was jailed for five years, but he was pardoned in 1925. Later in 1927, he was deported to Jamaica. Since Garvey was the initiator of the movement, his absence caused fear among his fellow African-Americans, who found it very difficult to sustain the movement without him. Moreover, he was the main sponsor of the movement. As a result, the people who were left behind could not afford the expenses of running the movement. The shipping company (Black Star) needed money to do its activities like supplying basic needs, including food, and other necessities. Eventually, the movement became very weak.

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

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

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last." These two differing views left African-Americans divided on how to go about fighting for their rights.

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

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

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

Exercise 1.5

Discuss the contention that Pan-Africanism was a vehicle to reclaim African history.

Activity1.2

Using any ICT device, listen to Martin Luther King Junior's famous speech titled: **"I have a Dream (1963)"** then answer the following questions:

(a) What was the historical forces behind Martin Luther's speech?

(b) Identify specific themes/ messages mentioned in the speech

(c) If you have to retell the same speech in modern Africa, what would you address and why?

Pan-Africanism from 1900 to 1960

The development of Pan-Africanism during this time was geared towards anti-colonial struggles in Africa. Pan-African activities operated through conferences. Several conferences were held in various parts of the world. Six congresses were held from 1900 to 1945 and most of them were held in Europe. The following were the Pan-African conferences and their resolutions.

The London Conference of 1900

This was the first Pan-African conference held in London from 23rd to 25th July 1900. The conference was organised by the Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams. It was attended by various people of African origin. The London conference had various aims, including

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bringing people of African origin together. It also acted as a forum for protesting against colonial exploitation in Africa. The conference coined the concept of "Pan-Africanism." It was attended by Du Bois, who popularised Pan-Africanism afterwards. It also appealed to the British government to protect the people of African origin from imperialist exploitation and called for solidarity among Africans in the diaspora.

The Paris Conference of 1919

This conference was organised by Du Bois and Ida Gibbs Hunt. It was held in Paris in 1919 just after the First World War, when African-Americans demanded the Versailles Peace Conference that was held in France to address Africans' problems as well. It was attended by 57 delegates. Thus, the conference appealed to the Versailles Peace Conference to adopt a policy of mandate for the former colonies of Germany, which were Togo, South West Africa (Namibia) and German East Africa (Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi). This petition was eventually adopted by delegates of the victorious powers who attended the Versailles Peace Conference. The resolutions passed included enacting a code of laws for providing international protection to the natives of Africa, abolishing slavery and the slave trade, enforcing universal education for African children and upholding the rights of Africans to own land.

The Brussels Conference of 1921

This conference brought together 113 delegates. Africa alone had 41 delegates, most of whom came from the French colonies. At the congress, Blaise Diagne of Senegal opposed the resolutions passed by his fellow Africans. This is because Diagne continued to advocate for an African role in France. In short, he was a beneficiary of French colonialism in Senegal. However, the participants at the conference, especially Du Bois, harshly condemned him for his lack of commitment to Africans' interests. Generally, the conference condemned racial segregation and demanded equal rights for all people of African origin. It also condemned colonialism and called for self-determination for all African states. It endorsed a document called the "Declaration to the World", which stipulated that "equality of all races was the absolute foundation of human advancement in the world whether politically, socially, or economically."

The Lisbon Conference of 1923

The conference was held in Lisbon, Portugal, for two purposes. The first was to express its dissatisfaction with Garveyism. Garvey advocated for the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the African Communities Imperial League, in which he declared himself a provisional president of Africa. Some of his fellow Pan-Africanists objected to his declaration. The second purpose of the conference was to protest against the suppression of Pan-Africanism. At the end of the congress, various resolutions were reached. It was

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resolved that black people should have voice in their governments, should own land and enjoy its resource, should have access to free education and should have a fair trial under the established process of law. Generally, the conference demanded the black people in the world to be treated as human beings.

The New York Conference of 1927

This conference discussed the threats to world peace caused by the rise of fascism in Italy, Germany and Japan. Specifically, it was rumoured that Italy was planning to invade and colonise Ethiopia, formerly known as Abyssinia. Following this rumour, the conference formed an association called the International African Friends of Abyssinia. This association had two main purposes, namely to arouse sympathy and support for the victims of the fascist aggression in Ethiopia, and to help the people of Ethiopia to preserve their territorial integrity and political independence.

The Manchester Conference of 1945

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

The Manchester conference attacked the colonial constitutional reforms in some of the African colonies, saying that they were irrelevant to the needs of the African people. It also attacked the indirect rule system, calling it an instrument of oppression and exploitation. It condemned the segregationist laws and practices in South Africa and the *Kipande* system in Kenya. The conference declared the national liberation struggles throughout Africa as the main goal of Pan-Africanism. It declared that Africans would use violent means if the imperial powers refused to grant them independence. The conference also expressed support for the liberation struggles in India, China, Indonesia and Vietnam. Moreover, the conference resolved that Pan-Africanism should focus on liberating Africa. Indeed, after the conference the activities of Pan-Africanism shifted to Africa as already discussed in the opening section of this chapter. Figure 1.3 shows some of the delegates the Manchester Conference of 1945.

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Figure 1. 3: *The delegates of the Manchester Conference of 1945*

Source: *https://tribunemag.co.uk/2022/10/fifth-pan-african-congress-manchester-chorlton-1945*

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

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The Accra Conference of 1958

Ghana gained independence from Britain in 1957 under Kwame Nkrumah. Ghana's independence was a historic achievement for the African people and African continent as a whole. After independence, Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore (inset) organised the first Conference of independent African states in Accra, in April 1958. The independent African states that attended the conference were Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Ghana and Liberia. This was the first Pan-African conference ever held in Africa. It was the first conference

in African history that brought together representatives from different parts of Africa with the aim of building friendship, brotherhood, co-operation and solidarity in Africa.

The Accra Conference passed several resolutions, including the anti-colonialism agenda. The Conference was determined to bring colonialism to an end in Africa. It announced clearly that African freedom and independence were a necessity. Slogans such as "Africa Must Be Free," "Hands Off Africa," or "Down with Imperialism and Colonialism," were used to conscientise the Africans towards total liberation. In the effort to end colonialism and imperialism, the conference called upon the independent African states to provide maximum support towards African independence and self-determination. Nkrumah and Padmore asserted that African states should provide all possible assistance to the countries that were still struggling for independence in Africa. According to Nkrumah, the independence of Ghana was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation of the entire African continent. Similarly, the delegates expressed their opposition against racism, particularly in South Africa, and their support of nuclear disarmament.

Moreover, the delegates were determined to coordinate economic planning and cooperation among African countries. To ensure this, they established commitments to encourage educational and cultural exchanges and the study of African history and cultures. Finally, the delegates resolved that such conferences should be held every two years.

In order to promote continental unity, a suggestion was made in the Accra Conference to create an African Commonwealth, or a United States of Africa. Generally, that conference marked a shift in the focus and activities of Pan-Africanism. Instead of dealing with the grievances of black people in the New World, it now focused on the promotion of African unity and support for the liberation struggles in the rest of the continent.

Exercise 1.6

"Our independence is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of the African continent." Nkrumah (1953). Discuss.

The idea of African unity was originally conceived by George Padmore, and he succeeded to impart this idea into Nkrumah's thoughts. After the independence of Ghana in 1957, Nkrumah became a champion of African unity. His efforts led to the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (O.A.U) in 1963, currently known as African Union (AU). Figure 1.4 shows African states that attended the Accra Conference.

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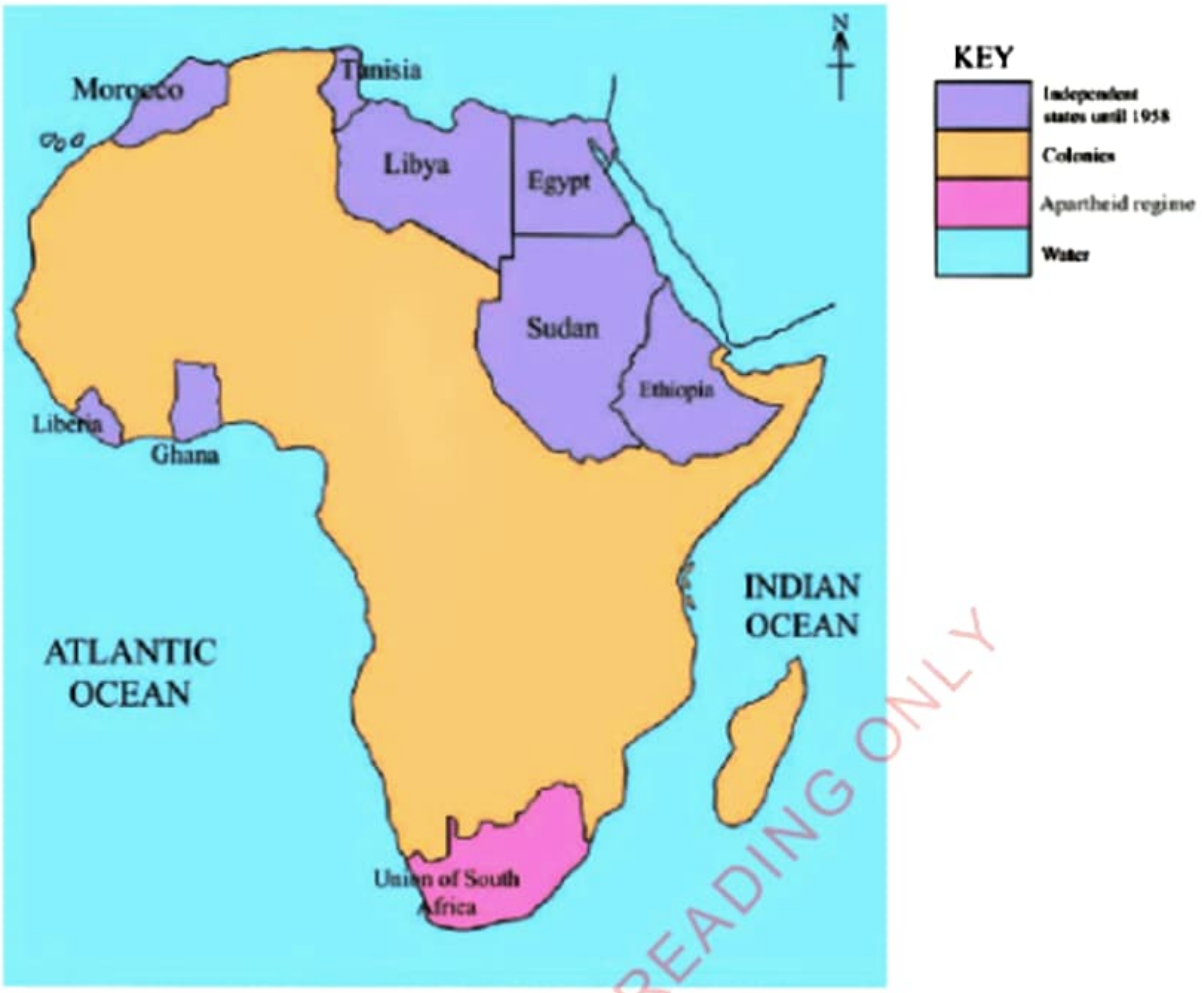

Figure 1. 4: *Independent African states that attended Accra Conference of 1958*

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Activity1.3

Suppose you happened to live during the wave of Pan-Africanism of 1900 up to 1960, what would you do differently to facilitate the movement? Use various sources including on-line materials to prepare a presentation to share in the class for discussion.

From Pan-Africanism to the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

On 25th May 1963, a summit of the African Heads of States convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. That meeting ended with a resolution to create a continent-wide organisation, namely the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The idea of forming the OAU was supported by African prominent leaders, including Haile Selassie from

Ethiopia, Kwame Nkrumah from Ghana, Ahmed Sekou Toure from Guinea, and Julius Nyerere from Tanganyika. Those leaders took various decisive measures to ensure strong unity among Africans as well as economic independence.

The formation of the OAU was the first initiative taken to promote unity and cooperation among African states. The OAU advocated for the decolonisation of the remaining colonies in Africa and the resolution of conflicts through peaceful means. It also provided a platform for member states to collaborate on common issues and challenges.

The OAU embraced the doctrine of Pan-Africanism and fostered regional cooperation and development. The other main agenda was to eradicate racial discrimination and racial supremacy on the African continent, particularly in South Africa. In essence, the OAU asserted Africans' sovereignty over their own socio-economic and political resources, while striving for the freedom, which is essential for progress. For instance, during the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, the OAU extended political, material, and diplomatic support to the African National Congress (ANC) against the apartheid regime. Consequently, the OAU achieved a landmark victory in 1994 when a new democratic government, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, was established in South Africa.

Building on the legacy of the OAU, the African Union was established in 2002 to promote integration, peace, and development on the African continent. The AU represents a renewed commitment to Pan-Africanism, with its fundamental principles emphasising unity, solidarity, and the common destiny of the African people. The AU has undertaken initiatives to enhance political and economic cooperation among African states, promoting the objectives of Pan-African unity. In 2012, it also formulated African Governance Architecture (AGA) as a framework for promoting good governance and strengthening the rule of law and human rights across the African continent.

Exercise 1.7

Using the knowledge you have gained from this chapter, what do you think might be the challenges facing Pan-Africanism in the contemporary world?

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Pan-Africanism since 1960s

The Pan-African mission after independence was deeply rooted in the quest for African unity and economic liberation. Although decolonisation has been achieved and the goals of political independence realised, African continent has remained vulnerable to external intervention, including, neo-colonialism and racism. Since 1960s, the objectives of Pan-Africanism have been shaped by historical, political, social, and economic factors. Therefore, as a movement it strives to accomplish the following objectives:

Firstly, the liberation of African countries

from colonial rule and the promotion of political unity among African nations. This objective was particularly important during the period of decolonisation in the 1960s when many African countries were still struggling for independence from colonial powers. Pan-Africanism sought to support liberation movements in the remaining colonies and foster solidarity among the newly independent African states.

Secondly, Pan-Africanism has been dedicated to promote regional integration and economic development across the continent. This includes efforts to strengthen intra-African trade, reduce economic dependence on the former colonial powers, and foster regional economic cooperation through organisations, such as the African Union (AU), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the East African Community (EAC).

Thirdly, Pan-Africanism has also been concerned with advocating for social justice, human rights, and equality for all Africans, regardless of ethnicity, religion, or gender. This includes addressing issues such as poverty, inequality, discrimination, and injustice among African societies, as well as promoting democratic governance, rule of law, and accountability. It also emphasises global solidarity and anti-imperialism and advocates for a more just and equitable global order. This includes supporting struggles against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and other forms of oppression, as well as advocating for reforms in international institutions to serve the interests of African nations and other developing countries.

Additionally, efforts have been made to educate African citizens about the importance of unity and cooperation among nations. This includes promoting awareness of shared history, values, and goals, as well as the benefits of collaboration in addressing common challenges like poverty, disease, and underdevelopment. The emphasis on unity and cooperation among African people was made on the basis of common historical experiences and shared cultural heritage. For instance, cultural exchanges, festivals, and events that celebrate African shared heritage and foster mutual understanding have been used to promote unity among societies. This sense of unity has strengthened the African nations' determination in their struggle against colonialism and later against neo-colonialism.

Furthermore, the formation of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) was another initiative taken to boost economic development in Africa. These are sub-regional organisations formed by African countries to promote intra-African trade and economic cooperation and integration. Examples include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the East African Community (EAC), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The RECs worked towards harmonising policies, promoting trade,

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and addressing common challenges within their respective regions.

Moreover, African nations have collaborated through the AU to organise peacekeeping missions to different conflict zones, such as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the United Nations/African Union Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). These efforts aim at stabilising the regions affected by conflict and promoting peace and security.

Economic exploitation of Africa by colonial powers led to the underdevelopment of indigenous economies, particularly industries. Pan-Africanists recognised economic independence as crucial for liberating African nations from the grip of neo-colonialism and achieving self-sufficiency. In order to achieve this, initiatives such as the nationalisation of key industries, redistribution of land, agrarian reforms, and equitable distribution of wealth to uplift the masses were taken. For example, Nkrumah's Seven-Year Development Plan aimed at industrialising the economy and reducing dependence on foreign aid and imports. The plan was introduced in 1964 as part of his vision for economic development and modernisation of Ghana after the country gained independence from British colonial rule in 1957. The plan aimed at transforming Ghanaian economy from its primarily agrarian base into an industrialised nation within seven years. It focused on various sectors, such as agriculture, industry, infrastructure, education, and healthcare. Other initiatives include import-substitution industrialisation by newly independent African nations to reduce dependence on foreign imports and build domestic production capacity.

Pan-Africanists continued to advocate for economic sovereignty, fair trade, debt relief, and regional cooperation to promote industrialisation and diversification. Initiatives such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), launched on 21st March 2018, represent the efforts towards economic integration and self-reliance. AfCFTA seeks to promote economic growth, industrialisation, and sustainable development across Africa. It also aims at addressing poverty and inequalities as well as tariff reduction and elimination, boosting intra-African trade, industrial development and sustainability.

Exercise 1.8

Conduct a library study on why economic independence was viewed as essential for liberating African nations from the grip of colonialism and achieving self-sufficiency.

Liberation Movements in Africa (1960s and 1970s)

The 1960s witnessed a wave of decolonisation movements across Africa, with many nations gaining independence from European colonial powers. This period marked a significant

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step towards Pan-African unity, as newly independent African nations sought to assert their sovereignty and foster cooperation among themselves. Leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania championed the ideals of Pan-Africanism, advocating for solidarity and collaboration among African states. Between 1960s and 1970s, liberation movements emerged in various countries such as Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and South Africa, seeking to overthrow colonial domination or white minority rule. These movements gathered support from Pan-Africanist organisations and individuals across the continent and in the diaspora. The struggle against colonialism and apartheid became a central focus of Pan-Africanist activism during this period, with solidarity movements mobilising globally to support liberation efforts in Africa. Therefore, in 1963, the Organisation of African Union Liberation Committee was formed mainly for advocating the liberation of Southern African countries.

The collapse of apartheid in South Africa in the early 1990s was a turning point for Pan-Africanism. The anti-apartheid struggle had long been a focal point of Pan-African activism, with organisations and individuals worldwide campaigning for the liberation of South Africa and the end of racial discrimination. The struggle resulted to the release of Nelson Mandela and the transition to majority rule in South Africa, which symbolised the achievement of Pan-Africanist ideals of justice, equality, and solidarity.

Pan-African Cultural Movements

Cultural movements, such as the Negritude movement and the Black Arts Movement, emerged in the mid-20th century, emphasising the celebration of African heritage and identity. Figures like Aimé Césaire, Leopold Senghor, and Amiri Baraka promoted the idea of a shared African cultural identity and the rejection of Eurocentric values. These cultural movements contributed to the development of Pan-Africanist thought by highlighting the importance of cultural pride and solidarity among people of African origin.

Moreover, the contribution of the diaspora to Africa's cultural restoration should also be recognised. People within and outside Africa have made great contribution to bring cultural equality in the areas of literature, music, and film. In the post-independence period, Africa and its diaspora have produced several Nobel laureates in African literature, including Wole Soyinka of Nigeria, Naguib Mahfouz of Egypt, and Nadine Gordimer of South Africa. Similarly, there was the establishment of African liberation heritage programmes in Africa mainly for documenting, promoting, protecting and cerebrating the African liberation heritage. These programmes often spearheaded by governments, international organizations, and non-governmental entities, focus on preserving the history and legacy of the struggle for independence and freedom across the continent. The notable examples include, African World Heritage Fund (AWHF), Liberation

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Heritage Route (LHR) Project in South Africa, Nelson Mandela Foundation and UNESCO's "The Slave Route Project".

Globalisation and Pan-Africanism

The process of globalisation has facilitated greater connectivity and interaction among people across the African diaspora. Pan-Africanist ideas have evolved to encompass the experiences of the African-descendant communities worldwide, including those in the Americas, Europe, and the Caribbean Islands. Ideas of identity, empowerment, and liberation within a global context, have emerged, and expanded the scope of Pan-Africanist thought.

Therefore, formerly, Pan-Africanism, symbolised the belief of self-determination and struggle for freedom from colonial domination across the African continent. Currently, the movement continues to inspire the dream of African peace, unity, solidarity, regional and economic integration. Contemporary efforts have been delegated to the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs), with technical support from the African Development Bank (AfDB) and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). These Pan-African institutions have made some progress in providing support for a meaningful Pan-African agenda for the 21st century. However, such institutions cannot succeed in carrying out the tasks of bringing African unity, peace, stability and development without the political will and the necessary financial support.

Activity1.4

Read various publications on African-Americans in the New World to approve or disapprove whether Pan-Africanism is still relevant today.

Exercise 1.9

Discuss the major challenges facing African diaspora in the world today.

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Revision exercise 1

1. With vivid examples, trace the origin of the African-Americans who are in the New World.
2. Explain the historical events that led to the enslavement of African-Americans in the New World during the mercantile period.
3. Assess the achievements of African-Americans in the New World in their struggles through "Back to Africa movement" and "Black Solidarity".
4. Explain the major attempts made by African-Americans in the New World to liberate themselves from exploitation.
5. Examine the role played by African-American diaspora in the political development of Africa.
6. Which social, political, and economic factors gave rise to the Pan-African movement in the United States of America towards the end of the 19th century?
7. Evaluate the impact of African-Americans and African-Caribbeans on the African continent.
8. Briefly, outline the methods used by African-American in the U.S.A. to attain their civil and political rights.
9. Identify the role played by the African-Americans in the development of capitalism in the U.S.A.
10. The struggles of Pan-Africanists during and after independence were deeply intertwined with the pursuit of African unity and economic independence. Explain.
11. Discuss the relevance of Pan-Africanism in the world today.

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Chapter Two

Industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries

Introduction

The 18th and 19th centuries saw the transformative impact of the Industrial Revolution. The period was characterised by rapid technological advancements, economic growth and profound changes in the society. In this chapter, you will learn the concept of industrial revolution, phases of industrial revolution and the impact of industrial revolution. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate technological innovations that transformed the society from agrarian to industrial society.

Think

Economy without technology

The concept of industrial revolution

Industrial revolution refers to a series of technological changes and innovations that transformed industrial production from cottage to factory system between 1750s and 1840s in Western Europe, notably England. Innovations such as the spinning jenny and steam engine revolutionised industries, such as textiles, mining, and transportation. It involved a complex process that brought dramatic social, economic, technological and political changes in human history. Generally, industrial revolution marked the beginning of massive industrial production; cumulative structural changes in the economy; the rise of complex class dynamics, such as changes in the class structure, composition and relations; urbanisation; and emergence of new political institutions.

Phases of industrial revolution

Industrial revolution is divided into several phases, each characterised by different technological advancements, economic changes, and social changes. Between the mid-18th and the late 19th centuries, industrial revolution evolved into two main phases, notably the first industrial revolution and the second industrial revolution.

The first phase of industrial revolution (1750s-1840s)

This period witnessed the beginning of structural transformations in the history of European industrialisation.

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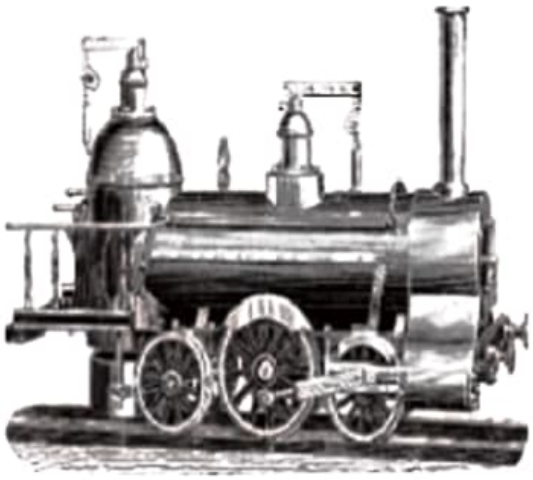
To historians, these transformations were categorically associated with the emergence of the first industrial revolution, which existed between the 1750s and 1840s. This phase was characterised by initial innovations through trial and error. The industries at this phase focused on producing consumer goods, primarily dominated by textile industry. Figure 2.1 shows the initial innovations during the first phase of industrial revolution.



(a)Steam Engine

Source: https://x.com/thatgirlsjenny status /1320576088670654464/photo/1

(b) Spinning Jenny

Figure 2.1: *Some of the inventions in the First Phase*

Source: https://chelseawesterneiv.weebly.com/spinning-jenny.html

The cottage system (Putting-out system)

The term "cottage industry" refers to the period when skilled craftsmen and artisans crafted goods within their cottages, utilising their own equipment and resources. The cottage industry was a small-scale industry with light machines that applied simple technology. Its labour force consisted of individuals, family units, or close-knit communities working at home with their own equipment. Under this system, the methods of production were old (pre-industrial) techniques and labour intensive. The production of goods was increased by employing more labour and lengthening labour time (longer working hours). The cottage system was characterised by the putting-out system, which predominated the pre-industrial period. Under this system, the producers (craftsmen or artisans) did not involve themselves in selling their goods. Rather, they put them out for middlemen to sell them to the market. Having sold the goods taken from the craftsmen, the middlemen also bought back raw materials and put them out for craftsmen to produce more goods. This mode of industrial production was very common during the mercantile era.

Features of the cottage system

The cottage system achieved some mechanisation, but it was rather primitive and piecemeal. Mechanisation was mainly powered by animals, wind and water. Its production was dominated by

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hand technology, because it involved the use of manual labour. Cottage industries used simple machines operated by hand. This usually resulted in slow and low production of goods.

The cottage system operated in the putting-out system, which meant that the producer (craftsman or artisan) did not sell, and the seller (merchant) did not produce. Hence, there was no direct participation of producers and sellers in the whole production process as was the case for industrial capitalism. While craftsmen-controlled production, merchants acted as middlemen who facilitated the exchange of commodities. This was quite different from industrial capitalism, whereby the capitalists controlled all processes from production to the selling of goods.

The guild system guided the cottage industries. This system was based on apprenticeship as an entry qualification to specialisation such as craftsmanship. Entering into a specialisation was a very restrictive process, which demanded very serious training. This system was common in towns; hence, under this system, occupational specialisation was strictly by training and experience. The guild system was established to protect and safeguard the interests and rights of a group of certain craftsmen like tailors and weavers.

In the cottage system, industries were locally organised and were usually located at home. The family remained both an economic and social unit. It was a domestic system of production as home life and working life were closely related. Producers tended to use simple technologies to address the needs of people. Thus, this kind of industrial undertaking was simple and financed by a small capital. Most industries were located in the villages and along river valleys. The towns served mainly as commercial centres, which were under a strict guild system. Thus, many industries shifted to villages to escape from the guild restrictions. Likewise, most industries under the cottage system were powered by water and wind power. Water could be easily obtained in the river valleys; hence, industries were located along these river valleys.

Proletarianisation of the producers was a widespread phenomenon preceding the factory production system. Cottage system went hand in hand with proletarianisation of independent producers. Many peasants lost ownership and control of the means of production through the enclosure system. On the other hand, the merchant manufacturers loaned the producers (craftsmen or artisans) who became indebted under the putting-out system. These independent producers were impoverished, and they had no option for livelihood, except to become proletarians. Similar proletarianisation process happened to the impoverished land lords.

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Activity 2.1

Explore online and library resources the British cottage industries then:

(a) Identify the common skills in the cottage industries.

(b) Propose strategies for contemporary policy makers in developing countries to utilise these skills as a means to generate income and uplift the well-being of the marginalised groups.

Transition from cottage to factory system (1750s-1870s)

As noted earlier, before the industrial revolution, the production of goods was done under cottage industries, which were small-scale industries, usually run manually at home. Under this system, the production was slow and inefficient. However, the cottage industries struggled to keep pace with the growing demand due to the increase of population. As a result, producers, entrepreneurs and inventors sought ways to an increase production, which ultimately led to the invention of the factory system in the mid-18th century.

The factory system was a form of manufacturing based on the concentration of industries in specialised and often large establishments. Under this system of industrial production, all operations and production processes were conducted under one roof. The establishment of factories led to the rapid growth of urban centres as people migrated from rural areas to towns in search for employment opportunities in the newly emerging industries. This resulted in the increase of urban population and the creation of densely populated industrial cities. As people moved from rural areas to urban centres to work in factories, rural communities experienced depopulation. This migration contributed to the decline of traditional agrarian lifestyle. The factory system developed first in Britain and later in other Western European states.

From the mid-18th century, the factory system was increasingly associated with industries that were concentrated in towns, an increased mechanisation of industrial processes, especially the use of steam power, and the ownership of factories became concentrated in fewer hands. By the late 18th century, there were significant observable transformations or developments. Production increased through improving production techniques, such as improving labour productivity. Karl Marx calls it "revolution in Department I Industries," which produced consumer goods (goods produced for immediate use).

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Exercise 2.1

1. Compare and contrast the working conditions in cottage industries with those in early factories during the industrial revolution.
2. How did the transition from cottage industries to factories impact the population patterns during the industrial revolution in Britain or Western Europe?

Britain as the first country to industrialise in Europe

Britain was the first country to undergo industrialisation in Europe, and was the first country to experience industrial revolution globally. She had no examples to emulate. Then, a question arises: why did Britain, and not any other country, industrialise first? This question calls for the examination of internal dynamics of industrial development within Britain and the external forces which hastened the whole process of industrialisation. In this regard, we should identify Britain's relative advantage over the other European states. The following were the reasons for British industrialisation.

The first reason was its geographical position. Being an island, Britain was geographically isolated and safer, especially during the wars. While the other European states living close to each other concentrated in fighting, Britain concentrated in production and capital accumulation, which strengthened her economy. Britain accumulated much capital and raw materials from overseas trade and supplied goods to the other European countries that were fighting.

Second, Britain's environment was endowed with plenty of natural resources, such as coal and iron. These essential resources became important for industrialisation. For instance, coal was the most important source of energy. It revolutionised steam power (steam engine), which was very important for industrialisation.

Third, Britain had good harbours, rivers and canals, and a well-developed marine transport system. By the early 19th century (1820s), England had 40 per cent of the world's shipping companies operated by British East India and British West India companies. Through these transport networks, Britain easily obtained raw materials to feed her industries, cheaply transported labourers to the production areas and cheaply transported manufactured goods to the market centres. Other European powers had no such advantages.

Fourth, the agricultural revolution was another reason for British industrialisation in Europe by the mid-18th century. The agrarian transformation took place because of the adoption of the new methods of farming (crop rotation), the use of agricultural machinery (seed drill), new crops (clover; fodders) as well as new animal breeds. All these increased agricultural productions, thereby leading to abundance of raw materials, such as wool, to feed the growing woollen

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industries in Britain. The agricultural revolution increased food production, which made people comfortable and healthy. This led to rapid population growth that acted as labourers and buyers. Through enclosures, the agrarian revolution created labour force that was instrumental in industrial development in Britain. Therefore, under these circumstances, industrialisation was relatively guaranteed in Britain.

Fifth, the re markable success in mercantile trade and commerce largely contributed to the growth of British industries in Europe. From the mid-17th century, Britain accumulated huge capital, which was later invested in industrialisation. Ways such as enslavement (slave trade), plundering (piracy and looting), navigation acts, unequal exchange, colonisation and the enclosure system, were responsible for capital accumulation. For instance, by the 18th century, Britain had the lion's share of the world colonial possessions. She was controlling almost twenty-five per cent of the world colonies. She had colonies in the Caribbean Islands, Australia, Canada and the Americas. In these colonies, she produced raw materials such as sugar, cotton, and tobacco. These were prime movers of British industrialisation. Such colonies also acted as ready-made markets for her manufactured commodities. This assured Britain of super profits through unequal rates of exchange. Thus, by the second half of the 18th century, Britain had accumulated vast amount of wealth, which was invested in the industrial development.

Sixth, a cluster of inventions and innovations was another critical factor for Britain's industrialisation. The inventions and innovations were the impetus for industrialisation because they advanced new machines and production methods. One industrial branch that received enormous development in innovation in the 18th century was the textile industry, especially the spinning sector. A new method of iron extraction was another area that experienced a massive transformation. Between 1783 and 1784, the puddling and rolling method of extracting iron was invented. Coal was also used instead of charcoal in iron smelting. Since coal was a more efficient fuel, iron became cheaper and quicker to produce. Large ironworks were then located in coal fields, which saved forests. The availability of cheap and abundant iron ore stimulated growth in other industries like machine building, shipbuilding, construction, hardware, and agriculture. The steam engine was another important innovation in the second half of the 18th century. It had far-reaching impact on industrialisation without which the industrial revolution could be delayed.

Seventh, the contribution of key individuals, such as James Watt and Richard Arkwright, was another reason for British industrialisation. James Watt, a Scottish engineer and inventor, made important contributions to industrial revolution through his improvements to the steam engine. In the 1760s, he developed a separate condenser that prevented the loss of steam, greatly

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enhancing the efficiency of steam engines. This innovation allowed steam engines to be used in mines and textile industries. Watt's steam engine became the driving force for mechanisation of many industries, revolutionising production processes and contributing to industrial revolution in Britain.

Richard Arkwright, on the other hand, was an English entrepreneur who invented water frame, a spinning machine powered by water. This invention revolutionised textile industries by increasing the speed and efficiency of production. Arkwright's water frame enabled mass production in the textile industries and helped Britain to become a dominant force in the global textile trade. Additionally, Arkwright's factory system, which centralised production in large-scale factories, introduced new methods of organisation and management that became characteristic of industrial capitalism.

Eighth, the government also contributed to the emergence of British industrialisation. It passed favourable trade and economic policies that positively supported a steady growth and stability of the economy. The government practised maximum intervention to its merchants and ensured a peaceful environment for people to do their business effectively. The government strategically protected and promoted the British merchants by removing or charging minimal internal tariffs. For example, the government enacted many laws to protect the merchants and their wealth (trade). The Navigation Acts (also known as Elizabethan laws) of 1651 and 1660 serve as examples of such laws. These were a series of laws passed by the British Parliament between 1651 and 1733 to regulate trade in colonial America. The first Navigation Act was passed in 1651 under Oliver Cromwel. When the monarchy was restored in 1968, the new parliament renewed the earlier acts. However, both Acts declared that only British ships would be allowed to bring goods into Britain, and that the North American colonies could only export their commodities, such as tobacco and sugar, to Britain. The acts enforced the principles of mercantilism, which stated that colonies existed to benefit the mother country's economy. With their government's help, the British merchants freely and comfortably traded domestically and internationally, becoming the most dominant merchants in the mid-17th century. This dominance gave them an added advantage over the other western European states in capital accumulation.

Ninth, the rapid development of financial institutions also accelerated the pace of British industrialisation. From the early 17th century, Britain enjoyed the commendable pace of capital accumulation through primitive accumulation. It was among the first countries to establish and develop very strong financial institutions, such as banks and insurance companies. These institutions were crucial pillars of industrialisation in Britain. Banks such as Barclays provided capital in the form of loans to assist upcoming capitalists in investing and reinvesting in industrial development. Equally significant, insurance companies, like the Lloyd

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Insurance Company, assured and instilled peace of mind and confidence in merchants to invest heavily in industrialisation because insurance covered the security of their capital (assets) and production. Therefore, the development of these institutions was one of the instrumental forces for British industrialisation, contrary to the other European states whose financial institutions were still infant. Other well-developed institutions in England that later became vital to industrialisation were joint-stock and stock (market) exchange companies.

Tenth, the demographic revolution played an important role in the emergence of British industrialisation. In the 18th century, Britain experienced a rapid population growth due to agricultural revolution. Agricultural development guaranteed enough food production and a comfortable life to people. Also, the high population created a high demand for industrially manufactured goods, thus, ensuring a reliable market. It also provided cheap labour to the industries as many town dwellers sought jobs, and others were employed in rural commercial agriculture to produce raw materials. With all these, the industrial revolution was guaranteed in Britain.

Finally, the great success in business ethics and entrepreneurial skills also contributed to the development of British industrialisation. Britain, which had many entrepreneurs with capitalist business ethics and trading skills, developed from their experiences in international trade since the 15th century. These people knew how enterprises could be managed to realise super-profits. In this regard, capitalist ethics and spirits developed earlier in Britain than in other European states. This gave Britain a relative advantage to start a cash nexus, which is the backbone of the capitalistic industrial development. The trend was different from the other states that proceeded with a social nexus of feudal relations for a long time, inhibiting their efforts to achieve industrialisation. With abled entrepreneurs, Britain easily and swiftly entered into industrialisation. These entrepreneurs promoted industrialisation because they had both capital and experience in investment and profit-making in the society.

Exercise 2.2

1. How did Britain's geographical location influence its early industrialisation?
2. Describe the major technological advancements that fueled Britain's industrial revolution.

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Activity 2.2

Study online and library resources on the innovations applied in Britain to promote cottage industries then compose an essay to advise the contemporary policy makers on the ways to promote small-scale industries in Africa.

Industrial revolution and the rise of working-class movements in Britain

From the Marxist point of view, a worker or a proletariat is defined as a person who does not own any means of production, such as factories, machines, land, mines, buildings, or vehicles. He/she survives by selling his/her labour power for wages. A working-class movement is a form of collective consciousness involving a group of workers or wage earners unified with the same interests of opposing exploitation and oppression at their work places, such as industries and farms. The shift towards industrialisation often led to poor living and working conditions, such as overcrowded housing and poor sanitation for the workers in the emerging urban centres.

Moreover, because many unskilled jobs could be performed by women, men, or children, factory wages were driven down to subsistence levels. Therefore, factories were characterised by poor working conditions, long working hours up to 16 hours a day, and low wages. From the early 19th century, these harsh conditions gave rise to working-class movements in which workers struggled to improve their conditions through collective action.

The factory workers' protest

Industrialisation created a new environment for work. During the First Industrial Revolution, the transition from cottage to factory system concentrated workers in big industrial units in emerging industrial towns. The workers were organised into specialised divisions of labour, where they performed only a tiny part of the total labour going into production. At the same time, the instruments of production were concentrated in the hands of a small class of industrial capitalists. The previous "free" workers started working under the threat of economic deprivation during the First Industrial Revolution.

In the early period of industrialisation, the new industrial working class was less organised, except in the traditional industries which had gained experience in the guild system. These workers faced many problems, and they reacted by protesting. Early industrial workers protested in three different ways. Firstly, they used peaceful strikes. This type of protest was very rare. Secondly, they reacted by sending petitions to the King, Parliament, or the Magistrate. This type of protest was an appeal to the traditional authority for solving their grievances. For example, up to 1809, magistrates had the power to fix wages. Usually, this form of protest was unsuccessful. Thirdly,

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they reacted by rioting. The majority of the workers preferred rioting. This was because petitioning did not produce the expected results. At the same time, workers' movements or combinations were in most cases forbidden by law.

Combination laws forbade workers to join together to force employers to pay better wages and improve working conditions. Such laws were passed at different times during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The laws against combinations, groupings, or associations culminated into the General Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800. These Acts made all combinations illegal. Those who acted contrary to these laws were prosecuted and, if convicted, were severely punished. Regarding the pattern of protests, rioters usually attacked persons or the property of their employers. They also attacked their fellow workers who offered to work while others were on strike. There were usually two types of riots: riots aimed at protecting the workers against wage cuts and riots aimed at protecting workers against the threat of new machinery or factory system. Such protests led to machine breaking incidents. Although riots in the 18th century mainly occurred in secrecy, the latter protests manifested themselves openly in the early 19th century. The most famous episode of violent protests was known as Luddism, which is described in the subsequent section.

Luddism or Luddite Movement, 1811-1817

Luddism was the name given to a violent protest movement in England involving a group of workers who secretly organised themselves to destroy manufacturing machines, believing that the machines caused unemployment. In short, the Luddite movement was the widespread machine breaking movement from 1811 to 1817. It was an underground movement whose membership was subject to the administration of oaths. The movement was named after its legendary leader, General Ned Ludd, who signed threatening letters sent to employers and government leaders. In reality, the movement was not unified as workers of different employers or industries fought in isolation. Thus, perhaps many General Ludds were organising different groups of workers in England. If there was one Ludd, the movement would be unified under his leadership. However, it would be very naive to describe the Luddite movement as a blind opposition to machinery. The main issue at stake was the freedom of the capitalists to destroy trade customs. Capitalism destroyed traditional occupation by introducing new machinery, the factory system, lowering wages, and undermining standards of craftsmanship. The new capitalist system angered workers who witnessed many negative dramatic changes.

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Causes of the Luddite movement

There were two causes for the rise of the Luddite movement in England. These were economic depression of 1811-1812 and structural changes in the British economy. To start with the economic depression and its impact on Britain: Luddism was a very active movement during the depression, especially between 1811 and 1812. The economic depression resulted from many events, including the Napoleonic Wars. France imposed Napoleon's Continental System during the wars, which practically blocked British trade with continental Europe. Britain reacted by introducing the British Orders-in-Council, which blocked trade with France and her allies.

There were also the American Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. These two American acts virtually closed the American market to British manufacturers. Thus, all these disrupted the market for British textiles. As a result, the industries of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the Midlands were stagnant. The British textile industry was the most affected sector, negatively affecting the workers whose salaries were lowered. The employers reduced wages and introduced labour-saving devices such as power-looms and shearing frames. These devices economised labour and cheapened its value, seriously offending the working class. Hence, Luddism erupted from the economic difficulties that emerged because of these economising strategies.

Crop failure also contributed to the rise of Luddism. The failure raised the prices of food (bread), which led to the bread crisis. The crisis became even deeper in 1801 when Russian Tsar Paul I imposed embargo on British ships and their crews in his spheres of influence. This embargo meant that the bread scarcity became worse because Britain could not import wheat and flour from the Baltic state, which were substituted as alternative sources during hard times. With the Russian embargo, Britain could not access this area. As a result, the price of bread kept rising from 1801 to 1813. The higher price of bread negatively affected many workers who were paid meagre salaries. Thus, many poor families starved. Under this circumstance, workers organised themselves against the system through the Luddite movement.

The structural changes in the British economy were associated with the rise of a factory system that affected cottage industries. As a result, most of the artisans and craftsmen lost employment. Unemployment caused by the inventions of machines and factories triggered the outbreak of the Luddite movement in Britain. In this regard, human and animal labour was replaced with machines. Thus, many workers were laid off as there were no more employment opportunities in the new industrial system. Such circumstances forced the workers to come up with the Luddite movement to show their discontents with the new machines.

Luddism was also influenced by the intensive exploitation of workers by industrial capitalists. Industrial owners

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concentrated much on profit maximisation at the expense of workers' welfare. With the new capitalist industrial system, workers were exploited in two main ways: they were lowly paid and they were subjected to long working hours. The wages paid were lower than the output they produced in the factories. Besides, workers worked for long hours, ranging from 14 to 16 hours which exhausted them. The workers were not paid for the extra working hours. Such maximum exploitation compelled workers in Britain to rise against the new capitalist industrial system.

Poor living and working conditions contributed to the grievances that forced the Luddites to resist the new industrial system. One of their demands was to go back to their pre-industrial customary life, which was noiseless, clean and safe. These claims were meant to oppose heavy pollution caused by the new factory system. The industrial revolution caused air, water and noise pollution. These had negative impact on the health of workers whose settlements were overcrowded with substandard homes with poor sanitation. All these led to frequent eruption of diseases, such as cholera and dysentery. As a result, the workers demanded the return to their old lifestyle of handlooms.

Organisation of the movement

The organisation of the Luddite movement was rather complex. The movement was highly secretive and organised mainly during the night. Membership into the movement was issued by the administration of an oath. Members took solemn oath to keep the secret about the movement. The Luddites mainly attacked machines using a big hummer called Enoch Taylor. The pattern of attacks went as follows: (a) There were threatening letters signed by General Ludd. These letters were sent to employers as alerts for their calls to make necessary changes, failure to which they were liable to the Luddite attacks. (b) Letters were then followed by the actual breaking of the machines, which was done by small, disciplined groups whose members were armed with clubs, sticks, swords, guns, pistols, hatchets and hammers. The groups moved swiftly and quietly from village to village or from factory to factory at night, destroying the machines.

Strengths of Luddism

In essence, the Luddite agitators systematically smashed machines that were putting handicraft workers into poverty and starvation. The movement mainly happened in the textile industrial towns. The signal for Luddism came first from frame-work knitters in the Midlands. The movement was more evident in the Midlands (Nottingham, Derbyshire and Leicester); South Yorkshire; and Lancashire. Generally, Luddism was not a blind protest. It was not even a form of primitive trade unionism. According to Edward P. Thompson (1963), The Making of the English Working Class, some Luddites were the most articulate

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of the industrious classes. A few had read Adam Smith, a Scottish political economist; and others had studied trade union law. Furthermore, croppers, stockers, and weavers could manage a complex organisation; all had dealings with Parliament via their representatives. Moreover, croppers and shearmen were skilled and privileged workers. They were among the aristocracy of the woollen workers. Weavers and frame-work knitters were out-workers with long artisan traditions.

These workers were aware that their status had been made insecure by the introduction of machines, which could change them overnight from elite into an order of men who were not relevant to the manufacturing industry. They believed that protection against displacement by machinery was their constitutional right. The Luddites smashed only those machines or frames which manufactured under-priced or cut-up works.

Being the first organised and smart workers' movement in Britain, Luddism brought more lessons and consciousness to workers and society. It exposed the evils of capitalist exploitation as the main discontent of workers and how they were supposed to respond to them. In this respect, Luddism laid a foundation for developing other workers' movements, such as Trade Unionism, Chartism and New Model Trade Unionism. It also provided an early methods of class consciousness to deal with exploitation under capitalism. Therefore, the legacy of Luddism has remained essential in the history of working-class movements in Britain and the world at large.

Despite its achievements, Luddism had several inherent weaknesses, which contributed to its failures.

The Luddite movement lacked an effective leader. The movement had no single unified leadership. Even the purported leader, General Ned Ludd, has never been proven to have led the movement. It seemed there were many unknown Ludds. Available evidence does not suggest the presence of a unitary leadership of the movement. In this regard, the movement was in most cases directionless because it lacked a strong leader with a well-defined philosophy and ideology. This was one of the major weaknesses which contributed to the failure of the movement.

The movement also failed since most Luddites were poor. What they earned was a minimum wage to support their daily survival. This financial constraint made them fail to manage and finance their activities in good order; thus, weakening the movement to a total failure.

Another weakness was ineffectiveness and a lack of consistency. The movement was not consistent because sometimes the Luddites were active, especially when the economic crisis erupted. When the wages and working conditions were somewhat improved, they stopped their movement. This weakened the movement because it lacked continuity and cohesiveness. The limited scope of the Luddite movement laid a foundation for its failure. The movement was done in isolation. It was

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localised and restricted to certain areas with many factories, such as Lancashire, the Midlands and South Yorkshire. It was not nationwide. To other workers, it seemed like it was none of their business because it concentrated only in the textile industrial towns. Because the movement involved a few labourers who reacted against their employers in isolation, the government would easily contain them.

The government repression also contributed to the failure of Luddism in England. The government acted against the movement so repressively and oppressively. It stood with the capitalists and perceived the Luddite movement as a crime against the state and private property, hence dangerous to the British economy. Thus, those who were found and caught organising the movement were severely punished by the government. For instance, in 1812, the government passed a law that made the breaking of machines a capital felony. Such repressive punishments weakened the movement; thus, it was bound to fail.

Luddism was conducted by workers who lacked enough experience in organising mass protest movements. That means, they had low level of class consciousness. For instance, the Luddites failed to unite against a common cause because the minimal level of consciousness affected their unity. Thus, only workers of the same factory or occupation rose against their employer. Disunity, therefore, became one of the major stumbling blocks in organising a strong working-class movement.

Luddites looked backwards to old customs and paternalistic legislation, which could never be revived. The movement wanted the revival of pre-industrial customary life. They wanted the old technology which was under the cottage system to prevail. This was largely impossible because they were fighting against time and the reality of progress.

Exercise 2.3

What lessons can we learn from the Luddite movement?

Chartism or the Chartist Movement, 1830s-1850s

Chartism was a nationwide working-class movement that agitated parliament reforms to achieve the socio-political demands of industrial workers in Britain. The chartists aimed at gaining political rights and influence for the working classes. The movement got its name from the People's Charter that listed the six political demands. Such political demands were universal manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by secret ballot, annually elected parliaments, and payment for members of parliament. It was the first movement to be both working class in character and national in scope. It grew out of protests against the injustices of the new industrial and political order in Britain. The development of this movement can be summarised into three broad phases:

(a) The formative phase of Chartism, 1829-1837: This was a period when

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the ground was being laid for the movements before it assumed a mass national character;

(b) The popular phase of Chartism, 1838-1842: This was a period when the movement assumed a national character and came into direct confrontation with the might of the ruling class; and

(c) The decline and disintegration of Chartism, 1843-1850: The movement lost its cohesiveness. However, there were some episodes in this period when Chartism once again resumed its mass national character. However, these were essentially insignificant.

Chartists used the Northern Star published in Britain between 1837 and 1852. It was best-known for advancing the reform issues articulated by proprietor Feargus O'Connor. The paper led a campaign in support of the working class which suffered economically due to the introduction of new technology and falling wages, especially for handloom weavers. In 1838, the Northern Star circulated 10,000 copies, and by summer 1839 the number had increased to 50,000 copies. This enabled Feargus O'Connor to make a personal profit of £13,000 by the end of 1839. The Newspaper was the second largest circulation compared to the other British newspapers at that time. This means, more Chartists were informed about the progress and direction of the struggle.

Strategies of the Chartist Movement

The Chartist movement used various strategies to present its demands and interests to the government. The most common strategy was to submit petitions to the Parliament. The Chartists presented three petitions to the Parliament in the course of their struggle, and all of them were summarily rejected. The first petition was presented to the Parliament in June 1839 with over 1.25 million signatures. The second petition was presented in May 1842, signed by over three million people. In April 1848, a third and final petition was presented. Besides the petitions, the movement also used riots, such as the riot of 1839 in Birmingham, which pressed the government to accept the petition. Furthermore, strikes and demonstrations, national conventions, newspapers (the Northern Star), and pamphlets were used to awaken workers to demand their rights and welfare. The Land Plan Project was also used to enrich the workers to become independent from the capitalist tentacles of exploitation. This project began in the mid-1840s, and failed in the 1850s.

Causes of the Chartist Movement

The Chartist movement was a product of many causes and discontents. The first cause of Chartism was the impact of the British Reform Act of 1832. In the 2-year campaign for the Reform Bill, from 1830, workers collaborated with the Whig Party, which represented the interests of the rising industrial bourgeoisie (middle class) against the Tory Party, which represented old feudal interests based on

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landed gentry. The industrial bourgeoisie was still largely excluded in the Parliament and, therefore, had no political power to match their rising economic power. During the agitation, the middle class drafted the working-class crowds to frighten the old ruling class. For instance, they campaigned for the abolition of rotten boroughs (constituencies that could elect a member of parliament despite having very few voters, the election was typically in the hands of one person or family) and extension of the voting rights to all people with property. Indeed, the Reform Act of 1832 increased the political power and influence of the middle classes on decision-making bodies. However, after the Reform Act, the working class felt betrayed by the bourgeoisie because nothing changed in their part. For example, the bourgeoisie still suppressed trade unionism and the working-class press. They also refused to repeal the Newspaper Stamp Act of 1819. The newspaper had been paying stamp duty, despite O›Connor›s protests that the tax restricted free speech for the working classes. O›Connor used the paper to help propagate the essence of the movement, to achieve reform ideas of the People's Charter. In this regard, the working class conducted their independent movement against the industrial capitalist system, which was both exploitative and oppressive. This marked the beginning of the independent working-class movement called Chartism.

The New Poor Law was another important cause of the Chartist movement. This law stemmed from the amendment of the Old Poor Law in 1834. The New Poor Law oppressed and humiliated the poor, who were mainly factory workers. This is because the Old Poor Law, passed in 1597 and 1601 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, gave authority to parishes to charge rates to raise money for relieving the poor. Under this law, the parishes could relieve the poor according to the local circumstances. However, the amended law responded to the needs of the capitalists (middle class) who complained that the poor relief was too lavish. This extravagance, they argued, encouraged the poor to remain idle. To them, poverty (unemployment) resulted from working-class laziness. Thus, they advocated for a less generous poor law to combat working-class idleness.

Consequently, the law was amended in 1834. The New Poor Law came up with unfriendly provisions for the poor. For example, the new law repealed the mandate that parishes could provide relief to the poor. It also created a workhouse test for all able-bodied paupers. That is, outdoor relief for able-bodied paupers was abolished. They had to go into a workhouse where families were separated. The workhouses were hated by working men; they were nicknamed 'prison.' Lastly, it introduced the principles of 'less eligibility and deterrence.' The amount of relief given was to be less than the lowest wage offered in the labour market. The idea was to deter people from seeking relief before they sought work. It was based on the wrong belief that those who

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sought relief were lazy. The working class generally hated the law. For example, when the law was introduced in the North in 1837, the protest was intensely carried by public demonstrations, riots, petitions and anti-Poor Law literature. This was common to most British towns from the mid-1830s. These protests gave rise to the Chartist movement in Britain. When the economic depressions started late in 1836, the feelings of this aggrieved working class were further aggravated. Amidst this atmosphere of discontent and alienation, the British working-class organised themselves, at both local and national levels, the organisation called Chartism.

Protectionist policies, such as the Corn Law of 1815, also triggered the rise of the Chartist movement in Britain. The government passed the Corn Law of 1815 under the Tory Prime Minister Lord Liverpool. It aimed at protecting the internal market to the advantage of bourgeois production. The tariffs and trade policy of the time restricted the importation of cereal grains of wheat, oats and barley from outside countries notably France.

Apart from the Corn Law of 1815, the British Parliament also passed other Corn Laws with the aim of restricting the importation of food between 1815 and 1846. The corn laws were designed to keep grain prices high in favour of the British domestic producers and thus represented British capitalism. Accordingly, the shortage of food and high prices of foodstuffs resulted in economic depression in Britain. It also increased the unemployment level, which intensified hardship for the workers and led to the Chartist movement. Due to the rising prices of food, the working class found itself in living difficulties as they failed to afford the rising prices of food.

Additionally, Chartism was caused by the coercive and oppressive nature of the state against workers in Britain. The government strongly supported industrial owners at the expense of the welfare of the working class. Thus, it suppressed all the workers' efforts to struggle for their rights. The government enacted laws that suppressed trade unions and imprisoned all those who were leading the unions and movements. Workers became discontented with the situation.

Lastly, low wages and poor working conditions largely influenced the rise of Chartism in Britain. During the industrial revolution, workers were given low wages. The working conditions were very poor and workers worked hard for long hours. They became frustrated by the situation thus, they organised themselves and presented charters to the government to seek for the opportunity to enter into parliament and improve the workers' remuneration rates.

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Activity 2.3

Study online and library resources on the Luddite and Chartist movements then:

(a) Identify the common grievances for the two movements

(b) State how Luddite and Chartist grievances differ from the contemporary worker's grievances.

(c) Compose an essay on lessons which contemporary trade unions can draw from Luddism and Chartism to address current labour challenges.

The Chartist programmes for political reforms

By 1835, the establishment of workers' organisations in London and the northern industrial districts inspired radical associations to struggle for the workers' affairs in Britain. The leading individual behind these associations was an Irish man, Feargus O'Connor, who was extremely radical. In 1836, the London Working Men's Association (LWMA) was formed, and William Lovett became the Secretary of the association. Most members of these associations were skilled artisans. They worked in close collaboration with the radical members of the Parliament.

In April 1837, the Birmingham Political Union (BPU) was revived. It was under the leadership of Thomas Attwood, a banker who had plans for currency freedom as a solution to the country's economic problems. However, the issue of political reform soon gained momentum. Both the LWMA and the BPU drew up programmes for parliamentary reforms, which were promoted in a nationwide campaign. There were six programmes for political reforms:

Universal manhood suffrage: Chartism struggled for all men to have the right to vote. Thus, Chartism demanded for universal manhood suffrage that would allow all adult males above 21 years to vote and be voted for in the national assembly (parliament).

Equal electoral districts: The Chartists campaigned for equal size of electoral districts or popularly known as borough (constituencies) because the workers wanted to have equal representation in the Parliament.

Vote by secret ballot: The popular voting system in Britain and Europe at large was by open ballot. This system was intimidating and limited democracy to voters. Thus, the Chartists demanded secret voting to achieve free and fair elections.

Annual Parliamentary Elections: The Chartists campaigned for annual parliamentary elections as opposed to five years' duration. This aimed at raising accountability and responsibility to Member of Parliament. To them, the five-year term encouraged unaccountability and irresponsibility.

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Abolition of property qualification: Poor people, most of them industrial workers, were not allowed to vote and to be voted for. Only the capitalists had the right to vote and be voted for because they owned property as an essential qualification. Thus, the Chartists wanted the abolition of property qualification for a person to vote or be voted for. The prevailed arrangement denied workers' the right to participate in politics since many workers, if not all, did not own any property.

The payment of Members of Parliament: The Chartists campaigned for payment of the Members of Parliament because, by then, British Members of Parliament were not paid salaries. This is partly, because most of them were rich, middle-class capitalists and landed aristocracy who had cash and were self-sufficient. Workers found this as a big problem. If they were admitted to parliament, they would fail to attend the sessions for a lack money. Thus, they campaigned for the payment of the Members of the Parliament.

Significance of Chartism

Chartism was indeed an expression of consciousness among the British working-class because it went beyond narrow and short-term achievements, which is a characteristic of a trade union or working-class consciousness. The Chartists had their eyes on parliament, which was the seat of bourgeois political power. The Chartists correctly pointed out that the bourgeois monopoly of political power enabled them to exploit the working class. The movement exposed that Britain was a bourgeois state promoting capitalist interests. Law (or political power) protected private property, but not labour. According to the Chartists, the only way to end the exploitation of the working class was to end the bourgeois monopoly of power in the parliament.

The Chartists' demands were important, and they were later implemented in the parliamentary reforms. By the 1850s, Members of Parliament in Britain admitted that further reforms were inevitable. Further Reform Acts such as manhood suffrage were passed in 1867 and 1884. By 1918, five of the six Chartist demands had been achieved, only the provision that parliamentary elections be held every year was never fulfilled. This was a great success for the working class. It gave them a new hope that they would have representatives in the parliament, and that their problems would be addressed. Indeed, they formed their political party (Labour Party) in the early 20th century, which later managed to have representation in the Parliament and even took state power.

Weaknesses and failure of Chartism

After more than a decade, the movement lost its cohesiveness. The Chartist popular phase lasted for not more than four years. The movement suffered several weaknesses, which caused its total decline.

Membership and organisation problems: during the Chartist period, the development level of the productive forces was mixed between the old and the new forms of industry. This mix

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was reflected in the diverse nature and composition of the Chartist membership. Those in old decaying trades were more militant than those in the new factories. While old trades had long traditions of organisation, especially craftsmen, others did not. Thus, there was always a conflict of values and methods between the violent and moderate groups. In short, the movement split between militant members, on the one hand, and moderate members, on the other.

Leadership problems: one obvious problem with the Chartist leadership was the lack of unity. Thus, bitter quarrels and personality clashes were quite common. The radical and militant Chartists were led by Fergus O'Connor, while the moderate Chartists who favoured collaboration and round-table discussion were under William Lovett. This problem frequently caused hot deliberations in the national conventions, which ended up with undecided issues and frequent withdrawals of the moderates from the conventions. This split among the leadership affected the membership as well.

Unclear ideology: although the Chartists grasped the realities of political power, they did not indicate how the capture of parliament would end their exploitation. There was no reference to the abolition of the wage system or the working-class annexation of the means of production. No theory of socialism could clearly suggest a revolution led by the proletariat over the capitalist system. The sanctity of the parliament as an institution was also not questioned. The Chartists sought admission into the corridors of power to share it with the bourgeoisie. They did not seek the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, Chartism was a phase in the quest for the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, which started in the 17th century.

Poor economic base: The Chartist movement was also affected by financial constraints to facilitate its projects, campaigns, or programmes. The movement failed to successfully finance its Land Plan Project, which mainly survived by O'Connor's fortunes. The same was experienced in preparing some publications. The movement depended on O'Connor's newspaper, The Northern Star, which was later sold because of financial problems. The movement was running through charitable contributions from poor workers. Therefore, they could hardly contribute a large sum of money as most of them were paid low wages. This lack of funds led to the failure of various Chartist activities and programmes. For example, in 1839, when Parliament rejected the petition, the Chartists had a plan to have a month-long boycott called "Holy Month." However, this plan was unsuccessful because they had no funds to support them during the strike.

Government manoeuvre through oppressive and repressive actions: the government purposely suppressed many Chartists' activities. For example, in the last National Convention of April 1848 held in London, the Chartists decided to present the National Petition to the

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Parliament once again. The plan was to start with a public meeting at Kennington Common and take the petition across the River Thames to the Parliament in a large procession. The idea was to have the whole crowd present the petition to the Parliament. The government viewed this as a threat to peace. It marshalled military forces of the strength of 170,000 to block the crossing of the Thames. The crowd assembled, and militant speeches were delivered. However, owing to the presence of the military, the march was called off. Therefore, the plan failed, and O'Connor advised the crowd to disperse and personally took the petition to Parliament in a taxi. The government also imprisoned Chartist leaders to threaten and weaken the Chartists' efforts to wage struggles against the system.

Trade Unionism and the New Model Trade Unionism (1850s-1870s)

A trade union is an association of workers in the same profession or industry with common interests and needs. Trade unions are formed in organisations and working places to improve workers' welfare such as wages, working conditions, housing conditions, and reducing working hours. They also aimed at reducing exploitation of workers by their employers. In the mid-1830s, especially with the collapse of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, trade unionism gave way to political radicalism and Chartism at the national level.

However, in the 1840s, Britain witnessed the rebirth of unionism. Many national unions emerged when Chartism began to decline. National unions arose among potters, cotton spinners, printers, miners, and flint glassmakers. This tendency continued until the 1850s when a new form of trade union emerged. So, the 1850s saw the consolidation of the reactivated trade union movement, consisting of the "new model unions." The landmark in this development came in 1851, with the formation of the "Amalgamated Society of Engineers" (ASE) under the Secretary-General, William Allan. Its headquarters was at Peckham in London. The ASE was a major British trade union, representing factory workers and mechanics. It consisted of engineers, machine operators, smiths, millwrights and pattern-makers. The ASE was dissolved in 1920.

The constitution of the engineers' union was taken as a model, copied by other 'amalgamated societies' of skilled workmen. Between 1852 and 1875, amalgamated societies of carpenters, iron founders, tailors, and compositors were formed. The British working-class organisations were now in the form of new model trade unions. These unions were new not only in their structure but also in their modes of operation.

Characteristics of the New Model Trade Unionism

New Model Trade Unions were national craft unions that intended to be centrally controlled, unlike the earlier unions that were mainly local in scope and organisation. These unions were national in scope; for instance, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers accommodated all engineers in Britain.

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The gap between the labour aristocracy and the unskilled labour was widening. There was no basis for a unified action. The highly skilled labourers wanted a new form of union which could accommodate their needs and interests, which were quite different from the needs and interests of the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Thus, the new model fitted the highly skilled workmen only.

Also, the mid-Victorian economic prosperity diverted many unions from the pursuit of social revolution. Instead, they indulged in opportunism, trying to get as much as possible from the system. The economic prosperity of the mid-1850s reduced unnecessary frictions between workers and employers because wages were raised, working conditions were improved, and high profits were realised. Hence, a new form of labour organisation was needed to fit with this unprecedented economic growth.

Lastly, the failure of Chartism invalidated mass politics in Britain. By the 1850s, mass political campaigns through demonstrations and strikes yielded minimal success that culminated to the failure and collapse of Chartism. Therefore, a sober and quiet organisation at the trade level was then preferred. The New Model Trade Unionism became an alternative to agitative mass political campaigns.

The significance of the New Model Trade Unionism

The New Model Trade Unionism was essential as it changed workers' conditions and attitudes. The workers managed to bargain with their employers on terms of the jobs, wages, working conditions and working hours. The trade unions improved the conditions of workers in Britain in the sense that workers achieved their rights through non-violent means.

The New Model Trade Unions pointed the way towards awareness and consciousness for workers. The stable trade unions made deliberate efforts to educate workers on their rights and the proper ways of demanding such rights. The working class became confident in demanding their rights as workers' problems could be resolved through constitutional means. Trade unionism acquired government recognition, unlike Luddism and Chartism. This helped the workers to do their activities more comfortably and freely.

Trade unions raised large funds from the entrance fee and annual subscription. The funds accumulated were properly managed, and helped members to run their activities smoothly such as providing education to their fellow workers and assistance to the sick and members who lost employment. Their financial strength helped them to become stronger and to improve the workers' conditions and living standards.

The importance of trade unions was also vividly seen in their influence on the rise of the Labour Representation Committee (LRC), a base of workers' political party. It planted the idea of professionalism. In this regard, workers achieved their political and economic rights. The New

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Model Trade Unionism had a clear constitution that guided the actions of the workers. It had permanent members with strong solidarity that laid a foundation for the establishment of the British Labour Party.

Weaknesses of the New Model Trade Unionism

Their importance aside, the New Model Trade Unions had several weaknesses. For instance, they accommodated only skilled and semi-skilled labourers while isolating unskilled labourers who were the majority. Moreover, they mainly focused on the economic interests of workers and gave little consideration to other issues, especially social and political welfare. In other words, the New Model Trade Unions were opportunistic. Furthermore, their reliance on peaceful means of struggle in many instances delayed the attainment of the intended goals. However, a few incidences of violent methods, such as strikes and demonstrations, were used. Lastly, this form of labour organisation suited mostly in the stable economic system with high economic prosperity. It could not work in other situations, such as in economic crises. For example, from 1873, New Model Trade Unions lost their relevance and power due to the economic depression, giving way to the formation of the Unskilled General Unionism.

Exercise 2.4

1. What were the distinguishing features of the New Model Trade Unionism in Britain?
2. What lessons can contemporary trade unions learn from the British New Model Trade Unionism?

The second phase of the industrial revolution (1840s-1870s)

The second industrial revolution, which took place between the 1840s and 1870s, marked the second phase of European industrialisation especially in Britain. During this period, European industrialisation moved from simple to complex and sophisticated industrial technologies. Thus, the second industrial revolution laid the ground for the modern industrialised world, characterised by rapid technological advancements, global economic expansion, and social change. Figure 2.2 shows an example of innovation in the second phase of industrial revolution.

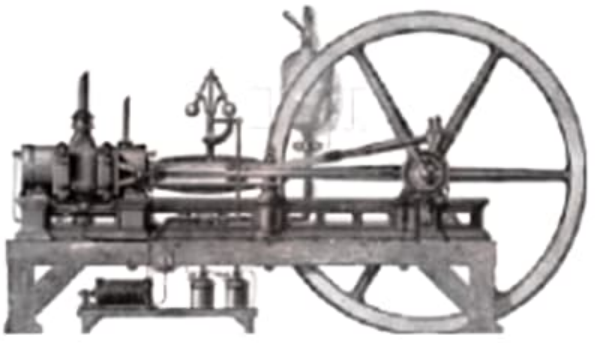

Figure 2.2: *Internal-combustion engine as innovation in the second phase of industrial revolution*

Source: *https://cdn.britannica.com/12/133012-050-97644BCF/engine-coal-gas-illustration-air- 1896.jpg*

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Features of the second industrial revolution

The second industrial revolution, spanning from around the 1840s to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, marked a significant departure from the older phase of industrialisation with a prominent role played by "pure" science in industrial development. This period witnessed an unprecedented collaboration among scientists, entrepreneurs, and state officials, driving innovations in industries such as steel, chemicals, and electricity, as opposed to the first phase of industrial revolution, which saw textiles, iron, and coal dominating. This period shifted industrial leadership from Britain and France to other countries such as Belgium, Italy, Germany, and the USA.

Additionally, there was integration of scientific knowledge into industry, facilitated by institutions sponsored by states and universities. These institutions focused on the practical application of sciences like electricity and chemistry, leading to transformative advancements in manufacturing techniques. Technical education became widespread, enabling the breakdown of production processes through the division of labour and the development of machines that replaced or enhanced human labour. Advancements in transportation featured the second industrial revolution, with railroads, steamships, canals, and turnpikes shrinking the world and facilitating global trade and communication. This period also witnessed the expanding influence of the western industrial nations, as their political powers extended across Africa and Asia.

Capital investment from Britain and France fuelled industrialisation in other nations, with governments investing in economic development through infrastructure and education. Unlike the initial era that was increasingly characterised by free trade marked by the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty in 1860, this period was interrupted by the economic depression in 1873, leading to the re-emergence of trade barriers. However, with the return of economic prosperity toward the end of the century, trade barriers started to decline once again, although with variations.

Comparing British Industrial Revolution with Belgium, France, Germany and the USA

The first phase of the industrial revolution was primarily confined to Britain. In order to continue enjoying the benefits of the industrial revolution, Britain protected her technology by prohibiting the export of machinery, skilled workers, and production technologies. However, some British entrepreneurs saw profitable industrial opportunities overseas. At the same time, other western European countries were attracted to the British achievements and, therefore, were motivated to get the British technologies for them to industrialise as well. Thus, various strategies were used to acquire British technology. The subsequent paragraphs explain how industrial revolution spread to other European countries and the USA. Figure 2.1 shows the spread of the industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century.

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Figure 2.3: *The spread of industrial revolution in Europe in the 19th century*

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc./Kenny Chmielowski*

Studies show that British scientist, John Cockerill, brought industrial revolution into existence in Belgium. This scientist developed machine shops at Liège around the early 19th century, which became the focal point of Belgian industrialisation. Thus, Belgium became the second country after Britain to undergo industrial revolution in Europe. Like her predecessor (Britain), Belgian industrialisation was centred on iron, coal, and textiles.

In France, the industrialisation process was slower than in either Britain or Belgium. While Britain was industrialising, France was still in the political revolution and later the Napoleonic wars, which caused unfavourable conditions for industrial development. The chaotic situation in France discouraged significant investments in industrial innovation. France also had a weaker bourgeois class which could not stand alone even in the revolution. Hence, they sought the assistance of peasants and other classes. This collaboration slowed the capitalist speed in industrialisation because they had to accommodate some peasants' needs even after the revolution. This was quite different from Britain, where the class of capitalists was so strong and stood firm to industrialise the country. However, by 1848, France had become the industrial power. Despite, the notable growth under the Second Empire, France remained behind Britain.

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In Germany, industrial revolution came much later because the country was still divided into many smaller states until 1871. This condition hindered Germany from industrial development. Thus, despite her vast coal and iron resources, Germany did not begin industrial development until 1871 when national unification was achieved. However, a smooth transition from feudalism to capitalism contributed to a rapid industrial growth in Germany after the unification.

Unlike Britain and France, which attained industrial revolution after political revolutions, the German landed gentry, called Junkers, prepared a conducive environment for the emerging capitalists to take over by supporting them financially and politically. Thus, after the unification, German capitalists started without any uncertain political condition which was an added advantage to the German industrial development. Interestingly, after the unification, Germany's industrial production grew so rapidly. By the 1890's, Germany had surpassed Britain in steel production and had also become the world leader in heavy chemical industries. During the same period, German companies transformed themselves into bigger monopolies in the form of cartels and trusts. Thus, by the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Germany had become one of the major industrial powers in the world, competing mainly with the USA.

Industrialisation in the USA also came late partly because it never experienced feudal relations, which were the basis of transformation in Western Europe. Thus, the country had no rich feudal lords who could transform themselves into capitalists, as was the case in Britain. It was not until the second half of the 19th century, especially after the American Civil War (1861-1865) when the USA began to experience rapid industrialisation. The war enriched the first generation of American capitalists, such as John D. Rockefeller who owned Standard Oil Company (1870), J. P. Morgan and his US Steel (1901), Cornelius Vanderbilt and his American shipping and railroad Company (1860s/1870s), who led the process of rapid industrialisation. Thus, although the USA was a late comer in industrialisation compared to Britain, Belgium and Germany, she underwent transformation from competitive to monopoly capitalism in the late 1890s. Western Europe had already undergone monopoly capitalism from the 1870s.

Moreover, the resources available, such as land, water, coal and iron ore plus a big territory which was a result of the union of American states (formerly the thirteen British American colonies) were the added advantages for American industrialisation. The immigrants who made America their home also contributed to the America's industrial development. For example, among the immigrants were some Europeans who were attracted to the United States by the idea of profit maximisation, especially British immigrants who formed about a half of the managers and machine-makers in the USA in the 19th century. These immigrants became instrumental in developing industries in the United States. Their presence positively changed the USA towards industrialisation. Thus, by the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, the USA had become the

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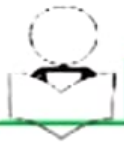
most powerful industrial power in some sectors, especially in labour productivity, machinery production, electrical engineering and chemical industry, even surpassing Britain.

Exercise 2.5

Why did the traditional industrial system in Africa not transform into the factory system as was the case in Western Europe?

Impact of industrial revolution

In essence, industrialisation gave birth to competitive capitalism. This is because industrialisation led to the complete decline of the agrarian-based feudal relations, which were replaced with urban-based industrial relations in the 19th century. In particular, industrial revolution facilitated a great shift from an agrarian society to industrial or modern society.



Activity 2.5

Read online and library resources on the impact of industrial revolution, then compose an essay suggesting the ways contemporary societies can cope with the impact of modern industrialisation.

Industrial revolution in Western Europe and the USA led to a dramatic expansion of the financial sector, which helped in the rise of industrial capitalism. Banks had previously served as warehouses for valuables, clearing houses for long-distance trade, or lenders to the nobles and governments, and agents of payments. During the industrial capitalism, they served the needs of everyday commerce and the intermediation of credit for large and long-term investment projects. This changing role of banking institutions promoted the development of industrial capitalism in Western Europe and the USA in the 19th century.

With industrial revolutions in Europe and the USA, the policy of colonial expansion became more visible and gained more strength in the late 19th century. Industrial Revolution created a growing market demand for manufactured goods. Likewise, the need for cheap raw materials increased. The areas to invest surplus capital were also highly needed. This forced the European industrial powers to acquire colonies in politically and militarily weak states of Asia and Africa. These colonies provided a good opportunity for the investment of surplus capital. Besides, Asia and Africa were endowed with natural resources, and had huge potential populations to absorb industrial finished goods. The colonial policy formulated from industrial development led to the further development of capitalism into competitive capitalism.

Moreover, Industrial Revolution led to the abolition of slavery and slave trade and the introduction of 'legitimate trade' in Africa. That trade facilitated the exploitation of the African natural resources such as rubber, palm oil, and coconut, which were used to make oil for lubricating machines in Europe. Asia and Latin America supplied a lot of agricultural and natural resources to

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Europe and the USA which also led to further development of industries, giving rise to competitive capitalism in both regions.

Industrial revolution in Europe led to the emergence of new social classes. As industrialisation was gaining momentum, wealth was increasingly concentrated into the hands of a few capitalists. Thus, industrialisation created new social classes, namely the owners of industrial capital, known as the capitalists or bourgeoisie, and the producers who sold their labour-power, known as the workers or proletariats. On the one hand, the factory owners (capitalists) employed workers and paid them wages. They also controlled the sale of goods to make super-profits. On the other hand, the factory workers lived in misery due to the exploitation of their labour power. This kind of production relations was instrumental in strengthening and stabilising competitive capitalism among the western powers.

Industrial revolution transformed the work experience of factory workers, which led to social consequences. The traditional work experience was disrupted by the fast-paced nature of factory life. Machines operated quickly, and employers emphasised hard work as crucial. New factory rules enforced strict regulations, including punctuality, steady and fast work pace, and limitations on socialising. Thus, restructuring of work habits aimed at imposing an unfamiliar sense of time and coordination and management of factory workers.

Additionally, the development of factory supervision reflected the struggle to reshape the labour force. Initially, supervision was decentralised, with skilled workers hiring their own assistants. However, this decentralised system was gradually replaced by a more formal direction and the introduction of foremen. Foremen were tasked with hiring, firing, maintaining proper work discipline, and representing management interests. This marked a significant shift as workers were subjected to daily control by supervisors, changing the traditional work autonomy.

There was a stiff competition among industrial nations in the quest to consolidate industrial production and realise super profits. In the 1870s, other nations started to challenge Britain's industrialisation which was also industrialising rapidly. These were Germany, Japan, Belgium, France, Italy, and the USA. The centre of wealth and power was transferred from the former industrial nations to newly industrialising nations. The transfer was necessitated by competition in production and demand.

Industrial revolution brought technological changes in Europe and a new system of production. These changes destroyed the traditional lifestyle and brought a modern industrial life whereby the largest population came to live in urban centres, depending on industrial production and wages for survival.

It also promoted free trade as a means of expanding the market and sources of raw materials overseas. Such trade permitted transportation of goods and commodities without economic barriers or tariffs.

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The trade influenced the production of large quantities of goods for markets outside Europe, leading to competition. It was during this period when laissez faire economy replaced protectionism that dominated European mercantilism. The basic principle of laissez faire was that markets should naturally be competitive. The doctrine of laissez faire became an integral part of 19th century European liberalism. Liberals championed the principles of free trade and free competition in the sphere of economics, seeing the state as merely a passive policeman, protecting private property and administering justice, but not interfering with the affairs of its citizens. Liberals also supported freedom of thought in the intellectual sphere. British industrialists and businessmen quickly associated these principles with their own economic interests.

Military revolution among the European nations was necessary to protect their industrial gains. Strong and powerful military arsenals were manufactured, leading to greater competition as other European nations also started to import them.

The rise of industrial revolution divided the European society into wealthy industrialists who controlled states through political revolutions of the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries and poor working class. The functions of governments were to protect private property and international boundaries against any threats from within or outside the respective states. It was this period that Europe witnessed the replacement of cavalry by navy, infantry, and air forces. There were also changes in the size of armies, administration, and management of armies, and the type of weapons that were more effective, devastating and efficient in battles. The military science was also developed. Thus, in the 19th and 20th centuries, military innovations played a major role in imperial expansion in Africa, Asia, and the Far East.

Exercise 2.6

You are given an opportunity to advise the government on how to develop industries in Tanzania. Use the knowledge gained from this chapter to advise the government on how to promote industrialisation.

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Revision exercise 2

1. With examples, compare the British industrial revolution to that in Belgium, Germany, France and the USA, between the 1840s and 1870s.
2. How did the invention of the spinning jenny revolutionise textile industries during the first phase of industrial revolution in Britain?
3. With examples, account for the transition from cottage to factory system.
4. Relate the growth of the factory system to the rise of working-class consciousness in Britain.
5. Explain why Britain was the first country to industrialise in Europe.
6. Discuss the way workers struggled against capitalism in the period from the early 1800s to the 1870s.
7. How did the bourgeois government in Britain react to the six Chartist demands?
8. Show the connection between Chartism and Labour Party in Britain.
9. Assess the significance of Trade Unionism in Europe.
10. Discuss the contribution of electricity in pushing innovation and industrial growth during the second phase of industrial revolution.
11. Assess the impact of James Watt's steam engine on the first phase of industrial revolution.

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Chapter Three

Industrial revolutions in the 20th and 21st centuries

Introduction

In a modern society, people travel and transport goods with planes that move fast. They also produce goods with the help of computers and robots. These advances are the products of a long history of industrial revolutions. In this chapter, you will learn about the industrial revolutions of the 20th century in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as well as changes and continuities between the industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries and those of the 20th and 21st centuries. Moreover, you will learn about industrial development in Africa since the 1960s and lessons, which African countries can learn from the 19th, 20th and 21st industrial revolutions. The competencies developed will enable you to appreciate the history of industrial revolution in different parts of the world. You will also be able to suggest solutions to the current African industrial challenges.

Think

Relationship between lifelong learning and technological change

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Background to industrial revolutions in the 20th and 21st centuries

Industrial revolutions are classified into four phases. The first industrial revolution (1760s-1840s), the second industrial revolution (1870s-1910s), the third industrial revolution (1970s-late 1980s), and the fourth industrial revolution (late 1990s to the present). Given that the first and second industrial revolutions have been covered in the previous chapter, it is now important to elaborate on the third and fourth revolutions in this chapter.

The Third Industrial Revolution

The Third Industrial Revolution can be understood as a series of technological inventions which positively affected production and distribution methods in industrial states, and those inventions brought about phenomenal changes in the world economy during the 1970s and 1980s. These inventions led to a marked increase in productivity, focusing on four areas of scientific development namely information technology, biotechnology, telecommunications, and energy

engineering. The countries that led this kind of industrial revolution were the United States (US), Japan, Germany, and the United Kingdom (UK).

In the Third Industrial Revolution, there was a change in the organisation of production. Multinational corporations or companies fused administration, production and marketing tasks, whereby large corporations were established. Likewise, the development of technology led to increased levels in productivity based on process automation and the introduction of information technology into business structures. These changes impacted the relationship between the organisation of capital and labour and, as a result, the relationship between the economy and the state. During the 1970s, a number of countries such as the UK and the US gradually began to replace the political model of the welfare state with the liberal state.

Significantly, historians and other experts nicked named this period as information and knowledge society because they believed that the transformations brought by the Third Industrial Revolution laid the foundations for a new kind of society worldwide influenced by the information and knowledge.

Features of the Third Industrial Revolution

There are many features of the Third Industrial Revolution, however the following are the major ones: first, the Third Industrial Revolution was characterised by the introduction of information technology as the major means of information processing in industries and businesses. Second, the revolution was associated with the rise of productivity as a result of the integration of information technology with telecommunications in production processes. Third, the revolution was characterised by the development of multinational corporations that concentrated activities connected with management, production, and trade across the various economic sectors. Fourth, the revolution was associated with the technological advancement in four main areas namely information technology, biotechnology, telecommunications, and energy engineering. Fifth, the Third Industrial Revolution used new materials for industrial production and worked on searching new energy sources such nuclear energy (uranium); gas to replace oil and to generate electricity. Sixth, as the result of improved communications and transportation, this period saw the geographical redistribution of industrial and agricultural production. And lastly, the revolution was associated with the consolidation of the consumer society and the development of information society.

Technological innovations in the Third Industrial Revolution

As said earlier, the Third Industrial Revolution was associated with the development of four major areas of sciences which were information technology, telecommunications, biotechnology, and energy engineering.

Information technology: Since the

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1960s, computer science has been concerned with the automation of these processes through the use of computers and electronic devices. However, in the 1970s, innovations in the field caused major advancements in computing development: the chip (specific-purpose integrated circuit) and the micro-processor (multipurpose integrated circuit), In the 1980s, the world witnessed a large-scale integration of these developments into the different productive sectors. As a result, the use of computers that were progressively smaller in size, became prevalent or common in various sectors such as automobile, aviation, household appliances, and other consumer goods industries. In this regard, the need for computer products increased in just a few years. The first microprocessors were invented in 1970, and by 1975 there were 750,000 microprocessors in industry and production. By 1985, there were about 80,000,000 computers of different sizes, and by 1990 the number had reached one billion devices with microprocessors.

Telecommunications: During the 1970s, two branches of telecommunications namely satellite transmissions and telematics (data transmission over telephone lines) experienced important developments. The period witnessed an increased number of satellites for communication which enabled communication to reach any point in the world. On the other hand, telematics experienced advancements in computing by integrating telephones, computers and televisions.

The advancement in communications led to the swift interlinkage between strategic markets as well as the consolidation of remote financial speculation. Instant access to information on the evolution of stock markets changed business times, leading to stronger interference of corporations in the international arena.

Biotechnology: This enabled the invention of new products that would otherwise not exist naturally. During the Third Industrial Revolution, biotechnology experienced advancements in cloning (reproduction of a new organism identical to the original), gene splicing (manipulation of species change), and unicellular tissue propagation (genetic improvement of species).

Biotechnology was used predominantly in the food and pharmaceutical industries. In the food industry, the period experienced the production of genetically modified seeds and the genetic alteration of animal species to improve and increase productivity. As a result, many food products reduced their dependence on soils and natural production cycles. In the health industry, so many new products were developed for medical purposes, such as insulin, anticoagulants, cytokines and lymphokines (immunological substances), and endorphins and enkephalins (narcotics).

The biotechnology also led to the production of new artificial materials which replaced natural elements. Such new artificial materials include optical fibres, silicon silicates, and new metal alloys (zirconium, beryllium, and niobium).

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Energy engineering: The oil crisis of 1970s (as a result of the rise of oil price) forced experts in energy engineering to concentrate in finding alternative energy sources for industrial production. Thus, during this period, coal and nuclear power became prominent as sources for production of electricity. However, the use of these energies had negative effects including pollution and radiation. Hence, the energy engineering found new sources of renewable and sustainable energy with minimal negative impacts compared to the prior sources. Thus, energy engineering came up with the following main sources of renewable energy that are used for electricity generation: Solar energy through the use of solar panels, wind energy through the use of windmills, biomass energy from organic waste, geothermal energy through temperature conduction and convection systems.

Effects of the Third Industrial Revolution

The Third Industrial Revolution caused various effects that impacted the lifestyles of societies in the world. For instance, the introduction of computers transformed office work. Thus, advancements in information technology, biotechnology, telecommunications, and energy engineering influenced the political, economic, and social spheres: Some of these effects are discussed hereunder:

Organisation of work: The development of information technology caused enormous changes on the organisation of work. For instance, the use of computers replaced tasks related to the systematization and management of information. This led to a loss of jobs to many as it immensely impacted employment in offices and state bureaucracy. On the other hand, the development of telecommunications had a positive impact because it allowed companies to become multinational. Equally significant, this development led to the emergency of new specialised job categories related to business management.

International redistribution of production: Advancements in biotechnology in the food industry changed the structure of agriculture in many countries. The development of biotechnology programmes led to among other things, high costs, which favoured large companies over small producers of primary goods for food production. For example, during the 1980s, the US multinational companies managed to control 96 per cent of the patents for biotechnology-related inventions. Moreover, these same companies controlled a large percentage of the global trade of food and agro-industrial products.

Consequently, the Third Industrial Revolution caused an immense negative impact on agricultural food production in developing countries. This is because, to a greater extent, developed countries no longer depended on the agricultural production of tropical countries for food production. Therefore, the main victims of this change were small agricultural farmers in Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

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Exercise 3.1

Discuss the effects of the third industrial revolution in the world.

Activity 3.1

Debate on the motion: "The third industrial revolution brought more advantages than the first and the second industrial revolutions."

The fourth industrial revolution and its impacts

In essence, the fourth industrial revolution supplements traditional industrial and manufacturing practices with modern smart technologies, automation, and data exchange. It builds on the foundations laid by the previous industrial revolutions. The fourth industrial revolution (4IR) is traced back to the late 20th century with the rise of digital technologies and the internet. The main features of this period include personal computers, the internet, and advancements in fields such as artificial intelligence (AI), gene editing and engineering, biotechnology, and advanced robotics. The concept *the fourth Industrial Revolution* became popular in 2016 after Klaus Schwab, the executive chairman of the World Economic Forum (WEF), introduced it in his famous book titled *the fourth industrial revolution*. Generally, historians, economists, scholars, and policy makers recognise the *fourth industrial revolution* as a transformative period in human history that has remarkable impact on society, economies, and industries worldwide.

The fourth industrial revolution involves the fundamental shifts that are taking place on how the global production and supply network operates through the ongoing automation of traditional manufacturing and industrial practices using modern smart technology (cyber-physical systems (CPS), cloud computing, cognitive computing, Artificial Intelligence (AI), large-scale machine-to-machine communication (M2M), and the Internet of Things (IoT). This integration results in increasing automation, improving communication and self-monitoring, and the use of smart machines that can analyse and diagnose issues without the need for human intervention. The key characteristics of the fourth industrial revolution are increased operational efficiency, distinctiveness from previous industrial revolutions, components such as self-driving cars, and primary drives, such as digitation and integration of vertical and horizontal chains.

The nature and character of the fourth industrial revolution

Several characteristics distinguish the fourth industrial revolution. Firstly, the revolution is marked by the availability and mobility of the internet, which has permeated various aspects of human activities, including manufacturing, commerce, services, and beyond. This global connectivity essentially alters the landscape of interaction and information

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exchange, fostering unprecedented levels of interconnectedness.

Advancements in sensor technology represent another feature of this industrial phase. Smaller yet more potent sensors play a pivotal role in data collection and facilitate the convergence of virtual and physical systems. These sensors enable the integration of digital and real-world environments, foretelling a new era of sensor-driven insights and interactions.

Likewise, the fourth industrial revolution is characterised by substantial progress in Artificial Intelligence (AI) and machine learning technologies. These innovations hold the promise of revolutionising various industries by automating processes, enhancing decision-making capabilities, and driving efficiency gains. The explosion of AI and machine-learning systems stress the transformative potential of intelligent automation across different sectors of the economy.

Furthermore, the fourth industrial revolution is characterised by the fusion of virtual and physical systems as exemplified by the Internet of Things (IoT). This interconnected network of everyday objects, embedded with sensors and internet connectivity, enables unprecedented levels of data exchange and automation. The IoT promises to reshape industries, optimise resource utilisation, and enhance productivity through integrated connectivity and real-time insights.

The final characteristic is the rapid technological advancements in areas like Artificial Intelligence, automation, and robotics. Unlike previous revolutions, the fourth industrial revolution spread out at an unprecedented pace, exhibiting exponential growth rather than linear growth. It disrupts established orders across industries and nations, causing profound changes in systems of production, management, and governance.

Activity 3.2

Through online and library sources, investigate three key technological innovations which have not been discussed in this book, that are pushing the fourth industrial revolution. Show how these innovations differ from those of previous industrial revolutions.

Impacts of the fourth industrial revolution

The impacts of the fourth revolution are far reaching encompassing economy, government, and society. Regarding jobs and employment, the fourth industrial revolution has impacted on employment, with automation, gradually replacing traditional manufacturing and blue-collar jobs (see Figure 3.1). Meanwhile, Artificial Intelligence threatens to replace people in positions that require highly skilled human labour. However, alongside these job displacements, there is a potential for the rapid advancement of technology to generate new jobs, though the created jobs are fewer than the displaced jobs. For example,

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evidence suggests that while new industries are emerging, they are creating relatively few jobs compared to previous industrial revolutions. Additionally, the jobs created in the new industries often demand higher levels of education and specialised skills, especially digital literacy. This shift in job requirements poses challenges, particularly for older and lower-income workers who may lack access to education and training programmes needed to adapt to the evolving labour markets.

Figure 3. 1: *One of the innovations in the fourth industrial revolution*

Source: *Adopted from World Economic Forum (2019).*

Similarly, governments are using digital platforms to improve service provision and enhance citizen participation in government affairs. Electronic government (e-government) means the government`s use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). Examples of e-government include government websites and portals, short message system (SMS), e-payments of taxes and revenues, e-mails, and other communication. E-government initiatives improve administrative processes, reduce bureaucracy, and increase transparency among government officials. Citizens can easily access government services online, participate in decision-making processes, and hold officials accountable.

The emergence of e-commerce is another significant impact of the fourth industrial revolution. E-commerce has democratised access to global markets, enabling businesses of all sizes to reach customers worldwide. Many people conduct their business transactions with online companies, such as the Chinese Alibaba, and American Amazon. The shift towards e-commerce has transformed consumer behaviour, with more people opting for online shopping and digital transactions. This evolution has restructured the supply chains, prompting businesses to adopt agile and flexible models to meet changing consumer demands and expectations.

The fourth industrial revolution has significant social impact on the entire world population. Robotics and Artificial Intelligence have contributed to the "dehumanisation" of daily life, potentially eroding fundamental human values such as empathy, creativity, identity, and inspiration. For example, the integration of technology into human biology raises critical questions about what it means to be a human being. As technology becomes implanted within people, it challenges traditional notions of human identity as created by God. These advancements could present significant moral and ethical challenges. While

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technological progress is inevitable, it is imperative to anticipate and address the negative and unintended consequences of these changes. This necessitates proactive measures to mitigate the adverse impacts on individuals and society at large.

Another social impact is people`s increased use of social media. A great number of people are interacting in digital spaces such as Facebook, Instagram, LinkedIn and WhatsApp. The use of social media has increased people`s freedom of expression, facilitated communication and exchange of information and ideas among individuals and groups, and increased transparency. Yet the social media have some negative impacts including dissemination of fake news; bullying; disregard of individual privacy, identity, and theft. The fourth industrial revolution of the 21st century is quite different from the preceding revolutions of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

The revolution also increases the chances for gender inequalities as some of the gender roles are likely to be replaced by AI. Such replacements may affect social relations and natural biological reproduction. The fourth industrial revolution also threatens to reduce corporate IT department as most of production facilities and logistics systems are organised without human intervention in smart factory.

Because of the expensiveness of sophisticated technologies, most developing countries are further marginalised and remain markets for imported goods. The production of goods is done by multinational corporations which own high-tech and smart economy. Furthermore, highly developed countries enact laws that prevent the transfer of high-tech knowledge to developing countries so as to maintain the status quo in the world order. Governments in developing countries fase challenges in regulation, standardisation, and certification of imported goods in Africa. Thus, the impacts of the fourth industrial revolution in developed countries like Britain, USA and Japan are different from those in developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Exercise 3.2

Discuss the argument that the Fourth Industrial Revolution has created more job opportunities than has been the case with the previous industrial revolutions.

Activity 3.3

Imagine you are invited to a dialogue with a futuristic Artificial Intelligence (AI) policy maker. Prepare an advisory policy document that will assist the policy maker on engaging with industrial growth while addressing societal needs.

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Changes and continuities of industrial revolutions up to the 21st century

There have been changes and continuities in industrial revolutions since the 18th century. The changes and continuities were manifested in technologies, production, and labour. Regarding technology, the 18th century industrial revolution was marked by a shift from human muscle power to mechanical power centred on steam engine, especially in the production of textiles. The 19th century industrial revolution witnessed the dominance of metallurgy and the use of electricity in industrial production, while computers were the main motors of industrial revolutions in the 20th and 21st centuries. Industries started using the main frame computers in the 1960s, personal computers in the 1970s and 1980s, and the internet in the 1990s. As for labour and production, during the 18th century industrial revolution, the production of goods took place in factories involving many workers, including women and children. Hence, the production was labour intensive. In the 19th century industrial revolution, the assembly line dominated production in factories using many labourers. The 20th and 21st centuries` industrial revolutions involved industrial production using few or sometimes no workers. Thus, production became less labour-intensive but more capital-intensive where production meant greater investment in computer technologies than in labourers.

Generally, the common trend over the centuries was that each phase introduced new technologies as it retained the preceding ones. For example, the European and American industrial revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries laid a foundation for the modern industrialisation of the 20th and 21st centuries, which became available in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Industrial revolution in Asia and Latin America

Before the 20th and 21st centuries, most parts of the world were not yet engaged in industrialisation. Industries were still concentrated in the West, especially Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and the USA. Most parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa were not yet industrialised. This section traces the industrial revolutions in Asia and Latin America.

Industrial Revolution in Japan and the Asian-Tiger countries

In Asia, industrialisation began first in Japan in the second half of 19th century. Then, in the second half of 20th century, industrialisation was experienced in other Asian countries such as China and the Asian Tigers.

Industrialisation in Japan

In Japan, industrial revolution took the western model. Significantly, Japanese journey and processes toward industrialisation had the same path as that of the Western Europe. Historically, Japan had to destroy the conservative feudal system which survived for more than 265 years. This feudal state was under the Tokugawa Dynasty. As it happened

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in both Britain and France, Japan had to wage a revolution in order to allow the emergence and development of capitalism, a vehicle of carrying industrial revolution. Thus, in 1868, the Meiji Revolution took place and ended feudal system. The war between the conservative feudal shogunates and reformers broke out. The reformers who waged the revolution was won. The revolution, therefore opened the door for industrialisation in Japan. The revolution introduced a modern Japan with a new government, which introduced transformative policies that fundamentally changed the Japanese society. Japan boosted her transportation and communication networks and revolutionised her light industry by the early 20th century.

It is worth noting that, Japan studied European and the US political systems and used them in her political and economic modernisaation. However, her innovations were not a total imitation of the western innovation. Historians argue that, Japan built even more schools and changed the curriculum to train people to work in and run factories. They re-organised the army and trained it with new weapons for "defensive modernization."

Industrialisation in Asian Tiger countries

The industrial revolution in Asian Tiger countries was deeply influenced by historical circumstances and strategic economic policies. The Asian-Tiger countries, also called the Pacific Rim countries, include the four countries with high economic growth that started from the 1960s to the 1990s. These countries are South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong as shown in Figure 3.2.

The Asian countries show diverse paths to industrialisation. Many challenges marked the road to industrialisation of South Korea, including Japanese colonisation and the devastating impacts of the Korean War of 1950-1953, yet the country emerged from the crises and became industrialised. Taiwan, having experienced significant economic development under the Japanese rule, navigated through post-war transitions and internal tensions to emerge as an industrial powerhouse in the Pacific Rim by the 1960s. Meanwhile, Singapore, once a British colony, used its strategic location to become a vital trading port, despite overcoming the disruptions of Japanese occupation during the Second World War. Singapore experienced greater industrial transformation in the late 20th century. Japan, unlike its Asian-Tiger counterparts, initiated industrialisation in the 19th century under the Meiji leadership, partly adopting western technology. The path taken by the Asian-Tiger countries toward industrialisation symbolise resilience, strategic planning, and a determination to overcome historical challenges to emerge as major players in the global economy.

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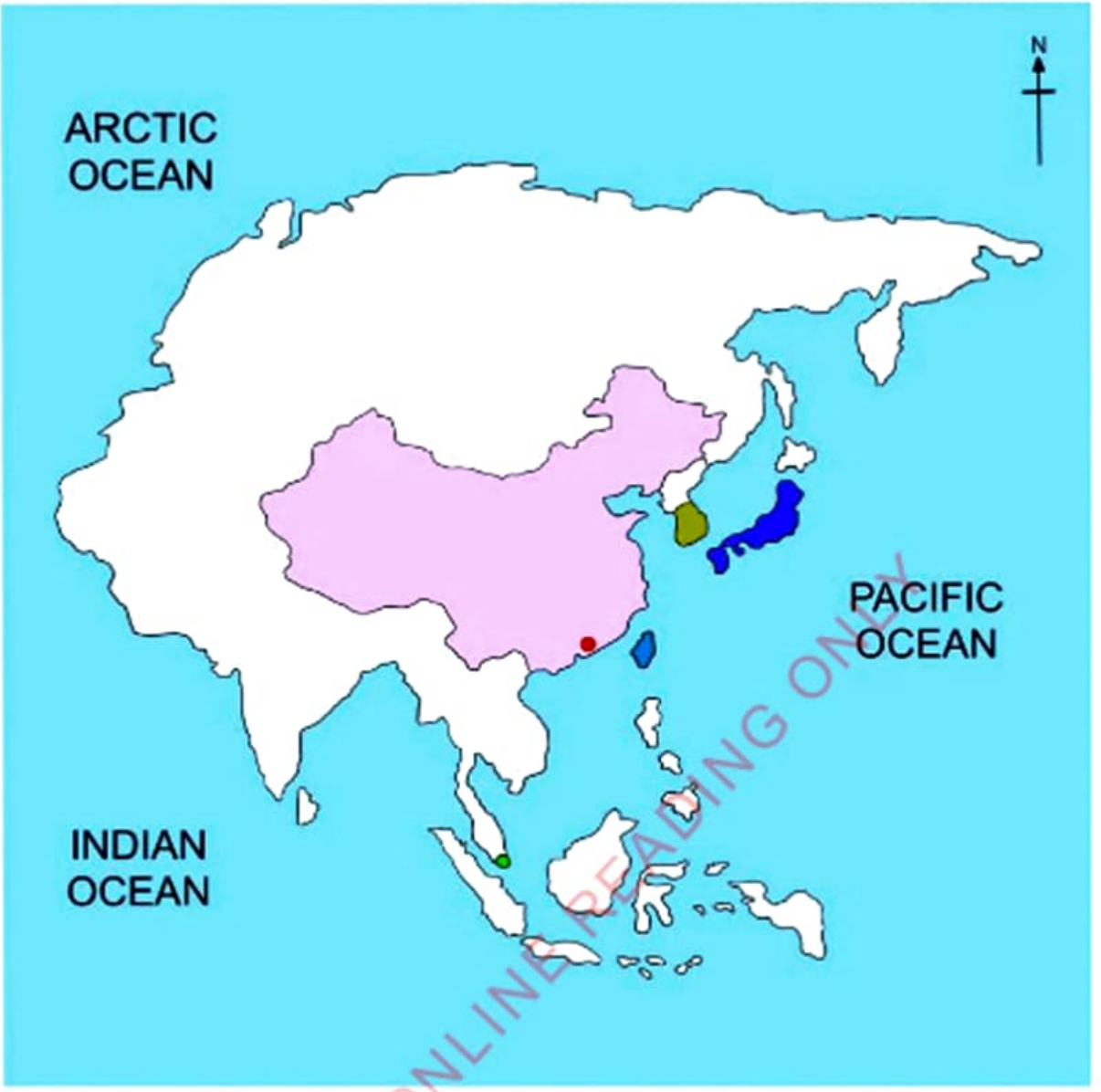

Key

- South Korea
- Japan
- Taiwan
- Singapore
- China
- Hong Kong
- Water

Figure 3.2: *Some industrialised countries in the Pacific Rim*

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Causes of industrial revolution in the Asian-Tiger countries

Several forces contributed to the industrialisation of the Asian-Tiger countries. Among the factors include global interactions, Japanese influence to the other Asian countries, technological transfer, education, government interventions, cultural values, and the Cold War.

The role of the Cold War: The Cold War (1947-1989) was the non-direct military rivalry between the western capitalist bloc under the USA and the eastern socialist bloc under the USSR. The two blocs were involved in propaganda, espionage, and proxy wars in many parts of the world, including Asia. Taiwan and South Korea were the major Cold War partners of the United States, receiving substantial economic aid and technological support, which contributed significantly to their rapid industrial development. The USA assisted these countries for ideological reasons to prevent them from North Korea`s and China`s communist influences. These partnerships not only provided financial assistance but also enabled access to advanced technologies and educational opportunities abroad, particularly in fields like engineering. Similarly, Britain offered massive military and economic aids in the form of investment to Hong Kong and Singapore, which resulted in industrialisation of the countries.

Japan`s industrial experience had a bearing on the industrialisation of the Asian-Tiger countries. The countries learnt from the success of Japan's industrial development and its post-Second World War economic recovery, which served as inspiration to them. Also, they shared a commitment to reform, copying Japan's early industrialisation era, characterised by strong government involvement. This emphasis on governmental involvement in driving economic transformation played a pivotal role in propelling industrial growth in the Asian Tiger countries.

Cultural values, especially Confucianism, played a role in industrialisation. Confucianism is a philosophy that underscores good moral character and hard work. Confucianism stimulated industrialisation in the Pacific Rim primarily through its emphasis on values such as hard work, discipline, and respect for authority, which ultimately contributed to the development of hardworking individuals in industries.

Education was also important in industrialisation in Asia. Japan, and later South Korea imported education that was relevant to industries. In the 1960s, for example, South Korea recruited students into top universities in fields such as engineering and natural sciences which are required in the industries. Thus, the educated manpower became important human capital for industrialisation.

Moreover, governments played leading roles in industrial development in Asia. Apart from providing services such as electricity, and building roads and railways necessary for the smooth running of industries, governments intervened in the

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industrial sector through policies and laws. Between 1960s and 1970s, for example, the Taiwan government introduced incentives to the private sector, especially industries. The government assisted investors to get land for establishing industries. Investors in industries also received tax deduction for their exports. The government also established export processing zones. Government's interventions in industrialisation was, however, not limited to the Asian Tiger countries. Similar trend happened in other countries of Asia such as China.

Industrial revolution in China since the 1990s

As Britain was referred to as the "workshop of the world" in the 19th century, so was China in the 1990s, to underscore her dominant role in the production of industrial goods exported to all parts of the world. The Chinese rapid industrialisation from the 1990s came as a surprise to many historians and economists. Yet, China`s process of industrialisation spans more than 150 years from the 19th century to Mao`s era and Deng Xiaoping`s reforms of the late 1970s. Nevertheless, the rapid industrialisation from the 1990s has positioned China as a new global industrial power, challenging the traditional industrial powers such as the USA, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan. The rapid industrialisation of China begs a question. The factors for her industrialisation included setting up special economic zones, market reforms, technological innovation, privatisation of state-owned enterprises (SOEs), and internal and external investments.

Causes of rapid industrialisation in China from the 1990s

As one of the reforms of the 1990s, China established Special Economic Zones (SEZs), where foreign investors were allowed to import duty free materials for manufacturing export goods. Such zones were initiated in the specific areas of China, especially in the southeast coastal provinces and in the cities such as Shanghai. This policy led to a great number of investors in the zones who were attracted not only by the incentives but also by the Chinese cheap labour. Chinese labourers were cheap compared to labourers in other countries in Asia and Africa, let alone in Europe and America.

Another reason was that the government introduced market liberalisation. Market forces rather than state planning determined the prices of industrial goods. Industrial firms were allowed to retain profits and bonuses that were used as incentives for managers as well as workers. Moreover, the government dismantled restrictions on people`s mobility hence allowing migrant labourers from many parts of China to migrate to the coastal industrial areas where they worked in industries.

Additionally, the government privatised large numbers of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) which were the legacy of the previous state planning regimes. Privatisation measures meant the existence of private-owned industries which took advantage of the presence of cheap labourers, following the easing of the movement of people.

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Another important factor was the encouragement of Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs). In the 1990s, China witnessed a dramatic increase of FDIs from the Asian-Tiger countries of Taiwan and Hong Kong and from Europe and the USA. Many foreign firms entered into joint ventures with some state-supported enterprises to form joint companies, such as Beijing-Jeep and Shanghai-Volkswagen. Volkswagen, for example, is a German car-manufacturing company. Furthermore, China encouraged its SOEs to invest outside China in Asian countries, Latin America, Europe, and Africa. Generally, FDIs led to the exponential growth of industries.

The last factor was technological transfer and innovation. China advocated for technological transfer through partnerships with foreign firms and joint ventures. While initially focusing on the imitation and adaptation of foreign technologies, from the 1990s China gradually transitioned to indigenous innovation, investing in research and development, and building a domestic technological capability. Also, China invested heavily in education and workforce development to enhance its human capital. By improving literacy rates, expanding access to education, and providing vocational training, China created a skilled labour force capable of supporting industrialisation and technological advancement.

Industrial revolution in Latin America

Industrialisation in Latin America shows a U-shaped trajectory, that is, starting, falling, and rising. Industrial revolution in the region started around the 1880s and began to have a significant impact after the Second World War. Some Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina (see Figure 3.3) experienced a significant industrial growth with each taking her unique course (geographically, Mexico is not in North America, however under the discussion of industrialisation, she is counted with the countries of Latin America).

In Brazil, industrialisation began in the late 19th century after the end of slavery and the rise of coffee as a dominant export crop. During the 19th century, Brazil adopted technologies from the European second industrial revolution. Moreover, the country lacked skilled labourers, instead unskilled labourers were used mainly in textile industries.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the agricultural boom enabled many countries to import machinery and to attract international capital, which was invested in industries. It was, however, during the post-Second World War period (1950-1980s) when the third and fourth industrial revolutions became apparent in Latin America. In the 1970s, for example, Brazil established heavy industries that produced metals, chemicals and plastics. By the early 1980s it produced electrical and telecommunication equipment, automobiles, and aeroplanes.

However, starting from the 1980s to the 1990s, was the period of the global debt crisis and Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) that adversely impacted industries. Industries saw a decline in both growth and productivity.

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Nevertheless, from the 1990s and beyond, industries began to grow again. In 2023, Brazil`s gross domestic product (GDP) was the 9th in the world and one of the largest suppliers of automobiles in the world, supplying a total of two million automobiles per year. Figure 3.3 shows some industrialised countries in Latin America.

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Figure 3. 3: *Some industrialised countries in Latin America*

Causes of industrial revolution in Latin America

Several factors, which varied from one country to another, influenced industrialisation of Latin America. However, the general factors for industrialisation included international situation, government policies, migrations, urbanisation, the presence of cheap natural resources, and agriculture.

Urbanisation was as a key driver of industrialisation. The increased population in cities created markets for goods and services, thus providing a ground for industrial development. This economic growth was further maintained by the size of the markets, which provided opportunities for industrialisation. São Paulo, for example, was a city that attracted a number of migrants from rural areas and other parts of the world since the 1950s, hence making it the most populous city in Brazil. The city has capital goods and service industries. Indeed, motor industries for producing cars, trucks and buses have been existing since the 1950s.

Immigrants from Europe and Asia played a crucial role in shaping the industrialisation of Latin America. The influx of migrants brought with it a new labour and technical expertise, enriching the potential for industrial growth. In countries like Argentina and Mexico, immigration flows contributed to the growth of private enterprise and the development of technical skills. In the 1930s, Brazil received around 4.4 million Asian and European immigrant workers. Foreign migrant workers in the city of São Paulo constituted a quarter of the workforce. This demographic shift, coupled with the diversification of industries, broadened the industrial base and reduced reliance on a single sector, and thus fostering a more dynamic industrial society.

Governments in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina have been playing an essential role in supporting industrial development since the early 1920s. This support included various measures, such as negotiated trade arrangements, attraction of foreign investments, and infrastructure development. Mexican President, Miguel Alemán Valdés's support on import substitution industries (ISI) in the 1940s and 1950s was a case in point. Brazil pursued the same strategy from the 1950s to 1980s. Government's strategy included state ownership of key industries, the provision of subsidised financing, and mobilising raw materials for the industries. Such government supports laid the ground for industrial development in Latin America.

Additionally, strategic industrial policies played a central role in promoting industrialisation, because Latin American governments implemented measures to foster specific industries. For example, Brazil developed a computer industry to reduce dependence on imports of computers. This strategic approach was complemented by investments in technological progress and technical training. Collaboration with foreign institutions and government support for

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research and development contributed to the development of other industries such as electronics, chemicals, and heavy manufacturing.

Agricultural production played a vital role in promoting industrial revolution in Latin America. In Brazil, coffee production served as a major ingredient for industrialisation. During the early 20th century, Brazil became the largest coffee producer in the world. The income generated from coffee exports provided capital for investments in infrastructure and industrial development. Wealthy coffee entrepreneurs diversified their interests into industries, such as textiles, food processing, and manufacturing, thus contributing to the growth of the industrial sector in Brazil.

Likewise, agriculture in Mexico played a significant role in promoting industrialisation. The country's agricultural resources, included maize, sugarcane, and cotton. These resources were cultivated for domestic consumption and export. Revenue generated from agricultural exports fuelled investments in infrastructure, such as railways and ports, which were essential for industrial development. In Argentina, beef and grain became imperative agricultural resources that promoted industrial revolution. The revenue generated from exports of beef and grain facilitated the development of industries, such as meatpacking and food processing.

Moreover, the distribution of export earnings played a vital role in facilitating industrialisation. In countries such as Argentina, where export earnings were relatively high and spread across the population, the widespread prosperity created conducive conditions for industrial growth. Additionally, the concentration of urban centres in certain regions further fuelled industrialisation by creating centralised markets and facilitating the flow of labour and capital. This concentration of economic activity served as a catalyst for industrial expansion, accelerating the pace of development in Latin America.

Generally, industrial revolution in Latin America was a complex phenomenon shaped by multifaceted factors, such as urbanisation, export earnings, immigration, and market dynamics. These factors created favourable environment for industrial development in the region. As the region continued to evolve, these factors exerted a powerful influence, driving further industrialisation and economic development across Latin American countries.

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The impacts of industrial revolution in Asia and Latin America

Industrialisation of China has resulted in the dominance of the country as the "workshop of the world." China has become the producer of industrial goods that are consumed all over the world. Europe and the USA import manufactured goods from China, and from other Asian, African, and Latin American countries.

Industrialisation in Asia and Latin America has led to the emergence of new powers in terms of economy and political influence in the world. The emerging powers, which include India, China, Brazil, and South Africa have challenged the traditional European and the USA's dominance. The formation of BRICS bloc on 16th June 2009, which comprises Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa illustrates the challenge. In 2023, other countries such as Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates joined BRICS.

Another impact of industrialisation is increased globalisation. The acceleration of communications, facilitated by technological advancements of the fourth industrial revolution has allowed contacts of unprecedented scales that transcend national boundaries.

Industrialisation in Asian-Tiger countries and Latin America has reduced the dominance in consumer goods, and sometimes metallurgy, from the USA, Germany, Britain, and France. Items made from metals and alloys like steel, aluminium, copper, iron, nickel, and titanium began to be manufactured by other nations besides Europe and the USA. These are the products that play crucial role in the modern society.

Industrialisation also facilitated the exploitation of workers, especially in newly emerging industrial centres. Harsh working conditions, long working hours, low wages, and lack of labour rights characterised many industrial workplaces. Child labour was widespread, with children working in factories, mines, and mills. This contributed to social unrest and sparked labour movements demanding better working conditions and rights.Furthermore, industrialisation in the 20th and 21st centuries led to labour migration from less-developed nations to highly industrialised nations. Japan witnessed considerable influxes of immigrant workers, particularly from other Asian regions. This phenomenon underscored the economic disparities prevalent worldwide, as most immigrants found themselves doing lower paying jobs. The same experience also led to global outreach of industrialisation, as some societies increasingly depended on the income generated by their migrant workers sent from abroad.

Thus, industrial revolution in this period not only shaped domestic landscapes but also international fabric, with labour becoming a significant globalised element alongside technology and business. Industrialisation evolved into a global phenomenon, defining contemporary world history. The African continent, like other continents, has been intertwined in that history.

The industrial development in Africa from 1945 to 1960

Before 1945, the most industrialised country in Africa was South Africa. Its industrial development started with light industries by the Boers and British settlers at the Cape in the 18th and 19th centuries. The rise of mineral revolution of diamond in 1871 and gold in 1886 created a fundamental impact on industrialisation

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of South Africa. Capital from Britain, the USA, Germany, Italy and Japan played a major role in transforming South Africa from an agrarian economy to an industrial economy. Most of these industries were mining, manufacturing, food processing, transport and armament. Foreign banks supported industrial development in South Africa. Giant banks were Rockefeller, Chase Manhattan, First National City, American Bank, Standard Bank, Barclays and others. The banks provided loans to mining and transport industries mainly railway lines and shipping companies. Capital was also provided to transform subsistence agriculture to commercial farming in order to feed the rapidly growing food market in South African urban centres. Due to economic sanctions put to the Apartheid regime, South Africa underwent expansion of manufacturing industries to become self-sufficient during and after the Second World War.

In the post-war period, South Africa continued to be a giant industrial power in Africa in metallurgical engineering, manufacturing and mining sectors. It continued to attract labourers from neighbouring countries, notably Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho. It also depended on markets from the southern African countries, especially after the demise of apartheid in 1994.

Another industrial development in Africa took place in the 1930s and 1940s following the extraction of crude oil and natural gas in North African countries, such as Libya, Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco. Most of these investments were made by European, American and Japanese multinational corporations. Crude oil, natural gas, and industrial minerals were highly needed in the reconstruction of economies in Western Europe, Japan, and the USA in the post-war period.

In other parts of Africa, industries were predominantly focused on the processing of raw materials and agricultural products for export before the outbreak of the Second World War. Industries were largely small-scale and limited in scope, with only a few consumer-oriented industries established to serve the interests of European colonisers. Some of the established industries included cigarette production in countries like the Belgian-Congo and Cameroon, and soap production in Nigeria. The development of capital goods industries was minimal, with only few countries engaging in activities like metal box manufacturing and copper smelting, primarily in the Belgian Congo and Northen Rhodesia. Overall, during this period, industrialisation in Africa was characterised by a lack of diversity and limited capacity for producing capital goods.

The neglect of industrialisation was the agenda of colonial states in many African colonies. Colonial governments showed little interest in developing industries within the colonies. There were no dedicated departments of industry before 1945 in any colonial government. Basic items such as matches, candles, cigarettes, edible oil, and fruit juices, which could have been produced locally were

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imported from the colonial powers. Lack of industrial focus left African economies dependent on imports hindering their capacity for self-sufficiency.

Furthermore, dependency on metropolitan countries was deeply stressed. African states were turned into markets for manufactured goods from the colonial powers while serving as suppliers of raw materials. This dependency on imports and neglect of domestic production stunted the growth of local industries in Africa. The colonial economic model prioritised the interests of the colonial powers, and continued economic dependence for the African countries.

Moreover, the emphasis on mono-crop economies had adverse impact on industrialisation. Colonial powers did not attempt to diversify the agricultural economies in the colonies. Instead, they focused on producing a single or at best two cash crops, such as cocoa, groundnuts, cotton, coffee, and sisal. The focus on mono-cropping persisted even after the Second World War, leaving African states highly dependent on a narrow range of exports making them vulnerable to international trade conditions. Colonial policies thus left African nations economically underdeveloped and heavily dependent on foreign goods and markets. Generally, colonial policies prioritised the interests of the colonial powers over the development of local economies.

However, during the Second World War, colonial states were forced to establish Import-Substitution Industries (ISIs). The industries were established because the war prevented European commercial ships from transporting consumer goods, such as soap, cosmetics, sugar, shoes, textiles, blankets, cheese, butter, margarine, whisky, wine, cigarettes, canned meat, and mattresses to the colonies. These goods were largely consumed by the European officials and settlers who lived in the colonies.

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

The ISIs depended on African labourers. In Nigeria and Ivory Coast, the migrant labourers working in both processing and extractive industries came from the interior colonies of Niger, Upper Volta (Burkina Faso) and French Sudan (Mali). African labourers did unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, while Europeans did skilled jobs like supervision and administration.

Moreover, ISIs used simple technologies. For example, a soap-making industry needed a simple machine and raw materials. Similarly, no formal training was given to the workers so that they

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could operate the machines. African workers only received training when they were at the operational changes. Generally, the colonial period was a period of economic exploitation rather than industrial development.

Industrial development in Africa since 1960

From the 1960s, the legacy of limited industrialisation in Africa was viewed as an opportunity for growth and development. The newly independent African countries saw industrialisation as a means to assert economic independence and promote domestic wealth. There was a growing confidence in the potential for industrialisation, and the responsibility of designing and implementing industrial strategies. The newly-elected African leaders took the lead.

Many independent countries adopted an import-substitution industrialisation (ISI) strategy. The strategy aimed at avoiding dependency on foreign goods. Moreover, governments invested in building domestic industries and fostering indigenous entrepreneurship in order to diversify their economies beyond agriculture. For example, in 1961, the Ministry of Industries in Ghana nationalised several firms that produced items like furniture, nail and timber. That policy was pursued under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah with an industrialisation agenda known as "Industrialise or Perish." The government invested heavily in infrastructure, established state-owned enterprises, and adopted import-substitution strategy to promote domestic industries. In Nigeria the construction of Kainji Dam near Jebba served the purpose of irrigation and hydroelectric power. The project played a crucial role in the economy around which industries spread. Some of the developed industries include petroleum refining, cement production, and food processing.

Similarly, in 1964, the Kenyan Government sought to attract foreign investment by introducing the Foreign Investment Protection Act (FIPA), guaranteeing foreign investors the freedom to transfer profits, dividends, and capital out of the country. This move aimed at fostering economic growth, and indeed, the Import Substitution Industry (ISI) policy was implemented during this period. Kenya experienced significant industrial growth between 1964 and 1971. Additionally, initiatives such as the establishment of the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC) were undertaken to encourage the involvement of indigenous Kenyans in industrial and commercial activities. ICDC was mandated to provide fair loans to all investors, with a particular emphasis on supporting indigenous entrepreneurs.

The industrial development in many African countries relied heavily on government support for its survival. The overvaluation of the currency posed a significant challenge, worsening issues such as shortages of hard currency for procuring raw materials and spare parts, which were crucial for sustaining industrial operations. By the end of 1966, industrial output remained severely constrained. Likewise, mismanagement

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within the state sector further worsened the situation, leading to a period of stagnation from 1970 to 1977, followed by a pronounced decline from 1977 to 1982.

Furthermore, the high dependency on imported inputs intensified the imbalance of payment. While the Import Substitution policy aimed at promoting domestic industrialisation and economic self-reliance, its reliance on capital-intensive methods and high import content hindered the creation of sufficient employment opportunities and intensified external economic imbalances.

Since the early 1980s, the economic environment of the African continent experienced drastic changes, driven by a series of change in the economic policies. These changes have left a permanent mark on industrial development in Africa. In this period, a significant distress happened stemming from Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). These programmes advocated for liberalisation, privatisation, and deregulation of economy, aiming at reducing government intervention in the economy. SAPs slowed down the response of private sector investment, especially in industries. Despite the emergence of local private investors, the inflow of foreign investment remained modest, and the private sector did not fill the gap left by the African state's withdrawal from industrial activities. Furthermore, SAPs did not bring changes in industrial development.

In the early 2000s, African countries steadily transitioned towards market-oriented economies, stressing export-led growth, and attracting foreign investment. Governments encouraged industrialisation through Export Processing Zones (EPZs). These zones offered tax incentives, streamlined regulations, and infrastructure support to encourage industrial development. Besides efforts to promote industrialisation, many African countries struggled to compete globally due to infrastructural challenges, limited access to finance, inadequate skills, and governance issues. Industrial policies often lacked coherence and long-term vision, leading to fragmented initiatives and limited impact.

Similarly, African countries increasingly focused on regional integration as a strategy for industrial development. Initiatives such as the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) aimed at promoting intra-African trade, creating larger markets for industrial goods, and enhancing regional value chains.

African countries aligned their industrial policies with the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), emphasising inclusive and sustainable industrialisation. They also highlighted the promotion of green industries, adopting clean technologies, and addressing social inequalities to ensure that industrialisation contributes to broader development objectives. The goals also emphasised on raising the share of industries in employment and contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

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Generally, the progress towards industrial development in Africa since the 1960s remained uneven, with challenges ranging from limited capital and inadequate infrastructure to political instability. While efforts were made to stimulate manufacturing sectors and reduce reliance on imports, the legacy of colonial exploitation persisted and impinged on comprehensive industrial growth. Despite these obstacles, the period was marked by a determination to plan a new economic course, laying the ground for future actions aimed at achieving sustainable development and prosperity in the entire continent.

Activity 3.4

Using experience of industrialisation in the Asian-Tiger countries, design a policy advisory article for contemporary African governments, on how to accelerate industrialisation within the continent.

Exercise 3.3

1. How has change in the perception towards industrialisation impacted economic development in Africa since 1960?
2. Discuss the conditions that impinged upon African industrialisation before and after the 1960s.

Obstacles to industrialisation in Africa

Industrial development in Africa faced numerous historical, economic, political and social challenges since 1960s. Such challenges made the continent experienced a delay in the process of industrialisation as hereby discussed:

Many African nations inherited colonial economic structures which were primarily designed to extract raw materials for the benefit of colonial powers rather than for promoting industrialisation. Limited investment in infrastructure and human capital during colonial rule left African countries ill-prepared for industrialisation after gaining independence. Also, weak governance, corruption, and bureaucratic inefficiencies during this period intensified the challenges inherited from colonialism.

During the 1970s, the continent faced the numerous challenges, including droughts and the oil crisis of 1973. These events led to economic instability across the continent, impacting industrial development. African nations heavily depended on oil imports; thus, they suffered from reduced revenues thus hindering their ability to invest in industrial infrastructure and technology. Additionally, the droughts worsened food shortages, hence diverting resources from industrial projects towards emergency relief efforts. Consequently, industrialisation efforts in Africa were delayed as governments dealt with economic challenges and prioritised immediate needs over long-term development goals.

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The Global Financial Crisis (GFC) of 2008 further upset industrial development in Africa. As the crisis erupted worldwide, African economies experienced decreased demand for exports, reduced Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), and tightened credit markets. This constrained access to financing for industrial projects and hindered the growth of domestic industries. Governments focused on stabilising their economies and mitigating the impact of the crisis, often at the expense of long-term industrialisation plans. As a result, industrial development initiatives took a backseat as African nations struggled to navigate the fallout of the financial crisis.

COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 intensified existing problems and weakened industrial development in Africa. The pandemic upset the global supply chains, leading to supply shortages and decreased demand for African exports. Lockdown measures aimed at containing the virus disrupted manufacturing operations and hindered industrial production. Moreover, the loss of human capital due to illness and job losses weakened the workforce, impacting industrial productivity and innovation. Governments, already burdened by debt, diverted resources towards healthcare and social support measures, leaving little room for investment in industrial infrastructure. Reverse migration from urban to rural areas further disturbed labour markets and urban industrial centres. Consequently, industrial development in Africa suffered a significant setback as the continent dealt with the socio-economic impacts of the pandemic.

The insufficient investment in education and infrastructure, remains a crucial obstacle to industrial development in Africa. This lack of complementary investments contributes to the digital gap thus limiting the ability of African countries to advance into more sophisticated manufacturing sectors. Some historians and economists have even argued that the emergence of new technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) and robotics complicates manufacturing processes, reducing the demand for labour, and making industrialisation a less attractive dream for Africa. Therefore, the fourth industrial revolution is viewed as a threat to further industrialisation efforts on the continent.

Generally, industrial development in Africa faced critical hindrances and a lost of focus during the 1970s economic crises, Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008, the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, and geopolitical conflicts, including the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. These events have intensified the existing challenges, such as financial constraints, inadequate infrastructure, and weak institutional capacity, therefore hindering the continent's progress towards industrialisation. In order to eliminate these obstacles and revive the push towards industrial development, African governments, international partners, and the private sector should prioritise long-term investments, promote innovation, and build resilient industrial system.

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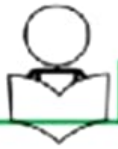

Activity 3.5

Read online and library sources then identify obstacles that African countries faced in transitioning towards mass production as part of their industrial strategies.

Lessons for African countries from the 19th to 21st century industrial revolutions

In the quest for sustainable economic development, Africa stands at a critical stage where industrial development is closely linked up with the need for job creation, expansion of trade and commerce and wealth. Since African independence, industrialisation emerged as a way of achieving these goals. This need has also emerged in international agreements and agendas notably, the December 2015 Paris Agreement, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and the African Union's 2063 Agenda. All these stress upon the importance of industrial development in pushing economic development across the continent. These aspirations have the potential to derive lessons from industrial revolutions in the 18th, 19th, 20th and the 21st centuries.

African countries can learn from the industrial revolutions of the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries to inform their industrial development. For example, Africa can learn from British early investments in education and skill development during the 19th century industrial revolution. This can inspire African countries to prioritise human capital development. Similarly, Germany's emphasis on vocational training and apprenticeship programmes in the 20th century contributed to the country's strong industrial base and skilled labour. On the other hand, in the 21st century, South Korea's focus on education and research and development promoted innovation and technological advancement in various industries. The industrial experience from these countries can serve as a model for African countries seeking to industrialise.

Infrastructure development has played a crucial role in pushing industrialisation across different periods. The British construction of railways and canals in the 19th century eased the movement of goods and people, prompting economic development. Likewise, in the early 20th century, Germany's investment in infrastructure supported its mushrooming industries, while China's extensive infrastructure development in recent periods has been instrumental in promoting industrial development. Similarly, in the 20th century, the industrialisation of Brazil hinged upon the development of highways, railways and roads that connected the country.

Innovation and technological adoption have been central to the success of industrialised countries. Japan's continuous improvement in industrial development and South Korea's advancements in technology and

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electronics serve as good examples for the African countries looking to foster innovation in the 21st century. Furthermore, diversification of economies is crucial for promoting industrial growth. Germany's shift from agricultural to industrial economy in the 19th century, Japan's expansion into advanced industrial nation in the 20th century, and China's diversification into various industries in the 21st century underscore the importance of diversifying economies to promote industrial growth.

Sustainable industrial development is imperative. Lessons from Germany's emphasis on environmental sustainability in manufacturing processes and China's investments in clean energy technologies can guide African countries in prioritising environmentally-friendly industrial development. Furthermore, public-private partnerships are essential for promoting industrial development. For example, British collaboration in building infrastructure, Germany's partnerships between government and industry, and South Korea's joint initiatives to drive innovation serve as a model for the African countries to learn.

Inclusive industrial development is important to ensure that the benefits of industrialisation are equally distributed across the continent. Japan's focus on equal access to education and employment opportunities, as well as South Korea's efforts to address socio-economic inequalities through targeted policies, is a lesson for African countries in promoting inclusive industrial development. Lastly, adaptability and resilience are crucial in navigating the challenges of the modern industrial development. China's capacity to cope with the changing global economic forces and South Korea's ability to withstand economic crises demonstrate the importance of flexibility and adaptability for sustainable development in the 21st century. By incorporating examples from countries across different periods of industrialisation, African countries can develop comprehensive approaches and strategies for their own industrial development.

Activity 3.6

You are invited to attend a debate on a motion "The efforts of African countries to industrialise since the 1960s failed due to capitalism." Prepare the views that you would give to support or oppose the motion

Exercise 3.4

1. What are the strategies that could promote industrial growth in East African countries?
2. Why has Africa not substantially industrialised since the 1990s as opposed to South Korea and Brazil?

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Revision exercise 3

1. Discuss the impacts of industrial revolutions in Latin America.
2. Compare and contrast the industrialisation strategies in Latin America and Asian-Tiger countries from early 20th centuries.
3. How does the fourth industrial revolution differ from its predecessors?
4. Explain the influence of technological advancements on industrialisation in Latin America.
5. Assess prospects and challenges posed by the fourth industrial revolution for developing countries and emerging economies.
6. Discuss how the industrial policy formulation in Africa and in the Asian-Tiger countries affected their respective industrial paths?
7. How has China's industrialisation in the recent past challenged the dominance of traditional industrial superpowers?
8. How did innovation and creativity propel industrial progress from the 18th to the 20th century?
9. Discuss the impact of neo-liberal economic policies in hindering industrialisation in Africa.
10. Examine the impacts of the fourth industrial revolution in Africa.

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Chapter Four

Administrative systems in the Ancient World

Introduction

The current administrative systems reveal a history of political evolution shaped by social and economic transformation over a long time. Understanding the origin of administrative systems in different parts of the ancient world paves the way to acknowledge how and why some countries adopted certain administrative systems over time. In this chapter, you will learn about the concepts of administration and administrative system as well as the forms of administrative systems that developed in the Ancient Asia, Middle East, Europe, South America and Pre-colonial Africa. The competencies developed will enable you to value different forms of administrative systems in the world.

Think

The functions of modern governments in today's world

The concepts of administration and administrative systems

Administration can be defined as a method by which the resources of a community are mobilised and utilised in pursuit of intended objectives. The concept of administration includes the management of people, material production, political systems of different complexities, and military organisation. It is the process of controlling the efforts of people towards achieving some common goals. Among the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, for example, the principal office holders were responsible for administering justice, maintaining law and order, and providing social services to their people. The Romans developed a more sophisticated system in their kingdom and then Empire, creating distinct administrative hierarchies for justice, military organisation, taxation and financial affairs, domestic and foreign affairs, each with its own principal officers of the state. An elaborate administrative structure, later imitated by the Roman Catholic Church, covered the entire empire, with a hierarchy of officers reporting back through their superiors to the monarch. Administrators usually use a chain of command to achieve common goals.

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Background to administrative systems in the Ancient World

The ancient societies in Asia, Middle East, South America and Pre-colonial Africa developed ways and practices of administering their states in the form of city-states, kingdoms or empires before the imposition of Western European administration and administrative systems.

Administrators were responsible for organising and managing the day-to-day operations of their governments and its institutions. Governments had institutions led by elected or appointed officials, and public servants who were responsible for making and enforcing laws, maintaining order, administering justice, providing services, and protecting citizens. They were involved in planning, coordinating, and directing the activities of individuals and groups so as to achieve specific goals for the prosperity of their states. Administrators were responsible for making decisions, allocating resources, budgeting, staffing, and overseeing various departments by ensuring that policies were implemented. Administrative tasks included managing budgets, supervising employees, developing and implementing policies, and overseeing day-to-day operations.

In modern times, the government is responsible for maintaining order and security, promoting economic growth, and providing essential social services, such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure. It plays a role in regulating businesses and industries, protecting the environment, and promoting social welfare. It also creates and enforces laws, manages public resources, and provides essential services to citizens. Administration involves the planning, organising, directing, coordinating, and controlling of government operations. Public administration has ancient origins since the times of ancient Egypt, Greek, and Roman Empires.

Reasons for studying administrative systems in the Ancient World

Studying the history of administration in ancient Africa, for example, can be useful in dealing with the contemporary problems that are a legacy of the colonial period, and in seeking ways of reforming the modern administrative systems that derive from the colonial era.

Most of the administrative systems experienced and practiced today have their origin in the ancient times. The ancient world is a window into the past, and by studying it one can learn about the people who lived there, their culture, their technology and their administrative systems.

In addition, one can learn the ancient administrative systems in order to understand the present administrative systems. The hierarchical administrative systems of ancient Egypt into the development of significant technologies including writing, mathematics, and medicine. By studying ancient Egypt, for example, one can learn about the origins of these things and the values rooted in the pre-colonial African culture.

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Similarly, some of the administrative systems seen in our nations at the present originated from the ancient world. For that matter, learning about the administrative systems in the ancient world teaches people to appreciate their own culture. Ancient Egypt, for example, had a very rich and diverse culture; by studying it, one can gain a better understanding of one's own culture and its roots.

Administrative systems in Ancient Asia

In Ancient Asia, administrative systems varied greatly across different civilisations, but they revolved around centralised authority, bureaucratic hierarchies, and the delegation of responsibilities. Ancient Asia for a long time developed complex governing system that had a profound impact on the world history. This discussion will be focused on two important civilisations, namely ancient India and ancient China.

Administrative system in Ancient India

The History of the Indian administrative system can be traced back to the 5,000 years old Indus Valley civilisation, when the king became the all-powerful ruler in the kingdom. He was aided by a Council of Ministers along with functionaries and officers in administering the kingdom.

The evolution of the Indian administrative system originated from the Early Vedic Aryans, who were organised into ethnic groups rather than kingdoms. The leader of an ethnic group was known as Rajan and his main responsibility was to protect his ethnic group. He was assisted by several officials, including the Purohita (Chaplain), the Senani (Army Chief), the dutas (envoys), and the spash (spies). Nevertheless, the autonomy of the Rajan was restricted by the ethnic councils, namely Sabha and Samiti. Sabha was a meeting of great men in the ethnic group, whereas Samiti was a meeting of all free men in the ethnic group. In principle, these two bodies were partly responsible for the governance of the ethnic group. The Rajan could not come into power without their approval.

In the later Vedic period, the ethnic groups had consolidated into small kingdoms, which had a capital and a simple administrative system. The Rajan was perceived as the custodian of the social order and the protector of Rashtra (polity). Gradually, the hereditary kingship started to emerge. In this era, rituals dignified the status of the king over his people and he was occasionally referred to as Samrat (supreme ruler). The Rajan's increasing political power enabled him to gain greater control over the productive resources. The voluntary gift offering (bali) became a compulsory tribute as there was no organised system of taxation. Sabha and Samiti were still there but with the increasing power of the Rajan their influence declined. By the end of the later Vedic age, different kinds of political systems, such as monarchical states (Rajya), oligarchic states (gana or sangha), and ethnic principalities, had started emerging.

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Economic production in the Vedic period was sustained by a combination of pastoralist and agricultural way of life. Economic exchanges were conducted by gift giving, particularly to chiefs and priests, and barter system existed, whereby cattle were used as a unit of currency. The transition of Vedic society from semi-nomadic life to settled agriculture in the later Vedic age led to an increase in trade and competition for resources. Agriculture dominated the economic activity along the Ganges valley during this period. Agricultural operations grew in complexity as usage of iron implements increased. Apart from copper, bronze, and gold; later Vedic texts also mention about the usage of tin, lead, and silver. Crops such as wheat, rice, and barley were cultivated. New crafts and occupations such as carpentry, leather work, tanning, pottery, astrology, jewellery, dying, and wine making emerged.

The period of the Upanishads, which was the final phase of the Vedic era, was linked to the beginning of urbanisation in the Ganges Valley. The growth of population and trade networks led to the social and economic changes that started putting pressure on older ways of life, suggesting the end of the Vedic period and setting the stage for urbanisation.

These developments led to the rise of the Mauryan Empire. The Mauryan dynasty (before King Ashoka), which was essentially a Hindu State, opened the new era of Indian administrative system. The new system was associated with decentralisation, whereby the village units played a very important role as the base of grassroots administration. For efficient administration, the kingdom was divided into provinces, provinces into districts, and districts into rural and urban centres. The details of the Mauryan dynasty are provided hereunder.

Mauryan administrative system

The Mauryan Kingdom inaugurated a new era in the Indian history because for the first time, India achieved a stronger political unity and administrative uniformity. The empire was founded by Chandragupta Maurya who reigned from 321 to 293 BCE. Maurya was a strong administrator and a fine soldier who conquered the vast area of northwest India. He established a strong central government and built roads, irrigation systems, and other public works.

The kingdom was divided into four provinces with its capital in Patliputra. The names of the four provincial capitals were Tosali in the East, Ujjayain in the West, Suvarnagiri in the South, and Taxila in the North. In this respect, the Mauryans developed an organised and an elaborate system of administration. Structurally, there was a central administration, which was directly under the king. Then, there were provincial, local, revenue, judicial and military administrations.

Central administration

The king was the supreme and sovereign authority of the Mauryan administration. He had the executive, legislative, and judicial powers vested in him. He

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was responsible for the security of the kingdom. He laid down the general lines of the policy that were to be followed by all officials. He appointed ministers and other officers of the royal administration. In addition, the king was the supreme commander of the army and head of the entire military service. Besides, the king was the guardian of the law (dharma) and he could never dare to defy it. In the conduct of day-to-day administration, he was assisted and advised by a Mantri Parishad (Council of Ministers). This was more common during the times of emergencies such as wars, natural disasters and epidemics. The Brahmins, one of the highest- ranking castes in India, had great influence on the king and the latter was not supposed to disobey them. Instead, the king always looked towards their support. It is worthy-noting that the powers of the Mauryan government was of a decentralised nature whereby the provincial governors and provincial ministers had the right to be consulted by the king, especially in provincial matters.

The number of ministers in the council varied and was not fixed. The ministers had to qualify by showing their ability, especially in terms of religion and material wealth. In times of emergency, the majority decision of the council of ministers guided the king's decisions. Besides, there was a well-organised hierarchy of bureaucrats, who looked after the executive, judicial, and revenue offices. The entire administration system was organised into departments, each of which was headed by an administrator known as Adhyaksha. The Adhyaksha was aided by clerks, accountants, and spies. In addition, there were two posts of high officials, namely the Samaharta and the Sannidhata. The Samaharta was the collector general of revenue for the empire and he had control over the expenditure. The post of Sannidhata was the officer-in-charge of the treasury and store. Equally important, there were other officers such as Army Minister, Chief Priest and Governor of Forts.

Provincial administration

Mauryan Empire was divided into two parts: the kingdom that was under the direct rule of the king, and the vassal states. The Mauryan territory that was directly ruled by the king was divided into various provinces called Janapadas. Each province was subdivided into a number of districts and each district was again subdivided into a number of units.

However, in addition to these centrally ruled Mauryan territories, there were vassal states that enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. The provincial administration worked on similar basis like central administration. The Mauryan King directly ruled the central and eastern parts of the Empire. The other areas were ruled by the provincial governors who were responsible for day-to-day conduct of administration of provinces. They were expected to consult the central administration on important matters. There were also the district officers, reporters, and clerks, who helped in the smooth running of the provincial administration.

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Local administration

The district administration was in the charge of Rajukas, whose position and functions were similar to those of district collectors in modern India. The district administrator was assisted by Yuktas or subordinate officials. In the urban centres, there was a municipal board with 30 members. There were six committees with five board members in each to manage the administration of cities. The six committees were: the committee of industrial arts; the committee of foreigners; the committee of registration of births and deaths; the committee of trade and commerce; the committee of supervision of manufacturers; and the committee of collection of excise and custom duties.

Village administration was under Gramani and his superior was called Gopa, who was in-charge of ten to fifteen villages. Census was a regular activity and the village officials were to count the people along with other details, such as their castes and occupations. They were also to count the animals in each house. Census in towns was conducted by municipal officials, especially to track the movements of both foreign and indigenous population. The data collected were cross-checked by the spies. Census was a common and permanent institution during the administration of the Mauryas.

Revenue Administration

Treasury was given due emphasis during the administration of the Maurya Kingdom because it facilitated smooth and successful functioning of administration. Main sources of income were land revenue, taxation and rent. Land revenue was 1/6 of the total produce, yet in reality much higher proportion was charged as per the economic and local conditions of the farmers. In addition to land revenue, there were excise duties, forest taxes, water taxes, taxes on mines, taxes on coinage as other sources of revenue. Much of the Mauryan revenue was expended on paying the army, the officials of the royal government, charities, and different public works like irrigation projects, road construction etc.

Judicial administration

The king was the head of the judiciary. He was the highest court of appeal and personally listened to appeals of the people. However, since the Mauryan Empire was huge, it was not possible for the king to solve each and every case. So, he appointed judges for the purpose of hearing normal cases.

The Supreme Court was located in the capital and the Chief Justice was known as Dharmathikarin. There were also subordinate courts at the provincial capitals and districts under Amatyas. In villages and towns, cases were settled by the Gramavradha and Nagaravyavaharikamahamatra respectively. Different types of punishment such as fines, imprisonment and death were given to the offenders. Police stations were found at all major places in the city. Significantly, it was guaranteed that no innocent people would be

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punished. There was a special class of appointed officers known, as the Dhamma Mahamatras to look into this. Remission of sentences was also common.

Military administration

The King was the supreme commander of the military. The Mauryan army was well organised and it was under the control of a Senapati. As per Greek author Pliny, the Mauryan army consisted of six hundred thousand infantries, thirty thousand cavalries, nine thousand elephants, and eight thousand chariots. There was a Board of thirty members to look into matters pertaining to war. These members were placed in six committees with five members in each. These committees were responsible for managing different wings of the military, namely navy, transport and supply, infantry, cavalry, war chariots, and war elephants.

Each of the above wings was under the control of Adhyaksha or Superintendents. The Mauryan Empire had the privilege of having successful administrators, such as Chandragupta Maurya and Ashoka. The administration of the Empire was decentralised and the administrative powers were divided into administrative units. However, these units were under a strict central control.

It is worthy noting that the Mauryan Empire was dynamic and therefore experienced a myriad of changes. For instance, Ashoka the Great, who reigned from 268BCE to 232BCE was the third King of the Mauryan Empire (322-185BCE), best known for his repudiation of war, development of the concept of *dhamma*, promotion of Buddhism as well as his effective reign of a nearly Pan-Indian political entity. Apart from the three issues, he introduced many innovations and reforms in the Mauryan administrative system. Such changes improved the functioning of the executive, legislature, and the judiciary. He also introduced reforms in the provincial administration by appointing many officials to look into matters of public welfare. Ashoka appointed a special class of officers known as the Dhamma Mahamatras to look after the material and spiritual well-being of the people. These persons were also charged with the task of spreading the teachings of Dhamma.

Exercise 4.1

Compare the administrative systems of ancient India with the contemporary administrative systems in Africa.

Administrative system in Ancient China

Administration in ancient China played a crucial role and was instrumental in the functioning of the Chinese political system. The Chinese centralised administrative system can be traced back to the Shang dynasty, which existed from the 16th to the 11th centuriesBCE, but it was during the Han dynasty (206BCE -

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220CE) that the administrative system became fully developed.

Historically, China transformed from a collection of a number of kingdoms into a unified empire. In the course of this transformation, Chinese statesmen developed highly effective ways of governing their expanding empire. Out of this process, the key governing structures of ancient China the monarch, the civil service and the army were developed and their roles defined: The first dynasty to emerge into the light of history was the Shang dynasty. The Shang state can best be viewed as a confederation of states clustered around a central domain, acknowledging the Shang King as their overlord. The Shang confederation was made up of different zones. In the centre was the capital city itself. Surrounding it was the countryside, directly controlled by the King. Further out was the rest of the Shang kingdom, divided amongst many subordinate lords. Finally, there was a large outer area of allied kingdoms and chiefdoms, who acknowledged the Shang King as their overlord.

The Shang were replaced by the Zhou around 1100BCE. The new dynasty kept the Shang administrative system more or less in place, but with one major difference. The Zhou kings placed members of their own clan, plus a few prominent supporters, in charge of the allied kingdoms. Each of these clan members held his new position, not as a king, but as a subordinate prince. These princes had powers over local lords, who held a small territory consisting of a small town and its surrounding farmland. In real sense, the Zhou dynasty turned the Shang confederation into a single state, made up of many fiefs. Western scholars likened them to the feudal kingdoms of Mediaeval Europe.

Under the early Zhou Kings, this system worked well, and the kingdom expanded. Sometime in the early first millennium BCE, however, the authority of the kings began to decline. This is because they gradually started to lose the loyalty of the regional princes, who became more independent-minded. In 770/771BCE, for example, there erupted a princes' rebellion which reduced the King of Zhou to a ceremonial or figurehead leader. In this regard, the real power was now vested to the regional princes. That situation led to constant wars of conquest as stronger princes invaded the territories of weaker ones. This led to the emergence of several powerful and rival states. Despite the almost constant background of warfare, important changes were taking place. One of those changes was cultural development involving the creation of Confucianism, the system of ethical beliefs that remains fundamental in Chinese thoughts and behaviour to date. Its founder, Confucius (551– 479BCE), was born at Qufu in Lu province to a poor but aristocratic family. He became a government official before seeking for the life of a wandering sage and teacher. Confucius' moral teaching

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stressed respect for authority, family and tradition. He instructed rulers to act virtuously so as to set a good example for their subjects.

After the Warring States Period (period of warfare explained earlier) the province of Qin in the west, emerged as the strongest power in China. Its mountainous borders made it difficult to invade and from 350 BCE onward it steadily expanded its territory by conquering the peoples on its western borders. Between 230 and 221BCE the Qin King, Zheng, in a series of lightning campaigns, rapidly conquered the other states of China. To mark his success, he adopted the title of the First Emperor (Shi Huangdi).

Although this was only short-lived, it paved the way for the rise of the long-lasting Han dynasty, which ruled all of China for some four hundred years. By the end of this final phase of ancient China, all the major institutions which would govern the country through to the twentieth century had come into being.

Generally, the Chinese administration (bureaucracy) was organised into a hierarchical system that was based on the principles of meritocracy and education. The top of the hierarchy was occupied by the emperor, who was considered to be the ultimate authority in the land. Beneath the emperor were the nobles and high-ranking officials who served as advisors and administrators. Below the nobles were the scholars, who were educated in the classics and were responsible for overseeing various aspects of government administration, including taxation, public works, and education. The scholars were selected through a rigorous examination system that tested their knowledge of the classics and their administrative abilities. The detailed account of the Chinese administrative system is presented hereunder.

Emperor

The idea of divinity in the king was prevalent in China. The king was considered as a son and representative of god. He was the supreme authority of religion, rule, justice, and law. He had the power to appoint all kinds of administrative officers. Although the king was supreme, he used to act according to the tradition of the country and the feelings of the people. In addition, there was an officer called 'Sensor' who was the President of the Administrative Council.

Council of Ministers

There was a Prime Minister and a grand council of four ministers for the help and advice of the emperor. Its president was the Crown Prince. In addition, there was another committee with six members who were relatively less powerful. They used to handle different departments such as education, law, religion, justice, communication, supply of essential commodities, festivals, war, defence, punishment, and public works.

Provincial system

The ancient Chinese empire was divided into many provinces. The boundaries separating the provinces were not the same. The provincial governors were princes or powerful feudal lords who

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were appointed by the emperor. The main functions of these officers were ensuring security, revenue collection, promotion of justice, correspondence, and similar things. The Chinese provinces were called Seng.

Local government

The village was the smallest unit of local bodies. The heads of the village families chose the leader of the village, who was responsible for the rule. A group of villages was called 'inferior.' Under each inferior there was a Magistrate and a Revenue Officer. The bigger unit was Fu, in which two or three 'inferiors' were included.

Public Service Commission

There was a public service commission for the selection of Administrative Officers in China, which organised competitive examinations. This method was initiated by rulers of Han dynasty. The questions were asked on topics like logic, philosophy, ethics, justice, health, poetry and the like. This method was an important achievement of China. On the basis of merit, any person could get an official rank by passing this examination.

The Chinese administration was known for its efficiency and effectiveness, and it was able to maintain a stable and prosperous society for centuries. It was also known for its adaptability and its ability to incorporate new ideas and technologies into its administrative structures. For example, during the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE), the administration adopted a new system of land surveys that allowed for more accurate and efficient tax collection. The Chinese administration was also responsible for the development of a legal system that was based on the principles of Confucianism. The legal system was designed to promote social order and harmony and was based on the concept of filial piety, which emphasised the importance of respect for authority and the proper relationships between different members of society.

Chinese bureaucracy was a key component of the ancient Chinese administrative system and played a crucial role in maintaining stability and prosperity in the country. Its emphasis on education, meritocracy, and efficiency made it one of the most effective administrative systems of its time, and its influence can still be seen in modern-day China.

The Chinese administrative system was one of the most successful and durable in all world history. History depicts that this form of administration and its institutions were later adopted by neighbouring countries such as Korea and Vietnam. The Chinese influence was not limited to the Far East only; it transcended to European countries which to them China became what a rationally-organised, meritocratic state should look like, and thus had large impact on the political ideas of Enlightenment thinkers. In a more direct way, the ancient Chinese model offered example which the British were able to follow in setting up their administration of the Indian subcontinent and which was later adopted as the model of the British civil service.

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Administrative systems in the Ancient Middle East

The administrative systems in the ancient Middle East were characterised by hierarchical structures, centralised authority, and reliance on written records for governance and record-keeping. These systems played a critical role in maintaining order, facilitating economic activities, and supporting the power of ruling classes. In studying administrative systems in the Middle East, the focus will be in the ancient Mesopotamia.

Administrative system in the Ancient Mesopotamia

Ancient Mesopotamia which hosts the cradle of human civilisation, developed along the banks of two great rivers, Euphrates and Tigris (see Figure 4.1). The area covers the parts of the present-day Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Jordan. The waters of these rivers made irrigation farming possible in the dry land. The rivers were also important routes for transportation and communication and gave Mesopotamia a head start in developing flourishing civilisations/ developments. Mesopotamian history is associated with numerous developments that changed the world. Such developments include administrative system, the concept of time, mathematics, the wheel, sailboats, maps and writing. It is also associated with a changing succession of ruling groups from different areas and cities that seized control over a period of thousands of years. Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Chaldeans among others, enjoyed a few centuries of power in this area.

Furthermore, Mesopotamians loved both secular and religious learning. Thus, schools and temples were everywhere in the empire. They learnt reading, writing, religion, law and medicine in those schools and temples. Likewise, Mesopotamians were polytheists who believed that there were more than 1000 gods. They also believed that they worked with the gods. To them, the land was full of spirits. They believed that the world began when the gods defeated the forces of chaos and disorder. However, even though the gods had won, this did not mean chaos could not come again. The Mesopotamians always wanted to make the gods happy so the world would stay safe. They thus observed the daily routines, said prayers, and buried the dead properly. They were taught to always pay maximum respect to the gods in whatever they do.

The history of Mesopotamia covers a long time, roughly from around 3500 BCE to the 6th century BCE. Some of the prominent civilisations that prospered in Mesopotamia during this time comprised of the Sumerians, Akkadians, Babylonians, Assyrians, and Chaldeans. Each of these civilisations had its own different period of governance within the broader Mesopotamian context. The Mesopotamians are believed to have developed the centralised state and kingship. City-states were political centres where administration was passed down by dynastic kings. Over time, the Mesopotamian culture advanced its city-states merged into kingdoms. The whole process of this development

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generated an administrative system that catered for well-being of the dynasties.

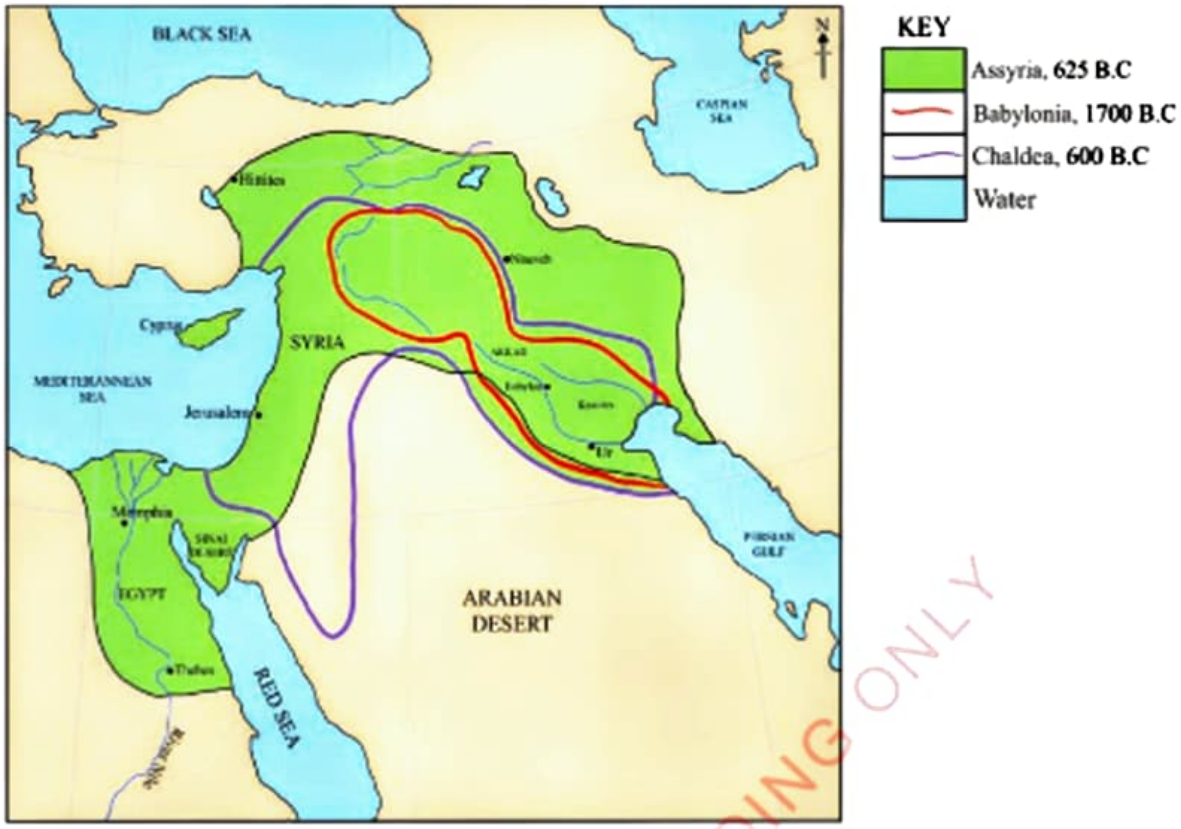

Figure 4. 1: *Ancient Mesopotamia Empire*

The Mesopotamian city-states developed a social hierarchy, in which Mesopotamians were grouped in order of rank within the society. Mesopotamia's social hierarchy was divided into four classes namely royalty, upper class, middle class, and lower class. Each group comprised various members of society and functioned to keep the community working. Government/bureaucracy was an important element of the administrative system of the various city-states that existed in ancient Mesopotamia. The Mesopotamian bureaucracy was charged with supervising various daily activities and duties such as public work projects, tax collection, and the administration of justice. The administrative system was typically organised into a hierarchical system, with various levels of officials responsible for different functions.

The royalty

At the top (royalty) of the Mesopotamian government were the kings, who were the decisive authorities in their respective city-states. The kings were advised by a council of nobles and high-ranking officials who were responsible for making policy decisions. The king worked directly with the people and he himself enacted the laws. Before the first kings, priests were rulers. They were believed to have

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gotten messages from the gods to make laws. When the kings emerged, they were also believed to be speaking with the gods, and able to know their wishes. Because of this administrative system, some scholars coined it as a theocratic socialism. Under this system, many government activities were centered around the temple. Activities such as food distribution, the building of dikes and irrigation canals were all managed in the temple. However, the high priests ceased to be co-rulers with the kings by the time of the Achaemenes Empire.

There were noble kings like Ur-Nammu, in Sumer King of Urr, Sargon, who established the Akkadian Empire, Hummurabi, who established the old Babylonian state, and Tiglath-Pileser, who established the Assyrian empire.

Upper class

There were various officials (upper class) who were charged with various administrative duties below the king and his advisory council. For instance, the scribes were responsible for keeping records and documentation, whereas the tax collectors were responsible for collecting taxes from the population. The judges were responsible for administering justice, while the military officials were responsible for organising and leading military campaigns as well as security and defence of the empire.

The middle class

The largest social class in Mesopotamia was the middle class. They were the farmers and labourers of society.

Providing food and raw materials to other classes also made them an important group within the social structure. The middle class consisted of fishermen, farmers, artisans, and potters. These people were producers of different items in the society. Therefore, it was an important class for the development of the dynasty.

The lower class

The lower class comprised slaves, people without land and children as well as prisoners who were captured after the prolonged wars that took place to wrest control of city states. Slaves were regarded as bounty from wars and they were brought in and made to work for wealthy merchants and priests. Figure 4.2 shows hierarchical administrative system of Mesopotamia.

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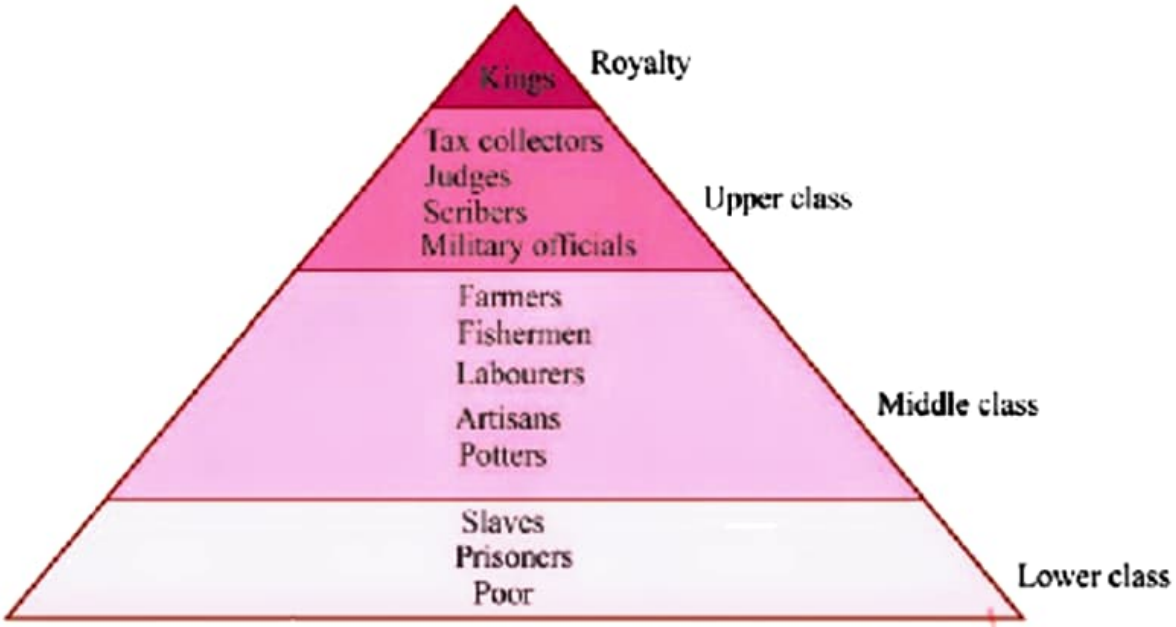

Figure 4. 2: ***Administrative hierarchy in Mesopotamia***

Exercise 4.2

1. How did the Chinese bureaucratic system contribute to the stability and longevity of the Chinese dynasties?
2. Describe administrative systems in Mesopotamia.

Administrative systems in Ancient Europe

In ancient Europe, administrative systems varied greatly depending on the time period, culture, and the level of political organisation. Examples from the city-states of the ancient Greek and Roman Empires suggest that administrative practices varied significantly. Administrative systems developed in each region, contributing to the rich civilisation of ancient Europe. The subsequent parts of this section discuss the administrative systems in ancient Greece and Rome.

Administrative system in Ancient Greece

The rise of private property led to the transition from communalism to slave mode of production in different parts of Europe. During communalism, a society was organised on clan based. The disintegration and collapse of the communal administrative system was due to the emergence of social divisions of labour that led to the rise of various modes of specialisations and exchange, hence the emergence of private property and classes. Individual members within the community began to carry out different types of production activities, thereby promoting growth of the productivity of labour. In his book, *The Origin of the Family,* Private Property and the State, Frederick Engels pointed out that, with the separation of pastoral groups from

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the general mass of communities, major social divisions of labour occurred. As a result, favourable conditions emerged for increasing output of the produce and for the evolution of regular exchange between cattle-raising and farming communities. Together with agriculture and cattle raising, handicraft production began to develop. Pottery, weaving, and the production of metal tools (wooden ploughs with metal shares, iron axes) and weapons developed. The craft goods of the smith, the armourer, the potter and so on were exchanged with increasing frequency, and the sphere of exchange expanded. With the appearance of new and better tools, the production relations of the communal society began not to correspond to the new productive forces. While collective labour required common ownership of the means of production, individual labour gave rise to private property. Persons occupying the position of elder, war chief, or priest in the community used their positions for personal gain, taking a significant share of the communal property and becoming even richer. The mass of the clansmen became economically dependent on the rich and noble chiefs. As the productive forces grew, people began to produce more surplus than were needed to maintain them. In such conditions, it became advantageous not to kill captives, as had been the practice, but to put them to work or turn them into slaves. Thus, the first division of society into classes originated-into slave-owners and slaves.

The emergence of private property and the splitting of society into classes created the need for a state. The organs of state power promoted the development and consolidation of the production relations of the slave-owning society. The state served the interests of the ruling class, the slave-owners. Thus, there was a need to develop administration and administrative systems that would address the ruling class interests and society at large. Examples of these administrative systems are drawn from ancient Greek and the Roman Empire. Around 750BCE, many small isolated villages of Greek mainland grew into city states. City states were independent communities that became the only organised political structures of ancient Greece. These Greek city states occupied the area along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, Aegean islands, Ionian Sea, Minoa, Mycenaean, and Balkan Peninsula.

The Greeks lived in city states known as polis, which meant city. The polis consisted of a fortified point surrounded by several farming villages. The strong point was on a hill or acropolis, on which a temple was built for the local deity. At the foot of the acropolis was the agora, that was an open area used as a market and public meeting place. Gradually, as population increased, artisans, traders and nobles settled near the agora. By 600BCE, such political units had developed into city states.

The concept of citizen became basic to the workings of the polis. A citizen was a

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resident with rights and responsibilities, such as serving in the military and law courts, voting intelligently, and participating in decision making. The citizens often met together to take part on live debates over issues of the day and to vote on public policy. The Greeks believed that only men who owned property deserved citizenship. Women, slaves, common people and foreigners were excluded. Gradually, some city states allowed men without property to become citizens. Women were never granted the right to become citizens. In average, city states had 5,000-10,000 citizens.

As time went on, improvement in technology and productive forces caused division of labour based on specialisation and that transformation led to the appearance of social classes in Greece. There were four classes. The first one was a class of land-owning families, sometimes called nobles, who held great power in the polis as rulers. The nobles were called aristocrats, meaning best people. The second class was composed of the merchants who owned wealth. The third class consisted of farmers who owned small plots of land. A fourth class was made up of labourers and slaves who did not own properties. Labourers who worked on large estates, artisans and sailors belonged to this class. They were not allowed to be citizens.

Political development

Ancient Greece developed a variety of administration and administrative systems as people searched for the answers to fundamental questions, such as: who should rule and how? Should sovereignty lie in the rule of law, the constitution, officials, or the citizens? What are the roles of rulers and citizens? Governments in the Greek city states took diverse forms, from tyranny to democracy. There were four common systems of government and administration in ancient Greece. These were democracy, meaning rule by the people (male citizens); monarchy, meaning rule by an individual who had inherited political power; oligarchy, meaning rule by a select group of individuals; tyranny, meaning rule by an individual who had seized power by unconstitutional means. By 700BCE, the nobles in all the city states had seized political power from the kings. Decisions were made by councils of land-owning nobles called aristocracy. The council appointed officials for fixed terms to carry out special duties. This form of government was called oligarchy. Over the time tensions developed between the nobles and other classes. Because of an increase in trade, merchants gained wealth and began to challenge the nobles. Debt slavery and control of land by the aristocracy stirred discontent among the lower classes. To end the unrest and other forms of chaos, the military leaders seized power. They became known as tyrants. In those times, to the Greeks, the word tyrant meant a person who had seized power rather than inherited it. Between 650 and 500BCE, tyrants ruled many city states. It was known as the age of tyrants. Tyrants were interested in improving their polis and the lives of their citizens.

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In Ancient Greece, there were two prominent administrative systems namely Athenian democracy and Spartan oligarchy.

Athenian democratic administration and administrative system

After 500BCE, many city states in Greece developed a form of government and administration known as democracy, in which the people held the power to rule. Leaders were aristocrats. Although many city states had democracies, the city state of Athens was the best of this type of democracy. Like all other city states, Athens was initially a monarchy. In 682BCE, the nobles replaced the king with an oligarchy of nine archons or officials. The archons were elected for terms of one year by an assembly composed of all the people who owned land.

Under oligarchic rule, population and trade increased. However, discontents among the people emerged. Crop failures caused farmers to fall into debt trap. Many farmers lost their land and some were forced to sell themselves into slavery to repay their creditors.

In order to avoid rebellion, Athenian leaders gradually moved to a democratic government. Aristotle wrote The Constitution of the Athenians. Athens' constitution was a democracy because it respected the interests not of the minority but of the whole people. During settling private disputes, everyone was equal before the law. Citizens occupied public offices and held responsibilities not due to their membership of a particular class, but their actual ability which they possessed. Athens developed a democratic government led by aristocratic people. An aristocracy is a rule by a privileged group usually an upper class of wealth and social position. The nobles were the ruling class in Ancient Greece. Nobles began to gain control of large amount of land around city-states. As a result, they began to exercise more and more control over city states and gradually seized control of the governments. The nobles governed in their own interests. They passed new laws that stated that people who failed to pay debts could be sold into slavery and their land could be taken away from them. Through these new laws, the nobles gained more land for themselves and the slave population of Greece began to grow. This brought inequalities and contradictions between aristocrats who became slave owners and slaves who had lost their land and other civic privileges.

In order to improve administration, the Athenian kings embarked on reforms. There were four reformers. The first one was Draco. In 621BCE Draco drew up a code of law. He organised laws by putting them into a written code and that code involved harsh punishments. Draco's code of law allowed people to know exactly what the laws were and that they applied to all. A written code of law ensured that the laws would be applied equally to all people. An example of the application of the Draco's laws under the Athenian democracy was the death sentence given to the philosopher Socrates in 399BCE. The second reformer was Solon who began

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with economic reforms. In 594BCE, he cancelled all debts for small farmers and outlawed debt slavery. He also placed a limit on the amount of land one person could own. Apart from economic reforms he also conducted political reforms. He gave the Assembly the right to veto laws passed by the council of nobles. He allowed all foreign artisans to become citizens. The third reformer was Pisistratus. He was a wealthy relative of Solon who took over the government in 560BCE. Pisistratus abolished the law that allowed only landowners to become citizens and to vote. This act greatly increased the number of Athenians who became citizens. He broke up some large estates so as to distribute property to the landless. He encouraged the development of trade and industry. The fourth reformer was Cleisthenes who assumed power in 508BCE. He introduced a series of laws that transformed Athens into the world's first democracy. Cleisthenes guaranteed freedom of speech and equality before the law to all citizens. He gave all citizens, regardless of whether or not they owned land, membership in the Assembly. The Assembly was given the power to pass laws instead of just approving them, to elect ten generals to run the armed forces and to serve as a supreme court. The Assembly that included 43,000 citizens became central part of democracy in Athens. Matters such as finance, public works, shipping and foreign affairs were turned over to the Council of Five Hundred. The 500 members were chosen each year by lot, a system in which names are selected randomly.

In Athens, the law was devised and enforced by magistrates (archai). All citizens were eligible for the position, and indeed, there may well have been a certain expectation that the honourable citizen would play his active part in civic life. For the Greeks, the state was not seen as an interfering entity which sought to limit one's freedom but as an apparatus through which the individual could fully express his membership of the community. The regular turnover of archai, due to limited terms of office and the prohibition of re-election, meant abuse of power was kept in check and the rulers would, in turn, become the ruled. Various boards of officials also existed to make administrative decisions; members of these were usually taken from each of the ten traditional groups. Many civic positions were short-term and chosen by lot to ensure bribery was kept to a minimum. Importantly, positions of power often required not only free time but also financial layout to fund municipal projects such as ship building and festivals. Therefore, it was probably the case that public positions were in reality dominated by the wealthier citizens.

All male citizens in Athens had the right to vote, hold public office, own property and defend themselves in court. The Arthenian democracy enabled male citizens to vote on all important decisions, such as whether to declare war or how to spend government money. They also elected government officials and generals and could vote to exile anyone they thought was too powerful.

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However, women were not considered citizens and had no say in politics and administration of the city states. Military commanders also held public office in some city-states. In Athens, the board of ten elected generals, known as the strategoi, could influence the agenda of the assembly and so prioritise their own causes. They were subject to votes of confidence by the Assembly but this did not stop Pericles, for example, from holding office as strategos for 15 consecutive years.

The citizens also enjoyed freedom of speech and freedom of assembly. They discussed issues ranging from deciding magistracies to organising and maintaining food supplies to debating military matters in the Assembly. There was in Athens, and also Elis, Tegea, and Thasos, a smaller body, called the boulē, which decided or prioritised the topics which were discussed in the Assembly. In addition, in times of crisis and war, this body could also take decisions without the assembly meeting. The boulē or council of 500 citizens was chosen by lot and had a limited term of office, which acted as a kind of Executive Committee of the Assembly. The decrees of the Assembly could also be challenged by the law courts. Similar in function to the boulē was the council of elders (selected men over 60), the gerousia of Sparta, which also had the two Spartan Kings as members and had certain legal powers. Similar bodies of elders existed in Corinth and Stymphalos. In Athens, the areopagus was a similar council, where elders were made members for life.

Military Alliance: armed forces were important for protecting Greek city states from external threats. Athens and Sparta, the two powerful Greek city states, prospered from trade in the Aegean and Mediterranean seas. They faced constant threats from King Darius of Persian Empire. The Empire was formed in 560BCE by Persian King Cyrus. In 546BCE, Persians conquered the Greek colonies in Ionia. In 499BCE Miletus city state revolted against Persian rule and eventually the alliance of Athens and Sparta defeated the Darius forces in 490BCE.

Under the rulership of Pericles, the Athenian Empire was formed. This was after the Greek League won the war against Persian Empire in what is known as the Persian War. In 478BCE, Athens persuaded several city sates to unite to protect one another. The Alliance was called Delian League, named after the island of Delos, where the assembly of the League met and the funds contributed by each member were kept. The Delian League freed Ionia from Persian rule and cleared out pirate strongholds in the Aegean Sea. Trade on sea expanded. Gradually, Athens began to control other members of the Delian League. Athenian soldiers were stationed in various city states and were often used to suppress revolts against the ruling aristocracy. Criminal cases were tried in Athens rather than in the polis where the offence took place. Athenian coins became a common currency for the Empire. In 454BCE, Athens seized the treasury at Delos and demanded

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tribute from the League members. This act transformed the Delian League into the Athenian Empire. Dominant over much of Greece and the colonies it had established, Athens became the centre of Greek civilisation and cultural achievements, such as philosophy, laws, democracy, military, medicine and art.

The Athenian democracy was a direct or participatory democracy. It was able to solve problems of the slave societies at that time. Other city-states imitated the Athenian democracy and ways of governing their societies. In other Greek states, there were also democratic assemblies, sometimes with a minimum property stipulation for attendees as in the case of Boiotian federation 447-386BCE. Some city states also mixed democratic assemblies with a monarchy, such as in Macedonia, Molossia, Agrigento, Samos, and Corinth.

Administration and administrative systems in Sparta City State

Each Greek city state had its own history, political institutions and ways of life. However, there were differences among them. Whereas Athens developed democratic system of government, the city state of Sparta developed a monarchy system under which the government had complete control over the people's lives. The government regulated every facet of Spartan life.

About 750BCE Sparta began taking over the neighbouring city states and enslaved their inhabitants. By 500BCE Sparta dominated the Peloponnesus Peninsular on which the city lay. The Spartan nobles lived off the labour of two lower classes, the perioeci and the helots. The perioeci were free persons who worked as artisans and merchants. The helots were slaves owned by the polis rather than by individuals. Helots farmed the nobles' lands, turning over half of their crops to the nobles. As perioeci and helots outnumbered nobles for 20 to 1, the Spartan nobles chose to control lower classes through force. This became an authoritarian form of government in which people obeyed the decisions of a few. By 400BCE, political power was placed under the council of elders made up of 28 nobles who were 60 years of age or older. The council served as a supreme court and proposed laws to the Assembly, to which all citizens over twenty years of age belonged. The members of the Assembly either accepted or rejected a proposed law by shouting their vote. Each year the Assembly elected a board made up of five men to administer the affairs of the polis. This board had the power to veto any legislation.

Although Sparta also possessed a citizen assembly, it is most famous for its system of two kings. The two kings were not absolute monarchs, they only held more powers when they led the Spartan army in times of war. During peacetime, the two kings were kept in check by ephors (ephoroi) who were themselves elected by the assembly. A degree of political consensus was necessary for this overlapping apparatus to function. The kings were also members of

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the gerousia and were admitted from a young age, so that they must have had a significant advantage over the other members who could not join until they were 60. The Spartan kings could be put on trial and even exiled. The kings of Sparta were kept in check by ephors (ephoroi) who were themselves elected by the assembly.

The Spartans built a strong and well-trained army to prevent revolts and maintain order. In order to maintain a disciplined army, Spartan babies were examined for physical fitness. The weak or deformed infants were left to die on a hillside. Healthy girls were trained to become wives and mothers of soldiers. Healthy boys were removed from their families at the age of seven and placed in barracks where they were trained to become fierce and disciplined soldiers. By suffering from public whipping, they leant how to bear pain without complaint. They went barefoot and dressed in the scantiest garment even during winter to learn endurance. As a result, Sparta built the finest army in Greek. It became a military state as opposed to democratic Athens.

Sparta developed military might due to the fact that the Greek city states were fierce rivals for power in Greece and Aegean. The Spartans had a more powerful armed force. They had highly disciplined soldiers who fought battles with spears and fought on bare foot in a tight, defensive battle formation called a phalanx. All fit and healthy citizens were expected to buy their own armoury and weapons and serve in their city's army when needed.

In Sparta, all boys were taken away from their families at the age of seven and brought up by the state. Their education consisted of gymnastics and training for war. On reaching 20-year-old, a man became a citizen and could join a military unit. The military training enabled the Greeks to defeat Persians in land and sea battles. Through military alliance, the Athens and Sparta defeated the Persians. For example, in the battle of Xerxes Persian invasion of 200,000 men and 1,000 warships was defeated by the combined much smaller forces of Sparta and Athens. However, the unity between Sparta and Athens was only short lived because hostility grew between them as they built up support among other city states. The struggle to dominate the two Greek city states, Athens and Sparta, prompted frequent wars. In the context of such struggles, a war known as the Peloponnesian War (Thirty-Year War) occurred. In the 500s BCE, Sparta and several other city states formed an alliance designed to balance Athenian power. As wealth and power of the Athens grew during its Golden Age, members of the alliance called the Peloponnesian League felt increasingly threatened. Old rivalries were revived among many city states, but the main conflict was drawn between Sparta and its allies on the one hand and Athens and its allies on the other. Sparta got support from Persia which supplied it with gold to build its ships. In exchange, Sparta agreed to return Ionia to the Persian

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Empire. In this battle, Athens lost to Sparta and its allies. The Spartan armed forces defeated Athenian armed forces during the Peloponnesian war of 431-404BCE.

Thus, the Greek city states had different types of governments. While Athens developed a direct democratic system whereby all citizens could participate, Sparta, Macedonia and Epeiros developed a monarchy. Other city states, including Thebes, developed oligarchy system, where a small powerful group of people led the government. Syracuse, on the other hand, was under the rulership of a single person or tyrant.

Exercise 4.3

How did the administrative systems in Ancient Greece evolve over time?

The administration and administrative system of the Ancient Rome

Ancient Rome started as a small political power. About 1000BCE, the Latins founded settlements on seven hills overlooking River Tiber. The river gave access to the sea while the city's inland location protected it from attack by sea. In the 8th centuryBCE, the Etruscans from Asia Minor immigrated to the Italian Peninsula. In the 6th centuryBCE, they conquered Rome and established a monarchy that lasted for a century. The Etruscans taught the Romans how to use arch in building, drain swamps at the banks of River Tiber, use bronze, make better weapons, build ships, use grapes for making wine, and taught them the art of warfare. On a drained land, the Romans set up a forum, a public square similar to the agora in Greek city states. The forum contained law courts, government buildings and a market place. In 600BCE, the Romans developed a system of law, a form of government, a military structure and a special way of life. These institutions later influenced the growth of the Roman Empire. By the 400sBCE, the Romans had emerged as a dominant group in the Italian Peninsula.

The rise of the Roman Republic

Etruscan kings ruled Rome and the rest of Italy. The rivalry within the Etruscan royal family of Tarquin which ruled Rome weakened it. In 509BCE, the Romans overthrew the Etruscans and declared their independence. Monarchical form of government, established by Remulus and Remus, could not prevail in Rome for a long time. The Romans dethroned the Etruscan ruler Tarquinius Superbus and laid down the foundation of a Republican government. The Roman Republic was dominated by the struggles between patricians and plebeians. In different wars, like Italian War, Gaul War, Latin War and Samnite Wars, Rome became victorious. The Roman Republic grew from strength to strength through conquest.

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The administration and administrative system of the Roman Republic

At first the Republic was completely under the control of the upper class called the patricians. Consuls, officials, senators and most of the assembly members were patricians. These wealthy landowners constituted 10 per cent of Rome's population, excluding slaves. The remaining 90 per cent were nearly excluded from political life. This group of common citizens was called plebeians and it consisted of farmers, merchants, labourers, and artisans. Plebeians faced many restrictions, including prohibition to marry patricians. They could also be enslaved if they failed to pay their debts. As Roman laws were unwritten, plebeians were often punished for breaking the rules they never knew existed.

As a result of these restrictions, plebeians began to struggle for political and social reforms. The plebeians had one advantage; they were many compared to patricians. As the Republic expanded, the patricians began to rely more and more on plebeians to fill the ranks of the army. By threatening that they could not fight for Rome unless reforms were made, the plebeians gradually won many rights. In 494BCE, the plebeians were able to force the creation of a new assembly called the Council of Plebeians to represent their interests in the government. The Council of Plebeians elected officials called tribunes to represent them in the government. At first, they elected two officials but eventually the number rose to ten. Tribunes could veto any acts of the Senate, the Consul, or government officials that could affect the plebeians. In response to the demands of the plebeians, around 450BCE, the Roman laws were collected and written down on 12 bronze tables, popularly known as the Twelve Tables. These laws were displayed in the forum, which was the religious and government centre of Rome. The Tables spelt out the basic laws that covered nearly every aspect of Roman life, such as wills, family law, property rights, court cases, and even public behaviour of citizens. The plebeians also won the right to marry patricians and to hold the office of the Consul. Moreover, they could now sit in the Senate. The Assembly of Plebeians could pass laws without Senate's approval. The enslavement for debt was prohibited.

Despite these gains, the plebeians did not change the Roman government significantly. Patricians continued to exercise most of the power and the Roman Republic remained relatively undemocratic. Most of the plebeians had no direct say in political decisions. The Romans believed that people were not to govern but to be governed. In reality, the Senate ruled with great authority, unchallenged even by the Council of Plebeians. At the top of the Republic there was a supreme authority called imperium. Again, the military administration and the highest executive administration were vested with two Consuls. They feared that if power was concentrated in one hand, the Consul would be a dictator.

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A Consul was an official chosen from the patrician class, who carried out the Roman laws. The two Consuls commanded the Republican army to carry out the laws. Because each Consul had the power to veto the acts of the other, both of them were cautious and they had to agree with each other before they could act. If by chance they differed on a particular issue, the Senate intervened in that matter. The two Consuls were appointed only for one year, for fear that they might become dictators if they remained in power for a long time. During emergency, one of the two Consuls acted as magistrate populi or dictator for six months. He maintained law and order by awarding punishment and had full power to make decisions and guide the government but he could not change the basic laws of the Republic. That magistrate populi returned to his regular position as a Consul when normalcy was restored. This way, the people of Rome brought the highest authority of the country under their control.

The Romans set up a legislature that included a Senate and two Assemblies. The members of the Senate were patricians who served for life. The senators proposed and passed all laws and ratified treaties. They also approved official appointments. The Assembly of Centuries, made up of patricians, directed military matters. The Assembly of Tribes, composed mainly of plebeians, represented the 35 ethnic groups into which Roman citizens were divided. In theory, the two Assemblies represented all the people of Rome because their members were both patricians and plebeians. In practice, however, it was the patricians who controlled the two Assemblies.

The general administration of Rome was not only vested with the Consuls but also with the Praetor, or Judge. The Praetor played an important role in interpreting the Roman laws and was considered one of the key persons in the administration of Rome. He helped the Consul during wartime as his trusted lieutenant by looking after warfare, supplying war materials and food to soldiers, organising the army, and obeying the order of the Consul in the war. The Praetor gave expert opinion to the Consul at the time of need. The Consul, in association with the Praetor, made important decisions regarding war and peace. All these activities made the Praetor popular but he was elected only for one year.

The officials called censors, counted the people of Rome and determined how much tax was appropriate based on individual wealth. They paid attention to the economy of the Roman Republic and after the end of every five years, they accomplished the task of census. They also prepared a list of property of the citizens and levied tax on the people. They worked with a mission to collect revenue for the treasury of Rome. Such economic policies made the Roman Republic strong and the census enumerators were elected for five years.

Another integral part of the Roman Republic was Questors, who were appointed as treasurers and paid attention to the expenditure of the state money. The

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questors verified the papers relating to property and played important role in the field of administration. They were also elected for a year only.

The Aedil was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in the society. He looked after the works of the police and helped in checking crimes in the society. He also looked after the municipal administration and worked to bring administration close to the people so that the public could feel its direct impact. He was also elected for a year.

Senate

In the domain of administration in Rome, Senate was the most important organ and consisted of 300 members. All the experienced and aged people were its lifetime members. Although the Consul was the chief of administration, he was regulated by the Senate. The main function of the Senate was to advise the Consul. Each and every law became legitimate after receiving the approval of the Senate. Thus, the Roman people respected the Senate because, as a Legislative Assembly, it regulated the administration of Rome. Besides this, the Senate regulated the foreign policy, income and expenditure, recruitment of the army, provincial administration, and defense of the country. The honesty, sincerity, ability and sense of dedication of the Senate members contributed a lot to the growth of the Roman Republic.

Tribune

Generally, Senators were nobles - the patricians. It was suspected that these people might do harm to common people. Thus, to protect the plebeians from the injustices or subjugation by the patricians, the Tribune was formed. It was thought that if one man is appointed in this post, he might not be impartial. That is why two men were appointed as Tribunes. They were always active to protect the common people from the wrath of impartial justice exercised by the Magistrate or the Questor. They contributed to the welfare of the people by protecting them from the dominance of the nobles.

Comitia Tributa

The plebeians also played a vital role in the administration of Rome. They formed a National Assembly named Comitia Tributa. At first, the Assembly was only responsible for framing the laws over the plebeians. Later on, such laws were also applicable to the patricians. The important works of the Comitia Tributa involved appointing the Tribunes and looking after the well-being of the common people. That is why its role in the administration of Rome was quite important.

Comitia Centuriata

Another National Assembly in Rome was Comitia Centuriata. Many Roman nobles were its members. It acted as a Court of Appeal in the Roman Republic by receiving and hearing the charges brought against the Consuls. If the Consuls were found guilty, they would be punished by this Assembly.

Moreover, the administration of the Roman Republic was well regulated and balanced. No Consul could venture to

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be a dictator. If anybody tried to misuse the power, the Comitia Centuriata would punish him. The Tribune saved the plebeians from the tyranny of the patricians. The co-operation between the patricians and the plebeians ushered a new era in Rome, making the ancient Romans famous throughout the world history. This administrative system provided checks and balance, facilitating the prosperity and stability of the Roman Republic. However, the Roman Republic was based on slave mode of production. The class conflict between patricians and plebeians was constant, each using the same institutions to promote their class interests. The plebeians struggled to establish institutions that would allow them to participate in the administration of the government.

Exercise 4.4

What were the roles and responsibilities of various governmental bodies in Roman administration?

The rise of the Roman Empire

During its republic stage, Rome took over Italy in 264BCE and began to expand by conquering areas around the Mediterranean Sea. The Romans' success did not only depend on diplomacy but also on its well organised and disciplined armed force that was divided into units known as legions and legionaries. The Roman army conquered the Greek city states and by 364BCE Rome had controlled the entire Italian Peninsular. The Roman army waged war against the Phoenicians who built the Carthage city state in North Africa by 800BCE. Carthaginians were excellent sailors and by the third centuryBCE they had replaced Greeks as the leading traders in the Mediterranean Sea. They used the money they earned from trade to establish a large army of mercenaries and finally it became a major rival of the Roman people in the Mediterranean Sea. Between 264 and 146BCE, the Romans and Carthaginians fought the Punic War whereby the Romans won and Carthage became a province of the Roman Empire. Roman army continued to conquer Greece, Asia Minor, and North Africa.

The Roman Empire began with the rule of Emperor Octavian in 27BCE. This marked the end of the Roman Republic and 100 years of civil wars and political upheavals. The Senate gave Octavian the title Augustus, meaning 'the honoured' but he preferred to be called princep or first citizen. Octavian became known as Augustus Caesar. Following this practice, later Roman emperors added Caesar to their titles. Augustus Caesar died in 14CE after 45 years of successful rule. He was succeeded by Tiberius, then Caligula and later Claudius. The Roman Empire was the post-Republican state of the ancient Rome, generally understood as the territory ruled by the Romans following Octavian's assumption of power in 27BCE. The Empire included territories in Europe, North Africa, and Western Asia.

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Administration and administrative system of the Roman Empire

As a skillful politician, Augustus Caeser kept the framework of the Republic and rejected all attempts to have him crowned as emperor. He retained traditional assemblies and officials of the Republic. Shortly later, the Senate started appointing emperors. For example, Emperor Nerva who took over from Domitien was appointed by the Senate. He ruled from 96 CE to 98 CE. The Punic wars brought economic problems in Rome and caused bitter class conflicts, wars, insurrections and struggles among rival leaders. Many Romans came to believe that the old political system could not deal with the new problems caused by expansion, so they wanted reforms.

Administration of provinces

Rome's treatment of conquered provinces changed from lenient policies to tight policies. The Romans maintained complete authority over the provinces and the conquered people were not given citizenship. The Empire established a new system on how to govern its overseas provinces in Greece, Crete, Cyrenaica, Egypt, Carthage, Morocco, Asia Minor and Western Europe. The Senate appointed a Roman governor called proconsul to govern each province. The proconsuls served the terms of one year and received no salaries. Nevertheless, many proconsuls grew wealthy by extorting bribes from the people of their respective provinces. The government employed officials called publicans to collect taxes in the provinces. The publicans would pay fixed amount to the state, keeping anything above this amount for themselves. Some publicans became rich by placing an unjust tax burden on the people.

During the reign of Augustus Caesar, reforms were carried out in the provinces. Augustus Caesar paid provincial governors large salaries to prevent them from temptation to steal public funds. He ordered periodic census to ensure that taxes were assessed properly. Augustus carried on Julius Caesar's policy of granting citizenship to many non-Romans in the provinces because citizenship provided everyone a common identity. Sometimes, people living in a city would all be granted citizenship at one time. Augustus also encouraged army veterans to live in the provinces. Such policies laid the foundation of stable government in the provinces and great loyalty of people to the Rome Empire.

During its zenith, Roman Empire added provinces in the Mediterranean world, Judaea, Gaul which is modern France and Belgium, Lusitania in Portugal, as well as Britain. The provinces were divided into three types namely senatorial, imperial and client states as shown in the map below. Figure 4.2 shows the map of the Ancient Roman Empire.

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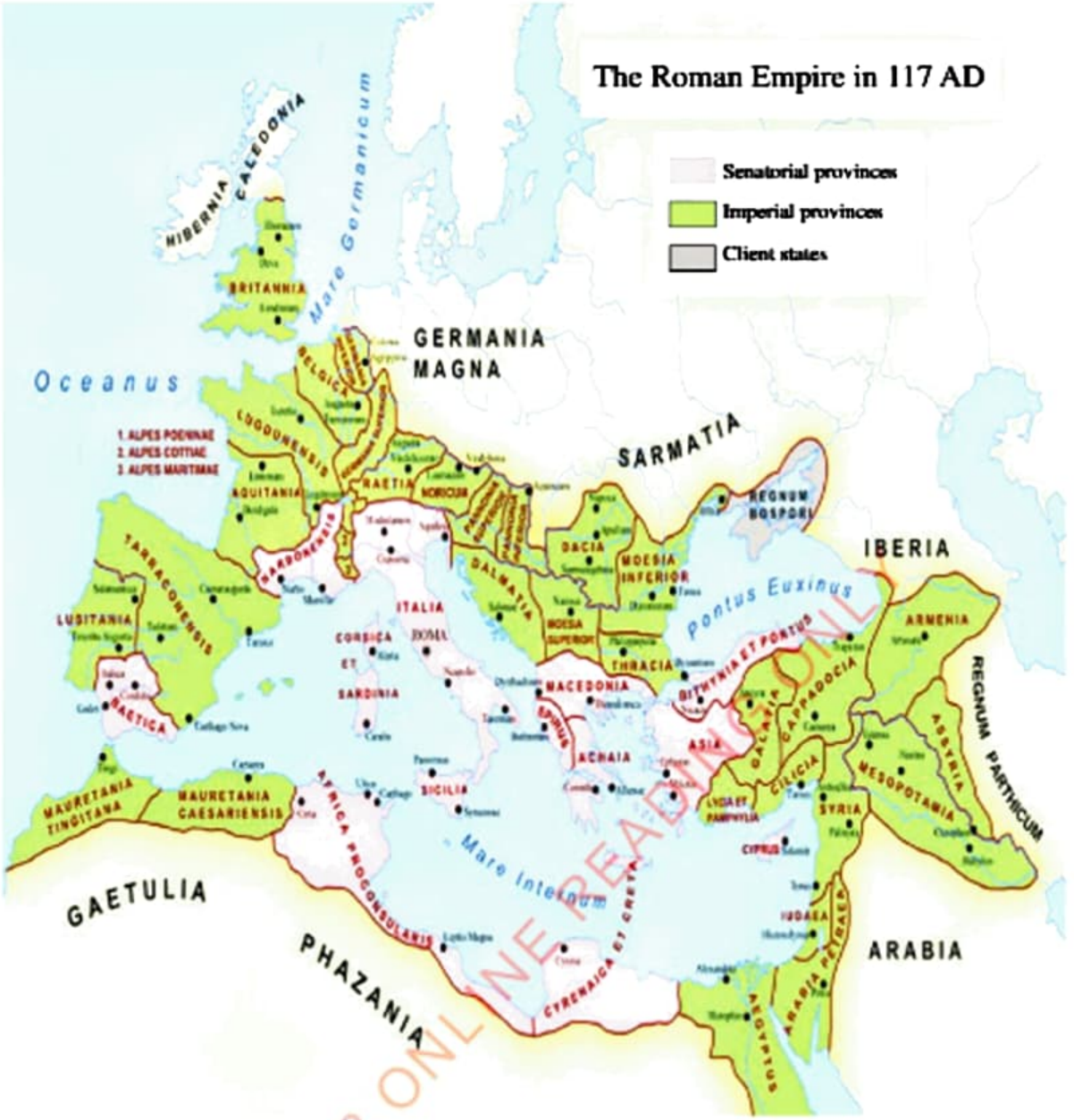

Figure 4. 3: *The Ancient Roman Empire*

Source: *https://web.archive.org/web/20060409205643/http://www.ancientlibrary.com/smith-dgra/*

During the later period of the Empire, Diocletian, who was the Roman Emperor from 284 to 305CE, promoted the new territorial division under the tetrarchy system. Diocletian was born in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The Emperor Diocletian introduced a radical reform known as the tetrarchy, with a western and an eastern senior emperor styled Augustus, each seconded by a junior emperor (and designated successor) styled Caesar. In the 290sCE, Diocletian divided the empire anew into almost a hundred provinces, including Roman Italy. Their governors were hierarchically ranked, from the proconsularis of Africa and Asia to those governed by the

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consulares, correctores, and praesides. The provinces were grouped into (originally twelve) dioceses, headed usually by a vicarius, who oversaw their affairs. Only the proconsuls and the urban prefect of Rome (and later Constantinople) were exempt from this, and were directly subordinated to the tetrarchs. Figure 4.4 shows the Roman Provinces during the reign of Emperor Diocletian.

Figure 4. 4: *The Roman Provinces during the reign of Emperor Diocletian*

Source: *https://web.archive.org/web/20060409205643/http://www.ancientlibrary.com/smith-dgra/*

This provincial administration was maintained even after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Justinian I (known as Justinian the Great) who was the emperor of Eastern Roman Empire from 527 to 565CE made great changes by abolishing some provinces, the strict separation of civil and military authorities that Diocletian had established. This process was continued on a larger scale with the creation of extraordinary exarchates in the 580sCE and culminated into the adoption of the military theme system in the 640sCE, which replaced the older administrative arrangements entirely.

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Legal administration

The transition from a Republic to an Empire was accompanied by the expansion of the Roman law. A group of judges, elected annually, revised the Twelve Tables, taking into consideration the laws of the conquered peoples in their provinces. Special lawyers called juris prudentes or "those skilled in the law", helped these judges to rewrite the laws and expand the Roman legal system to include people in the provinces as well as the citizens of Italy. Judges gave opinions as well as specific rulings in their verdicts. Thus, legal interpretation became part of the law. Judges' verdicts were often used as precedents for the other similar cases that followed. Gradually, the Roman law developed principles which were adopted by Western European governments in later centuries. From these principles, came the concept that the law should apply equally to all persons and that people should be punished only for their deeds and not their thoughts.

Official language

Latin became the official language in the Roman Empire. The language spread throughout Western Europe during the Pax Romana. The Latin, along with Greek, became the language of the government throughout the Empire in the aspects of commerce and learning in medicine and science. The Latin language tied together people from different cultures. The provincial proconsuls wrote reports using Latin language. Roman alphabets spread throughout the Roman Empire, replacing the Greek alphabets in some of the provinces.

State religion

The Roman Empire developed polytheism as a state religion. However, the Roman leaders developed a policy of tolerance for local customs and religions. As long as people in the provinces showed loyalty to the Emperor through observance of the state religion, people were free to practice any other religion they wished. This tolerance was also applied to the traditional ways of life and even to the local forms of government in the provinces. State religion played a major role in maintaining unity for a long period of the Pax Romana. However, the rise of Christianity began to divide the unity of the Empire. As a result, the Roman Emperors, such as Nero and his successors, began to persecute Christians for refusing to adore the Roman gods and goddesses. The Romans had many gods and goddesses. For example, Jupiter was considered the King of the gods, Neptune was the god of sea, Juno was the queen of gods, Ceres was the goddess of agriculture, and Diana was goddess of wild animals. The state religion of the Roman Empire did not offer people a deep ethical code or a belief in life after death. The Roman official religion aimed mostly at promoting loyalty to the state.

Economic development

Roman Emperors ensured political stability to promote economic prosperity

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of the Empire. The Imperial economy depended on agriculture and livestock keeping. There were huge plantations owned by slave masters who depended on slaves for cultivation. The government built a network of roads made of stone blocks or gravel paving. For example, the Appian Way, 360 miles (500 kilometres) of layered stone that stretched southward from Rome to the Adriatic Sea, is still used today. The Roman engineers built dams, bridges, aqueducts, sewage systems and public baths throughout the empire. The network of roads linked Rome with its distant provinces and carried large military forces. They also encouraged and promoted commerce and trade in pottery from Spain, spices from India, fine silk and dyes from China, and animal furs, honey and amber from the Germanic people of northern Europe. Articles from the Germanic people were used to make jewelry. The Romans also built hundreds of cities in Western Europe with reliable aqueducts and long pipes carrying fresh water. These cities acted as administrative, commercial and cultural centres.

In order to promote economic growth, the government extracted taxes from its citizens. As the empire expanded, the government needed more tax from its citizens to run the government, such as to pay armed forces and administrative staffs. From 30 BCE to 235CE, the Roman Government paid for what it needed in gold and silver. Requisition was used to supply armies on the march. During the third-century crisis (235–285CE), the government resorted to requisition rather than payment in debased coinage due to inflation. Rome's traditional metal currency was silver coins. Diocletian made requisition into tax. He introduced an extensive tax system based on heads (capita) and land (iugera) with one iugerum equal to approximately 0.65 acres – and tied to a new, regular census of the empire's population and wealth. Census officials traveled throughout the empire, assessing the value of labour and land for each landowner, and joined the landowners' totals together to make citywide totals of capita and iuga. The iugum was not a consistent measure of land, but varied according to the type of land and crop, and the amount of labour necessary for sustenance. The caput was not consistent. Women were valued at half a caput, and sometimes at other values. Cities provided animals, money, and manpower in proportion to its capita, and grain in proportion to its iuga.

Most of taxes were due on 1st of September of each year. They were levied from individual landowners by decurions. These decurions, analogous to city councilors, were responsible for paying from their own pockets what they failed to collect. Emperor Diocletian's reforms also increased the number of financial officials in the provinces. More rationales and magistri privatae were attested under his reign than before. These officials represented the interests

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of the fisc, which collected taxes in gold, and the Imperial properties. Fluctuations in the value of the currency made collection of taxes in kind the norm, although these could be converted to coin. In 296CE, Diocletian issued an edict reforming census procedures. This edict introduced a general five-year census for the whole empire, replacing prior censuses that had operated at different pace throughout the empire. The new censuses aimed at keeping up with changes in the values of capita and iuga.

Italy, which had long been exempt from taxes, was included in the tax system in 290/291CE financial year as a diocesis. The city of Rome remained exempted; the provinces located to the south of Rome, generally called suburbicarian as opposed to the northern annonaria region, were relatively less taxed, in what was considered a sop offered to the great senatorial families and their landed properties.

Emperor Diocletian provided several edicts which emphasized common liability of all taxpayers. Public records of all taxes were made public. The position of decurion, member of the city council, had been an honor sought by wealthy aristocrats and the middle classes who displayed their wealth by paying for city amenities and public works. Decurions were made liable for any shortfall in the amount of tax collected. Many tried to find ways to avoid the obligation. By 300CE, civilians across the empire complained that there were more tax collectors than there were people to pay taxes. More taxes were partly due to the expanded cost of armed forces to conquer foreign societies and crushing resistances in the provinces.

Military organisation

The Caesars strengthened the army for defending Rome and her provinces. They controlled the army and every soldier had to swear an oath of allegiance directly to the Caesar. Soldiers were highly trained, disciplined and patriotic to their Empire. The army was involved in wars to expand the empire and crush rebellions in the provinces. Augustus extended the Empire to Danube River in the north and the Saharan Desert in the south. He assigned the legions a permanent duty to protect the Empire's borders. Only an elite troop of 3,000 men was left to serve as an imperial bodyguard which was known as Praetorian Guard in Rome. During the reign of Emperor Claudius who took over in 41CE after the assassination of Emperor Caligula, Britain became a province of the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire, at its height around 117CE was the most extensive political and social structure in western civilisation. By 285CE, the Empire had grown too vast to be ruled from the central point in Rome, so it was divided by Emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305CE) into Western and Eastern Empire.

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Activity 4.1

Suppose you are participating in a debate under the motion "Ancient Greece had a more effective administrative system than Ancient Rome". Prepare the points that you would give to support or oppose the motion.

Administrative systems in Ancient South America

The South American continent built high civilisation and administrative systems prior to the arrival of European explorers in the early 1500s. South American countries include Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Paraguay, Peru, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela. South America developed rich and innovative cultures that grew among the local communities found in the region. The most famous of those civilisations was the Inca Empire.

The Inca Empire was the major power in Latin America. By 1525, the Inca people had created a large empire that extended from what is today northern Ecuador through Peru and parts of Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina. The capital was Cuzco, today known as Peru, the original homeland of the Inca people in the Andes Mountains. Figure 4.3 shows the location of the Inca Empire in South America.

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Figure 4. 5: *Location of the Inca Empire in South America*

The Empire extended over snowy mountains, fertile valleys, and thick forests with about 12 million people. Under the rulership of Pachacuti, the Inca began their conquests around 1438 to expand the territory. The incumbent leaders followed the same path and by the 1500s, the Inca Empire was giant. The Inca Empire had a highly organised social and political structure, and in order to rule effectively, the Empire established a strong centralised government.

The central government

The Inca Empire was governed through officials appointed by the emperor. Those officials were members of the royal families. The Empire became so large by conquering the surrounding communities, and the entire population was loyal to the emperor. The conquered people remained powerless as Pachacuti replaced local leaders with the new officials he trusted. The children of the conquered leaders travelled to Cuzco to learn about Inca government as well as religion. The children were sent back to govern their villages after they had grown up and their main role was to teach their people about the Inca ways of life.

To unify the Empire, the Incas used official language known as Quechua. All official businesses were done in Quechua. Due to the close government control, people had little freedom but the government protected the welfare of all the people in the Empire.

The Inca rulers governed with the help of a complicated network of government employees and civil servants. The especially gifted boys were trained to be civil servants. They also learned religion, governance skills, maths, and how to record information. The important strategy in keeping the vast Empire together was the Inca's ability to travel and communicate. The Empire had more than 10,000 miles of roads. Suspension bridges made of woven fiber were built over river gorges and ravines in the mountains.

Economy

The central government of the Inca Empire controlled the economy. For example, each household was told what work to do. Most people spent their time working for the government and for themselves. Farmers worked on government land and for themselves. Villages made clothes and other goods for the army. Some Incas served as soldiers, worked in the mines or built roads and bridges. In this case, people paid taxes in the form of labour as opposed to money.

There were no merchants or markets in Inca economy. In their place, the government officials distributed the goods collected. The goods that remained were stored for emergencies. The government took care of the people during catastrophes as well as people who could not care for themselves.

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Social structure

There existed two main social classes in the Inca Empire. The upper class was made up of the emperors, priests, and the government officials. The members of this class lived luxurious life. They lived in stone houses in Cuzco and wore the best clothes. They did not pay taxes but enjoyed many privileges. The Inca rulers could make royal retreat in Machu Picchu, a luxurious palace in gated walls.

The lower class in Inca society consisted of farmers, artisans, and servants. Slavery did not exist thus, there were no slaves. Farmers grew maize, peanuts and potatoes. People also raised ilamas, the South American animals that resemble camels and are used for meat and wool. The members of the lower class lived simply and dressed in plain clothes. Most of what they produced went to feed the upper class.

Religion

The Inca social structure was somewhat related to religion. For example, they believed that their rulers were related to sun god and that they never died. This resulted to priests bringing mummies of former kings to the ceremonies. People provided gifts such as clothes and foodstuff to those mummies.

Although the Inca built a strong centralised empire, they were conquered by the Spanish in 1537.

Exercise 4.5

Argue for or against the contention that "the people of Inca Empire were treated equally because their central government protected all the people."

Administrative systems in pre-colonial Africa

There is an overlook on administration and administrative systems in Africa. Some people associate these concepts with the coming of the European colonialists. However, the reality is that the African administrative systems have their roots in pre-colonial institutions on which European powers relied to build and consolidate the colonial states. Before the coming of the colonialists, the African societies were organised in either centralised or decentralised societies. Whether centralised or decentralised, they had administrative systems which took control of all state matters.

Roles and responsibilities of the administrative systems in pre-colonial Africa

Although pre-colonial Africa had numerous administrative systems that varied among different communities, the roles of the kings or chiefs were essentially similar throughout. Kings and chiefs were at the top and were responsible for maintaining law and order (the judges), defence of the state, as well as looking after the people's well-being. Some kings could take absolute control of all state and exercise

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enormous power. However, this was rare for some states because they were stable and had evolved a system of checks and balances on the use of royal power.

Moreover, it was their responsibility to make decisions that were in the public interest and would benefit the community as a whole. However, the degree to which this was carried out varied. Some were very just and caring. For example, the King of the Zulus King Shaka, set up programmes to care for the elderly, as well as the orphaned and disabled, setting an example of selfless service to his people. Others aimed to serve their own interests, ruling with harshness and cruelty, taking whatever they could from the people.

Below the kings and chiefs there was a class of councillors and elders who acted as advisors. Councillors and elders possessed great powers and had special roles in the decision-making process in their respective societies. In many societies, the title of an elder was given to men who had reached a certain age and displayed qualities of wisdom, leadership, and those who had demonstrated a commitment to the well-being of the society. Elders often formed councils which would act as advisory bodies to the ruler. This was the case with the Fulani people where the elderly councils would often approach the rulers to suggest new laws and policies or to have certain laws changed. In the deliberation process, the council of elders would reach a consensus about the best course of action and the decision would be passed on to the ruler. In some societies, the elders were the ruling authority as was the case in Buganda where the Kabaka (king) had to consult the Bataka (landowners) before making any decision. In the Igbo region, a council would often have an age-grade category system to ensure continuity. When an age-grade had reached the category of being elders, they would become councillors or advisers. Administrative officials followed in rank after the councillors and elders. Administrative officials were considered as the civil servants of pre-colonial Africa. They were chosen and given the responsibility of handling judicial, taxation, and ritual matters. They were often chosen based on their education and devotion to the people. Their tenure in office was marked by strict term limits in many societies. Their roles varied, as some were simply tax collectors and others served as judges or treasurers. This was a full-time job for officials in some societies, in others it was only a part-time duty. In addition to fulfilling their specialised roles, officials were expected to advise and watch the conduct of their higher-ranking counterparts. They often served as the liaison between the common people and the rulers, as often they were from the common class themselves. This allowed for the grievances of the masses to be brought to the attention of the leadership. The

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role of the administrative official was a crucial one in the functioning of societies in Africa, though they have rarely been passed over to modern Africa. Although many pre-colonial Africans maintained administrative systems, this section will concentrate on Ancient Egypt, Ghana and Mali Empires.

Activity 4.2

Visit a nearby public office and study the following:

1. The hierarchical decision-making in that office;
2. The qualifications of each head of the unit; and
3. The methods they are using to employ workers in the public office.

Prepare a report and present in the classroom.

Administrative system in Ancient Egypt

Some African communities began to settle along the Nile River around 10,000 BCE. Most of them were crop cultivators around the river bank. They cultivated crops such as wheat, oak trees, and barley. Some kept domestic animals. As these early farmers increased their mastery over soil and animal life, irrigation became a key development strategy to increase food production, which in turn multiplied their populations. Different societies came to recognise their common interests, to coordinate their efforts and broaden society connections. People from different communities joined together through association or conquest for the purposes of commerce or defence. That was the context for the political foundation of ancient Egypt. To help create stable communities and foster prosperity, two types of systems developed; the stateless societies and the hierarchical political systems. Stateless societies were small political units and had no bureaucracies. They were mostly based on kinship. Hierarchical societies, however, had bureaucracies to carry out certain functions such as collecting taxes, supervising ceremonies, entertaining notable people, and convincing people to follow the rulers' orders. These societies, which evolved before the arrival of the Europeans in Africa, were either centralised or decentralised political entities. After pharaohs had died, huge stone pyramids were built as their tombs. Pharaohs were buried in the chambers within the pyramids.

Activity 4.3

Visit a nearby Local Government Authority to study its hierarchical functionality and then compare it to that of ancient Egypt. Prepare a report and present it in the class.

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The Chain of command

There was a chain of command because there was no single person who could manage all the duties without assistance. The Pharaoh appointed a Chief Minister called vizier as a supervisor. The vizier ensure that taxes were collected and government records were kept. These high-level employees had mastered a rare skill in ancient Egypt, including reading and writing. At the bottom of Pharaoh in the hierarchy were powerful nobles and priests. Only nobles could hold government posts; in these positions they profited from tributes paid to the Pharaoh. Priests were responsible for pleasing the gods.

Below the nobles and priests were the soldiers. Soldiers fought in wars or suppressing domestic revolts. During long periods of peace, soldiers supervised the peasants, farmers, and slaves who were involved in building structures, such as pyramids and palaces.

At the bottom of the soldiers, there were skilled workers, such as physicians and craft persons. This group made up the middle class. Craft persons made and sold Egyptian paper rush products, ornaments, pottery, tools and other valuable things. Since people needed such goods from artisans and traders, there were the merchants and storekeepers who sold these goods to the public.

At the bottom of the social structure were slaves and farmers. Slavery became the destiny of those captured as prisoners of war. In addition to being forced to work on building projects, slaves toiled at the discretion of the pharaoh or nobles. Farmers tilled the fields, raised animals, kept canals and reservoirs in good order, worked in the stone quarries, and built the royal monuments. They also paid taxes.

Social mobility was not possible but it was practically limited. A small number of peasants and farmers moved up the economic ladder. Families saved money to send their sons to village schools to learn trades. These schools were run by priests or artisans. Boys who learned to read and write could become scribes, then go on to gain employment in the government. It was possible for a boy born on a farm to work out his way up into the higher ranks of the government.

Functions of the Government

The most important function of the government was to ensure civic and individual security, and the vizier carried out the duty of ensuring that law and regulations were obeyed throughout the bureaucracy. Another role of bureaucracy was to facilitate the transfer of resources from different provinces to the king's court. Another function of the bureaucracy was to maintain irrigation and agricultural output as well as supervision of construction works. Similarly, under the patronage of gods, the government was expected to maintain the integrity of Egyptian

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territory and expand its frontiers. In addition to these administrative entities, there existed a religious government hierarchy, with the "overseer of prophets" at the top, a position held at various times by a vizier who was the head of the two high priests. Below them was the priesthood bureaucracy. The corps of the centralised system was maintained by a small group of powerful officials. The bureaucracy consisted of a group of educated scribes whose role consisted of collecting taxes, conducting censuses, regulating agriculture, and administering justice and law with a small police force. A professional army was divided into various units, each with its own hierarchy of officers.

Ancient Egypt collapsed due to economic deterioration caused by bureaucratic inefficiency and the abuse of power. Besides the deterioration of administrative integrity, another major cause that weakened the kingship was the changing relationship between the king, civil government, the army, and a few powerful families. Some families came to control major economic resources of the state, and the civil service became less liable to royal control. In addition, the kings' tours of their provinces became less frequent, and royal princes and other deputies carried out religious rites formerly performed by the kings. During the ensuing Third Intermediate Period (1069 - 664 BCE), Egypt was in perpetual crisis and the Egyptian civilisation disappeared after the Roman conquest around 30 BCE. In summary, the evolution of ancient Egypt is characterised by the rise and fall of large-scale governments that reflect alternating periods of unification and fragmentation.

Exercise 4.6

1. How did the ancient Egyptian administrative systems differ from the administrative systems of the present African countries?
2. What are the lessons African countries can learn from the administrative systems of the ancient Egypt?

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The Egyptian social structure

Ancient Egypt was divided into many different districts called sepats. The first divisions were created during the predynastic period, but they were small city states that ruled themselves. When the first pharaoh came to power, the sepats remained and were much like the counties in many present countries. There were 42 of them and each was ruled by a governor chosen by the Pharaoh. In later years, the districts were called nomes and the governor was called a nomarch.

The ancient Egyptian society was structured like a pyramid. At the top were the gods, such as Ra, Osiris, and Isis. Egyptians believed that the gods controlled the universe. Therefore, it was important for Egyptians to keep

those gods happy. They believed that the gods could make the Nile overflow, cause famine, or even bring death. The Egyptians also appraised some human beings to gods. Their leaders, called pharaohs, were believed to be gods in human form and for that reason, they had absolute power over their subjects. The Pharaoh and those associated with divinity were at the top, and servants and slaves made up the bottom of the social pyramid of ancient Egypt. Figure 4.4 shows hierarchical administration of Ancient Egypt.

Figure 4. 6: *Hierarchical administration of Ancient Egypt*

The people of Egypt believed that their pharaohs were gods, thus, they entrusted their rulers with many responsibilities. Pharaohs were more than just rulers. They were considered gods and were believed to possess the secrets of heaven and earth. Pharaohs led the government and the army and wielded unlimited power. The top list function of pharaohs was protection. The pharaoh directed the army in case of a foreign threat or an internal conflict. All laws were enacted at the will of the pharaoh. Each person paid different taxes based on the work that they did. For example, craftsmen paid in goods, hunters and fishermen paid with food, and every single household in the country had to pay a labour tax every year by helping with work for the state, like mining or digging canals. The wealthy Egyptians paid poor people to do such works for them. Grain was stored in the pharaoh's warehouses and it was

used to feed the people during famine. Ancient Egypt had different taxes. The person who watched the tax collection was called a scribe, and every tax collector in Egypt had to tell him every day how many taxes they had collected.

Activity 4.4

Using online and library sources study the administrative systems in the ancient Asia, Middle East, Europe, Southern America, and Pre-colonial Africa then:

(a) Identify administrative structures of the modern governments emulated from the ancient administration.

(b) Propose ways on how modern governments can benefit from the historical wisdom and experiences of the ancient administrative systems.

Administrative systems in Ghana Empire

Ghana Empire existed sometime between the 5th and 11th centuries CE. It was followed by Mali Empire between the 12th and 16th centuries and then Songhai Empire between the 14th and 16th centuries. These Sudanic states experienced various forms of administrative systems.

Ghana Empire had two administrative systems within its hierarchy. The first was the metropolitan Ghana and the second the provincial Ghana. The previous was the core and the latter consisted of the states that had been conquered and annexed.

The government

At the top of the Empire was the king who held sovereign power and was regarded as divine by his people. The Empire was divided between the metropolitan Ghana that was the centre where the King resided and provincial Ghana, which was composed of provinces included the conquered ones. Some of these provinces, (also known as vassal states) were Takrur, Silla, Kaniagya, Sussu and Diara. The capital was known as Koumbi Saleh. In administering the Empire, the king was assisted by a council of ministers and the governor of the capital city. The Ghanaian King was an absolute monarch and the head of justice and religion within the state. By the 11th century the majority of his ministers were Muslims. At the provincial level, administration was left in the hands of the Kings of the conquered states. The King sent sons from each vassal states to the sovereign court to ensure their loyalty and allegiance. When the King of Ghana sat in the throne, he was flanked by his ministers and 'the sons of the vassal Kings of his country, wearing splendid garments and their hair plaited with gold.'

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Military

The King of Ghana Empire maintained an army of 200, 000 of whom 40, 000 were bowmen. They used bows and arrows as their weapons for defence. They also used 'maces which they make of ebony with much cunning and craft'.

Responsibilities of the King

The responsibility of the king in ancient Ghana was the administration of justice. The king went out every day on his horse and commanded everyone who had suffered injustice or misfortune to come before him and stay till the wrong was relieved. He was assisted by officials in charge.

Resources

Ghana Empire had definite sources of income that enabled it to meet the cost of administration. First, the pieces of gold found in all the mines of the Empire were reserved for the king. People were only left with the gold dust. Second, vassal kings were supposed to pay annual tribute. Third, the customs duties constituted the bulk of the state's income. For example, when traders came into the city with a donkey-load of salt they had to pay one dinar of gold, and when they exited they would have to pay a further two dinars of gold. Considering the reserve of the caravan trade at the height of Ghana's power, the income from these duties must have been very considerable.

Cultural aspects

Sacrifices and libations were made in his honour and there were strict rules of protocol in his presence. The king decorated himself, wearing necklaces and bracelets, and when he sat before the people, he put on a high cap decorated with gold and wrapped in turbans of fine cotton. Behind the king stood ten pages holding shields and swords decorated with gold, and on his right were the sons of the vassal kings of his country wearing impressive garments and their hair plaited with gold. The king relied on advisors and, from the 11th century he recruited Muslim merchants to act as interpreters and officials who helped to manage the economy and keep track of the goods coming in and out of the country.

Bureaucrats

Ghana Empire had a strong monarchy, a cabinet, an army, a civil service, an effective system of administering justice, and a regular source of income. Thus, the Empire definitely presented the familiar picture of a centralised government, with a complete sense of statehood and sovereignty.

Ghana Empire collapsed in the 11th century. The decline came about when competing trade routes opened up further east and when the climate became unusually dry for a prolonged period, which affected agricultural production.

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Exercise 4.7

1. What were the symbols of power of the Ghanaian King?
2. What lessons the present African countries can learn from the ancient administrative system of the Ghana Empire?

The Songhai Empire

The Songhai Empire was the largest empire in African history, encompassing thousands of ethnic groups and controlling a region comparable in size to the United States. The central regions, including the major cities of Gao, Timbuktu, and Djenné, were predominantly Muslim. The Songhai Empire was a succession of dynasties that spread through portions of the present-day Mali, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Guinea, Nigeria, Niger, and Mauritania between the sixth and sixteenth centuries. The empire reached its zenith between 1460 and 1591.

The Government

The government was an absolute monarchy headed by the sovereign who served as the head of state, commander of the armed forces, and the head of government. The king was the highest position in the administrative system and the most powerful man in the empire. As the head of state and governor, the king was responsible for everything in the empire. He was the judge and the religious leader and was believed to be semi-divine. Under the king, the empire was divided into regions and the governors were appointed by the king. These governors were usually members of the royal family or people trusted by the king. The central government was divided into executive ministries with the responsibility of disseminating imperial pronouncements through a system of administrators.

The Executive

The King of Songhai, who was known as the Askia, held the highest position of authority in the empire and was considered a religious as well as a political leader. The various arms of the Songhai bureaucracy were under the direct control of the Askia's relatives and courtiers who were appointed to high-ranking titles. They had considerable autonomy, sometimes to the point of self-interest, with the Askia tasked to oversee them and to guide policy. The Askia was in charge of the vast Songhai governmental machine. He had to balance the tasks of knowing and overseeing politics, making final decisions, and functioning as a religious leader who maintained the spiritual well-being of the empire. As the apex of the Songhai government was growing increasingly complex over time, the demand on the Askia's time and effort was eventually so great that by the late 16th century, his ability to rule alone came into question. He created a position for special governor called the tondifari, a Songhai term meaning a governor of the mountains for the administration of

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the region to the south of Timbuktu and north of the Mossi kingdom.

The role of the Executive

Traditionally, in pre-colonial African empires, the king would often act as a diviner or spiritual guide, advising on how best to govern the empire. This ended in a blend of pre-existing traditional African religious customs and the Islamic faith.

Nobles and governors were often counsellors to the king. They would establish direct contact with the king, often through their slaves who would send and receive messages. This was particularly useful for the nobles who would have favoured defense against enemies seeking to question their authority. They might also be given important duties, often in high-ranking positions within ministries, in order not to threaten their power in the provinces they administered. These local authorities benefited from the implementation of the feudal system, with the government work being on an unpaid volunteer basis.

The King acted as the top of the executive system. He was thought to have been appointed by God to be the ruler; he was the pinnacle of authority within the empire. He had to delegate obligations to high-ranking officials but remained the supreme authority. Due to this fact, no single organisation within the empire could function without the king's consent. Under the King, there were several ministries, each administering certain areas of the empire's day-to-day operations. For example, the overseer of the treasury was responsible for managing the empire's wealth. These officers were particularly important during the reign of Askia Mohammad, as he assigned each ministry with a specific task aiming to improve the empire. These leaders, all appointed by the King, formed a kind of cabinet which could be changed through appointments and dismissals by the king during his reign. This meant the King had a substantial amount of control over the ministers.

The Structure of the Executive

The King was the head of administration and appointed various levels of officials who were paid through the Tribute System. The various levels of officials can be broken down into several subunits including Heads of the War Department (danan koy), the heads of the Ali (a division, probably like a regiment), the heads of the royal artisans and musicians, the heads of the Gbara, the heads of the provincial armies, governors of the various provinces, and the village heads. Each of these levels or groups of officials was allotted a certain amount of income. This income was all drawn from the Tribute System.

Exercise 4.8

What were the reasons that made the subordinates of the King of the Songhai Empire loyal to the King?

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Decision-making process

The Songhai rulers made decisions by consulting the population more frequently. The rulers were considered to be both literate and pious, at least until the end of the Askia dynasty. This meant that the rulers were surrounded by scholars who were often also judges. The ruler, of course, had complete control over the decisions of the government, but the oligarchic nature of the Songhai politics resulted in frequent open discourses regarding what action a person in authority ought to take. The King had an institution that helped to make laws though it was not as the one known today.

The legislature

Songhai legislation was a rigorous process, which involved the king, his ministers, the governors, and the elite, including village heads and landed nobility. This process of legislation could occur anywhere within the state as long as the representatives had convened to discuss issues. When legislative issues were discussed at the state level, then the king's presence and his ministers were compulsory. Any decisions made concerned the whole state and not just one region; therefore, the representation of the whole state was necessary.

Functions of the legislature

In Songhai state, the major function of the legislative was to provide checks and balances on the king's authority. The council discussed and agreed upon policies or decisions suggested by the king. It thus had an advisory function and used consensus in decision making as a method to limit royal power. The effectiveness of the council in checking the king was very much dependent on the competence, influence, and power of the individual ruler. In other cases, the king would ignore the council's decisions and rule by decree. This was particularly so with the more authoritarian Askia rulers, who viewed the functions of the council as a constraint on the ruler.

Military

On the side of security, the King appointed a Commander-in-Chief, or rather Chief Naval Officer, called the hi-koy, for his convoy. The hi-koy was the fleet commander who performed similar roles like the Minister of Home Affairs. Sunni Ali established departmental positions that never existed in the central government. He appointed Fari Mondzo to be the minister who administered the states agricultural estates. The Kalisa farm has been described by historians as the finance Minister who supervised the empire's treasury. Korey Farma was also the minister in charge of white foreigners.

The governors had to administer the area, collecting taxes, recruiting men for the army, and deciding minor disputes. The provinces of the empire were divided into local districts. Each district had an army officer in charge. His job was to make sure the districts were collecting enough

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taxes and supplying enough men for the army. The officer was also responsible for the district's security and had to report to the central government on the activities of the local leaders. This was important so that the central government could keep an eye on the provinces and make sure they remained loyal to the empire. A complex administrative system was created to govern the vast empire.

Government resources

For the financial sustainability of the Empire, Sunni Ali imposed tax on peripheral chiefdoms and provinces to ensure Songhai's dominance; in return, these provinces were given almost complete autonomy. Songhai rulers only intervened in the affairs of these neighbouring states when a situation became unstable, usually an isolated incident. Each town was represented by government officials, holding positions and responsibilities similar to today's central bureaucrats.

Education

The administration placed great emphasis on making Islam the state religion by creating learning places to teach the Quran as well as writing in Arabic. By the end of Sunni Ali's reign, a permanent teaching faculty was established in Gao. Under Askia Muhammad, the number of learning institutions increased significantly. One of the well-known learning institutions founded during this period was the Sankore Masjid in Timbuktu. Here, a great number of scholars and scribes were employed to produce a large volume of literature. Askia Muhammad encouraged learning in Timbuktu by rewarding its professors with larger pensions as an incentive. Timbuktu was one of the world's famous centres of Islamic scholarship and attracted students and religious adherents from across Africa and parts of Europe. The government adopted a policy of religious freedom, though Islam remained the dominant religion in the government.

Sunni Ali also established an order of precedence and protocol and was noted as a nobleman who gave back generously to people experiencing poverty. Under his policies, Askia Muhammad brought much stability to Songhai, and this can be verified through the works of Maghreb writers such as Leo Africanus, among others.

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Revision exercise 4

1. Discuss the contention that the remarkable strength of Songhai Empire stemmed from several factors.
2. What lessons can the contemporary world emulate from the ancient administrative systems?
3. Compare and contrast the administrative systems of the ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt.
4. How did the Roman concept of law and governance influence later administrative systems in Europe?
5. Compare the administrative systems in Inca Empire in Southern America and those in Ghana Empire in pre-colonial Africa.
6. Describe the administrative structures of ancient Egypt.
7. Briefly describe administrative reforms implemented by Augustus Caesar to govern the Roman Empire.
8. Assess the relevance of the ancient administrative systems to contemporary governance practices.
9. How did the administrative systems in ancient Greece evolve over time?
10. Suggest ways on how contemporary governance systems can benefit from the historical experience of ancient administration.
11. What were the key features of Confucianism? How did such features influence administrative systems in Imperial China and other East Asian societies?

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Chapter Five

World religions and their influence on administrative systems

Introduction

Religious teachings in different parts of the world inform ethical standards within government organs and institutions. They also guide decision-making processes and promote social justice. In this chapter, you will learn about historical background of religious administrative systems, as well as the influence of religion on administrative systems, from the Middle Ages to the 18th century. You will also learn about the transition from religious-based to secular administrative systems from the 15th to 19th centuries. The competencies developed will enable you to associate religious practices and administrative functions across time and space.

Think

Administration without religious practices

Historical background of religions on administrative systems

Throughout the world history, various religions have profoundly influenced administrative systems across different regions. In ancient Mesopotamia, religion intertwined with governance, as the priesthood held power and temples served as administrative centres. The Ancient Egypt witnessed the Pharaoh's divine authority shaping hierarchical administrative structures, while Hinduism and Buddhism influenced India's caste system and equitable governance under Emperor Ashoka. The Graeco-Roman polytheistic beliefs infused civic life in the Greek city-states and the Roman Empire, respectively. On the other hand, Christianity exerted remarkable political power in Medieval Europe, influencing legal systems and governance through the Catholic Church.

In the Islamic world, Islamic principles guided administrative systems in caliphates, emphasising justice, civic responsibilities of Muslims and non-Muslims to their government and consultation. These religions defined sources of authority, purpose, responsibilities and the rights of government and of citizens or believers. Likewise, Christianity was used to challenge the administrative

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systems of polytheistic Roman and Greek governments. When it became a state religion of the Byzantine and the Holy Roman Empire, it was used to justify and protect the state through encouraging obedience to earthly governments and leaders, as representatives of the divine order on earth.

Generally, world religions have had a great influence on administrative systems, shaping governance structures, legal systems and societal norms. Religious beliefs and practices continue to inform and exert influence on contemporary administrative systems in different parts of the world.

Religious doctrines, principles and practices have influenced the set-up of political administration and administrative systems in the history of human development from slavery to socialism. The relationship between religion and government and its administrative system emerged since the beginning of states during slavery mode of production. As time went on, religion and state developed complex and dynamic relationship, often marked by cooperation and conflicts, as well as struggles for authority and wealth. For a long time, the interactions between religious institutions and government had been sharpened by the relationship between religious administration and government administrative systems. The relationship is complex that involves institutional dynamics, the purpose of governing people, doctrines, principles, beliefs, morals, legal framework, economy and the influence of religious values on civic life.

Religions evolved in human societies to regulate and guide human behaviour and wisdom; to explain the relationship between mortal world and immortal world; to provide identity, as well as social values and ethics that influence governance principles, human interactions and political culture. During slavery and feudalism in Western Europe, ranging from the Graeco-Roman period to feudal societies of the Middle Ages, down to the 18th century, religion and state forged unitary and symbiotic relations, often characterised by disagreements on certain key issues. For example, the Christian priests differed from the rulers of the Roman Empire on the procedures of recruiting soldiers, purposes of war, and adoration of gods.

Traditional religious beliefs shaped the relationship between people and their chiefdoms, kingdoms, and empires in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Confucianism and Taoism played a role in influencing the development of administrative systems in China and Japan, respectively. Hinduism and Buddhism did the same in India and South Asia. Islam played an important role in the creation of a theocratic governments in the Middle East, Asia, North Africa, and Western Sudan.

Thus, the relationship between religion and governments throughout human history was oscillating between harmony and conflict; also struggles for power, wealth and attempts to implant religious principles on administration and administrative systems. For example, balancing between religious power and

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human power remained a major issue in European empires in the Middle Ages and during the age of industrial revolution. In the Middle East and North Africa, Islam provided a unified and homogenous administrative system that provided regional stability after conquest through Jihad. Yet, there was a conflict in interpreting the Muslim teachings that led to struggles for caliphate, that is, the successor leader of the Muslim Ummah

Activity 5.1

Read various world religions through online and library resources, then compose an article offering guidance to present-day African leaders on how to integrate religious norms and values into their administrative functions.

The influence of religion on administrative systems from the Middle Ages to the 18th century

Christianity became a dominant institutional church in Europe in the second half of the first century. It expanded from Jerusalem, Palestine to western and Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean world through missionary activities. Through its body of doctrines, principles and teachings, religion began to exert immense influence in the development of administrative systems in political, economic and social set-up of Medieval Europe.

Administration and administrative systems in Europe

The ancient Greek city states and the Roman Empire experienced religious influence in their organisation and exercise of power. Before the demise of the Roman Empire in the 5th century CE, traditional religious principles and beliefs had already exerted a major influence on the Roman imperial administrative systems. The gods and goddesses played a role in providing unity in the ancient Greek city states and in the Roman Empire. The rise of Christianity in the first century (30sCE) created challenges to the Roman administrative systems. The empire became divided between citizens who believed in traditional religions and those who believed in Christianity. As a result, the relations between the Roman Empire and Christianity entered into deep hostility as Caesars such as Claudius Nero Vespasian, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius and others persecuted Christians for refusal to adore Caesars as gods and obey the Empires' orders. Nero severely persecuted Christians and put Christian leaders, such as Peter and Paul, into death for preaching Christianity that caused Christian converts not to obey imperial orders. Roman emperors blamed Christians for political failures and military defeats in various imperial battles against rebellious provinces or conquerors. The emperors intensified persecutions for Christians for political reasons.

Emperor Aurelius who ruled from 161 to 180 CE feared that Christians could not be loyal to Church leaders and to the

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emperor at the same time. He resented that Christians scorned military service. The worst period of persecution came during the reign of Emperor Diocletian from 284 to 305CE. As an absolute monarch, Diocletian insisted that all people in the Roman Empire worship him as a god. When Christians sought to maintain their faith, Christian services were outlawed within the Empire. The emperor imprisoned Christian clergy and removed all Christians from public offices. Some of the Christians were killed for refusing to worship him as god. Again, the Christians, most of whom were plebeians and a few citizens, refused to join the Roman army, claiming that killing someone is like killing a brother in Christ. They believed that after death, these Christian soldiers would be condemned to hell for their deeds. Such beliefs and practices created enmity between Roman emperors and Christians. The emperor regarded Christians as traitors and criminals in the Empire. During the second and third centuries CE, Christians were extremely disadvantaged, excluded and persecuted in the Roman Empire. Christianity was criminalised by the Roman Empire and Christians were eliminated from public offices for fearing competing loyalty between the State and the Church. Thus, the influence of Christianity in the administration of the Empire was nibbled. The central question involved conflicting views between traditional religious beliefs and practices and Christian principles and beliefs on how to govern citizens. The two religions could not co-exist peacefully in the Empire. The Empire was founded on the traditional religious beliefs and practices, which gave legitimacy to the imperial administrative system. Thus, Christian beliefs and practices on how to adore God, the purpose of taxation and conducting warfare, distribution of wealth to poor people and legal framework, were challenging the foundations of the Empire.

However, Christianity became a legal religion due to decisions of Emperor Constantine I. In the year 313CE, Constantine I and Licinius jointly issued the Decree of Milan, which legalised Christian worship and officially ended the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire. The emperor himself was baptised. All Roman emperors after Constantine, except Julian, were Christians. Although Constantine did not make Christianity the state religion, his support was crucial in establishing its legitimacy. Christian laws and practices such as observation of Christian laws and holidays became part of social life in the Empire.

Substantial growth of the number of the new converts in the third and fourth centuries CE made Christianity the majority religion by the mid-fourth century. As a result, the Christian influence grew in political as well as social life. Observation of the Christian teachings, laws and practices continued to grow steadily, exerting further influence in the administration of the Empire. Gradually, the European Christendom culture, which is a cultural heritage of modern Europe, emerged. It was this time when the Catholic Pope achieved a special status

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over spiritual and political leadership of the Roman Empire and from that point Christianity spread to almost all parts of Europe (see Figure 5.1). The Catholic Church continued to exert immense influence during the Middle Ages, after the collapse of the Roman Empire. Almost every aspect of social life was interpreted based on the Christian principles. The Roman Empire collapsed in 476CE.

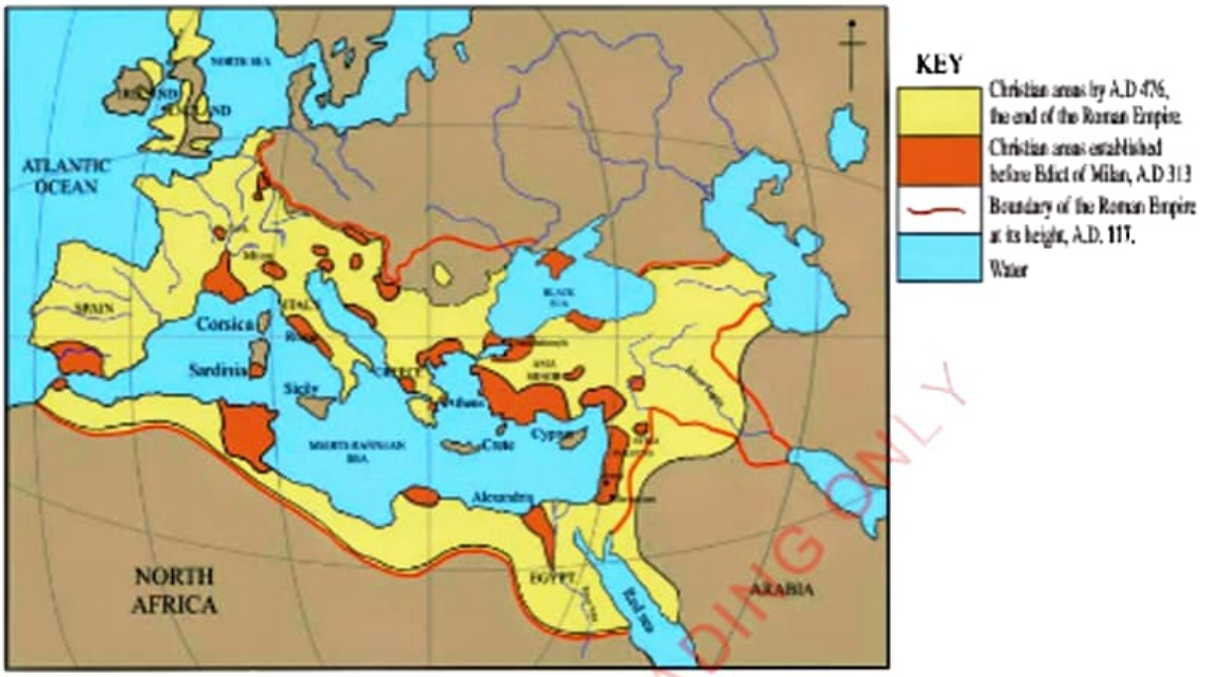

Figure 5. 1: *The spread of Christianity during the Roman Empire*

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The Byzantine Empire

Another example on how religion influenced administration in Europe was from the Byzantine Empire. The empire rose in 565CE as a continuation of the Roman Empire, but it served as a bridge between the Eastern and the West parts of the Roman Empire. Although the emperor was powerful, he believed he was the servant of Christian God and that God made him the ruler. People did not worship him as god. The prominent emperors of the Byzantine Empire from 483 to 1025CE were Justinian, Heraclius, Leo III, Basil I and Basil II. Justinian tried to unite Eastern Roman Empire and Western Roman Empire but failed.

The Byzantine monarchy was not, by law, hereditary though in many cases it was passed from father to son or daughter. A future emperor was chosen by the reigning ruler with the help of the army, the Senate, the people and the Church. The strength of the Byzantine emperors was reinforced by the support they received from the Byzantine Church. The Orthodox Church became the official religion of the Empire. The Church was an arm of the government and a willing supporter of the emperor. This meant the Church held an important role in decision making in the Empire because it was a political as well as a religious force. Christians participated in political

administration for the reason that God created government in which He requires government officials to administer justice.

Thus, the Christian religion dominated the political life of the Byzantine Empire. Christianity became the state religion and united people in the Empire. Christians were required to obey the government as it exercised the power of God on material world. There was a cordial relation between the Byzantine Emperors and the Eastern Orthodox Church. The influence of religion was felt in every aspect of life from birth, death, political, legal courts, artistic and intellectual life. Church leaders were consulted for every decision that was to be made in the Empire. This gave Christian leaders spiritual power as well as political influence in the decision making to the Imperial administrative organs and institutions. The Empire collapsed in 1453CE after the Ottoman Turks had captured Constantinople.

Exercise 5.1

Analyse administrative structures that modern governments can draw from the Graeco-Roman civilisations.

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The Frank Empire

During the Middle Ages in Europe, 500-1100CE, the Franks created an empire under the Carolingian dynasty. The Frankish Empire was also called Charlemagne, the name of its founder. Pope Zacharia of the Catholic Church directly intervened in the succession politics of the Frank Empire. For example, Clovis became the king of the Franks in 481CE. He inherited power from his father, Childeric (Charles) I, as the ruler of the Salian Franks and some other Frank groups around Tournai, which is now Belgium. Clovis was the first king of the Franks to unite all of the Frankish groups under one king. His rule extended from southern Netherlands to northern France. Clovis's conversion to Christianity made it possible for the King and the Pope at the Vatican to work together. All Frankish kings who came after Clovis became Christians.

The Pope needed King's armies to protect Church properties, such as monastic lands, monasteries, churches, basilicas, and schools; and to help Christianity to grow in the Empire, especially in the problematic regions, such as Lombardy and Spain, which the Muslim had conquered. In this task, King Pepin played a major role in protecting and spreading Christianity in the Frankish Empire. King Pepin, who ruled from 747 to 768CE became a king under the help of Pope Zacharia. Pepin's upbringing was distinguished by the clerical education he had received from the Christian monks of the Abbey Church of St. Denis, near Paris. Before he became a King, there was a succession struggle between him and his brother, Grifo, who was later killed in the battle in 753CE. Pepin succeeded his father, Charles Martei, who died in 741CE as the Mayor of the Palace. He

reigned over Francia jointly with his elder brother, Carloman, who became Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia. By 751CE, Pepin became the undisputed master of all Francia. Pepin proclaimed King of the Franks with the support of Pope Zacharia in 751CE.

The Catholic Church was involved in the coronation of the Frankish kings. Pepin was elected King of the Franks by an assembly of Frankish nobles, with a large portion of the army on his hand. He was anointed for the first time in 751CE in Soissons. The Coronation of Pepin was led by Boniface who was Archbishop of Mainz. Pope Stephen II traveled to Paris to anoint King Pepin for the second time in a ceremony at the Basilica of St. Denis in 754CE.

The Pope bestowed upon him the additional title of Patricius Romanorum (Patrician of the Romans). The ceremony took place in the Abbey Church of St. Denis. The Pope formally forbade the Franks ever to elect as a king anyone who was not of the sacred race of Pepin. He also bestowed upon Pepin and his sons the title of Patrician of Rome. This was the first recorded crowning of a civil ruler by a Pope. As King Pepin wanted family continuity, the Pope also anointed Pepin's sons, Charles (Charlemagne), who was 12, and Carloman, who was 3. Not all members of the Carolingian family supported the decision. This anointment gave the spiritual legitimacy before his subjects. He inherited the throne as Carolingian dynasty. The dynasty gave Frank kings blood legitimacy while the coronation attended by the Church offered connection between material and mortal world. This was the beginning of the Divine Right theory of the European administration of monarchies in the Middle Ages that survived up to the Political revolutions of the 18th century in Europe. As a way of thanking the Pope for the help, Pepin gave several cities to the Pope as part of the Donation of Pepin. This formed the legal basis for the Papal States in the Middle Ages. Pepin also agreed to protect the Pope from any enemies. These gifts gave the pope the status of a prince.

King Pepin embarked on working together with the Catholic Church in protecting the Church properties in Europe. For its first 300 years within the Roman Empire, the Church was persecuted and unable to hold or transfer property. As a new title of Patrician of the Romans, King Pepin became a protector of the oppressed citizens. King Pepin became designated as the defender of the Church. In the light of this duty, King Pepin intervened in favour of the Papacy of Stephen II against the Lombards in Italy. Pepin's first major act as a King was to go to war against the Lombard King Aistulf, who had expanded into the state of Ducatus Romanus. After a meeting with the Pope Stephen II at Ponthion, Pepin forced the Lombard King to return the seized property from the Church. He confirmed the papacy in

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possession of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, the so-called Donation of Pepin, whereby the Papal States were established, and the temporal reign of the papacy officially began. King Pepin also conducted a war against Duke Waiofar of Gascon-Aquitaine who had confiscated the Church lands. King Pepin was frequently troubled by the revolts of the Saxons and the Bavarians. He campaigned tirelessly in Germania. The conquests expanded his empire as well as Christianity in new areas.

Furthermore, King Pepin embarked on working together with the Catholic Church in spreading Christianity and protecting the Catholic properties in his Empire. This expedition went hand in hand with the spread of Christianity. He also continued his father's work in supporting Pope Boniface in reforming the Frankish Church and evangelising the Saxons. Pepin ruled in Neustria, Burgundy, and Provence, while his older brother Carloman established himself in Austrasia, Alemannia, and Thuringia. The two brothers suppressed revolts led by the Bavarians, Aquitanians, Saxons, and the Alemanni in the early years of their reign. In 752CE, he turned his attention to Septimania. The new king headed south in a military expedition down the Rhone valley. He received the submission of the eastern Septimania after securing Ansemund's allegiance. In 760CE, Pepin's troops took over to Toulouse and Albi. His troops besieged the Aquitanian-held towns and strongholds of Bourbon, Clermont, Chantelle, Bourges and Thouars. The city of Toulouse was conquered by Pepin in 767CE, as was Waiofar's capital of Bordeaux. He continued his father's expansion of the Frankish church in Germany and Scandinavia and laid down the institutional infrastructure of feudalism, that is, ownership of huge tracts of land that would prove the backbone of Medieval Europe. In all these new areas, Christianity was penetrated. The King played a major missionary role in spreading Christianity in France, Britain, and Northern Europe.

King Pepin also helped the Catholic Church to evict Muslims from Hispania. He collaborated with the Church to rescue Christianity in Spain. The King conquered the Roussillon from the Muslims and denouncing Waiofar's actions in 760CE. His troops also conquered Septimania from the Umayyad and Andalusian Muslims. They defeated Muslims at the siege of Narbonne in 759CE, expanding the Franking Kingdom. He also drove out Muslims from the Aquitanians and the Gascons in France. Pepin died on 24th September 768 at the age of 54 and was buried at Basilica of St. Dennis in modern-day Metropolitan Paris. His wife Bertrada was also buried there in 783CE. Charlemagne rebuilt the Basilica in honour of his parents and placed markers at the entrance. Pepin's son, Charles the Great or Charlemagne III, reigned from 768 to 814CE. He ruled

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France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria and Switzerland. He also controlled parts of Germany, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

On Christmas day of 800CE, Pope crowned Charlemagne as Emperor. The event meant Charlemagne accepted Pope as the spiritual leader of the Empire. This made the Pope more powerful in political decisions than the emperor. Because of his power, the Pope exerted great influence and could make and unmake monarchy. He influenced executive, parliament and legal system. Thus, was the Empire became a combination between the politics of the existing Empires and those of the Christian Church.

Therefore, the French kings played a major role in protecting Catholic Church properties and facilitated its expansion in western and northern Europe, depending on political will and military power of the Frank kings, mainly King Pepin. They were not only political rulers but also played a missionary role. The alliance between the Popes and Frank's Kings enabled them to build Christendom in Europe between the times of collapse of the Roman Empire and the rise of feudalism in the 9th century. This facilitated the Catholic Church to have a high influence on Frankish administrative system from the coronation to the legal system. This also created a tradition of religious leaders to attend swearing in ceremonies of newly elected leaders in Europe up to now.

Papal States

The history of Papal states started after the demise of the Roman Empire. The Pope administered such states as the head of government and the head of the Church. The Papal states were a series of territories on the Apennine Peninsula in central Italy, which were under the direct sovereign rule of the Pope, from 756 until the unification of Italy in 1870. These states included the modern Italian regions of Lazio (Latium), Umbria, and Marche, as well as part of Emilia-Romagna.

The popes had acquired considerable property known as the Patrimony of St. Peter around Rome as early as the 4th century. The popes' influence in central Italy increased as people relied on them for protection against barbarian invasion following the collapse of the Roman imperial authority in the West. When the Exarchate of Ravenna finally fell to the Lombards in 751, the Duchy of Rome was completely cut off from the Byzantine Empire. The popes, starting with Pope Zacharia in 751, renewed earlier attempts to secure the support of the Frank Kings. King Pepin led a Frankish army into Italy in 754 and 756, defeated the Arian Lombards, thus taking control of the northern Italy. He made a gift of the lands formerly constituting the Exarchate of Ravenna to the Pope. This was known as Donation of Pepin as shown earlier. The Donation of Pepin of 756 provided the legal basis for the papal claim to temporal power

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in the 8th century. This gift of lands, formerly held by Arian Lombards to Pope Stephen II as a temporal sovereign, added to the lands and other real estate's formerly acquired and held by the bishops of Rome, as landlords, from the time of Constantine onward. The Papal States emerged as part of a broader political reconfiguration.

This donation came about as part of a process whereby the Popes began to turn away from the Byzantine emperors as their foremost temporal guardians for reasons such as increased imperial taxes, disagreement with respect to iconoclasm, and failure of the emperors, or their exarchs in Italy, to protect the peninsula and Rome from barbarian invasion and pillage. These territories had remained part of the Byzantine Empire, also known as Eastern Roman Empire, until the mid-8th century when Pope Stephen II appealed for aid to the Frankish ruler, Pepin III, who restored the lands of central Italy to the Roman Holy See, ignoring the Byzantine Empire's claim to sovereignty around. In 781, Charlemagne organised the regions over which the pope would be sovereign. These were the Duchy of Rome, Ravenna, the Duchy of the Pentapolis, parts of the Duchy of Benevento, Tuscany, Corsica, Lombardy, and a number of Italian cities. The cooperation between the papacy and the Carolingian dynasty climaxed in 800 when Pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the Romans.

In practice, Pope nominally controlled most of the Papal States. Much of the territory was ruled by minor princes. The Church's authority followed hierarchy from Rome, dioceses, parishes and sub-parishes. Popes became the Italian rulers signing treaties with other sovereign kingdoms and engaging in war to defend Christianity and Church properties. The Papal States played a significant role in Italian history, politics, and the power dynamics of the time. There were courts to deal with legal affairs and discipline people who deviated from the Church norms.

Papal states were characterised by the ownership of property. The Church began to own property in each state since most of its propriety were initially seized by the Roman Empire. When the Emperor Constantine the Great made Christianity legal within the Empire, he restored to it any property formerly confiscated. The Lateran Palace was gifted to the Church. Other donations followed, mostly from mainland Italy and from other provinces of the Roman Empire. However, the Roman Church held all of these lands as a private landowner, not as a sovereign entity.

Another interesting feature was security of the Papal states. As the Pope had no raised armed forces, he depended on alliances and diplomacy with other kings. Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, the papacy found itself increasingly placed in a threat and

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vulnerable position from foreign invasion. As the central Roman authority collapsed in the 5th century, the control over the Italian peninsula repeatedly changed hands, falling under Arian suzerainty during the reign of Odoacer and, later, the Ostrogoths. The Roman Church submitted of necessity to their sovereign authority, while asserting its spiritual primacy over the whole of Christendom.

Beginning in 535, the Eastern Roman Emperor, Justinian I, launched a series of campaigns to rescue Italy from the Ostrogoths. In 554, the Exarchate of Ravenna was established after Julian won the war. In 568, the Lombards entered the peninsula from the north and managed to establish the Italian Kingdom, and over the next two centuries he conquered most of the Italian territories, which were recently regained by Byzantium. By the 7th century, Byzantine authority was largely limited to a diagonal band running roughly from Ravenna, where the emperor's representative, or Exarch, was located, to Rome and south to Naples and coastal exclaves. North of Naples, the band of Byzantine control contracted, and the borders of the Rome-Ravenna corridor were extremely narrow. This Lombardian rule was a threat to Papal states over power, wealth, and prestige.

As Byzantine power was limited in Italy, it was clear that the Byzantine rule was ineffective to protect the Papal states. While the popes legally remained "Roman subjects" under Byzantine authority, in practice the Duchy of Rome, an area roughly equivalent to Lazio, became an independent state. Despite these security challenges, the Church remained the most powerful force of administration throughout the Middle Ages in Europe. In real sense, the Church itself was a government. It was stronger than any monarchy, noble or Holy Roman Empire. It had the capacity to order any monarchy or nobles what to do. As the government, the Church had the power to tax its believers. The tax known as tithe amounted to one-tenth of one's income and every member of the Church was expected to pay it as a responsibility to support the Church. The land and titles necessary for a monarchy to rule were held only with the consent of the Pope. On one hand, the church became the largest land owner through tithing and used the money for its administration, campaigns to evangelise other parts of Europe and conduct crusades to defend Christianity in the Asia Minor. On another hand, people in the Middle Ages believed that God had answers to all problems such as curing the sick, bringing rains and preventing earthquakes. The Church had authority the and the power to provide the meaning of teachings and other directives. The Church had its law courts administered by the Pope. These Christian laws were 10 Commandments and other regulations and social norms drawn from the Bible. These laws were not only confined to Papal States but also throughout Western Europe in its Papal states. The

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Church punished people who taught the people things contrary to the established teachings of the Church. The Church also excommunicated heretic people or cut off people from its protection. Such people were barred from marrying and receiving sacraments and Church rites or blessings when they died. Through its power of excommunication, the Church controlled the upper and lower classes in Medieval Europe.

The Pope also had powers to declare war against enemies of Christian doctrines and faith. After 1071, when the Seljuk Turks had closed access for Christian pilgrimages and defeated the Byzantines at Manzikert, the Emperor Alexius I asked for aid from Pope Urban II. The Turks had made Christian trips to the holy city of Jerusalem for pilgrims unsafe. They were also threatening the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire. In 1095, Pope Urban II called upon the monarchs, their nobles and their people to help the Church to drive out Muslims out of Palestine as they were interfering with the right of Christians to worship in Jerusalem. Thus, the Pope and monarchs cooperated in a series of Crusades to free Palestine from Muslims between 1000 and 1250CE. These series of wars organised by the Church to drive out Muslims out the Palestine and Asia Minor were known as Crusades. However, through crusades, the powers of the monarchy over the nobles increased by strengthening their taxing power to raise money for Crusades.

The Church also played a significant role in the Medieval feudal economy. The church owned large tracts of land known as monastic land. Monks farmed in the monastic land. They engaged in farming and livestock keeping. The Church regulated business activities. It forbade usury which was the practice of charging interest rates on money that had been lent to another person. The Church urged merchants and artisans to charge just or fair prices of goods. The Church also participated in business as it bought luxuries, sugar, rice, gold, cotton and silk materials for making Church ministerial garments and instruments for liturgical services.

As the trade increased money, banking and credit went to the Church. This made monarchs and Popes fought for power and wealth in Medieval Europe. In 1075, a conflict between King Henry IV of the Holy Roman Empire and Pope Gregory VII emerged. Pope Gregory was determined that the pope would be obeyed by monarchy. A struggle for power emerged as King Henry IV refused to obey the Pope. The Pope excommunicated King Henry IV. Henry nearly lost his kingdom and decided to ask for pardon from the Pope. He travelled to Canossa in Italy to beg for Pope's forgiveness. In 1077, King Henry IV dressed in rags in cold winter waiting for three days for the Pope to appear. Finally, the Pope forgave him and removed the sentence of excommunication. The Pope also used his spiritual power to punish rebels and

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heretics. For example, Pope Gregory II excommunicated Emperor Leo III during the Iconoclastic Controversy. Nevertheless, the Pope and the Byzantine worked together to limit the rising power of the Lombards in Italy. As the Byzantine power weakened, the papacy assumed an ever-larger role in protecting Rome from the Lombards. However, the Pope lacked direct control over sizable military assets, so he relied mainly on diplomacy to achieve his political ambitions. Although the Pope did not raise or maintain armed forces, his spiritual power was felt almost everywhere in Christian Europe. This shows that popes had strong influence and exercised authoritative power over monarchs in Medieval Europe.

The Pope also encouraged scholasticism as more universities, and schools were built. Thomas Aquinas and other prominent teachers taught many students. He taught that Christian teachings did not disagree with reasoning. He also offered a logical proof of the existence of God, of life after death, and of authority of the Church. Christians who secured education from these academies and universities became administrators in the government and Church institutions.

Exercise 5.2

1. Diplomacy is one of the tools for political survival. What lessons can world diplomats draw from the Papal states as a model for diplomatic relations?
2. In what ways did the collapse of the Roman Empire in 476CE influence the status and practice of Christianity?

Thus, conflict and cooperation were part of the medieval social life due to struggles of power and wealth. The Popes' administration played a major role in creating and developing Western European civilisation in every aspect of social life. The Pope became the head of Western Christian Church popularly known as the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, Papal states provided a unique type of administrative systems in the world. It was a spiritual state, meaning a state whose head was also an ecclesiastical leader wdesignated by a Catholic Church and its organs and institutions. Figure 5.2 shows the Frankish Empire and Papal states.

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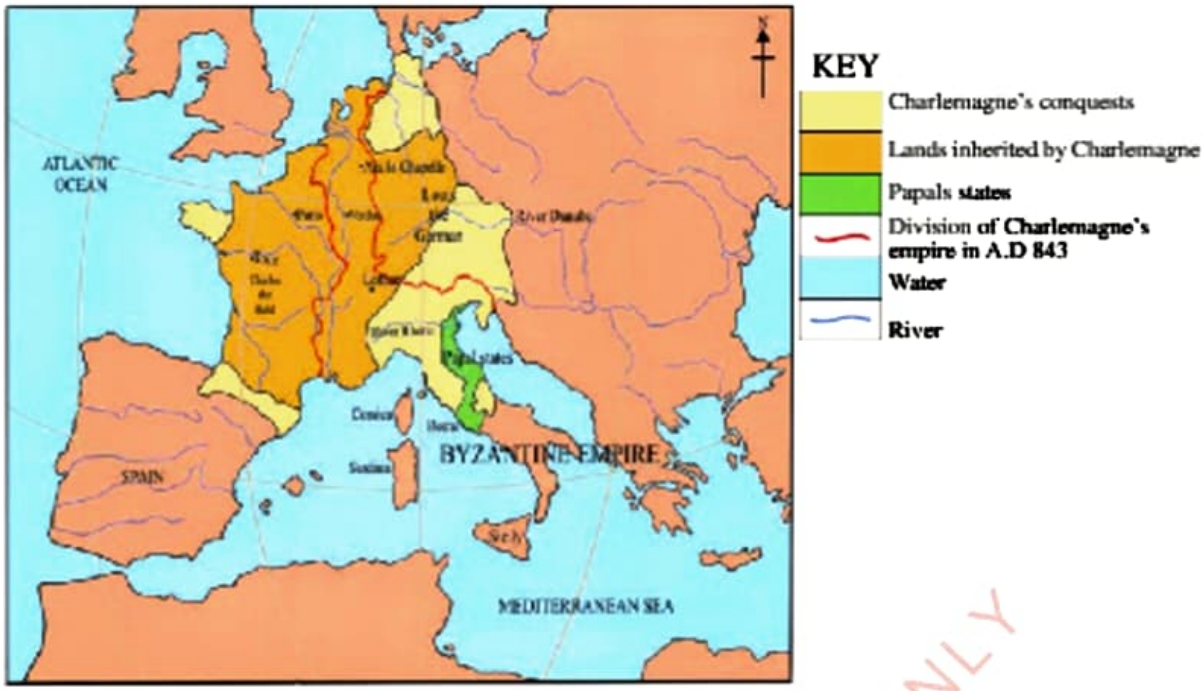

Figure 5. 2: *The Frankish Empire and Papal States*

Activity 5.2

Using online and library resources, study the Byzantine and Frankish Empires then write a journal article discussing the administrative traits of these civilisations that could serve as models for contemporary governance systems.

Islam and the administrative system

The rise of Islam in Saudi Arabia in 610 CE provided a strong force that came to influence political, economic, and social life for societies in North Africa, the Middle East, Asia southern Europe, and Western Sudan. Prophet Mohammed SAW (570-632) conquered the Arabic Bedouin community and made Mecca a religious center for Islam. By the mid-8th century, the Muslim Empire had already extended to the Arabian Peninsula and Islam had spread to North Africa, Asia, and Spain (see Figure 5.3).

Prophet Mohamed SAW was a religious and political leader. He wanted all Muslims to live in a single community or state, Ummah, ruled by Islam laws and traditions, which are known as Sharia and Sunna, respectively. The first Islamic Empire was governed by Prophet Mohammed himself. After his death he was followed by Successors known as Khalifa or Caliph. The first successor was Abu Bakr who ruled from 632 to 634 as the first successor, caliph. Under his leadership, Islamic expansion began. This led to the spread of Islam beyond the Arabian Peninsula.

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During the rule of the next two caliphs, Umar (634-644) and Uthman (644-656), Muslim forces expanded to the north. They conquered the Persian and Byzantine Empires. The Islamic Ummah state was expanded through conquest in Palestine, Syria, and the rest of Persia in the 8th century. Also Islam spread in North Africa from 639 following the Arab conquest of Egypt. By 698 Arab had conqured most of the Byzantine provinces of North Africa including Tunisia and Algeria. Due to conflict, Caliph Ali was assassinated and replaced by Muawiya (661-680). The Muawiya founded the Umayyad dynasty on hereditary caliphs. They founded the Umayyad Empire. They modelled their vast empire on the Byzantine system. The Capital of the Umayyad Empire moved from Medina to Damascus, Syria. Sharia was applied in all government administrations. Arabic became an official administrative language. Islam became a state religion. However, non-Muslims were not forced to convert to Islam. They only had to pay tax. The Sharia was also administered in commerce to prevent merchants from selling their goods at high prices so as to make huge profits. The Muawiya Ummah was replaced by the Abbasid Empire which was ruled from Baghdad. The hostility between Sunnites and Shiites ended the ideal of a single Muslim community under one Caliph.

By the 9th century, Islam became a new force in the development of political administration and administrative systems in the Middle East, North Africa and Asia through Jihads. Islam became not only a religion but a social-political institution with elaborated principles, Sharia, sunna and norms. The Muslims wanted to practice Sharia into the government. Muslims believed in Caliphate, that is, one government that would protect and promote Islamic values in the world.

Sharia, in its broadest definition, refers to the ethical principles set down in the Islamic holy book (the Quran) and examples of the actions set out by the Prophet Muhammed (sunna). The Islamic jurisprudence that comes out of the human exercise of codifying and interpreting these principles became known as fiqh. Sharia, or Islamic law, offered moral and legal guidance for nearly all aspects of life, from marriage and divorce, inheritance and contracts, to criminal punishments.

Islam also played an important role as a unifying force in Mali and Songhay Empires in Western Sudan. For example, Emperors of Mali and Songhay applied Sharia in the administration of their Empires. Sundiata who founded the Mali Empire divided his empire into provinces. He placed one of his generals in charge of each of them. Mansa Musa (1312-1337) who inherited the Empire after the death of Sundiata in 1255 made Islam a state religion. Sharia became the law of the Empire guiding commercial interactions, political administration, inheritance and military behaviour. He established a strong army to control gold mines and protecting caravan routes and commercial towns. These centres and gold mines provided wealth to the Empire.

He improved the administrative machinery of the empire. There were at

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least fourteen provinces in the southern part of the Empire. The province of Mali was the chief province in which the king's capital Niani was situated. The Governors or emirs ruled most of the provinces. The conquered Berber provinces were governed by their own sheikhs. Some of the important commercial centres such as Timbuktu, Gao, and Niani, which was the imperial capital, had governors of their own. All these provincial administrators were responsible to the Mansa or King. They were all well paid. Some were given fiefs while others received as much as 1500 mithqals of gold every year, horses and clothes.

In order to get more devoted service, Mansa Musa instituted national honours. The highest national honour was the National Honour of the Trousers. He regularly invited and dealt with any complaints and appeals against oppression by the governors in his Empire. He also established good diplomatic relations with Morocco and Egypt for encouraging and maintaining cordial trade and commerce, pilgrimage and security. High-ranking statesman of Morocco and Mali were exchanged as ambassadors. All these domestic and international relations were guided by Sharia. He also provided security to passing caravans in his Empire. The Arab and Berber traders stayed in places called Zongo and were allowed to pray and have a rest before they continued with their journey. Zongo grew and became commercial centres where he extracted taxes from traders.

Another important empire in which Islam played a significant influence in the administration was Songhai. It rose in the second half of the fifteenth century. In 1492, Emperor Sunni Ali, who founded the empire, died. He was inherited by Askia Mohammed in 1492 who developed an effective system of government. Askia Mohammed built a Muslim state and perceived Islam as the alternative power base to traditional religions. He did all at his disposal to win the allegiance and respect of the Songhai people and scholars. He developed Timbuktu as a centre of Islamic scholarship as a rival to Kukiya, the traditional religious centre of the Songhai. He wanted Islam to unify his empire and not traditional religion. Islam was more dorminant and effective in the western parts of the empire, especially in Timbuktu, than in the eastern parts or the Songhai nucleus around Gao and Kukiya. In Kukiya, traditional religion remained strong while in Gao itself, some non-Muslim practices and the traditional protocol were maintained.

Askia Mohamed appointed devout Muslims of Walata and Timbuktu, as his advisers and courtiers. After coming from Mecca for Hajj, Askia Mohamed began to purify Islam. He attacked illiteracy among the mallams. He ensured that Muslims observed the ritual prayers and other duties such as fasting and alms-giving. He also insisted that women should go about veiled, making his own family set the example. He also ensured that his officials did not impose illegal taxes. He appointed the first qadi of Jenne and established courts in other towns. Islam was greatly strengthened and purified during his reign. He encouraged higher

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education at Timbuktu University which produced many distinguished scholars who played a role in his administration of the Empire as civil servants, soldiers and royal advisors.

Askia Mohammed appointed governors for the main towns of Timbuktu, Jenne, Masina and Taghaza, each entitled mundyo, as well as harbour-masters and customs officials for the ports of Gao and Kabara. He grouped the provinces into regions, each under a Regional Commissioner who was again a relative - usually a brother or son. The ruler of the eastern province was the dendi-fari while that of the western province was gurman-fari or kurmina-fari with his seat at Tindirnia. Each was advised by a council of ministers. Thus, the kurmina-fari was advised by a council consisting of the balama, the commander of the Songhai forces in the west, the binga-farma and the bana-farma, all of whom were royal princes. At the centre, Askia Mohammed established a council of ministers to assist him in all aspects of government. Most of these central posts were filled with people who were either from his own family, or who had married into it, and he could depose any of them at any time. This was also true of the military chiefs included in the council. He believed in solidity of its institutions, political liberties and the purity of Islamic morals. Traditional religions and practices had no place in his Empire.

Activity 5.3

Using online and library resources, study the influence of Islam on administrative systems then design a poster showing administrative traits in Islamic governance system that can serve as a lesson in contemporary governance system.

Islam moved from a religion to a social formation that created Islamic civilisation. Through Sharia political and social institutions were established. It affected social, economic and political life of people in the Middle East, Africa and Asia by 16th century. The conquest to expand the Muslim empire were motivated by both religious and economic interests. Thus, apart from religion as administrative system and unifying force, military development was an important aspect of the administration in the Muslim empires. The application of Sharia into political administration created theocratic states in Persian Empire, Umayyads, Abbasid Empire, Ottoman Empire, and Iran after the revolution of 1979. Most of the governments in the Middle East are governed through Sharia and some civil laws inherited from Western European colonialism.

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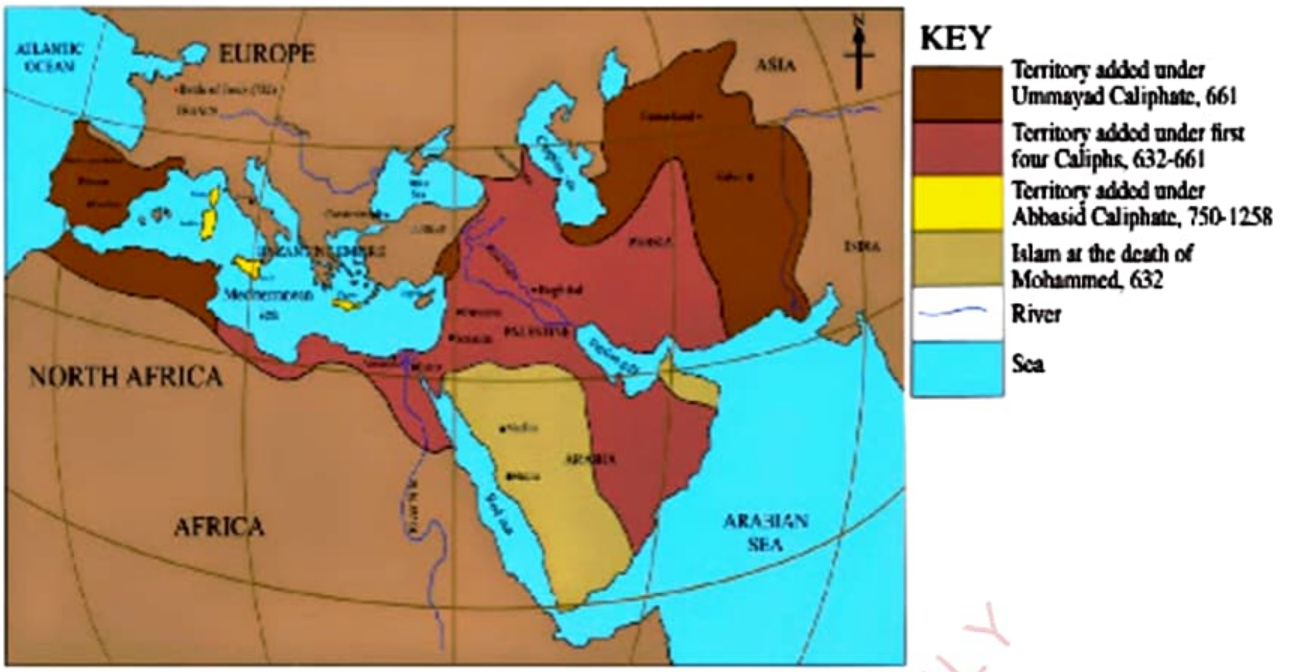

Figure 5. 3: *The spread of Islam*

Exercise 5.3

How did *Shari*a influence governance and administration in the Islamic states?

Thus, Islam played a major role in creating theocratic state. There was no major movement in the Islamic world to separate the state and the Islam. They were fused with supremacy of Islam over the state. The Islam played a role of a strong unifying force in the 18th and 19th centuries when capitalism was expanding to Africa and Asia threatening Islam. The state was important for defending Islam against Capitalism and other forms of threats.

Religious influence on Pre-Colonial African administrative systems

In the Medieval Age, most of African societies were in communal form. Administration was organised in the basis of family, clanship and kinship. The traditional religious beliefs, practices, taboos and norms regulated these societies. However, there were other societies in transition from communal to classified status such as tributary and feudal order. There were also centralised states, such as the Ancient Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Mwenemutapa, and Kongo Kingdom.

In the Ghana Empire, religion played an important role in unifying people of Metropolitan Ghana. Kumbi Saleh was the capital city where the Emperor, and the royal courts and advisors sat. The title of the king in 'Ghana' was 'Kaya-Magha' or 'Tunkka', a Soninke word that meant king or sovereign. Before the 10th century, traditional beliefs and practices played an important role in the political life of Ghana Empire. They were involved in the

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coronation of an Emperor, and led national prayers for eliminating misfortunes, such as diseases, famine, drought and others. The people regarded their King as divine. Others regarded kings as their medium between the real and eternal world. The King was assisted by a council of ministers and the governor of the capital city in administering the Empire. The Emperor administered law in his court of justice. Provincial administration was left in the hands of the kings of the conquered states, which became vassal states. It developed a civil service, a strong monarchy, a cabinet, an army, an effective system of administering justice and a regular source of income. In king's palace, there were court etiquette, the use of drums, the burial of the king, and the system of worship. The ancient Ghanaians also believed in ancestor worship.

However, the introduction of Islam in the Empire in the 10th century divided the royal family between traditionalists and Muslims. The emperor began to hire Muslims as scribes, recording daily administrative tasks using Arabic language in his Empire. The king's interpreter, the official in charge of the treasury, and the majority of his ministers became all Muslims. Commercial towns inhabited by Muslims had mosques for which Muslims met for Friday prayers. In spite of their attachment to their traditional religion, the kings of Ghana allowed freedom of religion and worship to the Muslims, and even went further and provided mosques in their own parts of the city for those Muslims who came to visit or do business with them. There were salaried imams and muezzins as well as jurists and scholars.

Another Kingdom that traditional religious beliefs and practices played an important role in the administration was Kongo. The Kingdom had an elaborate government structure starting from the central government to provinces. There were arrangements on how to elect a King, royal council, electors, bureaucratic posts, and matrons. The kings used traditional religion as a unifying force, defining the relationship between the real world and eternal world, also legitimising kings and royal advisors, before the Kingdom came into contact with Portuguese missionaries.

Penetration of the Catholic missionaries in Kongo in the 15th century began to divide the Kingdom into traditionalist and Catholic Christians. The Portuguese explorer, Diogo Cão, reached the Kongo Kingdom in 1483. He took some Congolese to Portugal for nearly four years, to study Christianity and learning reading and writing. The mission returned with Cão along with the Roman Catholic priests and soldiers in 1491. With the establishment of the Catholic missionaries in Kongo, the ruling king, Nzinga Nkuwu, and his principal nobles were baptised and became Catholics. Nzinga Nkuwu took the Christian name of João I in honor of the Portugal's King at the time, João II. João I ruled until his death in 1509.

Nzinga Nkuwu was succeeded by his son, Afonso Mvemba Nzinga. He faced a serious challenge from his half-brother, Mpanzu Kitima. The king overcame his brother in a battle waged at Mbanza

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Kongo. While King João I later reverted to his traditional beliefs, Afonso I established Christianity as the state religion of his kingdom. King Afonso I worked to create a Catholic Church in Kongo, providing for its income from the royal assets and taxation that provided salaries for its workers. With advisers from Portugal such as Rui d'Aguiar, the Portuguese royal chaplain was sent to assist Kongo's religious development. Afonso created a syncretic version of Christianity that would remain a part of its culture for the rest of the kingdom's independent existence.

Thus, the kingdom of Kongo had a complex religious history that involved ancestor and spirit cults and syncretism of indigenous traditions and practices and Roman Catholicism. The Catholic Church played an important role in the administration of the Kingdom of Kongo. However, it led to constant conflicts between traditionalists and Christians. The Kingdom established a highly centralised administration.

Exercise 5.4

Appraise the role of traditional religions in shaping administrative systems in Pre-colonial African societies.

Confucianism and Administration in China

Confucianism was a system of beliefs and norms that influenced governance in ancient China and Japan. It was founded by Confucius who was born during the era known in Chinese history as the Spring and Autumn Period (770–481BCE). His home was in Lu, a regional state of Eastern China in what is now central and southwestern Shandong Province. Like other regional states at the time, Lu was bound to the imperial court of the Zhou dynasty (1045–221BCE) through history, culture, family ties and moral obligations. He died in 479 BCE. He is China's most famous teacher, philosopher, and political theorist, whose ideas have profoundly influenced the civilisations of China and other East Asian countries.

Confucius was not only a practical philosopher but also a political reformer. He developed his ideas during the period when China was torn by feudal wars. Confucianism describes an ideal ruler and the process of government. It describes that a good ruler as a superior man. It maintains that culture and tradition are more effective and stronger tools in shaping the behaviour and ideals of the people than legal and penal codes. A good ruler will appoint officials among men who share his commitment to Confucius principles and the social and material well-being of the people. Government must be fiscally sensitive, mindful of the heavy burden of taxation on the people.

Confucius's political philosophy on government has four important principles. The First, the state is an extended family. It is only a larger form of the family and the mutual obligations that exist between father and sons, sovereign and subjects.

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Governing one's family correctly was viewed as an essential precondition to governing the state. One cannot instruct others while he cannot instruct his own children. The way that the ruler treats his own family is like the seed which would establish the foundation of the government or destroy it. His love is extended to the state.

The second principle is that the government exists for the benefit of the people. He taught that people are the most important element of the state. Confucius described the government as a loving parent. The happy and gracious sovereign is the father and mother of the people. The government has to provide needs of the people. An intelligent ruler will regulate the livelihood of the people by ensuring that people have their basic needs. Confucius said that to centralise wealth is to disperse the people and to distribute wealth is to collect the people. Confucius stated: "With the ancients, in their government the love of men was the great point". This Confucius advice on good government focused on the warlords who had forgotten to provide help to people during difficult times of the Warring States.

The third principle is that the ruler was to set a moral example. Government must lead by moral example. The government was required to promote good virtuous as a way of obtaining the people's compliance. When the Prince's personal conduct was good, it meant that his government was also effective without using force. It was the duty of ministers to speak out against the ruler and even depose him if he engaged in wrong conduct. This meant that leaders with bad moral were bad examples to the public life.

The fourth principle is that the government exists by the will of the governed ones. The people are the foundation of the state and government authority. Confucius opposed to the idea of hereditary monarchy and put forth the theory of a government based on the idea of social contract. The ruler must have a set of responsibilities to his people. The people also had duties and responsibilities for their government. The ruler was the father of the state, but his authority rested on the consent of the governed one. This was against the Divine Theory and other forms of assuming powers in governments.

Activity 5.4

Read online and library resources regarding the administrative principles of Confucius, then prepare a newspaper article urging present-day African leaders to adopt Confucian ideals in their governance practices.

Confucianism is based on the ideal government. Confucius thoughts on the ideal government and ruler shaped the policies and ideas of the ancient Chinese political life. Confucianism had great influence on Han Empire. Later, its

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influence was on Ming, Tang, Qing and Sung dynasties, which established kingdoms in China for different periods. The Mongol Empire also observed Confucianism. Even when rulers and government officials did not live up to Confucian ideals, an attempt was always made to justify policies and actions by reference to Confucius and his teachings. Confucian political philosophy had a stabilising and guiding role in governing people. Its influence on the way China was administered remained preeminent up to 1949.

Exercise 5.5

1. What lessons can African countries learn from Confucian ideals in promoting socio-economic development?
2. How did traditional religious beliefs and practices shape the pre-colonial African administrative systems?

Transition from religious-based to secular administrative systems from 15th to 19th centuries

The period between the third century CE and the rise of capitalism in the 15th century was dominated by the rise of kingdoms and empires in which Christian and Islamic religions played an exerting influence on the administration and administrative systems. Christian influence was immense in the Roman Empire and in Western Europe from the third century and throughout the period that followed. In the Byzantine Empire, Papal states and Frankish kingdoms, Christianity influenced all aspects of administration in the monarchies. Thus, Christianity played a pivotal role in shaping every aspect of life in the Middle Ages.

In Africa, Christianity exerted a powerful influence on the administration of the provinces of the Roman Empire and Byzantine Empire in North Africa, which were Egypt, Tripolitania, Numidia and Carthage. It also developed significant influence in Kongo Kingdom when its rulers adopted Catholic faith in the 16th century.

Islam played a major role in the administration of Persian, Umayyad, Abbasids, Mali and Songhai Empires. It did also the same in Asia. The Empires built on the basis of religion were theocratic states. In China and Japan Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism provided guiding principles to state administration. In the Americas, traditional religions influenced the administrative systems.

From the 16th century, the world began to experience transition from religion-based administration to secularised administration, starting from Europe then to the other parts of the world. Secularism is the principle and practice of separating religion from civil and state matters, and drawing from human experiences and natural principles.

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This movement to separate religion from state became a philosophical and jurisprudential struggle for defining political distance in the relationship between religious organisations and state institutions. The creation of secular state was the goal of the politicians, philosophers, and writers of those days. The struggle to separate the Church from the state was motivated by a history of conflict between the state and the Catholic Church in Medieval Europe. Secularism was more pronounced in Europe than in the Muslim world.

Activity 5.5

"World religions have a great influence in shaping governance structures, legal systems and societal norms". Conduct a library study and write an essay under the theme: The role of religion in promoting political and socio-economic development in Tanzania.

Factors for the transition from religion-based to secularised states

The transition from religion-based to secularised states was motivated by different factors. The first one was the rise of capitalism in Western Europe. Towards the end of the 15th century, merchants, artisans and usurers rose in the emerging urban centres in Western Europe. It was a time when feudalism, which for a long time had provided guidance to administrative systems in many parts of Western Europe, entered into crisis. The rising merchant class began to challenge European monarchies that were based on the doctrine of the Divine Theory. They also challenged the alliance between the Church and the monarchy that extracted huge taxes for financing wars. They wanted to abolish the inheritance of the throne and adopt liberal democracy and secularised states.

The second factor was the rise of renaissance, a major cultural movement that started in Italian city states of Florence and Venice in the 15th century then spread to England, France, Germany and the Netherlands. During the renaissance, one of the important developments was the growth of finance and banking systems and trade, which enabled Venice and Florence cites to become very prosperous towns. They gradually became centres of trade. It was the time when the Church did not allow money lending and charging interests on loaned money.

However, with the rise of merchants in urban centres, it was important to use loans in commerce, trade and manufacturing. As a result, banks in Italian city states increased in number and wealth. They loaned money and changed money in other currencies. Without such exchange it was difficult to trade. Florence became the richest city with the production of goods such as silks, tapestries, and jewellery, which were sold

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to different parts of Europe. Venice and Florence were very rich merchant city-states in Italy. As a result, principles and ethics of merchant capitalism, such as buying goods very cheaply and selling them dearly, were not compatible with the Christian trade ethics. The Church was not allowing people to accumulate wealth through exploiting others. The Christian socialism was still very potent in Christendom Europe. It was also during mercantilism that activities such as robbery, piracy, and slave trade were emerging.

Renaissance also had an impact on the Netherlands, or Low Countries during the 16th and 17th centuries. The state of Netherlands grew and began to challenge the Spanish Catholic Empire. Although the Dutch people at that time were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic, their theological basis was in the liberal tradition of Erasmus that was against the conservative line of the Spanish Church.

At the same time, Calvinism penetrated into the Low Countries in the 16th century as it was a major center for trade. Calvinism thrived in the mercantile atmosphere of the Low Countries. Businessmen became impressed by the role of the laity in Calvinist congregations. The Roman Catholic Church was viewed as an unyielding patriarch, and the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church was resented even though Catholicism was respected as an important social, moral, and political force. Merchants welcomed the "new" religion. The Dutch merchants also challenged the imposition of taxes on the businesses. Taxation was unilateral in nature as it was levied by a foreign political entity and the benefit derived from the taxes went to Spain. Spain was building an empire, and the Low Countries paid dearly. The Dutch challenged the Spanish rule in the Netherlands.

The Dutch government encouraged its own merchants with the belief that trade brought wealth to the state. Dutch merchants would bring wealth to their state and not to the Spanish Catholic monarchy or the Catholic Church. The Dutch who established the Dutch East India Company in 1602 and the Company was given a royal charter to trade in Asia and Indian Ocean. It established a colony at the Cape of South Africa in 1652 and other colonies in Malaysia. Britain established the British East India Company and the British West Indies Company to facilitate trade in the Indian Ocean and in the Americas during the 17th and 18th centuries. These companies brought wealth to the Netherlands and Britain, contributing to the growth of economic power of the respective monarchies through bullionism. The merchants and the landed gentry became powerful classes and began to challenge absolute monarchism that held political power. They also began to challenge the Church over issues related to trade and commerce.

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The third factor was reformation. This movement emphasised scholarship, building universities and the rise of nation-states in Western Europe. Spain and Portugal were powerful monarchies in Europe. King Charles V who ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 1516 to 1556 was an absolute king of the monarchy. At the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther articulated a Doctrine of Two Kingdoms. He put his 95 theses at Wittenberg in 1517. This doctrine laid a foundation of the Europe's struggles for a separation of the church and the state. The radical reformers who became known as the Anabaptists took Luther's ideas in a new direction. One of the Anabaptist writers was Michael Sattler (1490–1527). He agreed with Luther that there were two kingdoms, but argued that these two kingdoms should be separate. He wanted believers to participate in politics. He advised that baptised believers should not vote, serve in public office or participate in any other way with the kingdom of the world. Anabaptists taught that religion should never be compelled by state power. They approached the issue of church-state relations primarily from the position of protecting the church from the state. As a reaction from the Catholic Church, Anabaptists were labeled as anti-Christ.

The major target of the Anabaptists and other reformers was the combined authority of the Pope as a religious head of the Catholic Church and head of Papal Political State. During the Medieval Age, the Pope had absolute power over monarchies and governments of Europe. For example, in response to the spread of heresies and dissent, the Church established the Papal Inquisition to identify and eradicate heretical beliefs. The Papal Inquisition, that was formally established in the 13th century, aimed to maintain doctrinal purity and suppress deviations from the established Church teachings. In collaboration with secular authorities, the Church conducted trials and executions to punish heretics.

Following the spread of Lutheran teachings in Europe, the Catholic Church reacted by conducting anti-reformation campaigns against heretics in Europe. The reformation started in 1517 in Italy. Catholic Reformation was an organised effort in the 16th and early 17th centuries to oppose the Protestant Reformation and reform the Catholic Church. Pope Paul III who ruled from 1534 to 1549 convened the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which reacted to Protestant teachings on faith, grace, and the sacraments and attempted to reform training for the priesthood. The Council of Trent made sweeping reforms and laid down dogma clarifying nearly all doctrines contested by the Protestants. It served to revitalise Roman Catholicism in many parts of Europe and was a key part of the Catholic Counter-Reformation.

The reformation in England was associated with the birth of the Anglican Church that was founded in 1534 by King

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Henry VIII's Act of Supremacy. The Act pronounced the Church of England independent of the Catholic Church in Rome. Thus, the roots of Anglicanism trace back to one of the main branches of Protestantism sprouting from the 16th century Reformation.

The first phase of the Anglican Reformation (1531–1547) began over a personal dispute between King Henry VIII of England and Pope Clement VII. King Henry VIII of England wanted to divorce his wife, Catherine of Aragon. In 1534, Pope Clement VII's refused to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. The King was angered by the decision, hence he decided to break with the Church and set himself as ruler of the Church of England, unifying the feudal Clerical and Crown hierarchies under a single monarchy. In response, both the king and the English parliament rejected papal primacy and asserted the supremacy of the crown over the church. Thus, King Henry VIII of England was established head over the Church of England. Slight changes in the Church doctrine and practice were introduced.

During the reign of King Edward VI (1537–1553), he attempted to place the Church of England more firmly in the Protestant camp, both in theology and practice. However, his half-sister, Mary, who was the next monarch on the throne, set about (often by force) bringing the Church back under papal rule. She failed, but her tactics left the Anglican Church with widespread mistrust for Roman Catholicism that has endured for centuries. As Queen Elizabeth I took the throne in 1558, she strongly influenced the shape of Anglicanism in the Church of England and retained much of its pre-Reformation characteristics and offices, such as archbishops, deans, canons, and archdeacons.

The fourth factor was the rise of Enlightenment when French scholars such as Voltaire, Jean Rousseau, Baron de Montesquieu and others highly influenced the government administrative systems. The Enlightenment was also known as the Age of Reason. It was a continuation of Renaissance. It began with the publication of Principia by Isaac Newton in 1687 and ended with an outbreak of the French revolution in 1789. Scientists, philosophers and writers wrote to enlighten people. They encouraged observation method in the production of knowledge. This began to challenge the established religious knowledge based on revelation. The political revolutions in Europe and America were accompanied by the Age of Reason.

French scholars also played a major role in the debate on separating the Church from the State. Montesquieu wrote the book The Spirit of the Laws in 1748, praising the government of England for being democratic. He urged that the three branches of the government - the law enforcing, the law-making and the law interpreting – be kept separate so that one

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could check the other. Another French, the 18th-century French philosopher, Jean-Jacques Roussseau (1712–1778), argued that all societies need religion to hold men together. Because Christianity tended to pull men away from earthly matters, Rousseau advocated a "civil religion" that would create the links necessary for political unity around the state.

John Locke (1632–1704) was an English philosopher who played a major role in the struggles for separating the church from the state. In his writings, Locke argued that the government lacked authority in the realm of individual conscience because this was something rational people could not cede to the government for it or others to control. This created a natural right in the liberty of conscience. Locke argued that this right must remain protected from any government authority. In A Letter Concerning Toleration, John Locke defended religious toleration among different Christian sects. He argued that ecclesiastical authority had to be separated from the authority of the state, or the magistrate. Locke reasoned that, because the Church was a voluntary community of members, its authority could not extend to matters of state. Locke did not question the origins of the power or dignity of the clergy. To him, that was an ecclesiastical authority, which ought to be confined within the bounds of the Church. The authority of the Church should not in any manner be extended to civil affairs, because the Church itself is absolutely separate and distinct from the commonwealth.

At the same period of the 17th century, Pierre Bayle supported the idea of separation the Church and the State, maintaining that faith was independent of reason. Bayle shared ideas with Locke that the state should deal with non-religious issues for the welfare of people and the Church should deal with spiritual matters of their believers. These views on religious tolerance and the importance of individual conscience, along with his social contract, became particularly influential in the American colonies and the drafting of the United States Constitution in the 1780s. Such ideas culminated into the French Revolution of 1789. The class struggles among the French created a degree of secularisation in France. Political revolutions in Germany and Italy also established secularised states with a degree of influence from Christian laws and values. The laws reflecting secularism, individual freedom, liberty and fraternity were enacted in many European countries in the 19th century.

During the Age of Enlightenment, Montesquieu wrote in 1721 about religious tolerance and a degree of separation between religion and government. Voltaire defended some level of separation but ultimately subordinated the Church to the needs of the state. Denis Diderot was a partisan believing in a strict separation between the Church and state. This was the time when the

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Catholic Church was strong in France with influence in every aspect of life from material to spiritual affairs.

In the early foundation of the United States of America, there was a debate on the boundary between the church and the state. Many Americans were religious refugees who ran from religious persecutions in Europe in the 16th century. The founders also feared the creation of the National Church as in England. Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, wrote a letter to the Danbury Baptists Association regarding the separation of the Church and the state. In that letter, Jefferson used the phrase, "wall of separation between church and state" to the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802. Referencing the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, Jefferson described to the Baptists that the United States Bill of Rights prevented the establishment of a National Church. As a result, Americans had not to fear government interference in their right to expressions of religious conscience.

The Bill of Rights, adopted in 1791 as ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, was one of the earliest political expressions against the political establishment of religion. Others were the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, also authored by Jefferson and adopted by Virginia in 1786; and the French Declaration of the Rights of the Man and of the Citizen of 1789.The metaphor "a wall of separation between church and state" used by Jefferson in the above quoted letter became a part of the First Amendment jurisprudence of the U.S. Supreme Court.

The fifth factor was the political revolutions in Europe and America. The struggle for power between parliamentarians most of whom were powerful economic class and England monarchy under Kings Charles I, James I, Charles II and James II aimed at limiting the monarchy and religion from exerting major influence on parliament. The English Glorious Revolution succeeded in transforming the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, limiting the powers of the monarch. The King became a ceremonial head of state while the Prime Minister elected by the Parliament became the head of government. In France, the emerging bourgeoisie class in the industrial sector, commercial farmers, banking and trading branches, demanded the end of the monarchy. They also demanded the end of Catholic Church in administration, education and other aspects of life. The revolution of 1789 ended the monarchy and established the republic. Thus, it was the French revolutionaries who were noted for being the first state to reject religion altogether.

The sixth factor was the need for religious freedom in many European countries. The alliance between the Monarchies and the Catholic Church since the mediaeval period facilitated

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the expansion of Christianity in Europe. The Kings of the Frank kingdom, later became known as Charlemagne or Holy Roman Empire, became patrons of the Catholic Church protecting the papacy and Catholic subjects. The Church used this alliance for its expansion and establishment throughout Europe. In France, the Catholic Church became the state religion during the Frankish Empire. The Spanish and Portuguese monarchies had overwhelming Catholics in the medieval period.

However, in the 16th century, the rise of Protestantism divided Europe between the Catholics and the Protestant denominations, such as Lutherans, Anglicans and Calvinists. The Catholic Church and Catholic kings began to challenge Lutheranism and Calvinism in Germany and France and northern Europe. In order to survive, these religious groups vied with each other for state protection and spreading their religious doctrines. The reformation and counter-reformation done by Catholic Popes brought tensions in Europe. A series of religious wars, mainly the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), occurred in many countries in the process of religious purifications in the 16th, 17th and early 18th centuries. The wars disrupted the religious and political order in the Catholic countries of Europe, or Christendom. The Thirty Years' War caused huge damage to Catholic monasteries, churches and other religious institutions. Many people died of war, famine, and diseases. The war proved disastrous for the German-speaking parts of the Holy Roman Empire. By the end of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Catholic France had allied with the Protestant forces against the Catholic Habsburg monarchy. The wars were largely ended by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which established a new political order that is now known as Westphalian sovereignty.

The adoption of the Anglican Church, officially known as the Church of England, as a state religion in England led to the persecution of non-Anglicans in England. Non-Anglicans, mostly the Catholics, suffered a lot from persecution, including removal from holding public office. As a result, some people fled England as religious refugees to the Americas in search of religious freedom to worship as they wished. After the American Colonies had revolted against King George III of the United Kingdom, the Establishment Clause regarding the concept of the separation of church and state was developed but it was never part of the original US Constitution.

In France, the non-Catholics were persecuted. Persecution involved removal from public office for religious reasons, denial of the rights to vote and to be voted for, and killings in wars. People wanted religious toleration that would only be possible through the development of secularised state and separation of state and religion.

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Up to the 19th century, the degree of actual separation between government and religion varied widely. The degree of political separation between the church and the civil state became determined by the legal structures and prevalent legal views that define the proper relationship between organised religion and the state in Europe. The many variations on separation can be seen in some countries with high degrees of religious freedom and tolerance combined with strongly secular political cultures which have still maintained state churches.

In England, the constitution established Anglican as the state religion . The British monarch became the supreme governor of the Church of England, and 26 bishops (Lords Spiritual) sat in the upper house of the government, the House of Lords. In France, the signing of the Concordat of 1801 between France and the Holy See on 15th July 1801 provided a legal separation between the church and state.

Thus, by the 19th century, many European modern states, such as France, Italy, Britain, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Germany had separated the state and the church. This facilitated the freedom of worship, speech and association. However, there were varying degrees of separation between state and religious institutions in European countries. The separation of the church from the state was due to the interplay between reformation, enlightenment, and industrial revolution, which encouraged the development of science and technology and human reasoning power.

Nevertheless, Christianity continued to influence political life in Europe, such as the inclusion of religious festivals in the national calendar based on Julian calendar, the use of religious rites in the coronation of kings and presidents, burial rites for the funerals of kings and Christians.

Thus, the separation between the Church and liberal state was shaped by development of historical relations between the Church and states since the rise of Christianity and Church as an institution. Before the 19th century religion, especially Christianity in western Europe, was used to give political legitimacy of the rulers over their subjects. The Pope had powers over monarchies because the church was the older institution compared to European empires and nation-states. The fundamental liberal ideals, such as freedom of press, freedom of choice, freedom of religion, freedom of association, and struggles for power became the sources of conflict between the church and state. Some of liberal ideals became incompatible with the doctrines and fundamentals of Christianity. However, although the liberals struggled to create a total separation between the state and church, it was impossible. The call for total separation between church and state became impossible in an absolute sense. In England, for example, the degree of political separation between

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the church and the civil state is determined by the legal structures and prevalent legal views that define the proper relationship between organized Anglican Church and the state. British King or queen is a head of state and Anglican Church as Anglican is the official state religion. Christianity continued to exert influence on taking oath of higher public offices as well as in public holidays also include religious festivals of: Epiphany, Easter Monday, Corpus Christi Day, Assumption Day, All Saints' Day, Christmas, and Boxing Day. The primary holidays are based on the Catholic liturgical year, but other believers are allowed to celebrate other major religious holidays as well.

In the Islamic world, the separation between Islam and the state did not occur. Islam became the state religion in the Ottoman Empire. It continued to guide the civic administration and its administrative systems. In these societies, Islam and the civil state continued to work together. Islam also continued to exert major influence in the Middle East and North Africa in political administration, pilgrimage to Mecca and fixation of religious festivals in public life. Moreover, Islam continued to exert major influence on Islamic theocratic states of the Abbasid, Umayyad, Turkish and Ottoman Empires, as well as Mali and Songhay Empires in western Sudan.All these were ruled through Sharia.

Activity 5.6

Suppose you find your name on a school notes board to participate in a debate in a nearby school on the motion "Separation between religion and government promotes social cohesion, human rights and inclusive society." Prepare points that you will give to support or oppose the motion.

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Revision exercise 5

1. How did the traditional religious beliefs and practices shape the pre-colonial African administrative systems?
2. Discuss the impact of the introduction of Islam and Christianity on the pre-colonial African administrative systems.
3. How did the dominance of Christianity and Islam influence administrative systems in Europe, Africa, Asia, and the Americas from the 3rd to the 15th century?
4. Analyse the factors for the transition from religious-based administration to secularised administration in Europe from the 16th to the 19th century.
5. What were the roles of influential figures such as Martin Luther, John Locke, and Thomas Jefferson in advocating for the separation between the church and state?
6. How did the governance of the early Islamic Empires evolve after the death of Prophet Muhammed?
7. In what ways did Confucianism shape the bureaucratic structures and administrative policies of Imperial China, and how did these impact governance?
8. Discuss the role of *Sharia* law in Islamic administrative systems throughout history. How has it influenced governance structures in the Muslim-majority regions?
9. How did Christianity influence the development of administrative systems in Medieval Europe, particularly during the reign of the Catholic Church?
10. Explore the impact of the separation between the church and state on administrative systems in modern societies. Provide examples of how religious principles still influence administrative decisions in secular contexts.
11. Discuss the influence of Islamic legal principles (Sharia) on administrative systems in historic Islamic empires like the Ottoman Empire.

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Chapter Six

Slavery and feudalism in ancient administrative systems

Introduction

Throughout history, administrative systems were shaped by the interplay between social, political, and economic systems that left a permanent mark on the society. In this chapter, you will learn about slavery, feudalism and their roles in shaping administrative systems. The competencies developed will enable you to suggest solutions to address social, political, and economic injustices within the modern administrative systems, that are partly rooted in the historical legacies of slavery and feudalism.

Think

The legacy of slavery and feudalism on contemporary administrative systems

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Slavery, feudalism and changes of the administrative systems in the world

Before the advent of slavery and feudalism, most of the communities in the world lived in an egalitarian system and to a large extent these communities were classless. Classless communities were characterised by collective ownership of the means of production, subsistent production, and mutual respect among members of the community. Their level of technology was rudimentary, meaning that the level of production was very low. The mode of their life was simple and they lived largely in small bands and families. Kinship system was the common mode of social organisation, implying that these communities were stateless. This kind of system did not need complex organisation and administrative system. However, the rise of more complex modes of production such as slavery and feudalism called for better modes of organisation and administration in the communities. That change was not an overnight event, rather a complex process associated with development of technology, population growth, social stratification, and similar transformations. Among other things, the change involved the rise of state as an administrative machinery to cater for emerging complexities in the community. This was an important transformation in the area of administration and administrative system. A detailed account of how slavery and feudalism influenced

the change of administrative systems in Ancient Europe, Asia and Africa is provided in the subsequent sections.

The role of slavery on administrative systems in the world

Slavery denotes a situation where individuals are subjugated to the dominance of others in a manner that goes against natural principles. In a slave-based society, the enslaved individuals are devalued to the status of a mere object. Aristotle described a slave as "a property possessing a soul." The relations between slaves and their masters were not guided by familial ties or contractual agreements but were dictated by circumstances such as birth into a subordinate category, indebtedness, or other forms of bondage. The enslaved individual lacked autonomy and the ability to make choices or decisions.

According to Karl Marx, slavery is the earliest and crudest form of exploitation in history. The transition from communal to slave-based societies took place for the first time in the Middle East and East Asia. Slavery predominated in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, and China by the fourth millennium BCE. In Greece, the system reached its height in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE. Slavery reached the highest stage of its development in Rome from the second century BCE to the second century CE.

The advancement of productive forces and the development of social division of labour and exchange, formed the basis of community transition to the slave-owning system. The adoption of iron implements made it possible to clear the land and forests for ploughing. The use of wooden ploughs with iron share enabled people to cultivate comparatively large plots of land. Hunting and gathering economy gave way to agriculture and cattle-breeding. Handicraft industries developed too.

With the division of labour into two distinctive forms of production, agriculture and handicraft, there arose a need for production for exchange. The growth in productivity led to an increase in the amount of surplus production which prompted the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a minority group in the society. This was the basis for the subordination of the working majority to the exploiting minority, hence the beginning of conversion of labourers into slaves.

The development of handicraft and exchange led to the formation of towns. At the beginning, a town could hardly be distinguished from a village, but gradually handicraft and trade concentrated in towns and towns grew significantly larger. The towns became more and more distinct from villages by the type of occupation and the way of life of their inhabitants.

As the quantity of exchangeable commodities increased, the territorial limits of exchange also expanded. Merchants arose to pursue commodities from producers, carry them to the markets that were sometimes quite far from the places of production, and sell them to the consumers.

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The expansion of production and exchange considerably intensified inequality of property. Money, cattle, implements of production and seeds were accumulated in the hands of the rich. The poor were forced to turn to them for loans, mainly in kind, but sometimes also in money. The rich lent them implements of production, seeds and money, making bondsmen their debtors and, when the latter did not pay their debts, made them slaves and took their land.

The land also began to be converted into private property. It began to be sold and pawned. If a debtor could not pay the usurer, he had to abandon his land and sell himself and his children into slavery. Sometimes, the large landowners seized parts of the meadows and pastures from the peasant village communes. Such developments prompted the concentration of landed property, wealth in money and masses of slaves in the hands of the rich slave-owners. The small peasant economy that existed before broke down, while the slave-owning economy grew stronger and expanded further, spreading to all aspects of production. Therefore, society split into two basically opposed classes, slaves and slave-owners. Slave labour became the basis of society's existence. Thus, the slave mode of production was established.

Under slavery, the population was divided into free men and slaves. The freemen included large landowners (large-scale slave-owners), priests, and small-scale producers (peasants, craftsmen). The members of these classes had civic, property and political rights, except women who were essentially in the position of slaves. The slaves were deprived of all the rights and had no right of admission to the ranks of the freemen. This social stratification necessitated the rise of the state.

With the development of social division of labour and exchange, separate clans and ethnic groups were unified. The character of clan institutions was changed. They were converted into organs of dominance over the people, into organs of domination of their own and of neighbouring ethnic groups. The elders and military leaders of the clans and ethnic groups became princes and kings. Formerly, they held authority as people elected by the clan or union of clans. Now they began to use their power to defend the interests of the propertied upper class, to keep a grip on their fellow clansmen falling into poverty, and to hold down the slaves. Army, courts and other coercive organs served this purpose. Thus, state power arose. The state arose to safeguard the interests of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. In ancient Europe, this process was vivid in ancient Greece and Rome.

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Exercise 6.1

1. How did the development of productive forces contribute to the rise of the slave-owning system?
2. Describe the role of slavery in changing the administrative systems in the ancient world.

Slavery in Ancient Rome

The ancient Roman Empire developed one of the largest and most economically and culturally integrated systems of slavery in the world history. It prospered on a strikingly robust supply of slaves that included enslavement by birth, captivity, sale from foreign and domestic sources, the reclaiming of exposed infants, and in the late antiquity, self-sale, child sale, and debt bondage. Enslavement was imposed upon people from all regions, inside and outside the empire, and was never inflicted on a particular racial or ethnic group. Slaves served in households, agriculture, mines, the military, workshops, construction and industry, service, and even knowledge production, allowing them to be the primary workforce behind the generation of elite wealth. In the actual fact, slavery was a prevalent feature of the Roman world. According to literature, as many as 1 in 3 of the population in Italy or 1 in 5 across the empire were slaves and upon this foundation of forced labour was built in the entire organisational system of the Roman state.

The social structure of the Roman Slave State

The social set-up which gave power to the Roman slave state was based on classes namely slave masters, freemen, and slaves.

Slave masters

This was the class of aristocrats/ bureaucrats (and rulers) who owned land and bought or captured slaves to till the land and other activities. They possessed both the slaves and state power. It is from this class where the rulers and bureaucrats came. Thus, these people defined the administrative system of the empire. Generally, this group was the upper class of the ancient Roman society, consisting of wealthy and influential families who held political power and often claimed descent from the original Roman aristocracy. They held important positions in government, military, and religion, and enjoyed privileges such as the right to hold high offices and participate in decision-making processes.

Freemen

This group constituted a relatively lower class of the Roman society, which included a wide range of individuals, such as common farmers, labourers, artisans, petty traders, knights and warriors. It was the class of ordinary or common members of the society who had little means of livelihood.

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Slaves

Slaves were the lowest class in the ancient Roman society. They had no rights at all and lacked legal status. They could not create relations or families, nor could they own property. They were merely the property of a particular owner, just like a building, a chair or a vest. The only difference was that they could speak. Slaves were deprived of their liberty and forced to submit to their owner who would buy, sell, or lease them like any other chattel. Generally, slaves were considered as sub-humans (*chattel*) and were exchanged like any other commodities with no legal or civic rights. Slave labour was used in all areas of Roman life except public office.

Slaves were employed by private individuals or by the state and were used in agriculture (especially in the grain, vine and olive sectors), mines (especially for gold and silver), manufacturing industries, transportation, education (where they brought their specialist knowledge of such topics as philosophy and medicine to the Roman world), and slaves also served in the military (principally as baggage porters and camp assistants) the service industries (from food to accounting), in the private home, in the construction industry, on road-building projects, in public baths, and even to perform tasks in certain cult rituals.

Organs of the Slave State

Under the slave mode of production, the ancient Roman society developed an elaborate administrative system whereby the exercise of power was based on two major organs, namely the state assembly/ the senate and the city state popular assembly/*Curiate* assembly.

The State Assembly

The State Assembly was the highest and constituting the assembly of the ancient Rome and its aristocracy. It largely served as an advisory council to the king (rex). This was a supreme body headed by the first senator assisted by other senators (a minimum of 300 members). The first senator, popular in military expeditions, was elected by popular assembly through acclamation. The state assembly had the powers to make laws through direct democracy in which every freeman participated.

City State Popular Assembly

These were assemblies in vassal states which paid tributes, and provided soldiers and logistical support to the first senator during wars. It was a forum through which people could hear announcements, express their opinions, also served as a trial court for civil and criminal cases.

Apart from the two major organs, there were other organs which ran the Roman administrative system and structure. These organs included the Century/Military Assembly, Executive Magistrates, and all bureaucrats involved in state administration, such as consuls, tax *collectors, judges and censors.*

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Military organisation

Roman Empire organised armed forces that had an impact on the organisation and management of modern armed forces. The structure of the Roman military was influenced by the development of Roman from a republic to an empire. The structural history of the Roman military showed major transformation in the organisation and constitution of the ancient Rome's armed forces. At the highest level of structure, the forces were split into the Roman infantry army and the Roman navy, although these two branches were less distinct than in many modern national defence forces. Within the top levels of both army and navy, structural changes occurred as a result of both positive military reform and organic structural evolution. These changes can be divided into four distinct phases. The first phase was a time when the army was derived from obligatory annual military service levied on the citizenry, as part of their duty to the state. During this period, the Roman army would wage seasonal campaigns against largely local adversaries. The second phase was the expansionist period of the Roman Empire. As the extent of the territories falling under Roman control expanded and the size of the forces increased, the soldiery gradually became salaried professionals. The third phase was the zenith of the Roman Empire. At the height of the Roman Empire's power, forces were tasked with manning and securing the borders of the vast provinces which had been brought under Roman control. Serious strategic threats were less common in this period and emphasis was placed on preserving the gained territory. The army underwent changes in response to these new needs and became more dependent on fixed garrisons than on march-camps and continuous field operations. The fourth phase was the time when the Rome began to struggle to keep control over its sprawling territories, military service continued to be salaried and professional for Rome's regular troops.

However, the trend of employing allied or mercenary elements was expanded to such an extent that these troops came to represent a substantial proportion of the armed forces. At the same time, the uniformity of structure found in Rome's earlier military disappeared. Soldiery of the era ranged from lightly armed mounted archers to heavy infantry, in regiments of varying size and quality. This was accompanied by a trend in the late empire of an increasing predominance of cavalry rather than infantry troops, as well as a requirement for more mobile operations. In this period, there was more focus (on all frontiers but the east) on smaller units of independently-operating troops, engaging less in set-piece battles and more in low-intensity, guerrilla actions.

Moreover, the Roman army was dominated by Roman cavalry. The cavalry refers to the horse-mounted forces of the Roman army throughout the regal, republican, and imperial eras. In the regal era, the Roman cavalry was a group of 300 soldiers called celeres, tasked with guarding the Kings of Rome. Later, their numbers were doubled to 600,

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then possibly 1,800. All of the cavalrymen were patricians. In the republican era, the general name for the cavalry was equites and these united consisted of the equestrian class and the first class, with a group of 300 cavalrymen in every legion. They were divided into 10 groups of 30 men. Each group elected three leaders known as decuriones. Later, the Roman cavalry stopped using Roman citizens as cavalrymen and relied on auxilia and foreign recruits. Roman cavalrymen wore a Corinthian helmet, bronze chest plate, and bronze greaves.

Furthermore, the Roman cavalry trained using javelins, spears, slingshots, arrows, and small handheld catapults. The cavalry would learn feint attacks. Cavalry soldiers would train in formations that involved shooting arrows and throwing missiles. The training was designed to make sure the cavalry did not break in battle. Another formation the cavalry used was similar to the testudo, that is, the cavalrymen would join with locked shields to increase the unit's protection. Roman cavalry was a crucial part of the republican army in all its time from the Roman Kingdom (753 - 509 BCE) to the Roman Republic (509 - 27 BCE) and the Roman Empire (27 BCE - 476CE). Figure 6.1 shows a Roman Calvary.

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Figure 6. 1: *Roman Cavalry*

Source: *Sidnell, Philip (2006). Warhorse: Cavalry in Ancient Warfare. Continuum.*

Activity 6.1

Read library and online sources on the class structure of the Roman slave state then compare it to contemporary governance structures.

Ancient China

Chinese history began with a classical period from about the 21st century BCE to the 2nd century BCE. This period consisted of three consecutive dynasties: the Xia (21st century - 1600 BCE), Shang (1600 - 1122BCE), and Zhou (1122 - 221BCE). The three dynasties were born in the north along the Yellow River. Each comprised of several states and co-existed with other states around them. The history of this period is also called Pre-Qin because it preceded the Qin state (221 - 206BCE), the first imperial dynasty.

The Qin dynasty was the first centralised feudal monarchy, whose supremacy was established through endless wars with other states during the late Zhou period. Through conquest, the Qin state finally subsumed all its rivals. The Qin dynasty was, however, a short-lived regime. Oppressive government, harsh punishment by law, heavy taxes and corvee labour duties evoked strong opposition. There was a major peasant uprising as early as 209 BCE. Three years later, the Qin dynasty was overthrown by Liu Bang, the famous leader of a local rebellion. This gave way to the rise of the Han dynasty which began in 206BCE. It was divided into two periods as a result of the interruption of a rebellious emperor from another clan of the imperial Liu family. The first period is called Western Han (or Former States (403 - 221BCE). The other period is called Eastern Han (or Latter Han, 25 - 220CE) as a result of the removal of the capital eastward to Luoyang.

The Han dynasty contributed to Chinese history in terms of economic system, political system, and cultural experiences. Han rulers imitated the achievements of the Qin dynasty. They drew lessons from the collapse of the Qin power that China could not be governed through force. They tended to stress personal humanity and social harmony based on Confucian ideology. Deviating from the traditional political system of the previous feudal aristocracy, the Han dynasty created a new political order of monarch-bureaucracy with Confucian ideology as the regulator of institutional relations. This new order provided a political system upon which the next two thousand years of Chinese political culture were based.

Slavery in Ancient China

Slavery seems to have existed in ancient Chinese for a long time, from the time the recorded history became available. It lasted throughout the imperial dynasties but it was never a profit-making system. It was attached to the feudal-monarchical system, in which the dominant productive relationship was between peasants and landlords.

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Like other processes of the human past, slavery developed gradually in ancient China. It was not until the Han dynasty when slavery reached a significant stage in terms of the ownership and status of slaves. By the Han dynasty, the practice of burying slaves alive with their deceased masters had stopped; the master's power of life and death over his slaves was legally prohibited. By that time, slaves were no longer permitted to maintain families, but rather they would serve their masters individually. The practice of selling slaves kept pace and was directly related to the change of land system that occurred in the Qin era.

Throughout the ancient times, all the land was theoretically owned by the state under the king's possession. The land system was called jing tian, which existed in Pre-Qin times. In this system, one Chinese square mile was divided into nine plots, with eight parts allocated by the monarch to male adults in eight families. All land was controlled by the monarch, and families occupying the eight plots paid their rent by cultivating the ninth (central) plot and providing other labour services. Family plots reverted to the monarch upon the death or disability of the adult male family head. This system was believed to have begun with equal land distribution among all people by the monarch. It was also said to be the basis of slavery in pre-Qin times, because all labourers belonged to the monarch and were tied to public land.

Land reform from usufructuary land rights to private ownership resulted in the decline of the jing tian system. People did not only have private land but they could also buy and sell it as they wished. The consequence of this landlord system was the concentration of landholding by the powerful and the consequent destitution of the poor during the Han dynasty. By the time of Emperor Wu (140 - 87BCE), the divergence between the rich on the one hand and landless farmers on the other hand was so severe that the government had to take measures to limit the situation. This change of land system is significant in explaining the sources and position of slaves during the Han era.

The Administrative system in ancient China during the Han Era

The Han dynasty was a feudal-monarchical society within which slavery was an established institution. The social structure in Han China was complex. The emperor was at the top of the pyramidal hierarchy and held absolute power over the people under him. Below him was an upper class consisting of two groups: the nobility and officials who formed the ruling class. A very large imperial family was at the centre of the government and constituted much of the nobility. Once an emperor or an empress had ascended to the throne, his or her relatives would be given certain titles and a great amount of land and slaves. Officials were not necessarily noblemen. Some of them were scholars who had proved themselves through imperial examinations or were recommended by influential officials. The mass of people was called zhong

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(commoners) or min (people) and included farmers, peasants, artisans, merchants, and indentured servants. Commoners comprised the main source of wealth for the government and upper classes. These were charged with duties such as paying taxes and providing common labour, which supported the state and enriched the ruling people. This class was big and therefore it included most of the population. In addition to the commoners, at the bottom of the society were slaves and criminals.

China in the Han dynasty and throughout its entire traditional history was a rural society. In both the popular attitude and government policies, agriculture was seen as the basis of the society and superior to commerce. Merchants were usually thought to be dishonest and cunning. During this period, the main crops were maize, wheat, sorghum and rice. Land provided a means of living and the most important sort of property to own. Peasants rather than slaves cultivated the land. Landed gentry and local officials usually worked together, controlling local affairs and amassing wealth. Commoners were governed and exploited. Therefore, the principal social contradiction was between a relatively few rich people and the vast majority of commoners rather than between free men and slaves. Although Han society was a society with a rigid class system in which class consciousness was clear, social positions were not unchangeable. Individuals and their families could rise from the lowest status to the highest ranks, while others would drop from the summit to the bottom of the society. There are numerous documented instances of people from humble origins ascending to the aristocracy and members of high ranks becoming convicts and slaves at one stroke.

Unlike western slave societies, such as that of ancient Rome, the main sources of slaves in China were neither captives nor alien people. Han slaves came mainly from two sources: one was "willing" native Chinese who sold themselves or were sold by their families into slavery; the other was families of criminals who were forced into slavery by the government. The former was generally categorised as private slaves and the latter were considered government slaves. People may ask why would people sell themselves? Yufeng Wang (1988) answered the question by giving the following explanations: those were people who had no other options because they could not escape from the economic situation or the social system. He went further blaming the change in land system from jing tian to private ownership in the Qin dynasty. According to him, this change resulted in a major social movement in Han times. It produced two social classes, namely the autocratic gentry and landless peasants. Thus, the few means of production and subsistence which were at the disposal of peasants were now taken by the rich and powerful. In this regard, many peasants became debtors. In order to pay off their debts, they had to sell whatever they possessed, even their children and wives. But also, devastating famines are mentioned as one

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of the causes for people to sell themselves because it massively produced landless peasants, tenants, and slaves in the Han dynasty. In Han times as well as in other periods of the ancient history, famine was one of the major causes of rural suffering. Thus, people sold their family members as a strategy to cope with the precarity of devastating famines which were common in ancient China.

Generally, slavery in ancient China existed within an ancient feudal-monarchical system. It did not develop its own administrative system or slave state to serve the purpose. In this kind of slavery, there were no so strict boundaries between slave masters and slaves whereby some slave owners established kin-like relations with their slaves. In some instances, male slaves were appointed as successors when no natural offspring existed. The reasons China never developed into a slave society are many and complex, but certainly the abundance of non-slave labour at low prices and its socio-economic system were among the major ones.

Military organisation

Military played an important role in the life of Chinese slavery and feudal societies under Han, Ching' and Ming dynasties. China developed military forces for protecting lives and for conquering regions in creating kingdoms and empires throughout its history. As far as recruitment was concerned, male commoners were liable for conscription starting from the age of 23 until the age of 56 in Han dynasty. The minimum age was lowered to 20 after 155BCE, briefly raised to 23 again during the reign of Emperor Zhao of Han (r. 87 - 74BCE).

China also developed military professionalism. Garrison troops and armies in the provinces and frontiers were professional or semi-professional military colonists. These soldiers were stationed on the frontier and served in the military in return for a land allotment. The difference between military colonies and agricultural colonies was that the former provided regular military service as well as grain, whereas the latter only provided grain and/or taxes.

The efficiency of these garrisons was kept at a high professional standard. Officers arbitrated disputes between servicemen, who could plead for the recovery of debts.

In China, certain nobles were exempt from military recruitment. Those of ranks four to eight did not have to perform service in their locality and those of rank nine and higher had full exemptions. During the Eastern Han period, commoners were allowed to commute military service by paying a scutage tax. During the time of Emperor Wu of Han, people of low reputation or low economic class who were initially conscripted often stayed in the military as a way to advance their social and economic status. This created another class of professional or semi-professional troops that numbered at least 150,000 soldiers by 97BCE.

Another interesting feature in the Chinese military was the recruitment of paroled convicts. More than 130,000 paroled convicts and pardoned criminals, juvenile

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delinquents, hoodlums, and men of bad reputation and undesirable social station were drafted into the army to perform different functions in the campaigns of 111, 104, and 97BCE. They participated in the expansionist wars. For example, the Han army had at least 150,000 such soldiers in the conquest of Southern Yueh and Southwestern 1 in 112BCE and of Korea in 109BCE. Common weapons were chariots and horses, armour, swords and polearms, crossbows and special bows. By the time Emperor Wu of Han (r. 9 March 141BCE - 29 March 87BCE) came to power, the Han government had control over herds of roughly 300,000 horses, which increased to over 450,000 under Emperor Wu's reign.

The Chinese also developed navy. The navy was officially known as the "Tower ship navy» due to the importance of this type of warship in naval strategy. The navy was deployed to defend and then incorporate the Dong'ou state in 138 BCE, followed by the 100,000 men-strong conquest of the Nanyue state in 112BCE, and then the suppression of the Minyue state rebellion in 110BCE.

The navy consisted primarily of two types of ships: the deck ship and the spear ship. Deck ships resembled a cage with thick planking above deck, on deck and all around the hull as protection against projectiles. The spear ships were long and narrow, designed for ramming enemy ships. 200,000 seamen served in the deck ship fleet, divided into 3 squadrons, the Jianghuai Squadron in Yuchang (now Nanchang), the Kuaiji Squadron in Gouzhang (now near Ningbo) and the Qingqi Squadron in Shandong. Thus, the Chinese slavery and feudalism created a political administration, economic and military legacy to the world.

Slavery in Ancient Egypt

Over its three millennia of history, Egyptian society underwent significant changes: dynasties rose and fell, the kingdom was broken apart and reunified, foreign rulers dominated the landscape, and the fabric of society changed dramatically, including the nature of forced labour and slavery. However, until the Ptolemaic period, there is virtually no evidence for large-scale slavery or large-scale agriculture or otherwise. Slavery was small-scale and mostly involved domestic labour, although other kinds of labour were also prevalent. In ancient Egypt, however, enslaved people were considered useful members of the society. Their work helped the economic development of the region. Some enslaved people even had certain rights and freedoms. Slavery in ancient Egypt helped develop the civilisation, although it came with the heavy cost of sacrificing human lives and treating humans as disposable objects.

Enslaved people were the lowest social class in ancient Egypt, lower even than peasants. They were fed and clothed by their owners. In this sense, they worked for food, clothing, and shelter. They were relieved of the extra burden of taxes, but they were forced to live a life of hard work, often in brutal conditions. Most enslaved people in Egypt were foreigners,

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but some Egyptian peasants entered into slavery to pay debts. Entering into slavery allowed peasants to stay out of poverty and ensured that they had the basic necessities for survival. However, life in slavery was one full of hardships.

Most of the foreign slaves were given as gifts from their rulers to the Egyptian pharaoh, or they were exchanged for gold or silver. Slavery was not widespread in Egypt until the rise of the New Kingdom (1539 - 1075BCE). During this time, Egypt's military advanced into Syria and Palestine. Any person captured was enslaved and added to the kingdom's resources. Enslaved people in the military were prisoners of war chosen to serve in the pharaoh's army because of their physical strength and courage. The New Kingdom relied on large armies to expand into other territories. Slaves in the army were treated like other Egyptian soldiers. Using captured people as soldiers may have given Egypt an advantage in conquering surrounding regions.

Other slaves were taken from their homeland and forced to work without pay. For some prisoners, this meant simply an exchange of owners, because many regions contained slave-owning societies. Some slaves in ancient Egypt may have even seen an improvement in their standards of living, especially if they were sent to a royal house.

In ancient Egypt, one slave could live a very different life from another slave. That is because there were different types of slavery, and slaves performed different tasks. For instance, slaves working in the temple took care of the temples and pleased god under the priests. Likewise, those slaves owned by royal families were normally not subject to hard and terrible working conditions. Rather, they were taken as part of the normal workers. They occasionally married and created families and others were given their freedom. Slaves in royal families could even enjoy a better life than some free peasants who toiled long hours in the farms as cultivators. There was also huge difference between the lives of slaves who worked within households and those who worked in mines. Those who worked in mines experienced hard and harsh conditions as they were often not given enough food and water to survive the harsh desert conditions. Enslaved people in the Egyptian mines provided labour for an essential part of the economy. Regardless of this harsh condition, slaves worked hard in the gold and copper mines in ancient Egypt which were an important part of the region's wealth.

Generally, entering the status of slavery meant entering a household or an institution, although at a lower social rank, but in return gave the enslaved person practical protection from debt and starvation as well as social protection through a connection to a high-status

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individual. Indeed, it can be argued that the more socially alienated persons were those who were not enslaved, but lay outside the norms of the Egyptian society and therefore lacked protection. Such people included unclaimed orphans, vagabonds, criminals, and foreigners. These people would have to seek out the ways of entering into the social ranks, including slavery, in order to find the protection, they needed to function as members of the society.

Administrative system of Ancient Egypt

Slavery did not become a dominant socio-economic system in ancient Egypt; therefore, it did not remarkably affect the Pharaonic administratively system. The ancient Egyptian society was strictly divided into a hierarchy with the king/ pharaoh at the top and then his *vizier*, the members of his court, priests and scribes, regional governors (who were also known as *nomarchs*) and the generals of the military (after the period of the New Kingdom, 1570 - 1069BCE) there were artists and craftsmen, government overseers of worksites (supervisors), the peasant farmers, and slaves.

Social mobility was discouraged in ancient Egypt as it was thought that the gods had predestined or set the most perfect social order which kept up with the central value of their culture, ma'at, literally meaning harmony and balance. Ma'at was the universal law which allowed the world to function as it should and the social hierarchy of ancient Egypt was thought to reflect this principle. Moreover, Egyptians believed that the gods had given them everything they needed, and set them in the most perfect land on earth, and had then placed the king over them as an intermediary between the mortal and divine realms. The primary responsibility of the ruler was to keep ma'at and, when this was accomplished, all the other obligations of his office would fall naturally into place.

Administratively, an Egyptian king could not personally oversee every aspect of the society, so the position of the vizier was created as far back as the Early Dynastic Period (3150 - 2613BCE). The vizier (taken as Prime Minister) delegated responsibilities to other members of the court, sending messages through scribes, and also oversaw the military and the operations of regional governors, public work projects, and tax collections among his many other duties. At the bottom level of this hierarchy were the slaves and, just above them, the peasants who made up 80 per cent of the population and provided the resources which allowed the civilisation to survive and flourish for over 3,000 years.

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Activity 6.2

Read library and online sources on the ancient slavery in Mesopotamia, Egypt, India, Rome, China, and Greece then:

(a) Compare the practices of ancient slavery and the modern human trafficking in the contemporary world.

(b) Propose the strategies that would effectively combat the practice of modern human trafficking.

Slavery in other parts of Pre-colonial Africa

There is still a hot debate on whether pre-colonial African societies practiced slavery as the mode of production or not. However, there is an agreement among many historians that slavery neither occupied the central place nor became dominant in the political, economic, and social life of pre-colonial African societies. In Western European communities, such as ancient Greece and Rome, communalism fully gave away to slavery which dominantly defined the socio-economic and political systems of the day until the Middle Ages. This was quite different from Africa. It is important to note that political systems based on slave relations of production were very few in Sub-Saharan Africa because the slavery as the mode of production was not widely developed. The few cases of slavery relations grew along the coastal trading city states such as those in East Africa (Zanzibar, Mombasa and Lamu) and West Africa where the city states had been centres of slave trade for many areas. Yet, the slavery existed in those areas was not the same as the European slavery.

Most of the pre-colonial societies found themselves practicing communalism for a long time or in transition from communalism to feudal-like social system with a centralised administrative system.

As already explained, slavery existed in almost all societies in the world, but it was more evident in the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. In these areas, slavery experienced an elaborate functional significance and numerical strength. The Greek and Roman societies developed an institutionalised and large-scale system of slavery which matched up with a newly established administrative machinery. This was truly a slave mode of production, a sole system, which defined all dimensions of life in those societies. These societies were known as slave societies due to their large usage or large-scale dependence on slave labour.

Exercise 6.2

Compare and contrast slavery in ancient China and Slavery in ancient Egypt.

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Feudalism and administrative systems in the world

Feudalism refers to the socio-political system during the Medieval Ages (especially during Medieval Europe) in Europe, in which the Monarch entrusted his land to nobles in exchange for political support and military services. Nobles allocated this land to lesser lords (vassals) and peasants, who paid rent through services, labour, or cash. In return, lesser lords and peasants enjoyed the protection of the overlord and his knights.

Feudalism was mainly associated with the decentralised power structure in most of the medieval kingdoms. Monarchs would often secure the loyalty and allegiance of the lords and, by extension, their knights, vassals, and peasants, in order to maintain power and order. The feudal system was largely based on the social and political interactions of the following social groups: kings, lords; knights (vassals); peasants; and *fief* (land).

The central theme in the Marxist interpretation of the feudal system is the decentralisation of the administrative system from that of the slave society. The collapse of the Roman Empire led to a period of chaos in Europe and out of the necessity for order evolved a system of large estates worked out by the peasants, in exchange for protection from warrior elites. Despite the existence of a central monarch authority, the inability to provide protection for the people (peasants; slaves and the like) led to a contract of mutual interest between lords and their vassals owing to their military service, inevitably leading to the vassalage becoming primarily a contract of protection for the exchange of land. This system blessed exploitation of the peasants by the lords under the lord-peasant relationship. It was essentially the exchange of freedom for protection. In short, after the collapse of the Roman Empire, many new states headed by kings were formed. These kings generously allocated the land they had grabbed over the lifetime and afterwards for the hereditary possession of their attendants, who had to render military service in return. The Church, which served as an important support for the royal power, received much land. It therefore became the largest feudal owner. The land was worked out by peasants who now had to fulfil a number of duties for their new masters. Large amount of land passed into the hands of members of the royal attendants and servants, the clerical authorities and the monasteries. The lands allotted on such conditions were known as fiefs. Hence comes the name of the new social structure, feudalism.

The feudal system existed in almost all countries in the world, although in a varied form and style. In China, for example, the feudal system existed for more than two thousand years. In Western Europe feudalism covers a number of centuries, from the time of the fall of the Roman Empire (fifth century) to the bourgeois revolution in England (seventeenth century) and in France (eighteenth century); in Russia from the ninth century to the peasant reform of 1861; in Africa, ancient Egypt records the oldest form of feudalism, although

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there were other scattered cases of feudal systems in the pre-colonial period.

Feudalism in Medieval Europe

In the early Middle Ages, without a strong government or army, kings and queens were weak and had little power. Landowners were normally wealthy nobles who had managed to keep their lands, wealth, castles, and possibly some soldiers as the Roman Empire crumbled down. These noblemen provided protection to less important landowners. In return these landowners served the lord as vassal or lesser lord. In the meantime, the relationship between a lord and his vassal became the centre of political, social, and economic life of the Middle Ages. This relationship has been given the name feudalism. It was in many ways similar to the feudal system which developed in China over a thousand years earlier.

Unlike slaves, the serfs under feudalism rented land from feudal lords, thus occupied and worked upon it in exchange for rents in form of cash, products or labour. In the feudal system, the major means of production was land, and the societies were essentially agriculturalists. Principally, the king granted land (fief) to the nobles (vassals/royal supporters) who would swear oath of loyalty and pay homage to the king, and promise to offer military services to him.

Feudal states existed in the Medieval Europe after the destruction of the tribal constitution of the Anglo-Saxon societies by the German, French, and Roman rule which brought Christianity. For example, Jaba Shadrack (1988) argues that at the apex of feudalism in England, 70 per cent of the population were serfs, 12 per cent freemen, 9 per cent slaves, and 9 per cent nobles.

The Socio-political structure of Feudal State in Medieval Europe

Most of the European societies during the feudal period were organised on pyramid shaped hierarchy. The hierarchy was represented by the pope, king, nobles (barons, royal court, and bishops), knights, merchants, yeomen and serfs/peasants. Figure 6.2 describes the feudal structure in Medieval Europe.

The Church

During the Middle Ages, the church and the state were not separate. In Medieval Europe, the Church had wielded great power and influence. The Church and the government worked hand in hand to direct people's lives, and they were expected to cooperate with each other. In the real sense, the Church was itself a government. It was stronger than any monarch or any noble and was usually able to tell the monarchs and nobles what to do. As a government, it had the power to tax. This tax, known as a tithe, amounted to one-tenth of one's income, and every church member was expected to pay it. Through tithing, the Church got the money to do its work and became the world's single landowner. The pope ruled the papal states in central Italy where he was the head of the government as well as the head of the Church. Because of its

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great influence, the Church could make and unmake monarchs. The land and titles necessary for a monarch to rule were held only with the consent of the Pope.

The Pope was believed to be God's representative (vicar) on the earth. He had the right to intervene, impose sanctions, depose or excommunicate a king. Sometimes, the church amassed forces and dethroned the kings. For instance, in Germany, King Henry IV was defeated by the papal forces at Canossa in 1077. The church occupied large tracks of land, administered canon law and claimed supernatural power to nominate and coronate the King as an elect of God.

Moreover, the Church was an important part of the medieval economy as it made vital contribution to the feudal economy. Farming was the most important way of making a living during the Middle Ages. As monks farmed church property, they found better ways of growing crops and looking after livestock. They taught these new methods to other farmers so everyone could benefit.

The Church often regulated the activities of those engaged in business. For example, it forbade usury, the practice of charging interest on money that had been lent to another person. It urged merchants and artisans to charge a just or fair price for goods.

The King

Literally, the king or emperor was the head of the feudal state. A feudal system can be pictured as a pyramid with a king or a queen at the top. Some monarchs were strong, while others held little and lacked authority. The king was the ultimate owner of all the land, holding it in trust on behalf of all the citizens. He was also believed to rule by divine right. He granted the land to the landlords/ noblemen or vassals who, among other things, swore allegiance, rendered military service, and paid taxes and other dues to the king. For instance, in 1066, the whole England was conquered by the Normans and thus placed under King William I the Conqueror, who in turn rewarded lands to his Norman vassals.

Barons

The barons enjoyed the right to govern the cultivators, hold courts of justice, levy taxes, and extract services from their subjects. Barons leased land (the *manor*) up to approximately 1200 -1800 acres from the king in return for military services and loyalty. They paid rents and supplied the kings with soldiers or knights at time of war. Barons were extremely rich, powerful, controlled the land on behalf of the king and maintained private standing armies.

Knights

Knights who are also known as lesser lords/nobles were given land by barons in exchange for military service to the king. They were duty bound to protect the manor, including barons and their families. Knights kept the land for their own use and subleased certain pieces of land to the serfs.

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Serfs

At the base of the pyramid were the serfs. They were under the landlords and knights and carried out productive activities on the land. They had the obligation to render services to the landlords – the aristocracy. In the earlier phase of feudalism, these services took the form of labouring on the fields of the feudal lord (paying a labour rent). In later periods, peasants could surrender to the feudal lords, part of what they produced (rent in kind). In a much later period, rent was paid in the form of cash. Interestingly, the serfs paid taxes in the form of food and labour and in return obtained the privileges of using the lord's road, baking, oven, gristmill and wine press. Frequently, the serfs were also called upon to do military service for their feudal lords and of course to be deferential to them in every respect. However, unlike slaves, serfs were allowed to marry and reproduce.

Although feudal Europe was predominantly rural, there were towns, especially in the later stages of feudalism. This is quite an astonishing feature, which is missing in other forms of feudalism. Towns were centres of trade and craft production. The feudal towns were dominated by artisans (or craftsmen) and merchants and they were organised in guilds. The guilds were relatively closed organisations and the entry into them was strictly controlled. There was virtually no freedom of movement into and out of these feudal occupations. These occupational restrictions represented the antithesis of capitalism, which is characterised by the absence of such restrictions, implying free movement of labour and capital.

These towns got royal charters to organise themselves into self–governing corporations controlled by freemen who were fully qualified to practice trade. It means that the corporations were free from control by the feudal aristocracy. Only the freemen enjoyed democracy in this period.

Administratively, feudalism was characterised with decentralisation of political authority. The classical political arrangement during feudalism was one in which power was diffused and was enjoyed by numerous feudal lords, each in full control of his own fiefdom.

Organs of the Feudal State

The most notable organ with executive powers in feudal system was the King's Council or Curia Regis. The king's council carried out its functions through two other smaller organs, namely the exchequer. This was the King's office in charge of revenues/royal treasury, and the Privy Council, which was an inner circle of the King's Council which acted as a cabinet/sovereign's private councillors.

Over all, feudalism brought about significant changes on the Medieval European administrative system. Some of these changes were; First, it led to the development of decentralisation of power

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in medieval administrative system. Under feudalism, power and authority were decentralised and localised. Individual lords exercised control over their own lands and subjects. This led to the parcelisation of political power which weakened the central authority of the monarch. This kind of administration was based on the relationships between individual lords and vassals. It was based around the giving and receiving of commitments and responsibilities.

This was quite different from slavery during ancient times. Under slavery, there was a great centralised administration. This was because the whole state was under the single powerful man who was none else but the master. He used to have absolute control of the state. This was similar to the anarchy situations where there were no multiple centres of power. Rome gives a clear picture of the great empire it used to have. Greece, on the other hand, never attained a unified state (city-state system) but the slaves of Greece in Sparta and Athens alike were entrusted with many important public duties which were completely guided by the master.

Equally significant, some scholars go far to interpret this kind of decentralisation as having an impact on the development of local government. They argue that when considering the feudal effect on the shaping of administrative systems, the most influential aspect was the localisation of the government. The influence of this was commonplace to all countries where feudalism was a dominant form of social organisation. While the institutional apparatus of monarchy remained a force in national politics, the day-to-day business of governance was carried out by nobles.

Second, the feudal system developed a new form of social hierarchy, which was based on land ownership and military service. At the apex were the kings and lords, followed by the knights and vassals, and at the base were the peasants and serfs. Third, it permitted limited political rights to the commoners. The peasants and serfs had no freedom in the political affairs and there was often a violation of their rights. Political game was spared for the lords. Lastly, the feudal system created a system of mutual obligations, which aided to maintain social and political order. Under this system, lords and vassals had mutual obligations towards each other based on military service and loyalty.

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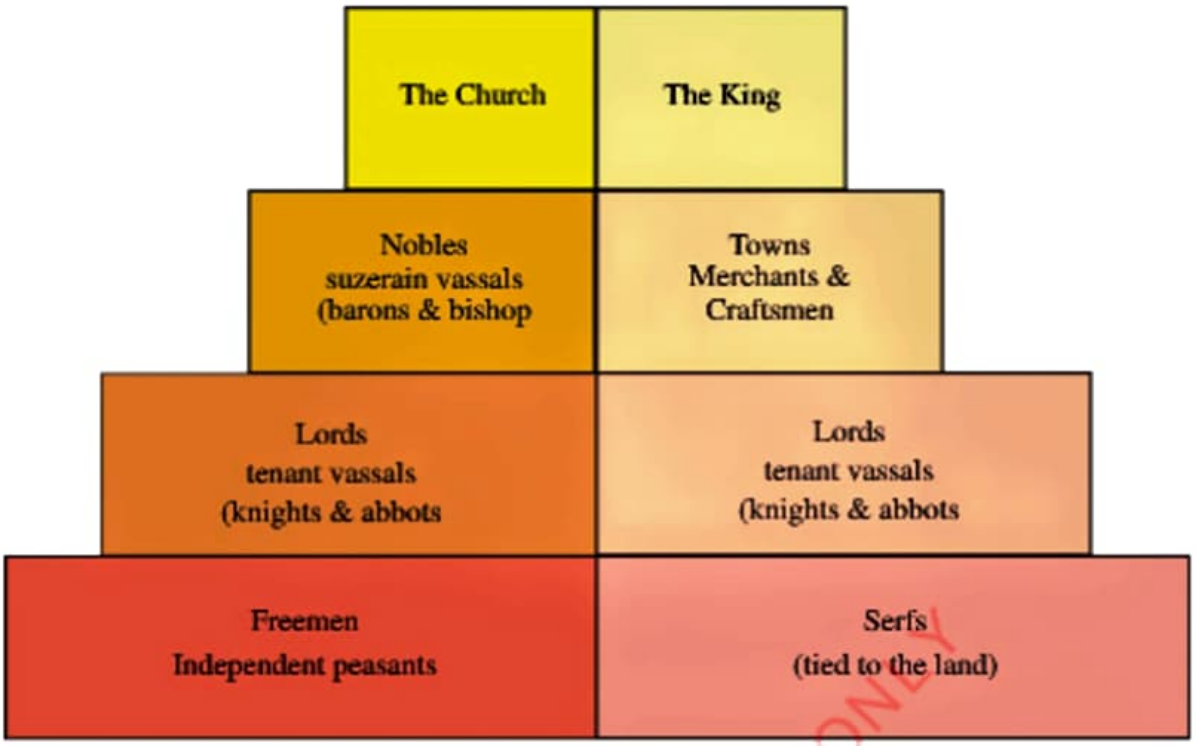

Figure 6. 2: *Feudal hierarchy in the Medieval Europe*

Feudalism in Japan

By about the 12th century, the power of the central government; the emperor and the aristocratic court families had declined. Military families and landowners who lived far from the capital gradually gained power. Over time, these families had established strong standing private armies for local defence. Progressively, a system of feudalism, much like that in medieval Europe developed. The emperor was the chief lord to whom the great lords and landowners called daimyo owed allegiance. Lesser vassals and warriors called samurai, owed allegiance to their daimyo. Warriors who had no overlord to serve were called ronin. These warriors could be hired by other nobles. Peasants, workers, and other ordinary Japanese people served their local lords, much as in the time of the clans, a prevalent administrative system before feudal Japan.

During the feudal period, Japan was an agrarian country with relatively limited contact with the rest of the world where political administration, culture, literature, and the arts had thrived. In a serious note, military governors known as the shogun, samurai, and Shinto priests were all part of the class-based socio-political structure in feudal Japan (1192–1868).

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The feudal period in Japan took almost seven centuries until 1868 when the Meiji Restoration or Revolution broke out which prepared a fertile ground for capitalist Japan by eroding the power of the shoguns. The King or Emperor regained his political power. As a result, the shogunate was dissolved, and prefectures (counties/regions under the control of central government) replaced feudal realms. Similar to the European serfdom, feudal Japan was characterised by a hereditary social structure with very minimal or restrictive social mobility; unequal socio-economic relationship between the feudal lords and the vassals subordinate to the lords based on obligations; military government (shogunate) led by governors (shogun, or generals); largely associated with decentralised political administration and largely closed off to the rest of the world due to geographic isolation but occasionally communicated and traded with China and Europe.

Worth noting, historians normally divide the history of Japanese feudalism into four main phases based on the changes in government. These phases are: The Kamakura Shogunate (1185–1333), which introduced the feudal period in Japan even though the country still had some features of symbolic imperial rule; The Ashikaga (Muromachi) Shogunate (1336–1573) described by historians as a very decentralised political system and faced with a long period of civil war (warring states); The Azuchi-Momoyama Shogunate (1568-1600), which was a short transitionary time between the end of Sengoku and the Edo Era, which strengthened trade with the European world; and The Tokugawa (Edo) Shogunate (1603 – 1868), which unlike the Sengoku and the Edo periods, Japan experienced peaceful atmosphere whereby many samurai had to take up jobs in the shogunate's complex administration.

These phases are termed after the ruling shogun family or Japan's capital at that time. For instance, the Tokugawa Dynasty was termed after its founder, Ieyasu Tokugawa. However, the Tokugawa phase is usually known as the Edo Period, called after the capital of Japan, Edo (now Tokyo).

The socio-political structure of feudal Japan

Like European feudalism, feudal Japan was characterised by strict social hierarchy (see Figure 5.2). In this system, vassals (*samurai*) offered their loyalty and services (military or other) to a landlord in exchange for access to a portion of land and its harvest. In such a system, political power was diverted from a central monarch (emperor) and control was divided up amongst wealthy landowners and warlords. Below is social structure of feudal Japan.

Emperor

The emperor was at the top of the social hierarchy in Japan. However, during the feudal period, he was just a figurehead leader with symbolic power. Real powers were vested to officials below him. The movement of the emperor was restricted

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and his interactions controlled. He was only allowed to socialise with the courtly families which lived within the imperial area. So, his life was so secluded.

Imperial court

The nobility of the imperial court enjoyed higher or preeminent social status; however, they did not have much political power.

Shogun

Shogun were military governors who controlled Japan politically during the feudal period. For example, the Shogun of Tokugawa was in charge of the country, and his administrators collectively known as the bakufu. The bakufu unquestionably implemented the shoguns' orders. The shogun government was largely a feudal military state. The power of the shogun was derived from land ownership. For instance, during the Edo era, the state owned all of the territory within a day's march of Edo. The shogun owned more than a quarter of all cultivated land. He also controlled the major communication routes, sea ports, and the precious metal supplies.

Daimyo

The daimyo were the feudal lords of the shogunate. Literature on History of Japan points out that these daimyo ruled the 250 Han clans which made up the country of Japan. They had vassals like the samurai or the farmers. The most powerful daimyo could become a shogun.

Priests

The priests practicing Shinto and Buddhist religions did not hold political power but were above and outside the class-based hierarchy in feudal Japan. They were as well highly elevated people in feudal Japan, commanding due respect from others.

Samurai

The warriors in feudal Japan were called the samurai (or bushi). They served as daimyo's vassals performing different tasks and were referred to as retainers. Many samurai worked in the shogunate's administration when there was no war, such as in the peaceful Tokugawa Era. Samurai were among the officers who were at the top of the social order because they protected Japan from attack and enforced its laws. Samurai were expected to be both literate and skilful in arms. They were anticipated to be loyal, brave, obedient, and prudent. They acquired the military skills through formal training.

Farmers and serfs

Unlike in Medieval Europe, Japanese peasants/farmers were not at the bottom of the social hierarchy. The Japanese viewed them as central to the making of society because they fed everyone. However, the farming class paid high taxes to the government. In some instances, they were forced to surrender all their rice crops to the feudal lords, returning some of it to them if he deemed necessary.

Artisans

The class of artisans created many

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important items for feudal Japan. These were people whom are also known as craftsmen. They mainly lived in towns and made items such as wood products, metal items, clothing, pottery, perform baking, and similar professions. In spite of their skills, they were below the farmers.

Merchants

The merchants were at the base or bottom of the social hierarchy in feudal Japan. This class was the lowest in the Japanese (like in the Chinese) feudal hierarchy because they did not produce anything and gained profit from other organisations. The merchant class included shopkeepers, bankers, sellers and traders. They lived in towns and provided goods and services to the landowners.

Outcasts

The outcasts were below or outside the social hierarchy in feudal Japan. Some were the hinin, considered (non-people) like the homeless. Others were criminals. The courtesans were also outside the hierarchy.

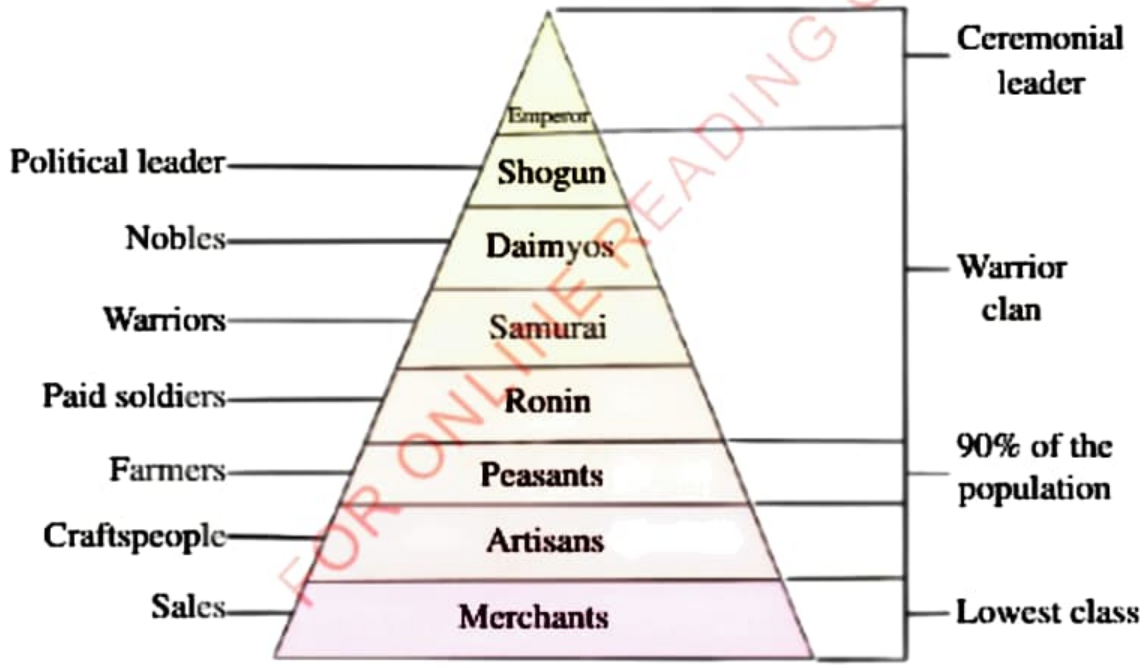

Figure 6. 3: *Feudal socio-political structure in Japan*

The feudal systems in Asia and Europe practiced and carried some similar tendencies, which uniquely defined these systems. The similarities revolved around land as the principal feature of both agrarian feudal systems from the feudal relation germinated; both systems were based on military obligations for vassals to their lords; both had natural economic system which were predominantly agricultural and profoundly

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rural in nature. However, in European feudalism, some towns and urban centres existed especially at the later stage of feudalism; both regarded religion/the Church as an important institution (Japan: Shintoism and Buddhism, while Europe: Christianity - The Roman Catholic Church); were both characterised by decentralisation of political authority or administrative system, although both were highly hierarchical socially. Generally, feudalism in both Asia and Europe played a similar role in shaping the development of their respective societies. The system created a form of government and a social structure, which aided to keep order and stability in both Asia and Europe.

Feudal Africa

Pre-colonial Africa experienced the development of feudal relations of production. Under this relation, there were feudal lords who owned the major means of production and appropriated the surplus. On the other hand, there were serfs and tenants who were given pieces of land to cultivate. In return, they paid rent to the feudal lords. In many parts of Africa, feudalism was associated with certain elements of slavery. Ancient Egypt, as explained earlier, provides a vivid case of the same.

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

The banana economy encouraged permanent settlements because banana is a perennial crop. The economy also led to the development of exploitative relations of production in which some clans took control of productive land and became politically dominant. For instance, in the western part of the interlacustrine region, there was an economy of mixed farming and pastoralism. Each of these sectors of the economy was the monopoly of one social group. The pastoralists were known as the Bahima in Bunyoro, Nyankore, Mpororo and the Buhweju states, and as the Batusi in Rwanda, Burundi and Buha. The agriculturalists were known as the Bairu in the former group of states and as the Bahutu in the latter. Besides being cattle-owners, the pastoralists formed the ruling class called the Sebuja and the agriculturalists constituted the subject class called the Bagabire.

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

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Busulo/Mvunjo

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

In most cases, feudalism was associated with the rise of centralised states in pre-colonial Africa. These states were headed by kings or chiefs who could be equated to monarch in other types of feudalism, such as Europe. Under African feudalism, kings were ultimate rulers with all the powers contrary to the earlier discussed feudal systems. In other words, African feudalism was mostly characterised by centralisation of power.

Centralised feudal state organisation

A centralised state refers to a political entity which has defined boundaries and centralised political power and which is headed by a king or ruler. It is an institution that has administrative machinery with judicial duties and the power to make decisions and collect tributes. States emerged in different parts of Africa at different times. In East Africa, for example, states started to emerge in the 15th century. The favourable climatic condition played a vital role in the formation of states in Africa. For example, the equatorial region, which had fertile soil and which received heavy rainfall throughout the year, supported the growth of crops such as yams, bananas and palms. This, in turn, led to an increase in population, which required a complex political organisation.

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

Characteristics of centralised states

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

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

Activity 6.3

Read library and online sources on the feudal system practised in pre-colonial West African states then compare it with the Feudal Japan.

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

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

Climate and soil influenced the emergence of feudalism in some parts of pre-colonial Africa. Many people migrated to areas where the environment could support such economic activities as fishing, farming, animal keeping and hunting. As people mastered their environment, production became more advanced than in societies with a hostile environment. Favourable environments included the areas occupied by the Zulu of South Africa; the Tutsi, Hutu, Baganda and Bunyoro of East Africa; and the Mandinka and Yoruba of the Savannah and the forest region in West Africa. The fertility of the soil made people engage in agriculture, which led to the development of production and exchange in societies. Thus, increased production led to social stratification in some societies. As a result, feudalism emerged in such societies, while the areas with a hostile environment did not develop feudalism.

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

Population growth was also another reason for the difference. The increase in population led to a shortage of land, which further resulted in the class struggle between the landless and land owners. Eventually, a few people owned land privately and the rest became serfs. On the other hand, the increase in population within a given society ensured the availability of labour for doing different economic activities. This transformation, however, did not happen among the hunter-gatherer and pastoral societies.

The emergence of specialisation was also the reason for the disparity.

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

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

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

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

Activity 6.4

Read library and online sources on the feudal system in Medieval Europe, Japan and Pre-colonial Africa then identify specific governance structures that modern administrative systems can draw from the ancient feudal administrative systems.

Exercise 6.3

1. Analyse the factors that led to the decline of feudalism in both Medieval Europe and Japan.
2. Assess the legacy of pre-colonial feudalism on modern African societies.

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Revision exercise 6

1. Explain how the concentration of wealth among slave-owners impacted the society and economy.
2. How did the Roman social class system perpetuate the exploitation of slaves?
3. Assess the impact of slavery on social stratification and economic development in ancient China and Egypt.
4. Analyse the assertion that pre-colonial African societies did not widely adopt slavery as a dominant mode of production.
5. Compare and contrast the socio-political structures of feudalism in Medieval Europe and feudal Japan.
6. Discuss the role of religion in the feudal systems of Medieval Europe.
7. Propose strategies that feudal lords in Medieval Europe could have employed to solve conflicts and maintain social order during the decentralised political structure.
8. Compare the feudal systems in Africa and Medieval Europe.
9. Show how social, political, and economic structures established during the feudal period continue to shape the history and development of modern societies.
10. How did cultural and religious beliefs influence the practice of feudalism in medieval Europe and East Asia?

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Chapter Seven

Political revolutions and modern administrative systems in Europe

Introduction

Many of you may have encountered situations at home or in the society that cause discomfort, prompting a desire for change. While changes often aim at benefitting the majority, they can bring both positive and negative outcomes. In this chapter, you will learn about the concept of political revolution. You will also learn about English and French Revolutions as well as the 1848 Revolution in Europe. The competencies developed will enable you to value civic rights and responsibilities as important factors for political participation and awareness.

Think

The legacy of the past political revolutions on contemporary administrative systems

The concept of political revolution

Political revolution is a radical change in the way a society is governed, usually, from a certain political system to another. It is a transformation of political and social structures. It is defined as a radical and complete change of the existing social order and replacing it with a new order which is considered to be better than the one before. It changes the norms, overturning the way things used to be done. Revolutions are considered as a factor for progress. The political revolutions in Europe were inevitable due to the various circumstances existing at that particular time. Before the revolutions, there were absolute monarchies exercising absolute powers (absolutism). The history of absolutism in Europe can be traced back to the period of feudalism. Under the feudal system, there existed two social classes; the feudal lords and serfs or commoners. Kings or queens were the heads of states and feudal lords were the councilors and Members of Parliament. The Parliament had no power because all powers were vested to the kings or the queens.

With the rise of capitalism, there emerged the capitalist class which was composed of the merchants, usurers, bankers, commercial farmers and industrial owners. This class had economic power but not political power.

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The political power was still in the hands of the feudal lords and the kings or queens. In order for the government to continue to perform its functions, it needed money. Thus, the emerging class of capitalists was heavily taxed and some went bankrupt. The capitalist class wanted to remove the absolute monarchy and own political powers. By the 19th century, Europe had undergone two major political revolutions, namely the English Revolution and the French Revolution.

The English Revolution (1640-1689)

The English Revolution in 1688 was preceded by the English Civil Wars waged from 1642 to 1651 in England. The civil wars were a culmination of the long-term conflicts between the English monarchy and the masses, which were composed of the rising capitalist class, middle class and peasants, who felt aggrieved against the monarchical rule in favour of the parliamentary rule. The civil wars succeeded in reducing the powers of the monarchy by increasing some powers of the parliament. However, these parliamentary powers, which were based on liberal democracy, were still limited by the monarchy. The civil wars prepared the necessary pre-condition for the English Revolution, leading to the triumph of liberal democracy and parliamentary rule.

Causes, aims and effects of the 1640s English Revolution on Britain

The English Civil War (1642–1651) was a series of bloody encounters and political machinations between parliamentarians, also called "Roundheads", and royalists, sometimes called "Cavaliers", mainly over the manner of England's governance and issues of religious freedom. It was part of the wider wars of the three kingdoms. The first (1642–1646) and the second (1648–1649) wars eroded the supporters of King Charles I against the supporters of the long parliament, while the third war (1649–1651) saw the fighting between supporters of King Charles I and supporters of the Rump Parliament. The wars also involved the Scottish Covenanters and Irish Confederates. The war ended with the parliamentarian victory at the Battle of Worcester on 3rd September 1651.

The English Civil War started in 1642 and its causes can be traced back to the time of King James I (1603–1625). The major cause was the growing opposition against the absolute monarchy in England. King James I and his son Charles I had a lot of weaknesses in their leadership. They met a strong opposition from people because they strongly believed in the Divine Right of the King's principle. For example, based on this principle, King James I abused his political powers when he remarked in 1609 that "there are no privileges and immunities which can stand against a divinely appointed king." His remarks to the Members of Parliament led to intense hatred by English puritans. This hatred reached the climax during the reign of his son, King Charles I who mobilised in vain the troops to suppress the revolts.

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Economic hostilities also caused the English Civil War. The hostilities began during the reign of King James I and increased during the reign of King Charles I. King James I introduced his means of taxing the people, that had not been sanctioned by the Parliament. When the Parliament questioned that, James I responded by dissolving the House of Commons and the House of Lords in 1611. When King Charles I came into power in 1625, he also introduced illegal methods of taxation, which put him into conflicts with the Parliament, Puritans and the public.

Between 1628 and 1629, inflation was too high in England. At the same time, government expenditure was expanding. Therefore, King Charles I had no funds to implement his policies. This economic crisis forced the King to call the Parliament in 1628. He wanted the Parliament to endorse the budget to enable him to finance his policies. Although several statutes of King Edward I and King Edward III, notably their confirmations of the Magna Carta, had made it illegal for the Crown to exact any taxes without the consent of the Parliament, the prerogative of levying ship money in times of war had never fallen. Earlier in 1619, King James I had aroused no popular opposition by levying £40,000 of ship money on London and £8,550 on other seaport towns. In 1628, Charles I, having prolonged the Parliament in early summer and after his ascent to the Petition of Right, proceeded to levy ship money on every county in England without the Parliament's approval by issuing writs requiring £173,000 to be returned to the exchequer. This was the first occasion on which the demand for ship money aroused serious opposition.

When the Parliament met for a session, it came up with a document called the Petition of Right (1628). It was a document sent by the English Parliament to King Charles I to complain about a series of breaches of the law. It required King Charles I to accept that he had no right to impose taxes on people without the consent of the Parliament. He had to accept that he had no right to imprison people without legal cause. He also had to accept that he had no right to put a person on trial by court- martial during the times of peace as well as to accept that he had no right to force his soldiers to live into people's private houses.

King Charles I was compelled to accept the petition, but he later ignored its principles and decided to dissolve Parliament in 1629. For eleven years, he ruled England without Parliament. The King ruled the monarchy by decrees. He resumed his old tricks of raising money using various illegal means. For example, he revived obsolete feudal laws and collected fines from all who violated them. He forced rich burghers (middle-class people) to apply for knighthood and then charged them high fees for their titles. He also sold monopolies at exorbitant rates and admonished his judges to increase the fines in criminal cases. In addition, he confiscated land from people who failed to provide any documentary proofs of their ownership of lands. Those who refused

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to provide proof of land ownership were fined. He also introduced an illegal form of tax called the "Ship money." Ship money was a tax of medieval origin levied intermittently in the Kingdom of England until the middle of the 17th century. Assessed typically on the inhabitants of coastal areas of England, it was one of several taxes that English monarchies could levy by prerogative without the approval of Parliament. The attempt of King Charles I from 1634 onwards to levy ship money during peacetime and extend it to the inland counties of England without Parliamentary approval provoked fierce resistance. Ship money was one of the grievances of the English propertied class in the lead-up to the English Civil War. The kings of England had exercised the right of requiring the maritime towns and counties to furnish ships in the time of war. This duty was commuted for a money payment. All these measures put him into conflict with the people.

King James I's spirit was continued by King Charles I, who wanted England to go into war with France. To wage that war, the monarchy needed money to finance the army. He presented the request to the Parliament, but the Parliament rejected. Members of the Parliament who refused to endorse the fund for the war were severely punished. As a result, the king became unpopular among his people.

In 1640, King Charles I was forced to summon the Parliament. The first phase of the revolution had started. The Parliament met and, in 1641, passed the Triennial Act, which contained three resolutions: First, King Charles I should summon the Parliament after every three years. The second resolution was that the Parliament should impeach Archbishop William Laud and abolish the Court of High Commission. Third, the Parliament should coerce Charles I to swear that he will not dissolve the Parliament again.

Therefore, no consensus was reached between the king and Members of Parliament. As a result, England entered a period of bloodshed, the English Civil Wars. The war started in Scotland and spread to other parts of England in 1642. The English Civil Wars (1642–51) were waged between Parliamentarians and supporters of the monarchy (Royalists). The tension between King Charles I and the House of Commons had been mounting for some time. In 1641, King Charles I and the Parliament confronted over issues of military funding and control. To prevent the Parliament from usurping royal privilege, which Charles viewed as a divinely granted right, he entered Parliament to arrest five members, including Oliver Cromwell. However, he failed. As a result, there was an army split into two antagonistic loyalties; that is, Royalists against the Parliamentarians, with whom the Scottish Covenanters allied themselves. After his unsuccessful attempt to arrest the five Members of Parliament, both sides prepared for war.

In 1642, the war broke out. Oliver Cromwell, one of the leaders of the Puritans, organised his forces into an army. In 1646, his army forced King Charles I to surrender. King Charles I was captured

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in 1648 and tried under a special court for treason. The court found him guilty and condemned him to death on 30th January, 1649. This marked the end of the "Divine Right of King" in England. Therefore, the war had its roots in long-term social, religious and economic causes, namely tenurial insecurity, economic instability, indebtedness, and a desire to have the Roman Catholic Church restored to its pre-reformation position and immediate political factors that triggered the outbreak of violence. It was an expression of strong opposition by the English majority to absolute monarchy.

Exercise 7.1

1. Relate the events during the English political revolution and the modern-day power governance and justice.
2. 2. Discuss the reasons behind King James I's efforts to restore the Catholic faith in England.

The impact of the English Revolution of the 1640s on Britain

The English Revolution of the 1640s had far reaching effects to Britain. They included the following:

The civil war ended in 1646 after the defeat of King Charles I. The king was tried for treason before the High Court of Justice. King Charles I's Secret Pacts and encouragement for supporters to break their parole caused the Parliament to debate whether to return the king to power or not. Those who still supported Charles' place on the throne, such as the army leader called, Fairfax, tried again to negotiate with him. The army, furious that the Parliament continued to countenance King Charles I as a ruler, then marched on Parliament and conducted 'Pride's Purge' (named after the commanding officer of the operation, Thomas Pride) in December 1648. Troops arrested 45 members and kept 146 out of the chamber. They allowed only 75 members in, and then only at the Army's bidding. This Rump Parliament received orders to set up, in the name of the people of England, a High Court of Justice for the trial of Charles I for treason. Fairfax, a constitutional monarchist, declined to have anything to do with the trial. He resigned as head of the army, so clearing Cromwell's road to power. At the end of the trial, 59 judges found Charles I guilty of high treason as a 'tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy.' He was beheaded on 30th January, 1649. After the Restoration in 1660, nine of the surviving regicides not living in exile were executed and most others were sentenced to life imprisonment. After the regicide, Charles, the Prince of Wales, in his capacity as the eldest son, was publicly proclaimed King Charles II and became the King of England on 17th February, 1649.

Oliver Cromwell dissolved the monarchy system and became a ruthless military dictator from 1653 to 1658 in England. He replaced the English monarchy with the Commonwealth of England which, from 1653, was known as the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and

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Ireland. Oliver Cromwell led the armies of the Parliament of England against King Charles I during the English Civil War, subsequently ruling the British Island as Lord Protector from 1653 until his death in 1658. He acted simultaneously as head of state and head of government of the new republican commonwealth. He became an Independent Puritan, taking a generally tolerant view towards many Protestant sects of the time. He entered the English Civil Wars on the side of the 'Roundheads' or Parliamentarians against Royalists "Cavaliers", mainly over the manner of England's governance and issues of religious freedom. The Civil War was also part of the wider wars of the three kingdoms. Cromwell was one of the signatories of King Charles I's death warrant in 1649 and dominated the short-lived Commonwealth of England as a member of the Rump Parliament (1649–1653). Cromwell's forces defeated the Confederate and Royalist coalition in Ireland and occupied the country, ending the Irish Confederate Wars. During this period, a series of Penal Laws were passed against the Roman Catholics, a significant minority in England and Scotland but the vast majority in Ireland. A substantial amount of their land was confiscated. Cromwell also led a campaign against the Scottish army between 1650 and 1651. On 20th April, 1653, Cromwell dismissed the Rump Parliament by force, setting up a short-lived nominated assembly known as Barebone's Parliament, before being invited by his fellow leaders to rule as Lord Protector of England (which included Wales), Scotland, and Ireland from 16th December, 1653. As a ruler, he executed an aggressive and effective foreign policy. Nevertheless, Cromwell's policy of religious toleration for Protestant denominations during the protectorate extended only to "God's peculiar" and not to those considered to be heretics, such as the Quakers, Socinians and Ranters.

Puritans (those who did not support the Anglican Church) became England's main religion and tried to impose their ways on everyone. The Puritans were English Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries who sought to purify the Church of England of Roman Catholic practices, maintaining that the Church of England had not been fully reformed and should become more Protestant. The Puritans were members of a religious reform movement, known as Puritanism, which arose within the Church of England in the late 16th century. They believed that the Church of England was too similar to the Roman Catholic Church, and that it needed to eliminate ceremonies and practices not rooted in the Bible. Puritanism played a significant role in the English history, especially during the Protectorate period. Puritans were dissatisfied with the limited extent of the English Reformation. They were also not happy with the Church of England's toleration of certain practices associated with the Roman Catholic Church. They alternatively formed groups and identified with various religious groups advocating greater purity of worship and doctrine as well as personal and corporate piety. Puritans adopted for a reformed theology, and they were Calvinists. In church polity, some advocated separation

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from all other established Christian denominations, favouring autonomous gathered churches. These Separatist and independent strands of Puritanism became prominent in the 1640s, when the supporters of a Presbyterian polity in the Westminster Assembly could not forge a new English national church. Puritans supporting Parliamentarianism became a major political force in England and came to power as a result of the First English Civil War (1642–1646). Almost all Puritan clergy left the Church of England after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the 1662 Uniformity Act. Many continued to practice their faith in nonconformist denominations, especially in Congregationalist and Presbyterian churches.

The War restored the power of the English King after the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658. Cromwell was succeeded by his son Richard, 1658-1660, whose weakness led to power vacuum. The English army and the Parliament rejected Richard Cromwell. Oliver Cromwell's former General, George Monck, mounted a coup, causing the Parliament to return to London, Prince Charles as King Charles II. Thus, King Charles II, the son of Charles I, was restored by the Parliament to rule England. The Royalists returned to power in 1660. King Charles II who left England for France, was restored to power by inviting him back to England from exile. This was a setback to the needed liberal democracy in England.

The War destroyed the economy of London and England at large. The warring sides destroyed infrastructure and buildings. People also lost their lives. The economy was devastated, making it difficult for the government to serve people. This added the economic woes and debts burden which England had already accumulated. The civil war increased the burden of taxation to London, leading to a major economic crisis, not only because of the interrelationship between its economy and that of the rest of England but also because of its function as the hub of the social and economic networks of the kingdom and of the rest of the world. Despite difficulties, London remained the economic powerhouse of the nation.

Constitutionally, the wars established a precedent that an English monarchy cannot govern without Parliament's consent. The war was a victory for parliamentarians who wanted more democracy by limiting the powers for the monarchy against the royalists who wanted to preserve the monarchy. The War also laid the foundation for the English Glorious Revolution of 1688, which reduced the power of the monarchy into a constitutional monarchy.

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Activity 7.1

Through online and library sources study historical events during the English Political Revolution then:

(a) Identify the key characters during the English Political Revolution.

(b) Design a simple line graph of the key historical events during the English Political Revolution.

Exercise 7.2

1. What are the lessons that present-day governments can learn from the English Civil Wars of 1642-1649?
2. Analyse the socio-economic impacts of English Revolution of the 1640s on Britain

The Glorious Revolution (1688)

The Glorious Revolution, also called "The Revolution of 1688" or "The Bloodless Revolution," took place from 1688 to 1689 in England. It involved the overthrow of the Catholic King, James II, who was replaced by his Protestant daughter Mary and her Dutch husband, William of Orange. The English Revolution was a direct expression of strong opposition to absolutism in England. It took place in three different phases. The first two phases of the revolution involved major bloodshed. Conversely, the last phase did not involve bloodshed. That is why the revolution is called glorious.

Causes and objectives of the revolution of 1688 in Britain

Although the advent of the Glorious Revolution was in June 1688, its root causes went back to the reign of King Charles II (1660-1689). King Charles II assumed power in 1660, during the restoration of the English absolute rule, following the period of Oliver Cromwell's Commonwealth.

King Charles II introduced new reforms to correct the mistakes committed during the reign of the Cromwell family. For example, he restored the House of Parliament, made up of nobles and the clergy of higher ranks and the House of Commons, landowning people of good family. Bishops were restored to Parliament, which established a strict Anglican orthodox. The period, which also included the reign of James II (1685–88), was marked by an expansion of the class made up of the gentry people (merchants, professional people from towns and cities), colonial trade and the Anglo-Dutch Wars. The King established the Anglican Church as the Church of England. He also introduced the courts of law and the system of local governments. Despite such reforms, Charles II failed to solve other problems. The Parliament had looked at the restoration of Charles II in 1660 as the basis for a long-term solution

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to the problems of relations between the Crown and the Parliament, public finance, religion and foreign policy. Moreover, the king failed to separate the powers of the Office of the King and those of the Parliament. The Members of the Parliament used this weakness as a loophole to formulate new laws that led to his downfall.

Apart from the parliamentary reforms, King Charles II also failed to reconcile the Puritans, the dissenters from the Anglican Church and the Catholics. Thus, an atmosphere of religious intolerance continued to plague the English people, and the Catholics were the most disadvantaged. In 1670, King Charles II signed a secret treaty with King Louis XIV of France to run his government and financially support the soldiers. King Louis XIV pledged to assist King Charles II but under the condition that King Charles II was to get a total of 200,000 sterling pounds annually. In return, King Louis XIV demanded him to relax the laws against the Roman Catholics and gradually declare Catholicism as the state religion of England. This implied that King Charles II himself was to be converted to Catholicism. King Charles II also had to support the French policy against the Dutch. When the secret treaty leaked out, a new wave of anti-Catholicism swept England.

In 1673, the Parliament issued a decree called the Test Act of 1673 against King Charles II. The Test Act excluded from military and public civil office all those who refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy of the Church of England's rites, or who refused to receive the communion according to the rites of the Church of England and those who refused to renounce belief in the Roman Catholic doctrine of Communion. This Act enforced upon all persons filling any office, civil or military, the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy and allegiance and subscribing to a declaration against transubstantiation and of receiving the sacrament within three months after admittance to office. The oath for the Test Act of 1673 was: "I, (Name), do declare that I do believe that there is no any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of the bread and wine, at or after the consecration there of by any person whatsoever." The Act made it compulsory for all people, including the Catholics, to receive the Anglican Sacrament. The Catholics who refused to abide by it were denied the right to vote, hold public office, preach, teach or join university. They were not even allowed to assemble for meetings. The Test Acts were a series of English penal laws that served as a religious test for public office and imposed various civil disabilities on Roman Catholics and nonconformists. The underlying principle was that only people taking communion in the established Church of England were eligible for public employment. The severe penalties pronounced against recusants, whether Catholic or nonconformist. Similar laws were introduced in Scotland concerning the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. However, the Tory government repealed them in 1828.

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The laws made the holding of public office in Britain conditional upon subscribing to the established religion. Although Scotland had imposed such a law in 1567, the harsh laws against recusants in England were sufficient in themselves to deter Roman Catholics and dissenters from putting themselves forward for office. However, in 1661, membership of town corporations and all offices under the crown were denied to those who refused to take communion in the Anglican Church. In 1678, except the Duke of York (future James II), all Catholics were excluded from Parliament. In the 18th century, religious tests in Scotland were not always enforced, except for university posts. In England, the test could be met by occasional communion. The Test Acts were finally repealed in 1829 by the Catholic Relief Act, and university religious tests were abolished in the 1870s and 1880s.

King Charles II was more indifferent to the Test Acts. He did not take any strong measures against the Catholics. The Anglicans interpreted this indifference as an intention to restore Catholicism in England. Consequently, the Parliament, which consisted mostly of the radical Puritans, impeached Charles II in 1685. His place was taken by his brother, James II (1685-1689).

When King James II came to power, he inherited difficult and complicated problems from his predecessor. He needed time and resources to address them. However, like his brother Charles II, he introduced new reforms that quickly contributed to his fall. King James II made frequent efforts to reject the Test Acts, appointing Catholics to various posts in the civil service and the military. For example, he appointed Catholic James Parker as the Principal of Oxford University. He also dismissed an Anglican Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, who refused to admit a Catholic student.

King James II allowed some religious freedom to Catholics in Ireland and Scotland. He revived the Court of High Commission and renamed it the Ecclesiastical Court. The king used this court for conversion and application of his religious policies. The reform irritated the Anglicans and the Puritans in England, Ireland and Scotland because the Parliament declared the Court of High Commission and its activities illegal in 1641. The non-Catholics who tried to resist this new change were executed under the order of James II. For example, Jeffrey, who was a close associate of King James II, executed 315 people and banished about 850. His opponents interpreted this act as a plan of James II to return to absolutism.

In his effort to maintain a strong army, James II formed an army that consisted of 30,000 Catholic soldiers. He stationed the soldiers in London. The establishment of this army scared the people in London, particularly the Puritans and Anglicans. People interpreted this act as his trick to restore a new militant rule dominated by Catholics, equivalent to that of Oliver Cromwell, dominated by the Puritans.

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Many people were concerned about the outbreak of another civil war, like that of 1642 to 1649. Between 1687 and April 1688, James II issued two declarations of indulgencies. They required all people to be given full freedom of religion, especially Catholics. They made clear that Catholics and Anglicans had the right to be appointed to high positions, irrespective of their religious principles. The clergymen were ordered to announce such changes in their churches for two weeks. The declaration of indulgencies made King James II to have enemies from every corner of England. The Anglicans, Puritans, Dukes and writers were all against him. Seven Anglican Bishops requested him to uplift the declarations, but King James II refused to do so. Instead, he took them to court. They were charged for sedition. Ultimately, they were sentenced to prison. About 300 people were executed, and more than 1,000 were exiled to Australia. Besides the declaration of indulgencies, King James II invited the Pope from Rome to England and officially restored him to his old position.

The advent of the Glorious Revolution came in June 1688. Two events led to a political crisis. The first was that the second wife of King James II gave birth to a male infant. The birth of James Francis Edward on 10th June, 1688 displaced Mary as heir and created the prospect of a Catholic dynasty. Since the mother was a Catholic, the implication was that the son would be the heir to the throne. He was the only son of King James II. From his first wife, who was an Anglican, the King had raised two daughters; however, none of them had the right to become the heir. The birth of the new boy from a Catholic mother brought great fear among the Puritans and Anglicans that the new heir might restore Catholicism and declare England a Catholic monarchy. In this attempt, France, the traditional enemy of England, would support the heir to achieve the goal. Considering the fact that King James II had suspended many laws that had been passed by the 1673 Test Act, the Puritans and Anglicans reached the conclusion that they had all the rights to overthrow the king.

The second was the prosecution of the Seven Bishops on 15th June, 1688, the event that was perceived as a series of assaults on the Church of England. Their acquittal on the 30th sparked anti-Catholic riots that destroyed King James II's political authority. The fear of France and the ruling from outside the law prompted the Puritans and Anglicans to overthrow King James II in December 1688. King James II, his second wife and their infant son fled to France. The revolutionary English politicians issued an invitation to William III of Orange to secure the English throne.

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Exercise 7.3

1. Account for the developments of the 1688 English Glorious Revolution.
2. "The Glorious Revolution was a struggle between the Monarchy on one hand and the Parliament and religious freedom on the other." Discuss.

The impact of the English Glorious Revolution on the development of democracy

England replaced one king with another with only a few cases of bloodshed. The Glorious Revolution did not bring any civil war with it. In January 1689, Mary, one of the daughters of King James II and her Dutch protestant husband, Prince William of Orange, were crowned as new Queen and King of England. This marked the triumph of the Glorious Revolution. This event destroyed absolutism with its principle of the Divine Right of Kings. In the place of absolutism, Parliament became a supreme organ of the government. The constitutional monarch was now completely dependent on the Parliament for any decision. No son or daughter of the monarch could become a monarch as a matter of the right of inheritance. Every succession was to be approved by the Parliament. The ministers of the monarchy were now responsible to the Parliament. The idea of parliamentary sovereignty came to prevail in England after the Glorious Revolution.

The Glorious Revolution also settled down many areas of disagreement. The Parliament won by taking all executive authority. Only Protestants were to become English sovereigns. Any king or queen, propagating Catholicism as a state religion, would not be allowed to take the throne. All powers were now vested in the Parliament. The monarchy was to be elected by the Parliament. The financial powers and prerogatives of the monarchy were drastically cut down. However, the Parliament was dominated by wealthy people from the emerging capitalist classes who were tired of the absolute monarchy that had put economic pressure on them through taxes and other levies.

Moreover, the revolution promoted nationhood and identity among the English people. The people of all classes united and eventually destroyed absolute rule in Britain. Thus, the real power of the nation peacefully came into their own hands through the Parliament. After the Revolution, the British citizens could freely express themselves and follow any religion. The Catholics were no longer harshly treated as they had been before the revolution. Neither the Puritans/ Anglicans nor the Catholics developed the spirit of revenge.

Additionally, the revolution proved the supremacy of the Parliament over the Executive Council. William III and Mary were offered the throne by the

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Parliament. The revolution transformed the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy where its powers were limited by the Parliament. The king or queen became a ceremonial head of state while the Prime Minister became the head of the government. In other words, the revolution reduced the powers of the king or queen from the absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. The king or queen became the head of state without executive powers. This was the beginning of the new rule based on their national constitution.

As a result of the revolution, powers of the three arms of the state were separated. The sovereignty (ultimate power of the state) was divided between the office of the King, the Parliament, and the judiciary. The king was then to rule with the consent of the Parliament. A Bill of Rights of the citizens, which became the cornerstone of the modern British constitution, was passed. All laws were then to be made by the Parliament, not by the king/queen. The king, the nobility, The Prime Minister and all citizens were bound by such laws once enacted and passed by the Parliament. The king or queen could not suspend the laws.

The revolution resulted in the abolition of feudalism in Britain, which was replaced by capitalism. Immediately after the revolution, the Agrarian Revolution took firm roots throughout Britain. The enclosure system was consolidated and intensified, whereby more food and livestock were produced. The Corn Laws and Navigation Acts were also consolidated. As a result, British capitalist farmers and merchants grew into fully-fledged capitalists. The ideas of John Calvin (Calvinism) influenced the British people, who changed ideas and attitudes towards the world of work. Calvin insisted on hard work, sobriety, thrift, competition and postponement of pleasure. He linked sin and poverty with weakness and moral corruption.

Another impact of the revolution was that England's foreign policy became separated from France's policy. England developed its own independent foreign policy as opposed to French interests. Parliament enacted laws and accepted policies that promoted the class interests of England in foreign countries. Such policies included colonial administration, trade and commerce and immigration. As a result, the Glorious Revolution brought fundamental and unique changes that eventually promoted democracy, not only in England but also in the whole of Western Europe.

As the Constitutional Government was installed in England, several Acts were passed. In 1689, for example, the Government passed the Bill of Rights. The Bill declared William and Mary the constitutional King and Queen of England. From then on, the king, the queen and their heirs to the throne must be Anglicans. The absolute monarchical powers were greatly restricted. The king or queen could no longer suspend laws, dispense laws, levy taxes, make royal appointments, or maintain standing armed forces during peacetime without

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Parliament's permission. The king was to levy taxes with the consent of the Parliament.

The Bill of Rights, which was passed in March 1689, granted the king the powers to enforce martial law. With this law, the king could maintain a standing army for one year at a time, and not longer. The Mutiny Act limited the maintenance of a standing army during peace time to one year. Thus, the Act empowered the Parliament to discipline the English army. The government did that through laws that compelled the army to be under the control of the Parliament. The Act also ensured the conduct of the annual parliamentary sessions. The Parliament had to provide a budget for the army annually. It also enacted a law that established a court-martial. As a result, all discipline-breaching soldiers were brought to the court-martial to stand trial. Moreover, the government passed the Religious Tolerance Act of 1689. This Act granted freedom of worship to nonconformist Protestants who had pledged to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and rejected transubstantiation. These nonconformist Protestants dissented from the Church of England, namely Baptists, Congregationalists or English Presbyterians. The nonconformists were allowed to have their own places of worship and their own school teachers, so long as they accepted certain oaths of allegiance. The Act did not apply to Roman Catholics, nontrinitarians, and atheists. It continued the existing social and political limitations for dissenters, including their exclusion from holding political office and joining university. Additionally, dissenters were required to register their meeting houses and were forbidden from meeting in private homes. Any preachers who dissented had to be licensed. Generally, although the Act gave the freedom of religion to all people, no complete religious freedom was given to Catholics. Catholicism remained an alien religion. Catholic emancipation would be delayed for 140 years.

Additionally, the Triennial Act which was promulgated in 1694, stipulated that a parliamentary meeting had to be conducted every three years. Fresh elections would be held for the Parliament in the third year. The Act re-established the principle of regular parliamentary sessions. Besides the Triennial Act, the Parliament passed the Licensing Act of 1695. The Act replaced the Licensing of the Press Act of 1662 that was passed during the monarchy regime. The monarchy thought that the 1662 Act would prevent the frequent abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and unlicensed books and pamphlets by regulating printing presses. However, under the Press Act of 1695, the press no longer became under the full control of the government. All types of printing were granted the freedom of the press. They could then freely criticise the Acts of the government. Furthermore, the Act allowed British Catholics to publish their catechisms and prayer books uncensored.

The Parliament also passed the Settlement Act of 1701. The Act restricted the succession to the English and Irish

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crowns to Protestants only. It provided a clause on the procedures for succession to the throne. This deposed the descendants of King Charles I, except his Protestant granddaughter, Princess and later Queen Anne, as the next Protestant in line to the throne, to be followed by electrets, Sophia of Hanover. After her, the crowns would descend only to her non-Catholic heirs. The reason behind the Act was the perceived assaults made on the Church of England by King James II, a Roman Catholic. King James II was deposed in favour of his Protestant elder daughter, Mary II and her husband William III. The need for the Settlement Act was prompted by the failure of William and Mary, as well as that of future Queen Anne, to produce any surviving children. It was also prompted by the perceived threat posed by the pretensions to the throne by remaining Roman Catholic members of the House of Stuart. The line founded by Sophia of Hanover was the most junior surviving one amongst the descendants of King James I. However, it consisted of convinced Protestants who were willing to uphold the Church of England. As Sophia died on 8th June 1714, less than two months before the death of Queen Anne on 1st August 1714, Sophia's son duly succeeded to the throne and started the Hanoverian dynasty in Britain. The Act played a key role in the formation of the Kingdom of Great Britain. England and Scotland had shared a monarch since 1603 but had remained separately governed countries. The Scottish Parliament was more reluctant than the English to abandon the House of Stuart, members of which had been Scottish monarchies long before they became English ones.

Under the Settlement Act, anyone who became a Roman Catholic, or who married one, was disqualified from inheriting the throne. The Act also placed limits on both the role of the foreigners in the British Government and the power of the monarch with respect to the Parliament of Britain. Some of those provisions were altered by subsequent legislation but generally provided that every king/queen had to take an oath at the time of his or her coronation that he/she would in no way attempt to restore Catholicism, and that he/she should only believe in Anglicanism.

The Act also stated that the King/Queen of England would only declare war on another country in defense of England after getting the approval of the Parliament. In this respect, the Act aimed at strengthening the guarantees of ensuring a parliamentary system of government. The independence of the judiciary from the executive was also pronounced. The salaries of the judges were fixed. No judge could be removed from office by the king/queen unless both Houses of Parliament had full knowledge and consented. This provision aimed at assuring the independence of judiciary.

The Act also prevented the monarchy from pardoning anyone from being impeached by the House of Commons. Thus, the English Glorious revolution aimed at destroying the absolute monarchy that was regarded as a remaining feudal institution that limited majority democracy. The

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revolution aimed at eliminating the unlimited power of the absolute king over their economic, political and social life. The rising capitalist classes in Britain became anti-monarchy as the monarchy imposed heavy taxes on them and dispraised oppressive and discriminatory laws. The rising capitalist classes regarded the monarchy as a stumbling block to their economic progress. The revolution paved the way for Britain to undergo industrial capitalism. All in all, the settlement Act strengthened the Bill of Rights of 1689.

The Glorious Revolution, therefore, helped to promote political stability and the capitalist economic development of Britain. The ideas of John Locke in his work titled the Civil Government (1690) promoted democracy not only in England but also in the entire world. Locke argued that a civil government was the one that had been set up by the people. Its duty was to protect the natural rights of life, liberty and people's property. He concluded by insisting that the people had the right to rebel against a tyrant government.

Activity 7.2

Prepare a newspaper article on how the historical English revolution can inform contemporary world governance challenges.

Exercise 7.4

1. Relate the English political developments between 1640 and 1701 to the post-colonial Tanzania's political development.
2. Compare and contrast the English Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Zanzibar Revolution of 1964.

The French Revolution of 1789

The French Revolution was a radical political and societal change in France that began with the Estates General of 1789 and ended with the formation of the French Consulate in November 1799. It was a conflict between the monarchy and the revolutionaries from the common and middle classes. The French Revolution is also called Revolution of 1789. It was a revolutionary movement that shook France between 1787 and 1799 and reached its peak in 1789.

Aims of the French Revolution of 1789

The French revolution had several aims. One of them was to abolish the absolute monarchy in France. The monarchy controlled every aspect of life, and it had created a lot of political and economic problems, such as growing French foreign debt and declining economy. It also failed to address the food crisis in the 1780s. Besides, the French monarchy was oppressive. The Bastille in Paris was a symbol of the oppressive and despotic leadership of the French monarchy. It acted as a higher prison of

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all victims who opposed the king; such victims were arrested under the King's royal chits, known as Lettre de cachet. During the French Revolution, Bastille became a symbol of the absolute and oppressive power of the ruling Bourbon monarchy. These problems instigated peoples' revolutionary actions. Hence, revolutionaries stormed into Bastille on 14th July 1789.

The revolutionaries also aimed to establish a French republican constitution that would guarantee civil rights, such as freedom of worship, expression, association and voting. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (with several Articles) and of the Citizen passed by France's National Constituent Assembly on 26th August, 1789 was the first step towards writing a constitution for France. It was a fundamental document of the French Revolution that granted civil rights to some commoners, although it excluded a significant segment of the French population. The Declaration was drafted by Marquis de Lafayette in consultation with Thomas Jefferson. Influenced by the doctrine of "natural right", the rights of man were universal. Thus, Article I stated that human beings were born and remained free and equal in rights. Those social distinctions could be found only on the common good.

Another aim of the revolutionaries was to have a constitution that would limit the power of the monarchy. Article III of the document stated that sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. Nobody, no individual could exercise any authority that did not proceed directly from the nation. A new constitution would lift press censorship and allow widespread distribution of political writings, mostly written by liberal members of the aristocracy and the upper middle-class. People were to be tried under the law of the constitution and not by the king's will. The accused and suspects had to be tried and only sentenced when proved guilty.

The revolutionaries also aimed at eradicating all feudal institutions that were regarded as a stumbling block to the rise and development of capitalism in France. The Assembly passed a series of radical measures such as the abolition of feudalism and state control of the Catholic Church. The medieval fortress, armory, and political prison in Paris, known as the Bastille, became symbols of the monarchy's abuse of power which fell on 14th July 1789.

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Exercise 7.5

1. How did the diverse backgrounds of the French revolutionaries influence their efforts towards achieving shared objectives?
2. Discuss the goals of the French Revolution.

Causes of the French Revolution

The French revolution was very intense between 1789 and 1795. It was an expression of resistance by the French people against absolutism political

weaknesses, economic problems, and growing social inequalities in France. The French kings who glorified absolutism were Louis XIV (1643-1715), Louis XV (1715-1774) and Louis XVI (1774-1792). The revolution occurred during the reign of King Louis XVI. This was the time when feudalism in France was at its peak. The revolution brought about a radical overthrow of the absolute political regime of King Louis XVI, paving the way for the capitalist regime under Napoleon Bonaparte I. The causes of the revolution were long-term political, social and economic ones, which badly affected France under the monarchy.

Political causes of the French revolution related to how France was administered under the monarchy system. The French traditional ruling system, known as the Ancien Régime, was responsible for the revolution. King Louis XVI failed to reform France's political and economic systems, which he inherited from his predecessors, namely King Louis XIV and King Louis XV when he assumed power in 1774.

At the era of French revolution, the French society was divided into three classes of people known as the Estates-General (that is, the Assembly or Parliament). The Second Estate consisted of the ruling class and the nobility, about 400,000 people. Richer nobles were about 100,000 families who owned the largest land and therefore, the wealthiest in France. They had a lot of privileges, such as exemption from taxation, and enjoyed the highest ranks in the government and in the army. They also collected taxes from the Third Estate. The Second Estate also consisted of the clergy who were 100,000 at the time of the revolution. This included the bishops and priests of high rank in the church who enjoyed many privileges. They ran both the Catholic Church and some aspects of the country. Apart from keeping register of births, deaths and marriages, the clergy also collected tithe. The Third Estate consisted of the commoners such as peasants and artisans and people of the middle class such as lawyers, doctors, bankers, tax collectors, treasury officials, bondholders, and merchants. Their population was about 24.5 million people, making 96 per cent of the French population on the eve of the Revolution. They owned only 30 per cent of land in France. The burden of taxation and all economic difficulties fell upon the commoners. The monarchy became unpopular as it allowed 360 different feudal codes to be applied in France. It also enabled the aristocrats to enjoy a lot of privileges at the expense of members of the Third Estate.

Kings had royal councilors, royal controllers of finances and provincial royal commissioners known as Intendants, but these officials did not influence the government as kings controlled all public matters. Using the lettre de cachet, the king could imprison any person without trial since the king's will was the law. Due to lack of the rule of law, members of the Third Estate were frequently subjected to the police power of the aristocrats. For example, on one occasion, King Louis XIV said, "I am the State, or the State is

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myself." On another one, King Louis XVI said, "The thing is legal because I wish it." The political system denied the middle class, wealthy and well-educated people from political powers and influence in the government of France. They also had no right of being promoted to the French army. All commissioned ranks were preserved for the nobles. Thus, the absolute monarchical political system excluded the majority, giving privileges to the minority who constituted the ruling class.

Budgetary issues also culminated in the revolution. The French state faced a series of budgetary crises during the 18th century, caused mainly by structural deficiencies. The French King controlled expenditure but not revenue. National taxes could only be approved by the Estates-General, which had not sat since 1614 as its revenue functions had been assumed by regional parlements, the most powerful being the Parlement de Paris.

The monarchy became very oppressive and aggressive in collecting taxes from the commoners. Peasants and artisans had to pay taxes known as banalities as they had to use bake ovens, grinding mills and winepress mills of their landlords. Peasants paid land rents to the lords of manor for the lands they farmed on. The hunting rights of the noblemen (system of game laws) passed through the fields of the peasants. These destroyed their crops without any compensation and thus strongly irritated the peasants. Livestock keepers were allowed to graze their cattle on the common pasture land of their landlords, provided they accepted to pay grazing rent in the form of cheese. They were allowed to harvest hay for their livestock from the common meadows, provided that they accepted to pay the harvesting rent. Pig keepers had to pay rent in pork to their landlords to be allowed to feed their pigs with nuts or fruits of oak trees from the common woodlands.

There was an economic burden to members of the Third Estate because they paid many taxes. Conversely, members of the First and Second Estates were excluded from paying most of such taxes. One of the taxes was the poll tax which was one over twenty of one's income. Another tax was gabelle, which was a land tax. This was in the form of salt and was paid directly to the king by everyone who was seven years of age and above. It was the most hated tax. Another tax was corvee, which was a labour tax. It required members of the Third Estate to provide labour in constructing and maintaining roads and public buildings. Those who failed to pay it had their private property confiscated by the kings. Another tax was taille, which was a direct tax. These taxes were a burden to poor peasants and artisans who lived in untold miseries. The taxes rose during the 18th century when France fought the Seven Years War (1756-1763) with Britain over Canada. France lost Canada and their trading interest in India to Britain. The war ended with a huge national debt.

Furthermore, in 1772, Poland was partitioned and annexed to Austria,

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Prussia and Russia. This signaled France's declining economic, military, and political influence in continental Europe as the three countries annexed large parts of Poland without reference to France, which was historically the master of Poland. The loss of Canada and Poland exposed the weakness of France.

France also participated in the American war of independence in 1776 to take revenge on Britain following the French loss of Canada in the Seven Years War. Duc de Choiseul was a French military officer, diplomat and statesman who actively reorganised the French army and navy for a future war of revenge against Britain, and Pierre Beaumarchais was at the centre of an arms traffic to support American insurgents. France faced a major economic crisis, partly due to the cost of intervening in the American Revolution, and the situation was further exacerbated by a regressive mode of taxation as well as poor harvests in the late 1780s. For example, France spent 1.3 billion Livres to support the Americans directly. Besides, France sent soldiers to America to fight against Britain. The financial aid that France issued to the American freedom fighters led the French government into bankruptcy. The French soldiers who participated in the war were inspired by the American ideas of democracy. On their return to France, they wanted democratic reforms by joining members of the Third Estate to carry out the revolution. Marquis de Lafayette was an example of the French soldiers who joined hands with the Third Estate. By this time, members of the Third Estate had already piled up grievances against the government.

In the 1870s, the French government was close to bankruptcy since the economy had drastically declined. The national foreign debt was alarming. In 1788 alone, about 6 per cent of the French revenue was used to support the royal family and the palace. Another burden came from the cost of financing the military and past wars. The French army was financed via loans. Unemployment soared, inflation rocketed, and national production went down.

King Louis XVI took several measures to restore the financial stability but failed. One of the measures was the nomination of Anne Robert Turgot as the new Finance Minister. By doing so, the king thought that Turgot would make some reforms in the national economy and save France from its difficulties. Turgot drafted edicts in which he proposed to do the following, among others: abolish useless sinecures, that is, church benefices and offices of value which involved little or no responsibilities; abolish internal customs barriers which were increasing the prices of grain; abolish guilds which limited the introduction of new workmen and new processes; and abolish the law that exempted the nobility and clergy from paying taxes.

When the edicts were presented to members of the First and Second Estates, the nobility and clergy rejected all of them, asking King Louis XVI not to register them. To the nobility and the clergy, the edicts would overturn the

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privileges that they had been enjoying for centuries. They requested King Louis XVI to order Turgot to resign. As a result, King Louis XVI dismissed the edicts and sacked Turgot from office in 1776.

In Turgot's place, the king nominated Jacques Necker as the Minister for Finance. Necker took office when France was still financing the American wars of independence. In 1781, France's national foreign debt had increased up to 3,400 million Livres. Expenditures were overturning income at the rate of 80 million Livres a year. In 1786, the gap had reached 110 million Livres. Fearing to be sacked like his predecessor, Necker voluntarily decided to resign in 1783. In his place, the king appointed Charles Alexandre de Calonne as the new Finance Minister. In his career, De Calonne attacked the privileges of the nobility and clergy. He proposed abolishing the corvee, reducing the salt tax, increasing the stamp tax and replacing the taille with land tax.

In 1787, the Assembly composed of prominent clerics, noblemen, important landowners and officers of estates was held to discuss his proposals. Members of the Third Estate were not represented. The Assembly dismissed all the proposals and advised King Louis XVI to sack the minister. Minister De Calonne was sacked in the same year. His place was taken by Archbishop of Toulouse, Lomenie de Brienne. He headed the office from 1787 to 1789. While in office, he served only to protect the interests of the First and Second Estates. Such nominations and sacking of the reformist finance ministers made members of the Third Estate to have no confidence in the King. The office of the King symbolised a tyrannical government. As members of the Third Estate raised more grievances against Louis XVI, he finally presented the problem to the Estates-General in May 1789. This French Parliament was an assembly representing the Three Estates of the French society. Each of the Estates picked its own deputies. The local assemblies that selected the deputies also drew up cahiers (grievances lists) to accompany the representatives to Paris. The cahiers raised by members of the Third Estate denounced the absolute power of King Louis XVI and infringements on personal liberty and unjust taxation.

The Estates-General assembled on 05th May, 1789 at Versailles, with about 1,200 representatives. The Third Estate was represented by 600 people, while the First and Second Estates were represented by 300 people. The major complaint of the Third-Estate was bad uses of the public money by the monarchy. Members of the Third Estate, however, had their special proposal to Louis XVI. They wanted the king to form a single permanent assembly or parliament of the three-branch Estates-General. The king, nobles and clergy opposed the proposal. However, some nobles and clergy rightly joined the Third Estate in the National Assembly. As a result, the Third Estate declared itself the only National Assembly that is the national representative body. The revolution started in that style. King Louis XVI closed their meeting hall,

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but this did not help. The deputies of the Third Estate met on a nearby tennis court on 20th June, 1789. They took an oath not to disband until France had a new written constitution. Although the king had troops to crush the National Assembly, he hesitated to command his troops to do so.

The political causes of the French revolution involved the development of political inequalities in France. Biased French judges and unfair arrests without trial, using the lettre de cachet, left the impression of a tyrannical rule. Most of the people who severely suffered were those who opposed the king's political, economic and social policies. These were sent to the Bastille prison. People wanted equality and the rule of law to prevail for everyone.

Religious intolerance was another important cause of the revolution. A strong union existed between the Catholic Church and the French monarchy. The church had many properties and its officials lived a luxurious life while peasants and artisans had many problems and grievances. Religious intolerance spread countrywide, causing lack of religious freedom. The only public worship that had been practised for a long time was Catholicism. Other Christian denominations were not tolerated. Although various forms of Protestants existed from the 16th century, they were not recognised by the law in France. Great thinkers like Voltaire demanded the government to introduce religious tolerance and other forms of freedom, like freedom of press and opinion. Lastly, thinkers demanded also an immediate end of torture, such as breaking on the wheel and mutilation that members of the Third Estate suffered from because of the lettre de cachet.

The privileges of the nobles and the clergy at the expense of the commoners was another reason for the French revolution. Members of the Third Estate were liable to compulsory military service, whereas the clergy and the nobles were not liable to that service. The church also owned huge wealth amidst poor peasants. As the largest landowner in France, the Catholic Church controlled property and collected massive revenues from its tenants. The church had accumulated enormous wealth from the collection of tithes. Its revenue was estimated to be 150 million Livres in 1789 and it owned around 6 per cent of land throughout France. Moreover, its convents, churches, as well as schools, hospitals and other institutions formed a visible reminder of its dominance in the French society. The Church was also permitted to collect tithes, worth a nominal one-tenth of agricultural produce. Interestingly, it was exempted from direct taxation on its earnings. All these were signs of social inequalities in French society, and the revolutionaries wanted to do away with them.

The control of the education system by the Catholic Church was another cause for French revolution. Although France had improved the system of the Renaissance education in the middle of the 16th century, the educational institutions were

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badly distributed; therefore, they needed reforms. The government involvement in education was not strong enough; it was the Catholic Church that had effective control over the educational system. The king left all educational matters to local bishops and the religious orders. Nevertheless, the state also intervened in the education sector in several ways, though the revolutionaries thought that such interventions were not enough. For example, in 1698 a decree was issued that children from the age of seven were obliged to attend Catholic schools up to the age of fourteen. Enrolment in elementary schools was relatively high, and 562 secondary schools boasted 74,747 students, 40,000 of whom had scholarships. One demand of the revolutionaries on this aspect was that the French language should be used as a medium of instruction in the education system instead of Latin. The revolutionaries also considered the provision of education as a duty of the state. They considered the rights of parents, the potential benefits of higher education, the economic needs of the state, the necessity for training teachers, and the suitable status of the teaching profession in the state. They wanted to reform education by removing the influence of the Catholic Church on the education system. On the aspect of gender, the revolutionary leaders believed that only men should have the right to education because they would engage in state affairs including wars. Conversely, women did not need education because they had to take care of the family and to raise children at home.

By 1794, the government began to reform the education system. An education decree on the training of teachers was issued. The school curriculum had to contain republican morality; public and private virtues; and the techniques of teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, practical geometry, French history, and grammar. Only authorised books would be used, as described in the convention. In addition, the revolutionaries adopted a single dialect of French to be used in all French schools. In 1798, the government tried unsuccessfully to take control over private schools. However, in 1799, the government managed to control private schools in some regions. To have a competitive advantage over private schools, the government recognised attending public schools as a condition for civil service. The reforms on education aimed at enabling the commoners to acquire better education and eliminating the social gap between the privileged and the commoners.

Besides the long-term structural problems, there was an immediate cause for the Revolution. In 1788, France witnessed widespread starvation because of bad weather. In 1789, there was severe winter and all major rivers of France were frozen. The Marseille port in Southern France was blocked by ice. The economic decline affected the poor peasants and artisans. Revolutionary agitators were active among handicraft workers, shopkeepers, and wage-earners in Paris. A shortage of wheat raised bread prices, unemployment and the number of beggars. These caused an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. Wages declined, and inflation became

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rampant. This constrained the few resources available in the countryside. In the rural areas, peasants and artisans turned against the aristocrats and landlords. They burnt castles to destroy records of manorial dues and rents. The situation prompted the aristocrats and landlords to surrender all their privileges voluntarily. Some rural dwellers drifted to towns but as unskilled labourers. These could not get employment easily. When a mob of hungry women demonstrated against starvation and high bread prices on 5th October 1789, Marie-Antoinette (the Queen of France, 1755-1793) told them to eat cake and to serve themselves from the leftovers of bread from the dustbin. What followed is that the hungry mob invaded the palace, captured King Louis XVI and his wife, and led them to Paris. The king tried to escape but he was captured again at Varennes and finally beheaded by guillotine on 21st January, 1793.

Therefore, the underlying cause of the French Revolution was the failure of the French monarchy to manage social and economic inequalities, leading to long-term grievances and discontents. The inability of the King to control state finance resulted to the debt burden, economic depression, unemployment and high food prices. In the mid of such difficulty, however, the King was still misusing the public money to satisfy his wife's lust for material wealth. These problems created a crisis that Louis XVI proved unable to manage, prompting the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

Exercise 7.6

Show how the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity advocated during the French Political Revolution echo in the struggles for human rights in the present-day societies.

Contribution of the French Revolution to the development of democracy in Europe

The French revolution contributed greatly to the development of liberal democracy in Europe. In the first place, the French Revolution brought fundamental changes not only in France but also in Europe generally. French monarchy ceased to exist, and it became a republic. A provisional government known as the National Convention was formed.

On 21st September, 1792, King Louis XVI was dethroned and a Republic was proclaimed in France. King Louis XVI was tried and executed by guillotine in January 1793 together with his wife, Marie-Antoinette. A newly written constitution was adopted with three organs of the French government, namely the Executive, the Judiciary and the Legislative Assembly. The organs functioned independently but with checks and balances of the other. The head of

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the government could neither make laws nor levy taxes without the consent of the Legislative Assembly.

Secondly, the revolution laid down the foundation for the emergence and development of liberal democracy in Europe. The ideals of the French Revolution such as liberty, equality and fraternity, inspired the campaigns for the abolition of slavery and universal suffrage. The values and institutions that the French Revolution created have dominated French politics up to the present. The revolution was a political transformation that ended the Bourbon monarchy under the absolute government of King Louis XVI in 1789. It was a struggle between the conservatives who wanted to preserve the absolute monarchy and its principles on the one hand, and the rising French capitalist classes and the over-exploited peasants who wanted principles of liberal democracy to prevail in France, on the other. The French Revolution was due to deep-seated economic, political and social problems rooted in the structure of the French society itself under the monarchy system. The rising capitalist classes considered the absolute monarchy as oppressive and ineffective in promoting their economic interests against the manufacturers and bankers from the other European nations. Thus, the king, the clergy and the nobles had to be removed from political power and replaced by the emerging capitalist class, which believed in liberal democracy.

In addition, the revolutionary government issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. This document laid down the ground for natural human and civil rights, which became the cornerstone of democratic governments in the world. Such rights included liberty, equality before the law, the freedom of speech and press, and religious freedom. To promote the freedom of speech and press, the French revolutionary leaders encouraged many publications, such as newspapers, pamphlets and journals. Evidently, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 reflected the ideas of the French Revolution.

The democratic principles of French Revolution were adopted by many countries in the world. The belief that people are the source of all sovereign powers and the idea of the rule of law based on the principles of equality before the law, both derive from the French Revolution. In other words, the French Revolution led to the establishment of democratic governments in Europe and the world in general.

The revolution brought many divisions among the agitators, in the form of clubs. Such divisions were also manifested within the National Assembly. The most radical groups in the National Assembly were the Jacobins and the Cordeliers. The Jacobins represented the radical left-wing politicians who were against the monarch in favour of the rise of the

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French republic. On the contrary, the Cordeliers were staunch supporters of the monarchy who defended the king against popular agitations. The members of these rival groups and other groups persecuted each other, leading to the reign of terror throughout France. The victims of the reign of terror included Mirabeau, who was killed in 1791; Madame Roland in 1793; Danton (1794) and Robespierre (1794). Similar divisions became common within the European nations, including the liberals, republicans, conservatives and socialists. Differences were found even within political parties, such as the centrists, the nightists, and the leftists.

The French Revolution sowed seeds of patriotism and nationalism not only in France but throughout Europe. In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte I came to power. During the Napoleonic wars (1804-1814), France sent the revolutionary armies to conquer the neighbouring countries of Belgium and Holland. Certain states in Italy and the Rhine region in Germany also came under France. Due to the Napoleonic wars, many countries in Europe attached themselves to France for support and inspiration. People in those countries saw the French armies as the bearers of liberty, equality and fraternity. Some government leaders in European countries became so much afraid of the French Revolutionary ideas. Among them were the leaders of Austria, Prussia and Russia. Between 1792 and 1793, Austria, Prussia and Russia attacked, annexed and divided Poland among themselves. Because Poland was a traditional ally of France, those governments were worried that once the French revolutionary ideals were implanted in Poland, they would easily spread into the three countries and cause instability and revolutions.

The revolution promoted a sense of patriotism and nationalism in Europe. The 1848 revolutions in Prussia, Italy, Austria and Hungary had the recourse to the ideals of the French Revolution. During and after the revolution, the term state no longer referred to the king alone (recall that King Louis XIV said, "The State is myself.") but to all the citizens. The believers of the ideals of the French Revolution, wherever they were found in Europe, mobilised their national armies to fight for liberty, equality and fraternity. Some national rights and symbols were also inaugurated. These included the introduction of one national flag, the national anthem and national holidays.

The revolution had cultural significance as well. During the French Revolution, France did not exist as a nation yet. There were still many ethnic and linguistic groups that had to be united to form the current nation of France. To bridge the divide between the different regions of France and the different classes involved in the revolution, symbols were created to convey certain ideas. The liberty cap, the tricolour flag, Marianne and other symbols played an important role in creating a national identity in France.

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The revolutionary government declared French as the national language of France. All French citizens were to speak it and write it articulately. This helped to promote social harmony and coherence in France. As a result, numerous regional languages and dialects were replaced by one national language. Other European countries imitated some of these cultural values, including the national language. After its unification in 1860, for example, Italy adopted the Italian language as its national language in place of Latin of the ancient Roman Empire. Latin was, therefore, left as an official language of the Holy See.

The revolutionary government established many elementary and secondary schools. These were used to teach patriotism and the national language to French children, in order to build France as a strong nation in Europe. The French language was used as a medium of instruction in schools; and education was used to instill a sense of national patriotism and loyalty.

The revolution also played a major role in destroying feudalism, thus giving way to the rise and development of capitalism in France. The National Assembly abolished all feudal privileges, serfdom, game laws, salt tax (gabelle) and the tithe. These were replaced by equality of taxation and equal opportunity in public service. Feudal classes, such as feudal lords or lords of the manor, and the church, lost their land. New classes such as merchants, industrialists and bankers worked without hurdles, compared to those imposed during the monarchy regime. The new government assisted them. Other countries, such as Italy and Austria, followed the example of France to destroy feudalism, gradually replacing it with capitalist values.

The French Revolution created a new generation of literature by the emergence of new French writers and philosophers who portrayed liberal values. Prominent writers and philosophers of the revolutionary period were Voltaire (1694-1778), Diderot, Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). As members of the Third Estate, they had lived as victims of social injustices. Voltaire, for instance, attacked the Catholic Church for its vices. He condemned the lettre de cachet and called for its immediate end. He criticised the nobility who competed for honour instead of solving people's problems. Montesquieu advocated for the establishment of a government with three arms, namely the executive, the parliament and the judiciary. Each arm would check and balance the other to create a society that could preserve the liberty of the individual. Diderot advocated for the abolition of all forms of taxes, except land taxes, something that pleased the French people. Rousseau insisted on the general will of the people as a source of sovereignty.

The legacies of the ideals of the French Revolution are still relevant to many nations in the world today. Although the

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revolution caused major bloodshed and destroyed property, it promoted liberal democracy and nationalism in Europe and the world at large.

Exercise 7.7

1. The English and French revolutionaries advocated for the separation of power to protect people's freedom. How is this reflected in the modern governance system?
2. Show how new ideas during the Age of reason led to the rise of liberal democracy in France

The 1848 revolutions in Europe

The 1848 revolutions were a series of political revolutions or republican revolts against monarchies throughout Europe. Their single-most striking feature was simultaneity. The revolutions began in the Italian peninsula (Sicily) and spread to Paris, Vienna, Milan, Rome, Venice, Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Frankfurt, Copenhagen, Budapest and Dresden. In other words, the revolutions immediately spread to most of the European countries. The revolutionaries demanded socio-political reforms against absolutism and conservative governments. They also opposed the 1815 Vienna Act over European foreign domination. However, there was no coordination among the revolutionaries in different countries.

Causes of the 1848 revolutions

Several economic, political and social conditions led to the outbreak of the revolutions in Austria, France, Hungary and the Balkan Region in 1848. In the economic sphere, the revolutions were caused by the general economic discontent. This discontent was driven by harsh economic conditions and heterodox ideologies, which ultimately led to a series of revolutions in 1848. Economic hardships caused by crop failure precipitated the 1848 revolutions. The European potato failure was a food crisis that struck Europe in the mid-1840s, leading to a severe famine. The famine created immense suffering for those living in Europe as it led to a great number of deaths. It is estimated that 40,000 - 50,000 died in Belgium and Prussia due to starvation. Further, 10,000 people died in France. As a result of these crop failures, food prices rose tremendously. Many people's incomes were spent on high priced food, creating an atmosphere of discontent from the general public in Europe. In the mid-1840s, high prices, followed by indebtedness, poor business conditions and wide-spread unemployment, reflected poor economic conditions in Europe. Among European peasants, the revolutions were triggered by their loss of communal lands to commercial farmers.

On the other hand, the European working class resented long working hours, poor living conditions and the pressure of

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industrialisation. The population in French rural areas rose rapidly, forcing people to flee to main cities searching for wage employment. However, even in the cities, life became difficult due to high inflation and unemployment.

Political factors for the revolutions included heterodox ideologies which began to emerge well before the revolutions. One of these ideologies was 'liberalism,' which developed during the 1840s, opposing the monarchical regime and its undemocratic principles. Before 1848, monarchical Europe consisted of hierarchical orders, had survived for centuries. For example, absolute kings spent a lot of government money while the majority of people suffered from economic and social problems. The nobility and the aristocracy ruled above the law. These increased frictions between the commoners and the rulers (the kings) as the former were dissatisfied with the political system. Liberalism was an ideology that believed in the equality of all people in influencing decision-making processes. Communities in Europe demanded a constitution that would allow people to act accordingly and give everyone equal treatment under the law. Liberalism aimed at eliminating the monarchical order, its institutions, political structure and power of the aristocracy. Classical liberalism, which became popular in the 1820s from Spain and France, had spread throughout Europe. The middle and working classes aimed at getting an elected representative parliament rather than giving consent for an ultimate power figure to make decisions. The elected representative parliament would allow middle-class workers to have a say in law-making decision.

Because liberalism was a threat to the ruling class, the monarchy and aristocracy became more conservative, defensive and repressive to the new ideology to preserve their status quo. In Denmark, for example, the absolute monarchy confronted radical demonstrations led by the National Liberals. These liberals demanded a constitution after the death of King Christian VIII. In response to these demonstrations, the new king installed a new cabinet that consisted of members of the National Liberal Party. Due to this ideology, political authorities in Europe faced difficulties that forced them to make peace with liberalists to put an end to uprisings. Thus far, it is evident that the influences of the 1789 French Revolution gave birth to the principles of liberty and fraternity, prompting the development of liberal ideas in Europe in the 19th century.

Another important ideology that began to emerge during the 1840s was nationalism. Nationalism advocated for a national unity bound by a common language, culture, shared history and political independence. Like the ideas of democracy and liberalism, nationalism also gained popularity despite forceful efforts to suppress it. In the 1840s, the Empire of Austria became the most

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affected as people of many nationalities, such as Russians, Austrians, Hungarians and Poles (Polish people), were struggling for hegemony throughout the empire. As a result, revolutions appeared in the form of wars of independence from the Austrian Empire rather than a reform revolution.

A strong sense of nationalism also existed among Italians and Germans. Nationalism was extremely popular in Germany during the 1840s due to the Rhine crisis. The Rhine crisis was a threat to France because Germany was likely to invade and take over the Rhine land. The Rhine question goes back to the Congress of Vienna in 1815, when the Rhine region was given back to Prussia. However, after a diplomatic defeat in Vienna, France was still determined to take back control over the Rhine as their natural border. The Rhine crisis invoked nationalist consciousness and ideological competition between France and Germany. The Rhine question unleashed a breakthrough of modern German nationalism. German nationalism was the idea to unite all German- speaking nations under a sole German nation.

In Germany, nationalists split into two groups; namely the liberal nationalists, headed by scientists, doctors and physicians and the radical nationalists. The Prussian King, Frederick William, feared that if all German states united, he would lose power and influence. This example signifies that nationalism was such a profound ideology with far-reaching impact. Italy also experienced discontents due to nationalism during the mid-1800s. Young Italy, a political movement that emerged in 1831, was founded by Giuseppe Mazzini to encourage Italian states to fight for independence and become unified. Young Italy aimed at educating people on politics in order to ensure that the idea of a unified Italy gets realised. Mazzini aimed at liberating Italy from the Austrian Empire, and he effectively influenced many people.

In the Marxist view, the liberals, middle class, workers, and nationalists experienced a class struggle, which ultimately caused the 1848 revolutions. Marxists believe that the classes went through struggles that caused the revolutions. In his book *The Age of Revolution*, Marxist historian, Eric Hobsbawm, linked the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution to the rising bourgeois class. However, the truth is that Europe faced more difficulties rather than the one caused by the rise of the bourgeoisie class alone.

The role of the Congress of Vienna of 1814-1815 was also important in the outbreak of the revolutions. The Congress was an international diplomatic conference to reconstitute the European political order after the downfall of the French Emperor, Napoleon I. This meeting of ambassadors of European states was chaired by the Austrian statesman, Klemens von Metternich. The four powers which were instrumental in overthrowing Napoleon (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Great

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Britain) attended the Congress. The Congress aimed at providing a long-term peace plan for Europe by settling critical issues arising from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The goal was not simply to restore old boundaries but to resize the main powers so they could balance each other and remain at peace. The conservative leaders who attended the Congress also sought to restrain or eliminate the republicanism and revolution which had ended the constitutional order of the European old regimes, and which continued to threaten it. In the settlement, France lost all its recent conquests, while Prussia, Austria and Russia made major territorial gains. Prussia added smaller German states in the west, Swedish Pomerania, 60 per cent of the kingdom of Saxony, and the western part of the former Duchy of Warsaw. As for Austria, she gained Venice and much of northern Italy. Russia gained the central and eastern parts of the Duchy of Warsaw. The Congress ratified the new kingdom of the Netherlands, which had been created just months before from the former Austrian territory, that in 1830 became Belgium. The powers developed the Concert of Europe that was a system of dispute resolution adopted by the major conservative powers of Europe to maintain their power, oppose revolutionary movements, weaken the forces of nationalism, and uphold the balance of power. The Congress brought about a balance of power in Europe and prevented further conflict. It dissolved the Napoleonic world and attempted to restore the monarchies that had been overthrown. Many common people did not support it as it prevented the thriving of liberal democracy in their countries.

The Vienna Congress laid down the balance of power principle to prevent any European state from gaining a dominant position in Europe. The Vienna Peace Settlement of 1815, which put the smaller states of Italy and Germany under Austria, precipitated the revolutions of 1848, which intended to destroy the dominance and control of the big states over the small ones. The Act was signed at Vienna (the capital of Austria) chaired by Metternich, the former Chancellor of Austria. The Congress advocated for balance of power by placing the small states under the bigger ones. For example, the Italian Provinces of Lombardy, Venetia and Parma, Tuscany, Medina Pius and the German states came under Austria. Some states in Italy, Spain, Poland and Germany resisted this arrangement. Thus, it motivated revolutionary actions in these states.

Social factors also contributed to the rise of the 1848 Revolutions. For instance, the epidemic diseases such as cholera, typhoid, tuberculosis and influenza in East and Central Europe led to high death rates and psychological effects to the majority. The people blamed their kings for the failure to address health problems. The rapid growing population in Europe also caused the need to develop systematic

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and reliable health services for a healthier population. As many monarchies faced financial difficulties, they could hardly offer reliable health services to the population in rural and growing cities.

Clearly, a combination of political and economic crises caused the 1848 revolutions. Discontents were driven by long-term economic problems, which led to unrest and revolts. The revolutions began as a series of republican revolts against European monarchies as radicals demanded democratic governments. The outbreak of the 1848 revolutions marked the climax of the new forces of change of liberalism, democracy, nationalism, socialism, industrialism and republicanism against reactionary conservative forces in Europe.

Exercise 7.8

1. Appraise the role of Enlightenment ideas to the rise of modern governance system in Europe.
2. Show the role played by individual leaders in the occurrence of the European Political revolutions.
3. Examine the correlation between economic transformations and political revolutions in Europe.

The contribution of the 1848 revolutions to the development of democracy in Europe

The revolutions facilitated the unification of Italian kingdoms and the Papal States into Italy in 1870 and Germanic states into a united Germany in 1871. The fall of Metternich and his Vienna Peace Settlement of 1815, which was an obstacle to the unification, paved the way towards the unification both in Italy and Germany. The Revolutions also led to the rise of new statesmen like King Victor Emanuel II, Count Camilo de Cavour and Otto von Bismarck, who became key characters during the unification process.

The revolutions also enhanced the parliamentary system in some European countries. Monarchies in Germany, Italy, Austria and Belgium had their power reduced. The separation of powers between the Prime Minister/Chancellor as the head of the government and the king as the head of state stemmed from the 1848 revolutions.

Besides, the era of 1848 revolutions marked the end of feudalism and serfdom in Austria since the Emperor Francis Joseph I passed the Emancipation Act of September 1848. The Act allowed peasants to own and inherit land without compensation to the nobles. Serfdom was also abolished in Hungary. This emancipation paved the road to capitalism and liberal democratic principles in these countries.

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The revolutions also helped to spread the liberal democratic ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity in European countries. France retained universal male suffrage. In Austria, the revolution facilitated the formation of the Constituent Assembly and the emancipation of the peasantry. It was an era of European transformation from the age of absolutism into the age of democratic society. All middle-class people, industrial workers, and peasants wanted change.

The revolution also contributed to the spread of socialism in Europe. The utopian and later scientific socialist ideas spread rapidly to many European countries. On the one hand, the liberals were opposing the undemocratic principles and ideas of the absolutist kings who had been ruling Europe since the 15th century. On the other hand, the socialists were opposing the growing influence of liberalism which protected the interest of the capitalist classes, especially industrialists, bankers, commercial farmers, and business men and women. The peasants and factory workers used the socialist ideas to air out their dissatisfaction with capitalism and liberal governments. The socialists were against liberal democracy as it would promote the interests of the capitalist class and not of the working class and peasants. The socialists wanted dictatorship of the working class in the state.

Activity 7.3

Read online and library sources on British and French political revolutions then, design a simple line graph showing progression of historical events in the studied revolutions.

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Revision exercise 7

1. Discuss the contribution of the 1848 revolutions to the development of modern administrative systems.
2. Compare and contrast the outcomes of the French and English Revolution on political structures and administrative systems in Europe.
3. Why did the nobles, clergies and aristocratic people fight to defend monarchies in Europe?
4. Discuss the main issues the English monarchy faced when they came into conflict with the rising capitalist classes in England.
5. Compare and contrast the English Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the 1848 revolutions in Europe.
6. Show the relevance of John Locke's belief on the purpose of government to the contemporary governance system.
7. Why did the liberal democracy prevail against the socialist democracy in Europe in the 19th century?
8. Assess the role of the American War of Independence in the rise of the French Revolution of 1789.
9. What were the underlying socio-economic factors that contributed to the political revolutions in Europe?
10. Examine the contribution of the 1848 revolutions towards the development of democracy in Europe.
11. How did the English and French political revolutionaries force empires and kings to give room to democratic governments?
12. Compare and contrast between the British political revolution and the French Revolution.

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Chapter Eight

The capitalist crises and alternative governance systems

Introduction

The capitalist world experienced a series of crises manifested in the First World War, the Great Economic Depression, and the Second World War in the early 20th century. To deal with these crises, some countries reacted by adopting fascism and socialism as alternative governance systems. In this chapter, you will learn about the concept of capitalist crises, the way they led to the rise of fascism and socialism as alternative ideologies and systems of governance. The competencies developed will enable you to trace the historical forces that caused the development of alternative governance system in Europe.

Think

The practices of fascism and socialism as alternative governance systems

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The concept of capitalist crisis

Capitalist crisis refers to the period of disruptions and downturns within the capitalist system. These crises manifest in various forms, such as wars, economic recessions, depressions and financial crises. The interwar periods witnessed capitalist crises that shaped global politics and economies. Some of these crises, include the First World War, the Great Economic Depression and the Second World War.

The First World War adversely affected the European society in the economic, political, and social fields. The enormous human and material costs of the war, coupled with the reparations imposed on defeated countries, created a climate for economic disruption in Europe and the world at large. The Versailles Peace Treaty, signed in 1919, imposed harsh economic conditions on Germany and contributed to political instability in the Weimar Republic. Italy, which was disappointed by the outcomes of the treaty, witnessed the rise of the Fascist Party under Benito Mussolini, who marched to Rome and took over the Italian Government in 1922. Italy became a fascist state from 1922 to 1943.

Moreover, the Great Economic Depression in 1929 occurred after a short-lived economic boom in Western Europe and the USA in the later 1920s. Some of the effects of this depression were widespread unemployment, bank failures, and the collapse of industrial production. Economic hardships and social discontent caused by the depression led to the emergence of fascist movements, which promised to restore national pride and prosperity through authoritarian governments. Adolf Hitler and the Nazi regime in Germany exploited the opportunities of the combination of the harsh terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty for Germany and the crisis caused by the Great Economic Depression, to consolidate power and pursue aggressive foreign policies, ultimately leading to the outbreak of the Second World War.

On the other hand, the effects of the First World War influenced socialist governments in Russia. On the eve of the First World War, feudal-capitalist relations dominated life in the Russian Empire. In 1914, Russia entered the First World War ill-prepared, diverting significant resources towards the war effort instead of addressing the needs of her citizens. The war intensified hardships, leading to widespread discontent against the Tsarist Government led by Tsar Nicholas II. Capitalising on this discontent, the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Vladmir Ilyich Lenin staged socialist revolution in 1917. The Bolsheviks established socialist government as a practical alternative, aiming at restoring hope and trust among the Russian populace, who had suffered from feudalism, capitalism as well as the effects of the First World War.

Activity 8.1

Explore online and library resources on the capitalist crises then:

(a) Identify the common effects of these crises on society.

(b) Show how those crises triggered the rise of alternative governments in Europe.

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The rise of fascist governments in Germany, Italy, and Japan

Fascism can be traced back to the historical struggles for democracy in Europe. The rise of fascism in Europe and Japan in the inter-war period was caused by various factors. This section provides the background to the rise of fascism, its causes, and impact on Italy, Germany, and Japan.

The word Fascism is derived from the Latin Word Fasces, meaning a bundle of rods rounded on an axe. The bundle was used as the magistrate's emblem of power in Ancient Rome. In 1919, Benito Mussolini, who ruled Italy from 1922 to 1943, adopted the same word to mean a group or squad or a club of people with power to rule Italy. After the First World War, Mussolini organised some workers, encouraging them to demand their

political rights. By 1920, the workers who had formed workers' clubs transformed themselves into an Italian fascist political party.

Fascism, under Benito Mussolini, became a political system in which the state had all the powers. All citizens had to work for the country and the government. He used a strong army and a police force to keep law and order. Thus, fascism was a far-right wing, ultranationalist and authoritarian political philosophy characterised by a dictatorial leader, centralised autocracy, militarism, forcible suppression of opposition, belief in natural social hierarchy, subordination of individual interests for the perceived good of the nation or race, and strong regimentation of society and the economy. It combined elements of nationalism, militarism, economic self-sufficiency and totalitarianism. It opposed anarchism, Marxian socialism, communism, pluralism, individual rights, equality and liberal democratic government. Figure 8.1 shows the leaders who led the fascist movements in Italy and Germany.

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Figure 8. 1: *Benito Mussolini of Italy (left) and Adolf Hitler of Germany(right)*

Source: *https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Mussolini_and_Hitler_1940_(retouched).jpg*

The role of the Versailles Peace Treaty in the rise of fascism

The Versailles Peace Treaty played a decisive role in the rise of dictatorship in Italy, Germany and Japan. The treaty was a settlement signed by Germany and the Allied Nations on 28th June, 1919. It officially ended the war between Germany and her allies, Austria Hungary and the Ottoman Empire and the victorious powers that formed the Tripple Entente. The leaders of the victorious powers and their allies attended the Conference. These were the US President, Woodrow Wilson, Britain's Prime Minister, David Lloyd, and France's Prime Minister, George Clemenceau. Other allied countries which sent delegates to the Conference were Belgium, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Australia, Italy, Japan, China, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Yugoslavia, Poland, Canada, and Brazil.

Each great power had its aims in the Treaty. France had lost 1.3 million soldiers and 400,000 civilians. It was more physically damaged than any other nation. Most of its railways, bridges, factories and sources of coal and iron ore had been destroyed. Prime Minister Clemenceau intended to ensure the security of France by weakening Germany economically, militarily, territorially, and by replacing Germany as the leading producer of iron and steel in Europe. The French wanted a frontier to protect France from German invasion and compensation for French demographic and economic losses during the war. The American and British representatives refused the French claim. However, the French accepted a British pledge to ally with France if Germany would have attacked them again. Clemenceau accepted the offer in return for the occupation of the Rhineland for fifteen years and that Germany would also demilitarise the Rhineland. French negotiators required reparations to make Germany pay for the destruction caused during the war, reducing German military and economic strength. The French also wanted the iron ore and coal of the Saar Valley to be annexed to France. France, British Dominions and Belgium opposed mandates and favoured annexation of the former German colonies.

Britain also had demands in the Treaty. She had incurred high financial costs but little physical devastation during the War. Britain favoured reconciliation that would force Germany to pay reparations and not to repeat the aggression of 1914. Prime Minister Lloyd George opposed revenge and attempted to compromise between Clemenceau's demands and the President Wilson's Fourteen Points, because Europe would eventually reconcile with Germany. Prime Minister Lloyd George wanted reparation terms that would not cripple the German economy so that Germany would remain a viable economic power and trading partner in Europe. The Prime Minister wanted British war pensions and widows' allowances to be included in the German reparation sum to ensure that a large amount would go to the British Empire. He also intended to maintain a European balance of power by preventing any attempt of France to establish itself as a dominant power in continental Europe. Prime Minister

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George suggested that revived Germany would be a counterweight to France and a deterrent to Bolshevik Russia. He also wanted to neutralise the German navy so as to keep the Royal Navy as the greatest naval power in the world. Moreover, he wanted to dismantle the German colonial empire with several of its territorial possessions and dominions by making them fall under Britain and its allies. Hence, the territories and dominions had to be under the mandate of the established League of Nations, a position the dominions strongly opposed.

The United States had several demands to make during the Conference. The USA had entered into the war in 1917 when Germany made a secret offer to help Mexico regain the territories lost in the Mexican–American War of 1812 in an encoded telegram known as the Zimmermann Telegram, which was intercepted by the British Intelligence. Earlier, the German U-boat, U-20, had sank the British liner, Lusitania, on 7th May 1915 with 128 U.S. citizens aboard. In 1917 German U-boats also sunk American merchant ships in the North Atlantic Ocean. This irritated the US and it declared war against Germany and its allies. Italy also had its own demands. The Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando wanted to secure the partition of the Habsburg Empire. Italy favoured a compromise between Clemenceau and Wilson. Premier Orlando obtained certain results such as the permanent membership of Italy in the Security Council of the League of Nations. Italian nationalists saw the war as a mutilated victory for what they considered to be little territorial gains achieved. Orlando was ultimately forced to abandon the conference and resign. Italian nationalists called for a greater expansion that would enable Italy to be a great power.

After the discussion, the Versailles Peace Conference found Germany guilt of war. The Big Four, especially France, wanted to make sure that Germany would never again pose a military threat to the rest of Europe. The terms of the Treaty required Germany to disarm, pay reparations and renounce all of her overseas colonies. The Treaty stripped Germany of her 65,000 sq.km territorial possession with 7 million people. It also required Germany to give up the gains made via the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and grant independence to the protectorates that had been established. Germany was required to recognise Belgian sovereignty over Moresnet and cede control of the Eupen-Malmedy area. To compensate for the destruction of French coal mines, Germany was to cede the output of the Saar coal mines to France and the control of the Saar to the League of Nations for 15 years. The Treaty restored the provinces of Alsace-Lorraine to France that had been occupied by Germany since 1871. France claimed that the provinces of Alsace- Lorraine were part of France and not part of Germany. In Central Europe, Germany had to recognise the independence of Czechoslovakia which had been controlled by Austria, and cede parts of the province of Upper Silesia. Germany had to recognise the independence of Poland and renounce all rights and titles over the territory. The

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portions of Upper Silesia were to be ceded to Poland, with the future of the rest of the province to be decided by a plebiscite. The province of Posen, which had come under Polish control during the Greater Poland Uprising, was also to be ceded to Poland. Pomerelia (Eastern Pomerania) was transferred to Poland so that the new state could have access to the sea and became known as the Polish Corridor. The sovereignty of southern East Prussia was to be decided via a plebiscite while the East Prussian Soldau area, which was astride the rail line between Warsaw and Danzig, was transferred to Poland outright without a plebiscite. An area of 51,800 sq. km was granted to Poland at the expense of Germany. Memel was to be ceded to the Allied and Associated Powers. Germany was to cede the city of Danzig and its hinterland, including the delta of the Vistula River on the Baltic Sea, for the League of Nations to establish the Free City of Danzig.

Moreover, the Treaty required Germany to renounce sovereignty over former colonies. It also converted the territories into League of Nations mandates under the control of Allied states. Togo land and German Kamerun (Cameroon) were transferred to France and Britain. Rwanda and Burundi were allocated to Belgium, whereas German South-West Africa went to South Africa. Britain got part of German East Africa which she named Tanganyika. As a compensation for the German invasion of Portuguese Africa, Portugal was granted the Kionga Triangle, a 395 sq. km area of German East Africa in northern Mozambique. The treaty transferred German concessions in Shandong in China to Japan. Japan was granted all German possessions in the Pacific north of the Equator and those in the south of the Equator went to Australia, except for German Samoa, which was taken by New Zealand.

The Treaty also engaged in military restrictions. It imposed comprehensive and complex restrictions upon the post-war German armed forces (the Reichswehr). The provisions intended to make the Reichswehr incapable of offensive action and to encourage international disarmament. Germany was to demobilise sufficient soldiers by 31st March 1920 to keep an army of not more than 100,000 men in a maximum of seven infantry and three cavalry divisions. The treaty laid down the organisation of the divisions and support units, and the General Staff was to be dissolved. Military schools for officer training were limited to three, one school per arm, and conscription was abolished. Private soldiers and non-commissioned officers were to be retained for at least 12 years and officers for a minimum of 25 years, with former officers being forbidden to attend military exercises. To prevent Germany from building up a large cadre of trained men, the number of men allowed to leave early was limited. The number of civilian staff supporting the army was reduced, and the police force

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was reduced to its pre-war size, with increases limited to population increases; paramilitary forces were forbidden. The Rhineland was to be demilitarised, all fortifications in the Rhineland and 50 kilometres east of the river were to be demolished, and new construction was forbidden. Military structures and fortifications on the islands of Heligoland and Düne were to be destroyed.

Germany was prohibited from engaging in arms trade. Limits were imposed on the type and quantity of weapons Germany could own and was prohibited from manufacturing or stockpiling chemical weapons, poisonous gas, armoured cars, tanks and military aircraft. The German navy was allowed to have six pre-dread nought battleships. It was limited to a maximum of six light cruisers not exceeding 6,000 long tonnes, twelve destroyers not exceeding 800 long tonnes and twelve torpedo boats not exceeding 200 long tonnes. Germany was also forbidden to have submarines. The workforce of the navy was not to exceed 15,000 men, including manning for the fleet, coast defenses, signal stations, administration, other land services, officers and men of all grades and corps. The number of officers and warrant officers was not allowed to exceed 1,500 men. Germany surrendered eight battleships, eight light cruisers, forty-two destroyers, and fifty torpedo boats for decommissioning. Thirty-two auxiliary ships were to be disarmed and converted to merchant use. Article 198 of the Treaty prohibited Germany from having an air force, including naval air forces, and required Germany to hand- over all aerial related materials. Moreover, Germany was forbidden to manufacture or import aircraft or related material for six months after the signing of the Treaty.

The Treaty also agreed on reparations for the destructions done during the First World War. The War Guilt clause required Germany to disarm, make territorial concessions, and pay reparations to certain countries that had formed the Entente powers. Germany accepted responsibility for the losses and damages caused by the war due to the aggression of Germany and her allies. The Treaty required Germany to compensate the Allied powers. In 1921, the interim treaty required Germany to pay an equivalent of 132 billion gold marks (then $31.4 billion or £6.6 billion, roughly equivalent to US$442 billion or £284 billion in 2021) in gold, commodities, ships, securities or other forms. The money would help pay for Victors' occupation costs and buy food and raw materials for Germany.

To ensure compliance, the Rhineland and bridgeheads east of the Rhine were to be occupied by Victor's troops for 15 years. If Germany had not committed aggression, a staged withdrawal would take place; after five years, the Cologne bridgehead and the territory north of a line along the Ruhr would be evacuated. After ten years, the bridgehead at Coblenz and the territories

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to the north would be evacuated, and after fifteen years, the remaining Allied forces would be withdrawn. If Germany reneged on the treaty obligations, the bridgeheads would be reoccupied immediately.

Before the end of the Conference, President Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech known as the Fourteen Points on 8th January, 1918 with American peace objectives: rebuilding the European economy, self-determination of European and Middle Eastern ethnic groups, the promotion of free trade, the creation of appropriate mandates for former colonies, and above all, the creation of a powerful League of Nations that would ensure global peace. The League was to provide a forum to revise peace treaties as needed and deal with problems that arose from those treaties. President Wilson spoke of the German aggressors, with whom there could be no compromised peace. President Wilson firmly opposed the harsh treatment on Germany. While the British and French wanted to annex the German colonial empire to large extent, Wilson favoured the right of self-determination through the creation of mandates. To ensure that Japan did not refuse to join the League of Nations, President Wilson favoured transferring the former German colony of Shandong, in Eastern China, to Japan rather than returning it to Chinese control.

Activity 8.2

Prepare the points that you will use to either support or oppose the motion:

"The Versailles Peace Treaty did not bring peace." Share the points with your fellow students to get their opinion.

Consequently, the Treaty played a major role in the rise of fascism in Germany. The Germans felt that the Treaty was unfair and oppressive to Germany as they were conditionally forced to sign the War Guilty Clause. The German Government was not represented in the Treaty. Yet, their government was forced to accept the Treaty. The treaty made Germany to develop social, political and economic problems. Adolph Hitler and his Nazists blamed the Weimar Government for accepting the oppressive and humiliating terms of the Versailles Treaty for Germany. The Germans' increased bitterness about the Treaty, making Hitler to gain popularity in Germany. Adolf Hitler promised the Germans that he would reject the terms of the Treaty and eliminate its injustices. The Treaty also disappointed Italy and Japan as allies of the Triple Entente. Italy did not get what she expected, as pointed out above. Japan also expected to gain more territories in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, but she did not get them.

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Exercise 8.1

1. Discuss the reasons behind the USA delay to join the WWI until 1917.
2. Why did Britain and the USA prefer to arrange soft terms to Germany in the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919?
3. What were the main issues that the Great Powers differed on the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919?
4. Why did the Nazi Germany oppose the Weimar Republic to sign the War Guilt clause?

The Great Depression and the rise of Fascist Governments

The Great Economic Depression was an important event in the world history that facilitated the rise of fascism in Germany and Japan. Italy was already a fascist state since 1922. The Great Economic Depression was a worldwide economic slump that started in the USA in 1929. The stock market collapsed in October 1929 when the prices of shares started to fall drastically as customers withdrew their savings from banks and sold their shares at very low prices. By June 1930, the average price of a share was 25 per cent lower and it was still falling down. As a result, the USA could not lend more loans. Banks began to demand payment of previously issued loans.

The Depression spread all over the world. It was a severe worldwide economic stagnation in production and trade. The Depression was characterised by mass unemployment, financial crisis, inflation, surplus agricultural output, especially in North America, low purchasing power, and closing down of banks and other financial institutions. For example, over 4,200 banks in the USA were closed down between 1929 and 1932. People lost their savings, something which reduced their purchasing power. The Depression ended in 1933.

The Depression was caused by overproduction in the agricultural and industrial sectors. The application of science and technology increased the production of agricultural and industrial goods. The amount of goods produced in farms and factories was beyond the consumption capacity of the domestic market. Low wages reduced workers' purchasing power.

Additionally, foreign trade policy of economic nationalism and isolationism had a great impact on Germany, Italy, and Japan as the USA and Britain applied protectionist policies to protect their industries and domestic markets from foreign competition. In 1930, the President of the USA, Herbert Hoover, asked the Congress for an increase of tariff rates for agricultural goods and a decrease of rates for industrial goods. Individual members of Congress were under great pressure from industry lobbyists to raise tariffs to protect them from the negative effects of imports. The 1930 Smoot-Hawley Act raised tariffs which made foreign goods difficult to penetrate the American market.

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Before 1929, links between the world economy and Latin American economies had been established through American and British investments in Latin American exports to the world. Because of high levels of the US investment in Latin American economies, the US Government had to protect its market, especially in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru. The Great Depression hit-hard Latin American export industries. World prices for commodities such as wheat, coffee and copper plunged. Exports from Latin America to the US fell in value from $1.2 billion in 1929 to $335 million in 1933. As a result, the US passed the 1934 Reciprocal Tariff Act to protect the American markets in Latin America.

The US protected her industries by charging high import duties with an ambition to export more of her products, while other countries also reacted by putting high protective policies. This restricted international trade and left most countries flooded with surplus products in home markets. Finally, the industries and businesses began to run off the buyers since the industrialists could not export abroad and could not sell at home since their people were already suffering economic hardship. Britain also responded to the US protectionist policy by establishing the Sterling Area and decided to use British pound sterling as their own currency. Through this policy, British colonies were required to sell their raw materials to Britain. Colonies were also required to import goods from Britain. As Germany, Italy and Japan had few colonies, they suffered a lot from the American tariffs and British protectionist policies.

Thus, the Great Depression caused economic distress to Western European industries and agricultural sectors. As a result, this paved the way for Germany and Japan to adopt fascism. The Depression encouraged Mussolini of Italy to develop tight economic policies to address the economic and social effects of the Depression.

Activity 8.3

Read online and library resources on the influence of the Great Economic Depression to the rise of fascist governments then:

(a) Identify the main grievances of people during the Great Depression.

(b) Explain the way fascist leaders exploited these grievances to gain political power

(c) Compose an essay on lessons that can be learnt from this historic period.

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The contribution of Great Depression to the rise of Fascist Governments

The Great Depression affected both the people and governments. There were widespread bankruptcies and poverty whereby the world market became limited because of the decline of the purchasing power of the people and the government.

For Germany, the effects of the Great Depression were rubbing salt into its wounds, following the burden of unfair terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty. In Germany, for example, more than 6.5 million people lost their jobs and inflations became unbearable. The government of Germany printed more banknotes, hoping that it would be a kind of remedy for inflation. The Germans realised that the monies were worthless. The few workers who remained in their jobs needed a wheelbarrow to carry home their wages in billions of worthless German marks. A state of frustration reigned; not knowing exactly whom to trust, Germans became ready to listen to any political leader who promised them food, work, order, law and good government.

Adolf Hitler successfully exploited the effects of the Great Economic Depression to rise to power. Germans voted for the Nazi Party enabling it to secure 107 seats in Parliament in 1933. The Germans voted for the Nazi Party, believing that Hitler's policies would solve German economic, political and social problems.

Italy was also hit by the Great Depression. The country had accumulated huge foreign debt while inflation was very high. The Italian currency known as Lira had declined in value. In 1914, the exchange rate was five Lira to one US$. By 1921, the exchange rate was twenty- eight Lira to one US$. The Italian Government printed more money, but this did not solve their financial problems. The printing of money contributed to hyper-inflation and the devaluation of the Lira. The living cost of people increased five times. The unemployment problem was unbearable, many Italians accused their government of being the real cause of such economic ills. Similarly, in Japan, the depression caused the Japanese army and navy to take action. They installed a fascist government, invaded Manchuria, and colonised it.

The rise of fascist government in Japan, 1931-1945

Apart from the rise of fascist dictatorships in Europe, another fascist government rose in Japan in South-East Asia. Japan was the strongest industrial power in Asia following the Meiji Revolution of 1868 and its economy was linked to the world economic system. Thus, Japan, as a capitalist nation, engaged herself in the First World War. She was also hit hard by the Great Economic Depression. Inflation was high while unemployment soared in all sectors of the Japanese economy. Japan also faced rapid population growth restrained with limited space for that population to live and work.

The economic, social and political problems encouraged the Japanese army and navy leaders to become principal forces for the rise of the fascist and dictatorship government. In 1930 the Japanese army and navy leaders started their campaigns to establish a fascist government. They called for the overthrow of the parliamentary government. The military officers also called for forceful expansion of the Japanese Empire to get raw materials, markets, and investment areas. By 1931, they forced the Menseito

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Government to resign. The Parliament was dissolved, and the fascist dictatorial government was installed.

The rise of fascism became a threat to the activities of her neighbours in Asia and the Pacific Basin. Fascism in Japan was a mixture of ideas such as Japanese nationalism, militarism, and state capitalism. In Japan, military officers were responsible for the rise of fascism and dictatorial government.

Like Italy and Germany, fascism was a result of the impacts of the First World War and the Great Economic Depression in Japan. During the First World War, Japan joined the War on the side of the British and powers under the Triple Ententee. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles did not recognise the Japan's territorial and imperial claims. Moreover, the international naval treaties between Western powers and the Empire of Japan (Washington Naval Treaty and London Naval Treaty) imposed limitations on naval shipbuilding at the ratio of 10:10:6 for the USA, Britain and Japan, respectively; limiting the size of the Imperial Japanese Navy in respect to capital ships. The worsening relationship with the West occasioned unfair treatment in the struggles to control the Pacific Basin. For example, the American expansion in the Asia-Pacific region affected Japanese plans to control the Pacific Basin as the Washington Naval Conference in 1921-1922 restricted Japanese power. Japan considered these measures as the refusal by the Occidental powers to treat Japan as an equal partner. These events released a surge of Japanese nationalism and ended collaborative diplomacy which had supported the peaceful economic expansion. Thus, military dictatorship and territorial expansionism were considered the best ways to protect Japanese economy and national security.

Besides the effects of the First World War, the Great Economic Depression affected Japan negatively. The Japanese economy shrank by 8 per cent during 1929–31. The Japanese goods lost markets since other countries could no longer afford them. Large trading partners of Western Europe and the USA applied tariffs protecting their domestic markets from foreign goods. As a result, Japanese six industries, which were mainly for export, were badly affected. Colonies were, therefore, needed for acquiring raw materials, markets and investment areas.

Additionally, Japan suffered from unemployment. Farmers were badly affected by the depression as prices of crops fell drastically. People began to point fingers at their government for incompetence in addressing economic problems. Moreover, politically, the Japanese had a long history of a weak constitution as she had limited power with no control of the ministers and no power to make decisions. Sometimes, the rich companies used the government's weakness to influence the decision and policies in the government. Hence, the government lost support from the

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Japanese as it could not solve economic and social problems. Thus, the weak constitution pushed the Japanese people into supporting the nationalist movement that contributed to the rise of fascism in Japan.

The rise of militarism in Japan was another contributing factor for the rise of fascism. Due to the disappointment of the First World War, military officers from the army and navy were determined to make Japan a great nation through military conquest. Japan was characterised by the rise of extreme nationalism and a series of expansionist wars in the 1930s. She annexed Manchuria in 1931 to control coal and iron ore needed by Japan's metallurgical and automobile industries. International community criticised Japan's invasion of Manchuria. As a result, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, which led to political isolation and a redoubling of ultranationalist and expansionist tendencies. In 1932, a group of right-wing army and navy officers succeeded in assassinating the Prime Minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi. Following the military takeover of the Government, Japan moved into political totalitarianism, ultranationalism, and fascism that culminated in its invasion of China in 1937.

Therefore, Japanese involvement in the First World War on the Triple Entente's side, the dissatisfaction with the outcomes of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, as well as the Great Economic Depression and militarism contributed to the rise of fascism in Japan during the 1930s. The aggressiveness of the fascist foreign policies of Germany, Italy, and Japan to create empires caused political and economic traumas that culminated into the outbreak of the Second World War.

Activity 8.4

Collect information from online and library resources on the emergence of fascist governance in Japan, and then formulate arguments to support or oppose the motion: "Fascist government in Japan was more detrimental than beneficial to her society."

The impacts of the rise of Fascist Governments on the World history

The rise of dictatorships had deep economic, political and social impacts on the world history. Fascism established a totalitarian state that controlled all political affairs. Some countries in Latin America such as Argentina, Chile and some in Africa attempted to adopt fascism to address their economic crises in the post-Second World War. The adoption and practice of fascist policies caused suffering, humiliation and misery due to violations of human rights in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. However, the revolutionaries in Egypt in 1952 and Iran in 1979 rejected the adoption of neither fascism nor communism in establishing their new revolutionary governments.

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Political, economic and social impacts of the rise of fascism in Germany

The rise of dictatorial government in Germany had deep impacts on German political, economic and social life. Its impacts were also felt in the neighbouring European countries.

The Nazi Party created a German totalitarian state (German Reich, that is the "Third Empire") that survived from 1933 to 1945. On 30th January, 1933, the President of the Weimar Republic, Paul von Hindenburg, who was the Head of State, appointed Adolf Hitler as a new Chancellor of Germany or the head of government. Hitler began the Nazification of Germany, in which the Nazis dominated political affairs. Early in 1933, the Enabling Act, an amendment to the Weimar Constitution was passed in the Reichstag by a vote of 444 to 94. The Act allowed Hitler and his cabinet to pass laws that violated the constitution and the power of the President or the Reichstag. The Nazis transformed Germany by replacing the liberal Weimer Republic (1919-1933), which was a republic with a semi-presidential system. In 1934, Hitler became the dictator of Germany by merging the offices and powers of the chancellery and presidency. Hitler ruled Germany autocratically by asserting the "leader principle", which called for absolute obedience by all subordinates. He established the government whose administrative structure was pyramidal, with himself–the infallible leader–at the top. Party rank was not determined by elections. Positions were filled through appointments by those of higher ranks. The Parliament was reformed and national elections cancelled. The Reich Local Government Law of 1935 abolished local elections, and Mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. The Nazis believed that the Third Reich, meaning "Third Empire", was the successor to the earlier Holy Roman Empire (800–1806) and German Empire (1871–1918).

In 1933, Germany became a one-party state with a law decreeing the Nazi Party to be the only legal political party in Germany. The Nazi Party eliminated all political opposition and consolidated its power in the Parliament. The Communist Party was banned. All political opponents were arrested and shot dead. Violent suppression of the communists was undertaken nationwide, and 4,000 members of the Communist Party of Germany were arrested. Hitler created a security squad, Schutzstaffel (SS)) and secrete police (Gestapo), to purge any Nazi opponents. An estimated number of 200 people were killed from 30th June to 2nd July, 1934.

The citizens were ordered to glorify militant nationalism and the state. The Reichstag Fire Decree, imposed on 28th February, 1933, stopped civil liberties, such as the rights of assembly and freedom of the press. The decree allowed the police to detain people indefinitely without charges.

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The Nazi regime abolished the symbols of the Weimar Republic and adopted reworked symbolism. The previous imperial black, white, and red tri-colour was restored as one of Germany's two official flags; the second was the swastika flag of the Nazi Party, which became the sole national flag in 1935. The Party Anthem Horst-Wessel-Lied (Horst Wessel Song) became the second national anthem.

The Nazi Party developed radical anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism, aiming at making Germany free of Marxism and end the terms of the Versailles Treaty, which had constrained the German economy. The party promised a strong central government, increased Lebensraum ("living space") for Germanic peoples, a national community based on race, and racial cleansing through the active suppression of the Jews, who would be stripped of their citizenship and civil rights. The Party's paramilitary organisations, such as the Brown Shirts, used physical violence to advance their political position, disrupt the meetings of rival organisations, attack members of rival organisations, and persecute the Jews on the streets.

Like the Jews, the Romani were persecuted by the Nazis. They were perceived to be sub-humans who served as slaves for the Germans. The Romani were forbidden to marry people of the German origin. From 1935 onwards, they were shipped to concentration camps. Many were killed. About 2,500 Romani and Sinti people were deported from Germany's occupied region of Poland, which was called the General Government, where they were imprisoned in labour camps in 1939. They were exterminated at Bełżec, Sobibor, or Treblinka. A further 5,000 Sinti and Austrian Lalleri people were deported to the Łódź Ghetto in 1941, where half of them died. The Romani survivors of the ghetto were moved to the Chełmno extermination camp in 1942. The Nazis deported all Romani people from Germany and confined them in the camps.

In 1942, 23,000 Romani were deported to Auschwitz concentration camp, of whom 19,000 died. In the Baltic States and the Soviet Union, 30,000 Romani were killed by the Schutzstaffel and the German army. In the occupied Serbia, 1,000 to 12,000 Romani were killed, while nearly all 25,000 Romani who lived in the Independent State of Croatia were killed. At the end of the war, 220,000 Romani, who equalled 25 per cent of the Romani population in Europe, were killed. A programme of systematic murder of the physically and mentally handicapped people and patients in psychiatric hospitals was also implemented from 1939 to 1945. Initially, the victims were shot by the Nazi death squads (Einsatzgruppen). From 1940, gas chambers and gas vans using carbon monoxide were used.

Moreover, under the Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased Offspring, enacted on 14th July, 1933,

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over 400,000 individuals underwent compulsory sterilisation. Over half of them were considered mentally deficient, which included people who scored poorly on intelligence tests and those who deviated from expected standards of behaviour regarding thrift, sexual behaviour and cleanliness. Most of the victims came from disadvantaged groups such as prostitutes, the poor, the homeless, and criminals. Other groups persecuted and killed included the Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, social misfits, and political and religious opposition members.

All leaders of civilian organisations, such as agricultural groups, volunteer organisations, and sports clubs were replaced with the Nazi Party members. These civic organisations were either merged with the Nazi Party or dissolved. The Nazis declared a "Day of National Labour" for May Day 1933 and invited many Trade Union delegates to Berlin for celebrations. The day after, Sturmabteilung storm troopers demolished trade union offices around Germany. All trade unions were forced to dissolve, and their leaders were arrested. Their buildings were confiscated by the state. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service removed from their jobs all teachers, professors, judges, magistrates, and government officials who were Jewish or whose commitment to the party was suspected.

Torturing and murdering of these racial groups made Nazi Germany to develop poor relations with France, Britain, and the USA; they regarded Germany as an enemy of liberal democracy and human rights they had fought for since the revolutions in the 17th and 19th centuries. The USSR regarded Nazi Germany as an enemy of communism. The Balkan states viewed Nazi Germany as determined to eliminate their race through barbaric and cruel methods.

The relations between Nazi government and religious institutions also changed. The Nazis wanted churches to distance themselves from political activities. When the Nazis took over power in 1933, roughly 67 per cent of the population of Germany was Protestant, 33 per cent was Roman Catholic, while Jews made up less than 1 per cent. According to the 1939 census, 54 per cent considered themselves Protestant, 40 per cent Roman Catholic, 3.5 per cent Gottgläubig (God-believing; a Nazi religious movement) and 1.5 per cent non-religious. Nazi Germany extensively employed Christian imagery and instituted a variety of new Christian holidays and celebrations. Nazi propaganda stylised Hitler as a Christ-like Messiah, a "figure of redemption according to the Christian model, who would liberate the world from the Anti-Christ."

Hitler attempted to control churches by creating a unified Protestant Reich Church from Germany's 28 existing Protestant state churches. Pro-Nazi Ludwig Müller was installed as Reich

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Bishop, and the pro-Nazi pressure group German Christians gained control of the new church. They objected to the Old Testament because of its Jewish origins and demanded that converted Jews be barred from their church. Pastor Martin Niemöller responded by forming the Confessing Church which opposed the Nazi regime. When the Confessing Church synod protested the Nazi policy on religion, 700 of their pastors were arrested in 1935. In 1936, a Confessing Church envoy protested to Hitler against the religious persecutions and human rights abuses. Hundreds more pastors were arrested.

The church continued to resist, and by early 1937, Hitler abandoned his hope of uniting the Protestant churches. Niemöller was arrested on 1st July 1937 and spent seven years in Sachsenhausen and Dachau concentration camps. Theological universities were closed. Pastors and theologians of other Protestant denominations were also arrested. Nazi Germany considered Catholicism to be among the Nazis' chief enemies. The Catholic Centre Party was banned in 1933.

The Persecution of the Catholic Church in Germany followed. Hitler was determined to eliminate political Catholicism, rounding up functionaries of the Catholic-aligned Bavarian People's Party and Catholic Centre Party. All other non-Nazi political parties ceased to exist by July 1933. The Reichskonkordat the agreement between the Vatican and Germany was signed on 20th July, 1933, amid continuing harassment of the church in Germany. The Treaty required the regime to honour the independence of Catholic institutions and prohibited clergy from involvement in politics. Hitler frequently disregarded the Agreement, closing all Catholic institutions whose functions were not strictly religious. Thousands of clergies, nuns and lay leaders were targeted, often on charges of currency smuggling or immorality. Most Catholic youth groups refused to dissolve themselves. Hitler Youth leaders encouraged members to attack Catholic boys in the streets. Propaganda campaigns claimed the church was corrupt, restrictions were placed on public meetings, and Catholic publications faced censorship. Catholic schools were required to reduce religious instruction, and crucifixes were removed from state buildings.

Pope Pius XI wrote a pastoral letter complaining about the systematic hostility of the regime toward the Church. In response, the Nazis renewed propaganda against Catholics. Enrolment in denominational schools dropped sharply, and by 1939, all such schools had been disbanded or converted to public facilities. On 22nd March, 1942, the German Catholic bishops released a pastoral letter on "the Struggle against Christianity and the Church", protesting the Nazi persecution of the Church. As a result, a vast security network spied on the activities of clergy, and priests

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were denounced, arrested or sent to the concentration camp at Dachau. About 30 per cent of Catholic priests were disciplined by police during the Nazi era. The Nazis instigated a brutal suppression and systematic dismantling of the Catholic Church in the conquered Poland. Hitler planned to exterminate foreign Christian faith imported into Germany. The Bible and Christian Cross were replaced in all churches, cathedrals, and chapels with Mein Kampf and the swastika copies. In 1941 the Nazi declared that "National Socialism and Christianity are irreconcilable."

Apart from religious control, the Nazi controlled the press and published books. The Nazi state-controlled newspapers feared that anti-Nazi writings would spread. Thus, the Reich Press Chamber shut down or bought newspapers and publishing houses. By 1939, over two-thirds of the newspapers and magazines were directly owned by the Propaganda Ministry. The Nazi Party daily newspaper, the Völkischer Beobachter (Ethnic Observer), was edited by Rosenberg. Goebbels controlled the wire services and insisted that all newspapers in Germany should only publish content favourable to the regime. The Propaganda Ministry under Joseph Goebbels issued directives on exactly what news should be published and what angles to use. Propaganda became less effective towards the end of the war, as people could obtain information outside official channels. Some dissenting authors of books left Germany for living in exile. Goebbels recommended that the remaining authors concentrate on books themed on Germanic myths and the concept of blood and soil. By the end of 1933, over a thousand books—most of them by Jewish authors or featuring Jewish characters– had been banned by the Nazi regime. Tens of thousands of books from dozens of figures, including Albert Einstein, Sigmund Freud, Helen Keller, Alfred Kerr, Marcel Proust, Erich Maria Remarque, Upton Sinclair, Jakob Wassermann, H. G. Wells, and Émile Zola, were publicly burnt. Pacifist works, literature espousing liberal democratic values and any writings supporting the Weimar Republic or those written by Jewish authors were targeted for destruction. The Nazis used two paramilitary organisations, the Sturmabteilung (SA: Storm Detachment), or the Brown shirts, and the Schutzstaffel (SS: Protection Squadron), led by Heinrich Himmler, tortured, intimidated and arrested perceived Nazi opponents.

The Nazis strongly rejected all terms of the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919, signed by the leaders of the Weimar Republic, as oppressive and destroying the German economy. Reparations payments required under the Treaty of Versailles had severe impacts on German economy. The government printed money to make the payments and repay Germany's war debt, but the resulting hyper-inflation led to inflated prices for consumer goods, economic chaos and food riots. When the government defaulted on their reparations' payments in January 1923, French and Belgian troops occupied the German Ruhr industrial area. Widespread civil unrest followed.

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Germany also faced difficulties in the Depression. Six million Germans were unemployed. The balance of trade deficit was huge. The production in agriculture and industries went down. The Nazi Party formulated policies to address the economic chaos. Using deficit spending, public works projects were undertaken beginning in 1934, creating 1.7 million new jobs by the end of that year alone. Average wages began to rise. Aircraft industries and aerial drones were built. The Nazis regulated imports of raw materials and finished goods to eliminate foreign competition in the German market and improve the nation's balance of payments. The Nazis encouraged the development of synthetic replacements for materials such as oil and textiles. Refineries producing synthetic oil and gasoline were built. The use of oil, iron and steel all tripled, creating a variety of different jobs.

Re-armament also played a major role in economic growth between 1933 and 1938. Re-armament started almost as soon as Hitler came to power. In 1933, 3.5 billion Marks were spent on producing tanks, aircraft and ships, and by 1939 the figure stood at 26 billion marks. The jobless were employed in building canals, public offices and new factories. This created millions of jobs for German workers. The re-armament strengthened the German fascist army, ready for pursuing conquest in central Europe and the subsequent rise of the Second World War.

As the Nazis enjoyed support from German industrialists, business community and elites, all trade unions were suppressed and merged into the National Labour Front in May 1933. The people who suffered most were the Jews, who were removed from the unions and civil service posts.

Generally, amid the Great Depression, the Nazis restored economic stability and ended mass unemployment using heavy military spending and a mixed economy. Using deficit spending, the regime undertook a massive secret rearmament programme, forming the Wehrmacht (armed forces) and constructing extensive public work projects, including motorways. To reduce Germany's reliance on strategic imports of raw materials and food, in 1936 Hitler introduced a Four-Year Plan with priority given to agriculture and industry. By 1939, Germany's economy had become one of the giants in the world. The economy was then able to support the war their right to occupy professional jobs in law, medicine, or education. No Jews were allowed to attend university studies. The Nazis declared the Jews as undesirable in German society. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were forced into exile, taking refuge in Switzerland, Russia, the USA, France, and Britain.

The Nazis established more than 30 concentration camps. The first major Nazi concentration camp, initially for political prisoners, was opened at Dachau in 1933. In November 1938, a youngster Jew killed a German diplomat in Paris. Hitler used the killing as an excuse to exterminate millions of Jews. Jewish synagogues in Germany were burnt to ashes. About 91

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Jews were killed, 7,000 businesses were destroyed, and about 20,000 Jews were beaten up in one day. By 1945, more than 6 million Jews out of 8 million living in Central Europe had been murdered in Nazi concentration and extermination camps. Apart from the Jews, the Nazi killed other social groups including liberals, socialists, and communists. Moreover, hundreds of thousands of German citizens with mental or physical disabilities were murdered in hospitals and asylums.

The Anti-Semitic legislation passed in 1933 led to the removal of all Jewish teachers, professors, and officials from the education system. Most teachers were required to belong to the National Socialist Teachers League. University professors were required to join the National Socialist German Lecturers. Teachers had to take an oath of loyalty and obedience to Hitler, and those who failed to show sufficient conformity to the party's ideals were often reported by students or fellow teachers and dismissed. The Nazis censured the content of lessons and directed a list of acceptable textbooks for use in primary and secondary schools. Books deemed unacceptable to the regime were removed from school libraries. Primary and secondary education focused on racial biology, population policy, culture, geography and physical fitness. The curriculum in biology, geography, and even arithmetic, was altered to change the focus to race. Military education became the central component of physical education. Physics was oriented toward military applications, such as ballistics and aerodynamics.

The Nazis also redefined the role of women and families. Women were expected to be strong, healthy and vital. They opposed the feminist movement as the creation of Jewish intellectuals. The Nazis instead advocated a patriarchal society in which a German woman would recognise that her world "is her husband, her family, her children, and her home." Feminist groups were banned or incorporated into the National Socialist Women League, which coordinated groups throughout Germany to promote motherhood and household activities. Courses were offered on childrearing, sewing, and cooking. Prominent feminists, including Anita Augspurg, Lida Gustava Heymann, and Helene Stöcker were forced to live in exile. The League published the NS-Frauen-Warte, the only Nazi-approved women's magazine in Nazi Germany. Women were encouraged to leave the workforce, and the creation of large families by racially suitable women was promoted. Women received a bronze award–known as the Ehrenkreuz der Deutschen Mutter (Cross of Honour of the German Mother)–for giving birth to four children, silver for six and gold for eight or more. Large families received subsidies to help with expenses. The Nazi philosophy prevented many women from being hired to work in munitions factories in the build-up to the War, so foreign slave labourers were brought in. In 1943, Hitler signed a decree requiring all women under fifty to report for work assignments to help the war effort. After that, women were funneled into agricultural and industrial jobs. By September 1944, 14.9 million women were working in munitions production.

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Exercise 8.2

1. Why did the Nazi German develop anti-Semitism in Germany?
2. Account for the Nazi's control of education system in Germany.

Political, economic and social impacts of the rise of fascism in Italy

Fascism in Italy established a totalitarian state that controlled all political affairs. In 1924, Benito Mussolini called new elections for the Italian Parliament in which Fascist Party won the vote. After the election, Mussolini declared all political parties illegal except the Fascist Party. He also established a political police force, which became the organisation for vigilance and repression of Anti-fascism. A Fascist Grand Council rubber-stamped Mussolini's decrees and made Parliament powerless and irrelevant. The Party under Mussolini organised strong squads, called "Black Shirt Militia", which were armed and uniformed. The militia used violence to reduce the influence of parliamentary opposition.

The Fascist Party was anti-communism and socialism. The Black Shirts and Secret Police used to stop the opposition by beating up socialists and communists and by eliminating them from local governments. In 1925, Matteotti, a socialist leader and a fearless parliamentary opponent of fascism, was murdered. Mussolini was also against liberal democracy by suppressing freedom of association and expression. Opponents of fascism were tortured and killed by police and the secret service. At one moment, Benito Mussolini mobilised working-class people and said, "We declare war on socialism, not because it is socialist, but because it has opposed nationalism." He believed that Italy was a rightful inheritor of the Roman Empire. Italian Fascists also claimed that modern Italy was the heir to ancient Rome and its legacy, especially the Roman civilisation. Fascists supported the creation of an imperial Italy which would ensure living space for colonisation by Italian settlers and established control over the Mediterranean Sea.

From 1870 to 1929, the relations between the Italian Kingdom and the Vatican (Holy See) were hostile. Before 1870, the Pope was one of Italy's most important secular rulers as well as the head of the Catholic Church. The unification of Italy in the 1860s had a political impact on the Catholic Church. The Italian Kingdom conquered the Papal states of Lazio (which includes Rome), Marche, Umbria and Romagna, and portions of Emilia and Latium in 1870. The Papal states resisted incorporation into the new Kingdom of Italy. For the following 60 years, relations between the Papacy and the Italian Government were hostile, and the status of the Pope became known as the "Roman Question." The Roman Question was a dispute regarding the temporal power of the Popes as rulers of a civil territory in Italy. The Pope remained totally opposed to Italian nationalism. Pope Pius IX and his successors refused to recognise the

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right of the Italian King to reign over what had formerly been the Papal states, or the right of the Italian Government to decide his prerogatives and make laws for him. The Pope asserted that the Holy See needed to maintain clearly manifested independence from any political power in its exercise of spiritual jurisdiction and that the Pope should not appear to be merely a "chaplain of the King of Italy." Pope Pius IX rejected the Law of Papal Guarantees as he was unwilling to formally accept the arrangement made concerning the relations of the church and the state, which take his temporal power.

Mussolini's government normalised the relations with the Catholic Church by solving the Roman Question through the Lateran Treaty in 1929. The hostility ended with the Lateran Pacts between King Victor Emmanuel III of Italy and Pope Pius XI in 1929. It was signed by Prime Minister Benito Mussolini for the Italian Government and by the Secretary of State, His Eminence Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, for the papacy and ratified by the Italian Parliament of 1929.

The Lateran Pacts was a political treaty recognising the full sovereignty of the Holy See in the State of Vatican City, which was thereby established, accompanied by four annexes namely; a map of the territory of Vatican City State, maps of buildings with extraterritorial privilege and the exemption from expropriation and taxes (owned by the Holy See but located in Italy and not forming part of Vatican City), maps of buildings with the exemption from expropriation and taxes (but without extraterritorial privilege), and the Italian Government agreed to give the Roman Catholic Church financial compensation for the loss of the Papal States following the loss in 1870 of its territories and property.

In 1948, the Lateran Treaty was recognised in the Constitution of Italy as regulating the relations between the state and the Catholic Church. In 1984, the Treaty was significantly revised. Both sides declared: "The principle of the Catholic religion as the sole religion of the Italian State, originally referred to by the Lateran Pacts, shall be considered to be no longer in force." The exclusive state financial support for the Church was also ended. It was replaced by financing through a dedicated personal income tax called the otto per mile, to which other religious groups, Christian and non-Christian, also have access. As of 2013, there were ten other religious groups with access. The revised Treaty regulated the conditions under which the state accords legal recognition to church marriages and to ecclesiastical declarations of nullity of marriages The agreement also ended state recognition of knighthoods and titles of nobility conferred by the Holy See, the right of the Italian State to request ecclesiastical honours for those chosen to perform religious functions for the state or the royal household, and the right of the state to present political objections to the proposed appointment of diocesan bishops.

The Italian Fascist state censored news and banned all direct criticisms of fascism

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but did not attempt to screen the content of literary texts, theatrical productions or commercial films until the late 1930s. However, fascist newsreels and documentaries were screened at cinemas. Large numbers of citizens were obliged to participate in state-organised spectacular rituals such as ceremonies and parades which aimed to mould a patriotic and martial spirit.

In the 1930s, Mussolini organised industrial and agricultural services into state-controlled labour unions and employer associations called "corporations." Government officials appointed the head of each union and employer corporation. They negotiated wages and working conditions with each other. This "Third Way" corporatism attempted to unify workers and employers by requiring them to set aside their private interests in favour of the best interests of the fascist state. In practice, however, employers benefited more than the workers did. Generally, the alliance between capitalists and the working classes mentioned above aimed to reduce conflicts between them.

It is important to note that, although the private sector remained strong, the state still controlled the economy. State permission was required for almost any business activity, such as expanding a factory, merging a business, or terminating an employee. All wages, including minimum wage, were set by the government. Restrictions on labour increased. While corporations still could earn profits, Italian Fascism supported the criminalisation of strikes and employees' lockouts of employers. Additionally, Mussolini nationalised all independent trade unions into one government-operated syndicate, the Confistrada, which became the arbiter of all disputes between labour and management. In practice, the Fascists favoured employers over workers as Fascist unions did little to protect them against wage cuts and sackings as workers' boycotts, demonstrations and strikes were made illegal in Italy.

Moreover, the Fascist regime embarked on massive public works programmes, such as hydroelectricity development, railway improvement and rearmament. In 1933, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI-Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) was established to subsidise failing companies and soon controlled important portions of the national economy through government-linked companies, such as the Alfa Romeo. The Automobile production, especially that of the Fiat Motor Company, increased. The aeronautical industry was developed. After the 1936 League of Nations sanctions against the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, Mussolini strongly advocated agrarianism and autarchy as part of his economic "battles" for Land, the Lira, and Grain. By 1939, Fascist Italy had attained the highest level of state-ownership of the economy in the world, whereby the Italian state controlled over four-fifths of Italy's shipping and shipbuilding, three-quarters of its pig iron production and almost half of steel production.

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Italian Fascism believed that Italians belonged to the Aryan and Mediterranean race. Mussolini emphasised that the race was bound by spiritual and cultural foundations. The Fascist regime justified colonialism in Africa by claiming that the spiritual and cultural superiority of Italians as part of the white race justified the right for Italy and other white powers to rule over the black race. Mussolini claimed that the Fascist colonial goals were to civilise the inferior races and defend the purity of Western civilisation from racial miscegenation that he claimed would harm the intellectual qualities of the white race. He claimed that the white race needed to increase its natality to avoid being overtaken by the black and yellow races that were multiplying at a faster rate than whites were.

Fascist Italy also developed policies on gender roles and sexual morals. The rise of fascism was partly a consequence of fears about the power and status of men in a world in which gender roles no longer appeared distinct. Mussolini wanted women to return to their traditionally subservient positions as wives and mothers. As a result, Mussolini supported a demographic campaign to increase the birth rate, which would justify colonial expansion. This involved limiting female employment and encouraging marriage as he introduced a bachelor tax, restricting the availability of contraceptives, and increasing the severity of prison sentences for illegal abortions. However, in the sexual and family sphere, fascism reinforced traditional morals to the point of oppressing individuals who did not conform. Persecution of homosexuals, mainly among men, was common. There was a double standard exercised for the benefit of men and detriment of women in the state's treatment of adultery. Fascist Italy reflected the belief of most Italians that homosexuality was wrong. Instead of the traditional Catholic teaching that it was a sin, a new approach was taken, based on contemporary psychoanalysis, that it was a social disease.

The Fascists pursued the moral hygiene of youth on sexuality. It promoted normal sexual behaviour in youth while denouncing deviant sexual behaviour. It condemned pornography, most forms of birth control and contraceptive devices (with the exception of the condom), were homosexuality and prostitution, as deviant sexual behaviours. Fascists regarded the promotion of male sexual excitation before puberty as causing criminality among male youth. As a result, they pursued an aggressive campaign to reduce the prostitution of young women.

Mussolini did not like to quarrel with the Catholic Church as Italy was a strongly Catholic country. He knew that it would bring political and social crises if he tried to exclude and harass the Church as many Italians were Catholics, and they would turn against him. To this effect, in 1929, he concluded the Lateran Treaty with Pope Pius XI (1922-1939). With this Treaty, the

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fascist state recognised the independent Vatican State and acknowledged Catholicism as the state religion. However, in the Fascist effort to control education, the Minister for Education, Giovanni Gentile, replaced the teaching of the Catholic doctrine in the elementary schools with philosophy. The Catholic Church objected to this replacement. The Church regarded adoration of the Fascist Party as paganism. Despite signing the Lateran Treaty, Mussolini was almost excommunicated over his "intractable" determination to prevent the Vatican from having control over education. In reply, the Pope protested Mussolini's "pagan worship of the state" and the imposition of an "exclusive oath of obedience" that obligated everyone to uphold fascism. Once declaring in his youth that "religion is a specie of mental disease", Mussolini "wanted the appearance of being greatly favoured by the Pope" while simultaneously "subordinate to no one."

Hoping to keep the Church from opposing his fascist regime, Mussolini adopted pro-Catholic policies against abortion and divorce. Then in 1929, he signed a treaty with the church that made Catholicism the state religion. This agreement also restored the teaching of Catholic doctrine in secondary schools. On its part, the Church accepted Mussolini's fascist state and ended its involvement in Italy's political affairs.

However, Mussolini entered into conflict with Jews by asserting Catholicism as a state religion. The relations between the fascist regime and Jews with their religion (Judaism) were affected by the Fascists' accommodation of the Catholic Church in the early 1920s. It sought to remove previous provisions of equality of faiths and impose state support of the supremacy of Catholicism. In 1928, frustration arose in the regime over Zionism in which Mussolini responded to the Italian Zionist Congress. However, the Jewish population of Italy was small and, thus, was not a political threat to Mussolini's regime.

Moreover, the Italian fascist racial laws of 1938 prohibited marriages between Jews and non-Jews, including Catholics. In response to this law, the Vatican viewed this as a violation of the Lateran Treaty, which gave the church the sole right to regulate marriages involving the Catholics. Furthermore, Article 34 of the Concordat had specified that marriages performed by the Catholic Church would always be considered valid by civil authorities: The Holy See understood this to apply to all marriages in Italy celebrated by Roman Catholic clergy, regardless of the faiths of those being married.

The fascist state used schools and radios to propagate Fascism. Mussolini's government invested heavily in education as a means of developing future generations of fascists. Giovanni Gentile, Minister of Education, reorganised Italy's school system. He also wrote many articles and books clarifying

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the basic ideas of fascism. Ideological penetration of education was evident in primary schools, where politically reliable instructors ensured that children were drilled in fascist values, including strict obedience to authority, a spirit of sacrifice and heroism, and protection and enhancement of the Italian race. Fascist Party youth organisations assisted the process of ideological instruction through to the university, with activities focused on pre-military training for boys and forms of civic service for girls. However, the working-class youngsters were less likely to participate if they left school early to go into employment. The fascist regime was most successful in controlling the minds of children and teenagers. Many were left traumatised by Mussolini's fall from power during the Second World War, having been brought up to believe that their leader and fascism were invincible. Apart from schools, radios, wall posters and party meetings were also used to propagate Fascism in Italy.

Thus, Italian Fascism was rooted in Italian nationalism, national syndicalism, revolutionary nationalism and the desire to restore and expand Italian territories to create a strong Italy in the world. It created a profound impact not only on Italy but also on the world. Generally, Fascism was seen as an alternative administrative system to a purely liberal democratic system.

Activity 8.5

Read online and library resources on the emergence of the fascist government in Italy then, compose an essay on the violation of democratic principles by present-day governments that are similar to tactics employed by fascist regimes to consolidate power.

Political, economic and social impacts of the rise of fascism in Japan

The rise of dictatorship government in Japan in the 1930s had adverse impacts on the Japanese society and the neighbouring countries in South-East Asia. The development of the totalitarian regime in Japan began in the 1930s, following the end of liberal democracy. Japan, as the first industrialised Asian nation, had made progress toward a liberal democratic system of government since the 1890s. However, in 1932, Japanese Prime Minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi, was killed during a failed coup by the nationalist army officers. This led military officers to increase their influence in the government. By the 1930s, many military officers held legislative and executive powers. The military officers glorified expansionism, totalitarianism and greater militarism as strategies to solve Japanese economic problems she was facing at the time by conquering neighbouring countries to establish her colonial empire.

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Therefore, the Fascist government was determined to build Japan as a great power respected in international relations. The betrayal of Japan during the Versailles Peace Treaty of 1919 was perceived by the Japanese that Western powers, Britain and France, ignored the strength and role of Japan as a capitalist power in Asia. The Treaty did not recognise the territorial claims of the Japanese Empire. This failure to gain new territories was considered by the Japanese as a refusal by the victorious powers to consider Japan an equal partner.

The military officers wanted the Japanese 'New Order in East Asia' by building Greater East Asia and the Pacific Basin with Japan as a leader just like the Italian 'Nuovo Ordine' in the Mediterranean, and the Nazi Neuordnung. The fascists wanted to build Japan as a stronger nation in Asia and the world at large and which had a share in the global governance at the time. The entry of Japan in the Second World War aimed at fulfilling that goal, that is, to establish the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, a vast Pan-Asian union under the Japanese domination. Thus, the military officers wanted all Japanese to be obedient and loyal to their government to reach their goal. By 1942, Japan was occupying Manchuria, Indo-China, and Pacific Islands, Macau and East Timor from Portugal, Burma, Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand and Malaysia.

The fascists were anti-Communist. They banned all political parties except the fascist party. The Japanese industrialists and farmers feared that the penetration of communism in Japan would nationalise their properties and capital. In November 1936, Japan and Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact, which was an agreement between them to exchange information and collaborate in preventing communist activities. The Japanese who supported communism and those who were against fascism were tortured and killed. Also, any Japanese who resisted the aims of the Fascist government was harassed, persecuted, and killed.

The Fascist Japan formulated policies to address the effects of the Great Depression in the 1930s. The Depression was felt by falling prices. From 1929 to 1931, industrial production fell for about 30 per cent, agricultural prices fell by 40 per cent, and textile prices fell for nearly 50 per cent. In 1931, rural impoverishment became severe. In 1934, rural communities were hit by famine. This rural disaster caused much anger and popular criticism against the government and big businesses. The increased trade barriers and tariffs imposed by the West added difficulties for Japan to trade in international trade. Moreover, the free market was thought to worsen the depression, thus agreements on output restriction were adopted. This restriction spread to virtually all raw-materials for industries.

Furthermore, in the 1930s, political and intellectual thinking gradually shifted from economic liberalism toward more economic control under state management due to the fear of the growing influence

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of Marxism, the success of the USSR, and the disappointment caused by some politicians and political parties. Many considered that the days of the US-style free-market economy were over and henceforth, state control and industrial monopoly would strengthen the competitiveness of the national economy.

Besides, the government adopted deficit spending. Deficit spending had a transformative effect on Japan. Japan's industrial production doubled during the mid-1930s. Further, in 1929 a list of the largest firms in Japan was dominated by light industries, especially textile companies. However, by 1940 light industry had been displaced by heavy industries, such as Toyota automobile, chemicals and metallurgy as the largest firms in the Japanese economy. Production rose and unemployment declined.

Japan believed in racism. The Japanese perceived themselves as a superior race among the Mongloids or Yellowish race in Asia. This perception convinced the Japanese that their race had the right to dominate others in Asia. This superiority complex was manifested in Japanese economic dominance which was powerful in terms of the living standard and higher life expectancy.

Education and propaganda were used to promote patriotism and loyalty. Throughout the early 1930s, Japanese students were taught about their nation's new status as a world power and the responsibility they held in sustaining this status. General Hideki Tojo as the Education Minister in the 1930s continued militaristic and nationalist indoctrination in the national education system and reaffirmed totalitarian policies in the government. General Hideki was influenced by education typical of the Japanese youth in the Meiji era. The purpose of the Meiji educational system was to train boys to be soldiers as adults, and the message was relentlessly drilled into Japanese students that war was the most beautiful thing in the entire world, that the emperor was a living god and that the greatest honour for a Japanese man was to die for the emperor. Scholarships for higher education were neither granted for good grades nor hard work but to students who personified the Japanese military ideal of discipline, tradition, strength, and loyalty to the state. The state ensured that public education drove loyalty and patriotism to the Fascist state.

In the early 1930s, the Japanese Government established the Board of Information, which censored the media and outlawed "dangerous thoughts," that originated from the West and conflicted with the goals of the Japanese Imperial Army. History books were revised and history classes were transformed into courses on Japanese ethics and morals. Books about the divinity of the emperor and the duty of every citizen to worship at the imperial altar become compulsory reading in all high schools and colleges. At other educational institutions, such as one private Jesuit institution in Tokyo, the priests and the students were forced to undergo military training. This led the fascist state to enter into conflict with the Catholic Church over the control of content and goals of education.

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A woman's role was the traditional one, a mother rearing many children. Japanese girls were taught that the highest honor for a woman was to have as many sons as possible who could die for the Empire, their nation. This was a shared belief and stand to all fascist governments.

Fascist Japan opposed Western politics and culture. Japanese military officers disliked Western cultural influence on Japan. For instance, young couples holding hands and kissing in public were seen as undermining Japanese traditional values. The anti-Western culture was also intensified when the American Congress passed the United States Immigration Control Act that banned all Asian immigration into the United States. Indeed, many Congressmen and Senators supported the Act and argued that the Act was necessary because the Asians worked harder than the whites. In 1924, a Japanese military officer, Hideki Tojo, who was greatly offended by the Act, wrote with bitterness at the time that American whites would never accept Asians as equals and "It [the Immigration Control Act] shows how the strong will always put their interests first. Japan, too, has to be strong to survive in the world.

Fascists also carried out systematic measures to eliminate unwanted people in their society. These included homosexuals, the mentally retarded and the like. As a Home Minister, Hideki Tojo ordered various eugenic measures including the sterilisation of the "mentally unfit."

Thus, Japanese fascism had profound impacts on South-East Asia and the Pacific region due its imperial motives to create a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The sphere was important for addressing Japan's economic and social problems, such as resource extraction, markets, investments and settlement of surplus population. Japanese militarism caused the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 and finally the Second World War. The US military operation in the Pacific Front eliminated the Japanese fascism.

As said earlier, all these countries adopted and practised liberal democratic type of administrative or government system under capitalism. However, in the course of capitalist development, these major capitalist crises namely the First World War, the Great Depression and the Second World War occurred. The impact of these capitalist crises forced these three countries to change their governance system to fascism as an alternative to liberal system of government. Interestingly, both governance remained capitalist systems with expansionist tendencies.

The impacts of Fascism on Africa

Nazism and fascism had many impacts on Africa. First, the European countries that possessed the former German colonies were worried that Nazi Germany might take back her former colonies in Africa; thus, they did not develop those colonies. The former German colonies in Africa included German East Africa (especially Mainland Tanzania), which became under the Britain rule after the First World War; South West Africa (Namibia), which was

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under the supervision of South Africa; Togo and Cameroon, which were entrusted to France and Britain; and Rwanda and Burundi, which became the mandate territories under Belgium. Second, fascist Italy invaded Ethiopia on 3rd October 1935 and occupied it until 1941. Italy invaded the country as part of Mussolini`s policy of expanding Italian Empire and glory. As noted earlier, Mussolini wanted Italy to have an overseas empire for herself. Indeed, following the takeover of Ethiopia, Italy sent Italian farmers to settle on Ethiopian land, Italian businessmen took Ethiopian trade as well. Third, dictators of post-independence Africa copied the method of suppression from both fascism and Nazism. For example, in the 1960s and 1970s, dictators such as Jean-Bèdel Bokassa (1966-1979) of the Central African Republic and Idi Amin Dada of Uganda (1971-1979) were not only autocratic who eulogised their leadership by calling themselves glorified titles, such as Bokassa Emperor I and Amini-Field Marshal, Conqueror of the British Empire and the Last King of Scotland. Moreover, they killed many of their opponents. Fourth, Nazi ideas of superiority of races spread to South Africa and influenced the emergence of apartheid in 1948. Apartheid in South Africa, similar to Italian Fascism and Germany Nazism, insisted on the false belief that the white race was superior to the black race. Indeed, many Apartheid laws and policies such as criminalisation of inter-racial sex and marriages, and many other segregative laws borrowed heavily from Nazi Germany. Fifth, fascism and Nazism resulted in the outbreak of the Second World War, and many Africans participated in the War on the side of the Allied Powers.

However, there was one interesting feature in Africa on the application of fascism as an alternative administrative system. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1922 in which Britain gave Egypt nominal independence did not appeal to many Egyptian nationalists. The revised Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 also did not appeal to most of the Egyptian nationalists. As a result, the Egyptian army overthrew the Egyptian monarchy in 1952 led by General Mohammed Naguib and Gamal Abdel Nasser. Later Gamal Abdel Nasser became the head of the Egyptian Government up to his death in 1970. During the reconstruction of a new nation, there was a debate on the choice of administrative system. Some Muslims suggested to create a theocratic Muslim state, while nationalists wanted a liberal mode like the one in France. Other Egyptians wanted to adopt communism and a few wanted fascism. At last, Egypt adopted a secular socialist administrative system with a strong military power.

The rise of Socialism and new governance system

Socialism is a socio-economic and political system characterised by collective ownership of the major means of production, equal distribution of products of labour and absence of exploitation among people. In other words, socialism is a belief that the

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state should control the major means of production and ensure that the resources are equally shared among the members of the society. In the Marxist schema, socialism is the fifth mode of production after communalism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism.

European socialism rose in the mid-18th century to challenge industrial capitalism which had created many political, economic and social problems to the industrial workers. The capitalist crises that hit Western Europe precipitated the working class to think of alternative system of government. This laid the road to the rise of socialist governments. The First World War as one of the capitalist crises that complicated the Russian Empire's internal problems. As a member of the Triple Entente, the Russian Empire fought alongside her allies, France and Britain. The Russian Empire entered the war to preserve its great power status in the imperial world. It wanted to establish imperial hegemony in the Balkans by protecting the Slavic people in the Balkan against the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary Empire. In 1912, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece, and Bulgaria had created a "Balkan Alliance" to pursue their mutual interests on the peninsula. Moreover, Russia also wanted to expand into Slavic territories in Eastern Europe like Galicia, and the domination of the Straits. These were long-term goals of the Russian Empire.

In this war, Russia lost 2 million soldiers between 1914 and 1915. By 1917, the death toll had risen to more than 5 million people. The problems brought by the war greatly weakened the Tsarist government. Russian troops and police mutinied. Nobody was there to defend the government of Tsar Nicholas II. The security of the Tsarist regime was in jeopardy since the army mutinied. The Russian army was not supplied with adequate war equipment during the war, something which angered the soldiers. It was also poorly organised and the soldiers were poorly prepared for the war. This situation caused resentment among Russian soldiers.

In March 1917, the situation was ripe for the revolution to take place. It all started as bread riot in Petrograd or St. Petersburg. The rioters were soon joined by thousands of strikers from arms' factories. Tsar Nicholas II mobilised the troops to suppress the riots. Fighting broke out and left about 40 people dead. The angry strikers went on a rampage through the city, destroying public buildings, freeing prisoners and taking control of the police stations and arsenals. Tensions increased in the country, and Tsar Nicholas II abdicated the throne.

On 15th March, 1917, a provisional government headed by Prince George Lvov as the Prime Minister was formed after the Russian Revolution. In July, Lvov was replaced with Alexander Kerensky. With the new government in power, some political reforms and decisions were made. The revolutionary government decided that Russia should withdraw itself from the First World War. The government was to share power with

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factory workers in Petrograd (Petrograd Soviet). The Petrograd soviet was actually an elected committee of soldiers and workers.

Similar administrative changes were introduced in other cities like Moscow. The political amnesty of April 1917 enabled Vladimir Lenin, Joseph Stalin and Leon Trotsky to return from exile. Lenin was exiled during the February Revolution, first to Germany, then to Finland. While in Finland, he organised and campaigned for the overthrow of the Russian Government by the revolutionary Bolshevik Party. Lenin was one of the editors of Iskra (the Spark), a political newspaper of the Russian socialist emigrants, who established themselves as the official organ of the Russian Social Democratic Labour. Iskra was published in exile and smuggled into Russia in the 1900s. It championed the battle for political freedom as well as the cause of a socialist revolution.

With the return of these revolutionary leaders to Russia, the Bolsheviks consolidated themselves politically and campaigned against the provisional government. Lenin was officially declared the national leader of the Bolsheviks. He vowed to suppress the unpopular provisional government which protested against the Bolsheviks' proposal to withdraw from the First World War. Lenin promised to deal with the problem of inflation and to redistribute land to all peasants. He also wanted people to get access to basic needs such as food. By October 1917, the Bolsheviks had won mass support. Plans to seize power started on 20th October, 1917. They were coordinated by Leon Trotsky in collaboration with the Bolshevik Red Guards. During the night of 6th-7th November, 1917, the Bolsheviks overthrew the provisional government and installed Vladimir Lenin as the first socialist President of Russia.

Exercise 8.3

1. To what extent was the Russian Revolution of 1917 rooted in Tsar Nicholas's poor governance?
2. With specific examples, describe the major events that dominated the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The impacts of the Bolsheviks Revolution on the world

The coming to power of the Bolsheviks in Russia was accompanied by important political and socio-economic changes. Lenin became the new head of the Socialist State of Russia. This was possible when the Bolsheviks managed to overthrow the conservative provisional government. In March 1918, Russia signed a peace treaty with Germany, which was called the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. The treaty ended the war between Germany and Russia and marked the end of the First World War for the Russians.

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Following the dissolution of the Russian Empire under Tsar Nicolas II, the Bolsheviks recognised the independence of Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland and Ukraine. These were the colonies of the Russian Empire. Large Russian territories were also surrendered to Turkey. Russia, thus, lost about ⅓ of her population and farmland, a half of her industries, and almost all of her coal mines and oil wells. The Germans recognised the Bolshevik Republic (known as Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic) and entered into a diplomatic relation with it. The Bolshevik communist doctrines began to spread into Germany.

The Bolshevik Revolution was followed by a three-year period of civil war beginning from 1918 to 1921, involving the Bolsheviks against the anti-communist groups. In this war, Lenin survived an assassination attempt. The western powers engineered the civil war because they were angered by the Russian-Germany peace treaty. The USA, for example, financed the anti-communist groups in Bolshevik Russia. However, the well-trained and disciplined Red Army of the Bolsheviks, led by General Leon Trotsky, defeated the White Army of the anti-communist Russians. On 16th July 1918, the Bolsheviks executed Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their children. The Bolsheviks also slaughtered other captives of the war.

Russia underwent political reforms after the revolution. On 30th December 1922, Lenin established independent soviet republics under the Communist Party. These Soviet republics were Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Estonia, Georgia, Lithuania, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Kyrgyzstan, Moldavia, Ukraine, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. In 1923, a national government representing the republics was formed. Russia changed its name to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), simply the Soviet Union. Moscow became the new capital city of the USSR. The Communist Party became the ruling party. All opposition political parties were banned. Way back in 1921, Lenin had banned factionalism within the Communist Party. No member of the party was allowed to question the ruling Party. In this way, the Communist Party became not only a vanguard party but also a dictatorial one.

The rise of the Soviet Union had several impacts on world politics. Various revolutionaries attempted to apply Marxist-Leninist teachings by combining theory and practice in staging communist revolutions in different parts of the world. Earlier, Karl Marx had predicted that the first socialist revolution would take place in developed European countries, especially Britain. The Russian revolution proved that Karl Marx's prediction was wrong when the socialist revolution took place in Russia, a country with strong feudal relations in rural areas but very weak capitalist relations in urban areas. This lesson created Marxism-Leninism. As a result, some countries such as China and Cuba began to adopt Marxism-Leninism to stage communist revolutions. However, China under Mao

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Zedong proved that Marxism-Leninism cannot be applied as it is in China, as it was a semi-colony with a very weak industrial working class and a majority of poor peasants living in rural areas. He developed Marxism-Maoism that suited Chinese historical background and needs.

The Revolution also provided an alternative economic model to capitalism. Since the rise of industrial capitalism in Western Europe in the 19th century, the working classes struggled tiressly to address its negative effects, ranging from Luddism, Chartism and Utopian socialism. Therefore, the rise of socialism was a reaction of the working classes against capitalism and feudalism in the Russian monarchy. The capitalists controlled Western European governments in Britain, Germany, Belgium, Italy and others. The monarchy under Tsar Nicolas II ruled the Russian Empire.

The establishment of the Russian Socialist Government came up with new ways of administering and managing the economy, applying scientific socialism. The Russian Socialist Government established socialist (planned) economy. In 1921, Lenin embarked on his economic policy called the New Economic Policy (NEP). With this policy, Russian peasants were allowed to own property under the condition that part of the surplus produced was paid to the government as taxes. Private commercial activities were also allowed. Measures were taken to make sure that workers' problems were highly minimised. The impact of this policy was that the Russian economy started improving as food supply increased; small industries mushroomed and trading activities prospered.

However, under the NEP, heavy industries such as steel and coal industries, electric supply companies, the transport sector, and banks were controlled by the state. Like the private sector, the public sector recorded success. For example, coal production increased from 42 to 77 million tonnes between 1928 and 1933, whereas iron production increased from 4 to 7 million tonnes. The transport sector was improved by constructing a canal from Moscow to Volga. A great dam was built on the Dnieper River for Hydro-electric power. When Lenin died in 1924 at the age of 54, Russia had already a strong socialist economy.

The rise to power by General Joseph Stalin after the death of Lenin in 1924 continued rapid economic development. Stalin worked hard to reduce the industrial gap between Western Europe and Russia. The Stalin regime embarked on rapid industrialisation on a large scale on the production of coal, iron and steel for metallurgical industries, heavy chemical industries, hydro-electric power plants, car manufacturing, infrastructure in urban centres, and agriculture. All these plans were implemented through the First Five-Year National Development Plan. With this development, the working class was created as Russia had now become an industrial nation. As a result, young people moved from rural to urban centres in search of wage labour. For example, between 1929 and 1932, some 12.5

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million young people entered the urban workforce, 8.5 million of them from the countryside. However, up to the 1940s, two-thirds of the Russian population was still rural and only one-third was urban. It was not until the early 1960s that the Russian population became equally urban and rural.

Similar socialist planning was applied in China in the 1950s when she adopted the First Five-Year National Development Plan. In the 1960s, India, Egypt, Ghana, Zambia and other countries which applied socialist policies adopted the planning system in the economic sector, political administration, and social services. Health and education services were freely provided under the socialist planning system.

The Russian Revolution inspired the emergence of global socialist movements and international solidarity. The Revolution created Socialist internationalism as an effort to unite all workers of the world to defeat capitalism and bring about a classless world. It defined that the role of the working class around the world was to overthrow the capitalist governments and all forms of colonialism. The workers were to establish a proletariat dictatorship of the state. In this light, the Soviet Union began to spread its Marxist-Leninist teachings in the world. It wanted all revolutions to take place in a Russian model.

The USSR's efforts to spread socialism in the world were intensified after the Second World War through the Cold War. The Soviet Union assisted to establish socialist parties in Eastern Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Romania. The spread of socialism went hand in hand with the spread of atheistic materialism inherent in the socialist ideology.

The threat of socialist revolutions spread to different parts of the world, including Eastern Europe that experienced several communist uprisings. Similar threat of socialist revolutions lingered in the entire region of Central Europe. In Africa, Egypt followed footsteps of the Russian Revolution by overthrowing the British Colonial Government in 1919.

The Russian revolution also led to the struggle between Soviet Union and China on the leadership of the socialist world. China resented the Soviet model of socialism and developed her own model of socialism, leading to Sino-Soviet split in 1958. Soviet Union and China competed to spread their own models of socialism to the Third World Countries in the world. The competition weakened the socialist global solidarity. China, for example, disapproved the Peaceful Co-existence Policy adopted by Soviet Union under the leadership of Nikita Khruschev in 1957. To China, this policy was revisionism of the Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism. Khrushchev's Peaceful Co-existence believed that capitalism and socialism can co-exist in this world. The Peaceful Co-existence Policy helped to neutralise hostility between Russian and the USA, leading to thawing relations between the Western and Eastern blocs in the 1960s. Khruschev also embarked on

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destalinisation policy immediately after the death of Joseph Stalin in 1954. China challenged destalinisation.

The spread of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe brought conflict between Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. The Soviet–Yugoslav split was the culmination of a conflict between the political leadership of the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin and Yugoslavia under Josip Broz Tito, in the post-War period. That conflict was mostly the product of a geopolitical struggle in the Balkans that also involved Albania, Bulgaria, and the communist insurgency in Greece, which Tito's Yugoslavia supported and the Soviet Union secretly opposed. Yugoslavia pursued economic, internal, and foreign policy objectives that did not align with the interests of the Soviet Union and her Eastern Bloc allies. In particular, Yugoslavia hoped to admit neighbouring Albania to the Yugoslav federation. This fostered an atmosphere of insecurity within the Albanian political leadership and exacerbated tensions with the Soviet Union, which made efforts to impede Albanian–Yugoslav integration. Yugoslav support of the communist rebels in Greece against the wishes of the Soviet Union further complicated the political situation. Stalin tried to pressurise Yugoslavia to moderate her policies using Bulgaria as an intermediary. When the conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union became public in 1948, it was portrayed as an ideological dispute to avoid the impression of a power struggle within the Eastern Bloc.

The Russian revolution also had an impact on international relations in the world. Before the revolution, the world international relations were dominated by western liberalism and realism, promoting capitalism and colonialism. The rise of the communist Russia fostered the emergence of socialist international relations that wanted to create solidarity of workers in the world, to challenge capitalism and subsequently to defeat it. Socialism became a major force in shaping international relations during the cold war. One of the greatest examples of how socialism has influenced global politics was the response to the Spanish Civil War, 1936 - 1939. As the elected government in Spain at that time, the republicans were strongly anti-communist, but socialist movements throughout the world recognised the attempts of the Spanish government to reform and secularise the conservative and religious society. Many volunteers, communists and anarchists from countries such as Hungary, France, Italy, Germany, and the Soviet Union, poured into Spain as international brigadistas with the hope that defeating fascism in Spain would be the first step toward a world revolution. Unfortunately, the republicans were unable to fight effectively due to lack of training, and under the strain of constant international attention and pressure by fascist governments, such as the policy of

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appeasement by Britain and France. They Republicans were eventually abandoned by their allies and left to be defeated by the forces of the nationalists under General Francisco Franco. The actions in Spain and other similar responses by the socialists against oppression and supporting war for a greater cause of social equality show a common theme of human rights and social justice that has been influenced by socialist ideology. Thus, the Soviet Union elaborated the principles of socialist international relations, challenging the theory and practice of the capitalist international relations. The socialist international policy was geared to help revolutionary's all-over the world with the aim of helping working classes to overthrow colonialism and establish socialist states under the dictatorship of the working class. It was in this context that the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba assisted liberation movements in Africa, through the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) of South Africa, Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) of Angola, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) of Mozambique, and Front de Libération Nationale (FNL) of Algeria; also, communist movements in Vietnam, North Korea, Chile and Mexico.

Moreover, the revolution accelerated the ideological rift between the Western and the Eastern blocs during the cold war. Towards the end of the Second World War, a rift between Allied Powers was growing based on the mistrust between Joseph Stalin and his counterparts, American President, Franklin Roosevelt and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, on how to manage post-war Europe, especially Germany. Germany was divided into four occupational zones among victorious powers of the USA, France, Britain, and the USSR. Berlin was also divided into four zones occupied by the USA, France, Britain, and the USSR. In 1949, the USA, France and Britain united their zones and created the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). The USSR was also organising the economies of her zones along the communist principles. The aim was to extract reparations for the damages of the war to the USSR. The USSR created the Democratic Republic of Germany (West Germany) under the Communist Party.

Between 1945 and 1949, the USSR used her troops and successfully imposed communist governments in Yugoslavia (1945), Bulgaria (1946), Poland and Romania (1947), Czechoslovakia (1948), Hungary (1949) and East Germany (1949). The establishment of the communist governments in these countries alarmed the Western European nations and the USA. These countries accused the USSR of creating her own Soviet Empire. Consequently, ideological differences between the USSR and the USA (including their allies) arose, which marked the beginning of cold war politics.

The mistrust between the two superpowers in the post-Second World War led to the

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competition in the production of arms. The USA developed a nuclear bomb in 1945, while the USSR developed a similar bomb in 1949. The arms race continued between these two countries, threatening the world peace and security. The struggles for expanding the American and Soviet influences in the world, especially economic (neo-colonialism) and military strategic interests, culminated into the development of destructive weapons and proxy wars in Korea (1950-1953), Vietnam (1964-1975), and civil wars in Mozambique and Angola (1975-1990s). Some of these destructive weapons were Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, Surface to Air Missiles, submarines carrying nuclear heads, hydrogen bombs, and chemical and biological weapons.

Throughout the cold war, both superpowers aimed at asserting their influences across the world. The main goals of the USA were to contain communism and to preserve liberal capitalism by reconstructing the devastated European economies through the Marshall Plan of 1947. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, aimed at spreading communism across the world, starting from Europe to the rest of the world.

Proxy wars broke out between the two superpowers in defferent parts of the world. The purpose of these wars was to preserve their respective alliances. As a result, the USA and her allies created NATO in 1949, while the USSR and her allies in Eastern Europe created the Warsaw Pact in 1954. The other capitalist military alliances were CENTO and SEATO to protect the interests of the USA and her allies in the Indian and Pacific zones. The two superpowers created military bases all-over the world. In this race, the USSR attempted to build a military base in Cuba which nearly caused a war between the USA and Soviet Union in 1962. The USA had a military base in Turkey pointing Moscow. As a result, the USSR retaliated by building a military base in Cuba in 1962. Generally, the Russian revolution and the rise of socialism had major impacts on global economy, geopolitical situation, international relations, and the development of military science.

The impacts of socialism and fascism on Apartheid and Zionism ideologies

Apartheid and Zionist ideologies were influenced by the political winds of socialism and fascism. While socialism advocated for equality and collective ownership of the major means of production, fascism promoted totalitarianism and nationalist sentiments. Understanding the relationship between Apartheid in South Africa and Zionism in Israel is important.

Zionism

The radical anti-Semitic policies of the fascist governments, denying citizenship and civil rights to Jews, largely affected the Jewish population in Europe. The killings committed under the fascist rule stressed the necessity for the Jews to have a sovereign country, where they

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could seek refuge and be free from Nazi oppression and persecution. This urgency prompted the Jews throughout the world to actively support the Zionist movement. This support facilitated Jewish migration to Palestine despite British restrictions.

The escalating persecution under fascism led to a significant influx of the Jewish immigrants to Palestine, contributing to the growth of the Jewish population in the region. The Zionist movement continued to facilitate Jewish migration and establish settlements in Palestine. Migration of the Jews to Palestine during this period laid the foundation for the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

The persecution of the Jews by the fascist governments raised international sympathy and support for the Zionist movement. The recognition of the need for a Jewish homeland was amplified as the horrors of the Holocaust became widely known. The international community, shocked by the scale of Nazi murders, increasingly supported the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. This was done as a means of providing security for the victims of the Holocaust and avoiding future persecution. This support was demonstrated through diplomatic efforts, financial contributions, and increased pressure on the British Mandate authorities to ease the establishment of the Jewish state.

The socialist governments did not exert direct influence on the formation of the Zionist state of Israel. However, the socialist principles provided the Zionists with a framework of collective action, communal living, and economic equality. It contributed to the establishment of cooperative agricultural communities and collective settlements in Palestine, emulating socialist principles of shared labour and resources. Moreover, socialist ideals fostered solidarity among diverse Jewish communities, advocating for the creation of a Jewish state as a solution to anti-Semitic oppression and social injustices.

Apartheid

The emergence of Apartheid regime in South Africa was, to some extent, influenced by Nazi racial ideology, which propagated the belief in the superiority of the white race and the subjugation of the non-white racial groups. These fascist ideologies extended beyond ideological principles to encompass legal frameworks, policies, and authoritarian tactics, leading to the enduring legacy of the racist ideologies in the 20th century.

Apartheid Policy in South Africa was built on the premise of racial superiority and inferiority, with white supremacy at its core. The Apartheid regime propagated the belief that the white race was inherently superior to other races, particularly the black population of South Africa. This ideology justified the systemic oppression, exploitation, and marginalisation of the non-white

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racial groups. The South African racial segregation resonated with the Nazi conception of racial hierarchy and the subjugation of "inferior" races.

Many of the laws and policies passed under Apartheid were similar to those implemented by the Nazi Party in Germany. The laws that criminalised interracial relationships, including marriage and sexual intercourse. These laws were similar to the Nazi laws prohibiting relationships between Aryans and non-Aryans. Additionally, Apartheid laws enforced strict racial segregation in all aspects of life, including housing, education, healthcare, and public facilities. All these laws indicate that Apartheid Policy in South Africa emulated the Nazi laws as adopted in Germany during the Nazi regime.

Apartheid Policy in South Africa implemented authoritarian and oppressive measures to maintain white minority rule. It also introduced security laws, censorship, and state-sponsored violence to suppress opposition and maintain control over the black majority. These were similar methods employed by the fascist regimes in Europe to suppress opposition.

Socialism was a socio-economic system that emphasised on equality and social justice to all members of the society. The system directly opposed Apartheid ideology in South Africa. Socialists and left-wing activists played a crucial role in the anti-Apartheid movement, advocating for the rights of the majority South Africans and advocating for the abolition of the Apartheid system. Socialist ideas involving redistribution of wealth, equality, and collective ownership of the major means of production and services challenged the racial discrimination policies imposed by the Apartheid regime.

Socialist movements and governments around the world supported the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa. They provided moral and financial support to the National Congress (ANC). Such movements viewed Apartheid as a form of colonial oppression and racial discrimination to the majority South African people. Socialist countries also imposed economic sanctions against the Apartheid regime in South Africa, contributing to its isolation and finally its collapse in 1994.

Activity 8.6

Through reading online and library sources, prepare the points to support or oppose the argument, "The influences of socialism were more significant than fascism on the ideologies of Apartheid and Zionism."

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Revision exercise 8

1. Analyse the role of the Versailles Peace Treaty in 1919 to the rise of dictatorship in Europe.
2. How did Apartheid policies in South Africa perpetuate white supremacy and racial segregation of the Nazi racial ideology?
3. Why were the fascists in Italy, Germany and Japan against liberal governments in their countries during the interwar period?
4. How did the socialist economic sanctions against the Apartheid regime contribute to its downfall in 1994?
5. Explain how the Bolshevik Revolution changed the political atmosphere of Russia and the world.
6. Assess the influence of the Great Depression on the rise of dictatorial governments in Europe.
7. Explain the social, political and economic impacts of the rise of dictatorship governments in Germany.
8. Compare and contrast German and Italian policies in addressing economic problems caused by the Great Economic Depression.
9. How did the fascist ideologies influence the mindset of the youth in Germany and Italy?
10. Discuss the impacts of fascist ideologies in African countries.

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Chapter Nine

Administrative systems in post- colonial African states

Introduction

Colonialism played a great role in shaping the post-colonial administrative systems. These administrative systems were characterised by centralised governance structures and bureaucratic inefficiencies. In this chapter, you will learn about the nature and character of African administrative systems. You will also learn the forms of administrative structures adopted in Africa since 1960 and factors that influenced the varied governance systems in Africa. The competencies developed will enable you to propose proper governance practices in Africa today.

Think

The society without administrative systems

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The nature and character of African administrative systems

The post-independence administrative system in Africa was deeply influenced by colonial legacies. The structures left behind by colonial rulers, characterised by centralised power and bureaucratic hierarchies, often mismatched with indigenous governance systems. These legacies hindered the organic development of administrative institutions suited to local needs, setting the stage for challenges in governance. Similarly, colonialism in Africa facilitated the emergence and consolidation of distinct social classes, each playing a pivotal role in shaping the socio-economic and political landscape. These classes included the comprador bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, and peasantry, each with its unique position within the colonial system. The African petty bourgeoisie, in particular, acted as intermediaries through which colonial exploitation of African economies was facilitated. There existed a symbiotic relationship between the African petty bourgeoisie and the European comprador bourgeoisie, sharing common interests in maintaining the status quo of colonial

economic structures. The colonial administrative system served the needs of the metropolitan power in which these classes were structured and created.

Upon achieving political independence, it was predominantly the African petty bourgeoisie that assumed leadership roles in post-independent African states. However, despite the transition to self-governance, the African petty bourgeoisie maintained close ties with former colonial powers, perpetuating similar administrative practices. This continuity in leadership facilitated a duplication of colonial-era political systems, with little deviation from the established political culture. The influence of this phenomenon on post-independent African administrative systems is profound. The dominance of the African petty bourgeoisie ensured that administrative structures emulated those of the colonial era, continuing patterns of exploitation and systemic economic dependency. Administrative processes and policies remained geared towards serving the interests of the former colonial powers and the elite, rather than fostering equitable the development and social justice. This continuity in administrative practices contributed to a lack of genuine reform and hindered the efforts of addressing the underlying socio-economic challenges such as income inequalities, disparities between rural and urban areas as well as regional inequalities in the provision of social services.

After gaining independence in the 1960s, African administration faced the tough task of nation-building. Diverse ethnic, linguistic, and cultural groups had to be united under the banner of newly formed nation-states. Administrators dealt with navigating complex social dynamics while striving to foster national unity amongst deep-rooted diversity.

The influence of military institutions, established during the colonial rule, has significantly shaped post-independent administrative systems across Africa. Military coups and interventions have disrupted governance processes and undermined democratic institutions in many countries. The military's involvement in politics has often led to authoritarian regimes and centralised administrative control. Nigeria is a case in point, where decades of military rule have alternated with periods of civilian governance, leaving a legacy of political instability and administrative challenges. During this period, the military states in many African countries were intertwined with the interplay of forces of neo-colonialism and decolonisation in Southern Africa, which destabilised the efforts of post-colonial governments to address colonial legacies by creating institutions that would facilitate African nation building processes.

Also, the deep-rooted influence of the African petty bourgeoisie hindered the emergence of alternative governance systems that prioritised the needs of the majority Africans. The sustained

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relationships between the newly elected African leaders with former colonial powers limited the autonomy of post-independent African states, limiting their ability to plan independent paths towards socio-economic development.

Post-colonial administrative systems were shaped by the ideologies and aspirations of the indigenous African traditional culture. This culture stressed mostly on social cohesion, unity, development, and social justice. New governments wanted to establish administrative structures that reflected indigenous cultures while also promoting political stability. Many African countries opted for one party system, which was viewed as a reflection of the African traditional culture. The African leaders thought that one party system was the best way to promote nation building.

Exercise 9.1

Show how political culture of the contemporary African leaders reflect colonial administrative structures.

Political culture of the newly-elected African leaders

In the early 1960s, the new-elected African leaders changed their attitudes, beliefs, perceptions and alignment towards leadership. Some of them regarded themselves as the superior class in the society. The leaders believed that the ruling group possessed a monopoly of political legitimacy and wisdom. Therefore, in order to maintain their positions, they introduced governing systems that promoted their interests. For example, opposition leaders were suppressed and others were blamed for external influences. For example, the Ghanaian Government suppressed the opposition by enacting the 1957 Avoidance of Discrimination Act, which banned various ethnic organisations. The government also passed the Preventive Detention Bill in July 1958, which gave the Government the powers to imprison, without trial, any person suspected of activities prejudicial to the state's security.

In the 1960s, Africa witnessed the wind of competing ideologies, such as Pan-Africanism and Socialism. While Pan-Africanism advocated for unity and solidarity among Africans, socialism promoted rejection of social, economic and political injustices. It also stressed that African societies should be ruled by the governments that adhere to the principles of equality and social justice. These ideologies influenced independent African leaders to opt for the administrative systems that promoted the principles of economic growth, unity, social justice, and equality. For, example, Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah adopted one party system that followed socialist ideologies. Other countries, most of them Francophone states led by Ivory Coast, embraced free-market economy. Nigeria, on the other hand, adopted

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free-market economy by Africanising the economy. She did this through The Nigerian Enterprises Promotion Decree of 1972 that specified twenty-two categories of business that would be reserved exclusively for Nigerians, of which some were required to have 100 per cent Nigerian participation, and others 60 per cent. The government amended the decree in 1977 to provide for 60 per cent local ownership of all the banks. Also, the decree allowed nationalisation of some large companies. Such measures encouraged the growth of a local Nigerian capitalist middle class. Similar approach was used in Ivory Coast but without much success, by the government buying shares in French companies and selling them off to interested individuals. The attempt for Africanisation was also done in Senegal. However, the French Managers continued to direct operations in industry, banking and other businesses.

Other countries such as Ghana, Guinea, Benin and Guinea-Bissau, adopted socialist economy and implemented socialist policies in trade, agriculture, and industry. Ghana nationalised foreign companies in the process of building the socialist economy under Kwame Nkrumah, 1958-1966. In Guinea-Bissau, the indigenisation decree of 1976 enabled the socialist government to acquire major shareholdings in all Portuguese companies. This broke the exclusive Portuguese monopoly over the commercial companies. These economic efforts were geared to redress the adverse role of the colonial states that served metropolitan interests of extracting profit by foreign companies in Africa. Socialist administrative structures challenged the continued dominance of the inherited colonial economy that served the metropolitan capitalist economies.

Corruption and economic mismanagement also characterised the post independent administrative systems. Some of the African leaders diverted resources for personal gains instead of investment in physical infrastructure, education, or healthcare. This led to a decline in the living standards for ordinary citizens, intensifying poverty and inequality among the people. The diversion of resources in Zaire (modern DRC) by Mobutu and his followers at the expense of the majority Congolese is a case in point. Despite having abundant natural resources in Africa, lack of effective governance hindered development in the continent. Instead of using these resources to improve the living standard of the Africans, they were wasted or embezzled for the benefit of the ruling elite. As a result, the continent suffered underdevelopment, failing to fulfill its promises and leaving its citizens under

Activity 9.1

Using online and library sources, explore the leadership practices of the first generation of African leaders. Then, show how their legacies continue to shape governance practices in Africa today.

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Additionally, the mismanagement of resources led to dependency on foreign aid to sustain the governments and to meet basic needs. However, much of this aid was subject to misappropriation or misallocation, perpetuating the cycle of poverty and reinforcing the continued reliance on external assistance. Furthermore, the foreign aid and investments did not serve national needs but perpetuated neo-colonial relations by serving new demands of the global powers dictated by the development of science and technology. The legacy of Mobutu's rule underscores the broader challenges that faced many post-independence African nations, marked by a lack of accountability, economic exploitation tied to giant global mineral companies, and a disregard for the welfare of the African

Exercise 9.2

1. How did colonial legacies influence the nature and character of post-independence administrative systems in Africa?
2. Assess the influence of Pan-Africanism and socialist ideologies on the administrative systems adopted by newly independent African nations.

The forms of administrative systems adopted in Africa since independence

Since independence in the 1960s, African countries have implemented different forms of administrative systems to manage their social, political and economic affairs. These forms of administrative systems reflect each country's historical background, political, economic, and cultural diversity and aspirations for effective governance and development. Some of these administrative systems are discussed in the subsequent sections.

Republican form of government

A Republic is a form of government in which the head of state is an elected president. Republicanism is the philosophy of a republic, a form of government in which leaders are elected by the people and laws are passed by them. It stresses the importance of political liberty and civil rights. It is a form of government in which the sovereign power is widely vested in the people either directly or through elected representatives. Thus, Republican constitution is based on individual sovereignty.

In the 1960s, most of the European colonies in Africa received their independence. They inherited colonial constitutions, which were drafted during the establishment of colonies. Others inherited independence constitutions that were hurriedly drafted as a preparation for independence. Under such circumstances, many African countries found themselves with inherited Westminster parliamentary system and French presidential system. They began to address colonial legacies inherited with these systems, such as

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regionalism and ethnicity. Different African countries pursued three methods to become republics. These were the influence of an individual leader, military approach, and constitutional means. On the eve of independence, the constitutions of the former French colonies provided for a republic, as in France, with a strong executive president similar to that of the French Fifth Republic under President Charles de Gaulle.

In Ivory Coast, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny decided to govern the country through republicanism system modelled on the French Presidential system. He ruled the country through Parti Democratique de la Cote d'Ivoire as an instrument to combat colonial legacies of ethnicity and regionalism. He was pro-West, meaning that he favoured free-enterprise capitalism as its economic policy. A young group of graduates from France's universities formed radical movement challenging the government economic policies for subjecting the country into neo-colonialism under France.

The second means was through military approach. For example, transition to a republic government took place in Uganda through military means. Uganda received her independence on 9th October 1962, under the coalition of the Kabaka of the Buganda Kingdom and Milton Obote of Uganda People's Congress. Under this alliance, Kabaka Sir Edward Mutesa II became a ceremonial President while Milton Obote became the Prime Minister with executive powers. The two leaders began to differ over several issues, including privileges of the Buganda Kingdom which the kingdom had enjoyed since the Buganda Agreement in 1900. As a result, the struggle for power ensued and the Prime Minister ordered the armed forces to storm into Mengo, Kabaka's palace, and overthrow him in 1966. This marked the end of the ceremonial presidency in Uganda. Milton Obote assumed the post of President with executive powers, functioning as the head of state, head of government and commander-in-chief of armed forces.

The third method was constitutional process, example in Ghana. Ghana became independent in 1957 with Kwame Nkrumah as Prime Minister and Lord Listowel as Governor-General. On 6th March, 1960, the Government of Ghana presented to the National Assembly, sitting as a Constituent Assembly, her proposals for a Republican Constitution. In April 1960, the principles of the new constitution were approved by a great majority of the members of the National Assembly.

On 29th June, 1960, the Constituent Assembly enacted the new Constitution which came into effect on 1st July, 1960. Ghana, within a very few years, underwent transformation from the status of a state that depended on British administration to that of a sovereign African state. This transformation was achieved in

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accordance with the constitutional processes designed for such changes. The new republican constitution was designed to meet the needs of Ghana and to express the political and economic realities of the post-colonial Ghana. In 1960 Ghana became a republic and Kwame Nkrumah became the first executive president with powers of head of state, head of government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Unfortunately, he was overthrown from power by the military in 1966.

In this transition from Westminster and French Presidential system, the fusion of the post of Prime Minister and ceremonial President aimed at preventing potential conflicts between the two leaders, that would destabilise the young nations amidst cold war politics, neo-colonialism and liberation struggles in southern Africa. The world politics could tear apart the young nations into factions, exploiting the rivalry between the ceremonial President and Executive Prime Minister. In the republican system, there was a separation of powers, where President formed the executive branch of the government. As the executive branch of the state, the President was elected by the people under general elections. The second branch of the state was legislature, which make laws and the third one was judiciary with a duty to interpret laws.

Exercise 9.3

Describe features of a republic form of government adopted in some independent African states

Monarchical administrative system

Unlike republican system, monarchical system is a form of government based on the ruled by a king or a queen, who inherited the position from the ancestral past. In pre-colonial Africa, monarchs assumed power through either direct inheritance, such as Ashanti Kingdom, or elected by royal councils, such as Kongo Kingdom. In colonial Africa, kings, queens, and chiefs became part of the ruling class. Under the British colonial administration, which used indirect rule, and French colonial administration based on association and assimilation policies, chiefs were assigned new duties, such as dealing with African cases in local courts, drafting labour for public works, plantations and mines, conducting census on taxpayers and keeping register of the taxpayers. After independence in the 1960s, the powers of the kings, queens, and chiefs were either abolished or reduced. In Burundi and Rwanda, for example, kings were replaced by elected leaders. However, in some countries, such as Nigeria, chiefs continued to play an important role in local administration and politics, and they were given representation in the national and regional

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representative bodies. In some countries, chiefs were left with no political role. In post-colonial Africa, monarchical system is practiced in Morocco, Eswatini (formerly Swaziland) and Lesotho.

There are two types of monarchical system namely constitutional monarchies and absolutist monarchies. The former provides limits, usually in a constitution, to the monarch while the latter has all the powers concentrated on the monarch. For instance, Morocco and Lesotho have constitutional monarchies while Eswatini has an absolute monarch. The king of Morocco, whose kingship is traced back to the 8th century, assumed the leadership of Morocco following peoples' rally behind him during anti-colonial struggle against French colonial rule. Since independence in 1956, the King has maintained a stable control of power. He appoints many senior officials in the government and controls the Ministries of Interior and Defense. People who are against the monarchical system in Morocco advocate for republicanism to establish a republic form of government. That movement started in the 1960s and groups that want republicanism in Morocco are the Al Adl Wa Al Ihssane Islamist movement, and the Marxist group called Ila al-Amam. There are many activist groups in Morocco and rebels in exile who openly criticised the monarchy. They were advocating for the creation of a Republic of Morocco. The Al Adl Wa Al Ihssane and Ila al-Amam together with other activities at home and outside Morocco attempted to remove the Moroccan monarchy through a popular revolution. Many of the advocates of Republicanism are active outside Morocco, in Europe or North America. The rise and development of republicanism in Morocco was due to the desire of the Moroccans to have a representative liberal democracy, while Muslim groups wanted to establish an Islamic Republican state. Likewise, the Marxists wanted to establish a socialist republic.

In Eswatini, King Sobhuza II continued with his kingship after independence on 6th September 1968, following the presence of weak political parties, such the Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP). At the eve of independence, the SPP and other parties were embroiled in leadership rivalries that the citizens turned to the King for unity. Consequently, the British granted independence to the King. Although peoples elect members of parliament, the elected parliament has no power. Ngwenyama (a King) of Eswatini is also a head of the Swazi Royal family. He has veto power over all branches of government and is constitutionally immune from prosecution. Moreover, the king appoints all senior government officials.

However, Eswatini monarchy is both hereditary and elective. In Eswatini, the sitting king cannot appoint his successor. Instead, the Liqoqo, an independent traditional council, decides which of the wives shall be 'Great Wife' and

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Indlovukazi (She-Elephant / Queen Mother). The 'Great Wife' is chosen after the death of the king and must be of good moral character. Her character affects her child's chances of ascending to the status of a king. According to Swazi culture, a son cannot be the heir if his mother is not of good standing. She must not bear the maiden name of Nkhosi-Dlamini as Dlamini is the name of the Royal House of Eswatini and she must not be a ritual wife. Once the Liqoqo agrees on a new Indlovukazi, the son of this 'Great Wife' will automatically become the next king.

In traditional Swazi culture, the king is expected to marry a woman from every clan in order to cement relationships with each part of Eswatini. This means that the king must be a polygamous person for the maintaining unity of the Kingdom. This is called Marriage Diplomacy.

Exercise 9.4

Compare and contrast the political stability under republican and monarchical systems in post-colonial African countries

Westminster government in post-colonial Africa

The Westminster model of government has its roots from the colonial period. With its well-known system called indirect rule, the British imported legislative councils in her colonies in Africa. At the beginning, these councils were white dominated institutions. Their membership came predominantly from white administrators and a few Africans who were appointed or elected members. These changes were vivid prospects for self-government and independence. In the late colonial rule, the British imported to their colonies the Westminster model of government in Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Tanganyika, and Ghana. The model encouraged multiparty system and electoral competition among such parties. As prospects for independence came closer in these territories, the parliamentary system became more evident. By the time of independence, the model became the landmark of new governments in these countries.

One of the administrative systems which was adopted by post-colonial governments was Westminster form of government. This is a system of government associated with a parliamentary democracy in the British-imperial constitutional tradition. The Westminster system is based on the principle of the winner-takes-it-all, meaning that during the general elections, the political party that wins over 50 per cent creates a government and other political parties remain as oppositional parties in the parliament. Many of the former British colonies adopted this kind of government in the 1950s and 1960s. Some of these countries include Ghana, Somalia, Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zanzibar,

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Zambia, Malawi, Gambia, Lesotho, Botswana, and Zimbabwe.

This form of constitutional government in Africa clearly stipulated three pillars that make up the state/government, namely Governors who represented the Queen as the Head of State; the executive Prime Minister from the majority party in the parliament who creates a cabinet of ministers responsible to the parliament; and an independent judiciary. Under this system, Her/His Majesty the Queen/King of Britain was the head of the state; while the Prime Minister was the head of the government.

At the regional level, the administrative structure retained the colonial system whereby the country was divided into provinces administered by Provisional Commissioners, and districts under District Commissioners, whose duties were to administer law and order at the respective levels. Local government was operating at the local level. Most of the African countries gained independence under the Westminster system of constitution, with democratically elected Members of the Parliament under multiparty system. Under this system, multiparty politics consisted of the ruling party and two or more opposition political parties. This was largely a colonial heritage which short-lived in the first or two decades after independence. In many countries, the system was replaced by Republicanism with a single party system and in some instances, it was replaced by military government.

The parliamentary system did not survive longer in many post-colonial African countries. New leaders soon found that the parliamentary system did not give them as much power as it gave to their predecessors. Because of the limited power and authority inherent in the parliamentary system, most of the African leaders preferred unitary systems of government. For instance, in Ghana, Nkrumah managed to get a unitary constitution for the country and so the regional legislatures vanished. Another example comes from Kenya, which at independence was burdened with regional legislatures under the Majimbo constitution. Majimboism perpetuates the politics of regionalism and ethnicity, which was a threat to the stability of the new nation. Kenyatta did his best to weaken and abolish regional administration and legislature. He slowly reduced the powers of the regions such that they had no executive authority or legislative competence in any matter. Local governments were brought directly under the central-government control and the public service was centralised. In the same manner, Kenya shifted from the parliamentary system as it was inherited at independence.

Contrary to Kenya, Nigeria crafted a federal system of government, formerly based on three regions of Igbo in the southeast, Yoruba in the south-west and

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Hausa and Fulani in the north. The hostile ethno-regional politics of Nigeria led to the emergence of strong regions under powerful regional premiers, and a weak central government in the context of a parliamentary system. Unlike Kenya, Nigeria did not adopt presidential system after becoming a republic. Centrifugal forces were so powerful in the country, that Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first Prime Minister after independence, remained a weakened leader. The situation became a fertile ground for a precarious condition for peace. Thus, threats of secession by regions between 1960 and 1966 were prevalent in Nigeria. The new leaders of Nigeria found it very hard to centralise authority and consolidate the inherited state.

Generally, the African new leaders preferred the unitary system, which helped in the consolidation of their power base. The wielding of power in the central government was necessary for eliminating ethnicity, regionalism and promoting unity in the newly independent country. It was also a strategy to check the influence of neo-colonialism and cold war because the global powers would exploit divisions based on ethnicity, regionalism, and religion to oust the governments that they perceived as a threat to their interests.

Activity 9.2

Study the features of Republic and Westminster governance systems through online and library resources. Then, compose an essay highlighting the enduring relevance of these features in the contemporary African governance.

Federalism as a form of government in Africa

Federalism is a type of government that combines a central or federal government with regional governments, which are either provincial, state, or other sub-units of the governments, into a single political system, dividing the powers between the federal government and provincial/ state's governments. Johannes Althusius is considered the father of modern federalism, along with Montesquieu. He expounded the bases of this political philosophy in Politica Methodice Digesta, Atque Exemplis Sacris et Profanis Illustrata (1603). Montesquieu gave examples of federalist republics in corporate societies, such as the polis bringing together villages, and several cities forming confederations. Federalism in the modern era was first adopted in the unions of states during the Old Swiss Confederacy.

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Federalism unites separate states or other polities within an overarching political system in a way that allows each to maintain its own integrity. Federal systems do this by requiring that basic policies be made and implemented through negotiation in some form, so that all the members can participate in making and executing decisions. The political principles that animate federal systems emphasise the primacy of bargaining and negotiated coordination among several power centres; they stress the virtues of dispersed power centres as a means for safeguarding individual and local liberties.

Immediately after independence, some newly-independent African states adopted federalism. There are two explanations on why African countries adopted federalism. The first one is cultural-historical theories, which hold that federal institutions are more likely to be adopted in societies with culturally or ethnically fragmented populations. The second one is based on social contract theories, which hold that federalism emerges as a bargain between the centre and the periphery, where the centre is not powerful enough to dominate the periphery and the periphery is not powerful enough to secede from the centre.

In a federation, the division of power between federal and regional governments is usually outlined in the constitution. Almost every country allows some degree of regional self-government, but in federations the right to self-government of the component states is constitutionally entrenched. Component states often possess their own constitutions which they may amend as they see fit, although in the event of conflict, the federal constitution usually takes precedence.

In almost all federations, the central government enjoys the powers of foreign policy, national defense, domestic affairs, and the printing of notes and minting of coins, as exclusive federal powers. The structures of most federal governments incorporate mechanisms to protect the rights of component states. One method, known as 'intrastate federalism' is to directly represent the governments of component states in federal political institutions. Where a federation has a bicameral legislature, the upper house is used to represent the component states while the lower house represents the people of the nation as a whole. A federal upper house may be based on a special scheme of apportionment, as is the case in the Senates of the United States and Australia, where each state is represented by an equal number of senators irrespective of the size of its population.

The move to federalism was due to several historical forces that were operating in those colonies. For example, Nigeria, which became independent in 1960, adopted federalism. Like other British colonies, the British left monarchical constitution in Nigeria, whereby the British monarch remained the constitutional head of state, and was represented in the country by the Governor-General. As in Britain, the

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real political authority was in the hands of the elected Prime Minister, who was the leader of the majority in the national assembly. It was in this context that Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe succeeded Sir James Robertson as Governor-General, a post he held until 1963 when Nigeria became a republic and Azikiwe became President.

However, President Azikiwe of the First Republic in Nigeria was not a strong executive President. Power was shared among the President, the Federal Prime Minister and the leader of the largest party who was also the northern regional premier. Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of the Northern People's Party was the Prime Minister with executive powers of the federal government, 1960-1966.

The British governed colonial Nigeria in three distinct regions, each ruling itself with its own traditions. These three regions were the Northern region dominated by the Hausa and Fulani, Western region dominated by the Yoruba and the Eastern region, mainly dominated by the Igbo ethnic group. These regions were ruled under indirect rule. It was difficult for Nigeria to develop a central unitary government or republicanism. Thus, Nigeria adopted the federal-republic type of government. The federal executive power was under the Prime Minister from 1960 to 1966. From 1966 to the present, the President has assumed executive powers. The Nigerian federal parliament has the powers on defense and security, foreign affairs, minting coins and printing paper money, and economic policies. There was also a Federal Court.

Another example of an attempt to create a federation was in the Belgian Congo. During the transition to independence, the division rose between two politicians, namely Moise Tshombe of CONAKAT and Patrice Lumumba of MLC (Movement for the Liberation of Congo). Lumumba wanted a strong unitary republican government while Tshombe wanted a federal government. As a result of power struggles Congo received her independence on 30th June 1960, with Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister with the executive powers while Joseph Kasavubu became the President with ceremonial powers. The strong unitary government wanted that the government would collect tax and distribute it evenly to all provinces to bring about even development within Congo. Tshombe wanted a weak central government in which provinces would remain with great powers and provincial resources would remain for the development of the province. Provinces would contribute a small percentage of their revenue to the central federal government. Power struggles continued and the national forces intertwined with global forces of the time, namely the cold war and neo-colonialism, leading to the murdering of Lumumba in 1961. The Lumumbists continued with the struggle to ensure the central government remains strong. Amidst this struggle, Congo became a republic with a strong centralised government under General Joseph Mobutu in 1965. Figure 9.1 shows a variety of administrative systems in Africa.

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KEY

- Republic government
- Monarch government
- Westminster government
- Federal government
- Water

Figure 9.1: *Some African countries with diverse administrative systems*

Exercise 9.5

1. How would you apply your understanding of the main features of federal government to propose a solution to a governance challenge in Africa?
2. Discuss the main reasons for adopting federal governments in some post-colonial African states.

Factors that influenced the varied governance systems in Africa

The adoption of the monarchical, federal, republican, and Westminster administrative systems in Africa at independence was influenced by historical, cultural, and political factors. These factors led some countries to combine two governance systems to meet their national needs. While these systems provided frameworks for governance, their effectiveness and sustainability differed depending on the specific context and challenges faced by each individual African country.

Many African countries were colonised by European powers such as Britain, France, Portugal, Belgium, and Germany. These colonial powers imposed their administrative structures similar to their home countries. African nations inherited these administrative systems. For example, the former British colonies tended to adopt the Westminster system, while the former French colonies adopted republican forms of government.

Decolonisation movements in Africa were fueled by a strong desire for self-determination and autonomy. Africans sought to end colonialism and establish governments that mirrored their cultural values and aspirations. After independence, there was a need to create administrative systems that could effectively govern newly sovereign nations in Africa.

The need to preserve traditional governance systems that African societies wanted was another reason. In some cases, these traditional systems were integrated into post-independence governance arrangements to maintain cultural continuity and legitimacy. Even in republics, symbolic roles or ceremonial positions reminiscent of monarchies were sometimes retained to honour cultural heritage and promote national unity. The use of monarchy as a form of government in Morocco is a case in point.

The adoption of administrative systems was also influenced by pragmatic factors such as stability and efficiency in governance. African countries adopted familiar administrative systems to ease the transition to self-rule and provided a framework for managing state affairs. Additionally, adopting recognised administrative systems helped African nations to gain legitimacy in the international community and facilitated diplomatic relations with other countries.

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The role of international actors, including the former colonial powers, regional organisations, and global institutions, such as the United Nations, also helped shaping administrative systems in post-colonial African states. They provided technical, financial, and expertise support in building administrative systems. With the support, African countries adopted the administrative system which seemed well understood and had confirmed support for the international actors.

Lastly, the ideological orientation of post-independence leaders in the early 1960s influenced the choice of administrative systems. Some leaders embraced republican ideals of democracy, equality, and popular sovereignty, while others favoured centralised authority or traditional forms of governance. Political leaders often sought to consolidate power and maintain stability through the adoption of administrative systems that aligned with their ideological preferences and strategic objectives.

Exercise 9.6

Use online sources to examine the key challenges faced by post-colonial states in establishing effective administrative systems after gaining independence. How did they attempt to address these challenges?

Activity 9.3

Your name is among the students appointed to participate in a debate on the motion "Modern Administrative systems in African Countries are rooted in colonialism". Prepare notes that you will use to support or oppose the motion.

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Revision exercise 9

1. Assess the impact of corruption and economic mismanagement on post-colonial administrative systems in Africa.
2. Show how reliance on foreign assistance affected post-colonial administrative systems.
3. Discuss the historical factors that contributed to the predominance of monarchies in some post-colonial African countries.
4. Discuss the factors that influenced African countries to adopt federal government after independence.
5. Show how the Westminster governments in post-colonial Africa varied across countries.
6. What lessons can contemporary African states draw from historical experiences of African countries in adopting administrative systems in early 1960s?
7. Compare and contrast the administrative systems implemented in post-colonial states with those of their former colonisers. How did colonial legacies shape administrative structures and practices in these newly independent nations?
8. To what extent was the republican administrative system efficient and effective in post-colonial Africa?
9. Discuss the contention that pre-colonial administrative system was out dated to effectively work in the post-colonial African countries.
10. How have external influences, such as international aid, foreign investment, and multinational corporations, affected the autonomy and effectiveness of administrative institutions in African countries?
11. Compare and contrast between liberal democratic and fascist governments in Europe.

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PROJECT

Design and carry out a project in any area of your competence in History

Glossary

Act	a law that has been officially accepted by the governing body of a country
Agile	a way of working that permits flexibility, responsiveness, and adaptive to changes
Amendment	a minor change or addition made to improve a piece of legislation
Ancient	belonging to a distant past or something dating to the past
Archon	a high-ranking official or ruler in ancient Greece
Articulation	includes transformation, some changes, adoption and preservation of some pre-colonial elements
Barbaric	extremely cruel and unpleasant
Bill	a draft of a proposed law presented to parliament for discussion and approval
Calvinism	a branch of Protestant Christianity that follows teachings of John Calvin on sovereignty of God, the authority of the Bible, and the doctrine of predestination
Cathedral	a church that contains a seat of a bishop, thus serving as a central church in a diocese
Coercive	using force to make people do things against their will.
Compelled	forcefully driven to a particular course of action
Comprador bourgeoisie	a segment of capitalist class that collaborates with colonial powers to facilite their economic activities and profit from this relationship
Crown land	the territorial area belonging to the monarch, governor or president who holds it on behalf of his or her subject
Decuriones	councilors who control local government in colonies and municipalities in ancient Rome
Declaration	the act of making an official statement about something
Deity	a god or goddess, a supernatural being worshipped or revered as having the powers over nature, human fortunes, or both
Diaspora	dispersion of people from their homeland or a community formed by people who have exited or been removed from their homeland

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Dynast	succession of rulers from the same family lineage who maintain power and authority over a significant period
Eccelesiatical authority	the authority exercised by church leaders, such as bishops, priests, and ministers, believed to originate from Jesus Christ
Evict	officially forcing someone to leave a house or piece of land
Gandhism	a body of ideas and principles that describes the inspiration, vision, life and work of Mahatma Gandhi
Heretics	someone who challenges or rejects the accepted norms, beliefs, or practices of any group or institution
Hinterland	the remote areas of a country away from the coast or the banks of the major rivers
Iconoclastic controversy	disagreement over the use of religious images, or icons, in Christian worship
Loot	stealing goods from a place, typically during a war or riot
Medieval	the period from the 5th century to the 15th century CE
Metropole	relating to or denoting a centre or capitalist power
Ordinance	an authoritative rule or law, a decree or command common during the colonial period
Oligarchy	a form of government in which a small group of people holds all the power
Pact	a formal agreement between individuals or parties
Papal Inquisition	a medieval institution of the Catholic Church aimed at identifying and punishing those who were against established doctrines
Persuasion	the act of convincing; making someone do something
Petty bourgeoisie	small business owners, traders, small-scale farmers and self-employed professionals who own or manage modest means of production or small enterprises
Philosophy	a theory or attitude that acts as a guiding principle for behaviour
Prejudice	an unfair and unreasonable opinion or feeling, especially when formed without enough thought or knowledge
Proletarianisation	a social process by which individuals or groups of people are transformed into members of the working class that sells their labour for wage

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Pyramid	stone buildings with four triangular sloping sides
Rationalisation	reorganising a process or system to make it more efficient, often by eliminating unnecessary elements
Sabotage	deliberate damage or destruction of equipment or property which belongs to your enemy or opponent
Sanction	strong action taken in order to make people obey a law or rule
Scribe	highly educated individuals in reading, writing and record-keeping
Scholasticism	a method of reasoning that focuses on logical debate to understand and explain religious and philosophical ideas, combining Christian beliefs with ancient Greek philosophy, especially the works of Aristotle
Senapati	a high-ranking military official responsible for leading troops in a battle and overseeing military operations
Socialism	a system in which the people as a whole rather than private individuals own major means of production and operate all businesses
Tetrarchy	a system of government introduced by the Roman Emperor Diocletian in the late 3rd century CE
Tithe	one-tenth of annual produce or earnings, formerly taken as a tax for the support of the church.
Patrimony	a heritage passed down from one generation to another
Trustee	a person or firm that holds and administers property or assets for the benefit of a third party
Tsar	the title of the ruler of the Russian empire
Tyrant	a ruler who exercises authority in a harsh, oppressive, or unjust manner
Union Jack	the flag of the United Kingdom, which combines the flags of England, Scotland, and Ireland
Vigilance	the state of being alert, attentive, and prepared to respond to potential threats or issues
Westminster	a democratic parliamentary system of government practised by the UK
Zionism	a movement devoted to the rebuilding of a Jewish State in Palestine

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