

Last term's module focused on law and labour in colonial Africa. This term we move on to think about broader issues of law, labour and authority in late colonial and early post-colonial Africa and considers how decolonization and the construction of the post-colonial state led to the articulation of new forms of rights and obligations, new conceptions of labour and new modes of conceptualising authority in the state. This module speaks to one of the central questions in African history: how far did decolonization constitute a rupture in the history of twentieth-century Africa?

1. From nationalist opposition to post-colonial state – new conceptions of power?
2. Human rights, the OAU and the UN
3. "If we are now free, why do we still pay taxes?" Taxation in the post-colonial state
4. "Kazi ya kujenga taifa": labour and nation-building
5. Gendering authority
6. "Traditional" authority in the post-colonial state

For each class you will find a description of the class and a series of questions to think about as you read. Essential reading and primary source reading must be completed in advance of the seminar and you should come prepared to discuss it. The primary source extracts will be available on a closed site to which members of the course have access. The further reading suggestions will enable you to develop your thinking in particular areas.

Class 1: From nationalist opposition to post-colonial state: new conceptions of power?

One of the central questions which this section of the course addresses is the extent to which independence constituted a rupture in the history of Africa in the twentieth century. This class explores recent historiography which addresses this transition. To what extent did the post-colonial state constitute a break with the past in the forms of power and authority which it sought to construct? In this class we will focus on two case studies: Tanzania and Kenya.

Primary Sources:

- Extracts from Gabriel Ruhumbika, *Village in Uhuru*, London: Longman Group, 1969
- Extracts from Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *A Grain of Wheat*, London: Heinemann, 1967

Essential reading:

- Andrew Burton and Michael Jennings, 'The emperor's new clothes? Continuities in governance in late colonial and early postcolonial East Africa' *IJAH* 40, 2007
- Frederick Cooper, 'Possibility and Constraint: African Independence in Historical Perspective', *Journal of African History*, 49, 2, 2008
- Achille Mbembe, 'Provisional Notes on the Postcolony', *Africa*, 62, 1, 1992, 3-37
- Harri Englund, 'Zambia at 50: The Rediscovery of Liberalism', *Africa*, 83, 4, 2013, 670-689

Further reading:

- Daniel Branch and Nicolas Cheeseman, 'The politics of control in Kenya: understanding the bureaucratic-executive state, 1952-78', *Review of African Political Economy*, 33, 107, 2006, 11-31
- Daniel Branch, *Kenya: Between Hope and Despair*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011, esp. Introduction and Chapter 1
- James Brennan, *Taifa: Making Nation and Race in Urban Tanzania*, Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2012

Class 2: Human rights, the OAU and the UN

This class explores the shifting language of human rights in late colonial and early post-colonial Africa. The historian Samuel Moyn has recently sought to disconnect human rights from the anti-colonial struggles of the mid-twentieth century. Yet as Meredith Terretta has shown, in the final years colonial rule many African politicians proved adept at using the language of human rights in international forums. This class considers this debate and looks more broadly at the ways in which mid-century universalisms gave way to post-colonial arguments which claimed the inapplicability of universal human rights in Africa.

Primary Sources:

- Kenneth Kaunda, Address to Fordham University, 1963, in Legum, ed., *Zambia: Independence and Beyond, The Speeches of Kenneth Kaunda*, 1966, pp. 248-254
- Julius Nyerere, 'Individual Human Rights' in Julius Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 69-71

Essential Reading

- Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, London: Belknap, 2010
- Meredith Terretta, "We had been fooled into thinking that the UN Watches over the Entire World": Human Rights, UN Trust Territories, and African Decolonization', *Human Rights Quarterly*, May 2012, 34, 2, 329-360
- F. Bernault, 'What Absence Is Made Of: Human Rights in Africa', in J.N. Wasserstrom, L. Hunt and M. B. Young (eds.), *Human Rights and Revolutions*, Oxford, 2000

Further Reading

- Roland Burke, *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*, 2010, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010, Esp Chs 2, 3 and 5
- Robert A. Hill and Edmond J. Keller, *Trustee for the Human Community: Ralph J. Bunche, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of Africa*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010
- Ulrich Lohrmann, *Voices from Tanganyika: Great Britain, the United Nations and the Decolonisation of a Trust Territory*, Berlin: Lit. 2007
- Francis Nyamnjoh and Harri Englund, *Rights and the politics of recognition in Africa*, London: Zed Books, 2004

Class 3: “If we are now free, why do we still pay taxes?” Taxation in the post-colonial state

Taxation was central to the development of the modern European state, but taxation systems were developed before democratic systems of governance and required high levels of coercion. The problem for post-colonial African states, as Jane Guyer has argued, was that they had to develop their taxation system in reverse order – consent first, then the development of a taxation system. Moreover, they had to do so in a political climate in which many expected that the end of colonial rule would mean the end of an illegitimate and ineffective system of colonial taxation. This class explores the ways in which post-colonial states sought to balance their need for revenue with the challenges of maintaining and developing political legitimacy.

Primary Sources:

- Cartoons from the Swahili-language newspaper *Komkya*
- Tom Mboya, ‘The Impact of Modern Institutions on the East African’ in P.H. Gulliver, ed., *Tradition and Transition in East Africa: Studies of the Tribal Factor in the modern era*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969, pp. 89-103

Essential Reading:

- Jane Guyer, ‘Representation without Taxation: An Essay on Democracy in Rural Nigeria, 1952-1990’, *African Studies Review*, 35, 1, 1992, 41-79
- Leigh Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, Introduction and Chapters 7-9

Further Reading:

- Deborah A. Bräutigam, ‘Introduction’ in Deborah A. Bräutigam, Odd-Helge Fjeldstad and Mick Moore, *Taxation and state-building in developing countries*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 1-33
- Andrew Burton, ‘The Eye of Authority’: ‘Native Taxation, Colonial Governance and Resistance in Inter-war Tanganyika’, *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 2, 2008, 74-94
- Christian Lund, ‘Twilight Institutions: Public Authority and Local Politics in Africa’, *Development and Change*, 37, 4, 2006, 685-705
- Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990 -1992*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1992

Class 4: “Kazi ya kujenga taifa”: labour, voluntary work and nation-building

Post-colonial states defined themselves in opposition to colonial states, yet like colonial states they needed revenue to fund development. As we saw in last week’s class, raising taxes was difficult and so, like colonial states, they often made demands on the labour of their citizens instead. This class looks at the self-help and *harambee* movements in post-colonial East Africa, focusing on Kenya and Tanzania. How far did unpaid labour carried out in the name of a post-colonial nation-state mark a break from earlier forms of forced labour for a colonial state or labour demanded by a chief? How did post-colonial states mobilise unpaid labour for development projects? How was the concept of development understood in post-colonial Tanzania?

Primary Sources

- Extracts from Jomo Kenyatta, *Harambee! The Prime Minister of Kenya's speeches, 1963-1964*, Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1964
- J.K. Nyerere, 'Ujamaa – the basis of African Socialism', in J.K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Unity: Uhuru na Umoja*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966

Essential Reading:

- Goran Hyden, 'Bringing voluntarism back in: Eastern Africa in comparative perspective', in Joseph Semboja and Ole Therkildsen, eds., *Service Provision under Stress in East Africa: the State, NGOs and People's Organizations in Kenya*, 1995, pp. 35-50
- Derek R. Peterson and Edgar C. Taylor, 'Rethinking the state in Idi Amin's Uganda: the politics of exhortation', *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 7, 1, 2013, 58-82
- Michael Jennings, 'We must run while others walk: popular participation and development crisis in Tanzania', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 41, 2, 163-187

Further Reading:

- Michael Jennings, *Surrogates of the State: NGOs, Development, and Ujamaa in Tanzania*, Bloomfield CT: Kumarian Press, 2008
- Priya Lal, 'Self-reliance and the state: the multiple meanings of development in early post-colonial Tanzania', *Africa*, 82, 2, 2012, 212-234
- Philip M. Mbithi and Rasmus Rasmusson, *Self-Reliance in Kenya: the case of Harambee*, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977
- James Brennan, 'Youth, the TANU Youth League, and Managed Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania 1925-1973', *Africa*, 76, 2, 2006, 221-246
- Thomas Burgess, 'Cinema, Bell Bottoms, and Miniskirts: Struggles over Youth and Citizenship in Revolutionary Zanzibar', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 35, 2-3, 2002, 287-313

Class 5: Gendering Authority

This class considers the theme of gender and generation in the post-colonial state. What did new modes of articulating and exerting authority in the post-colonial state mean for conceptions of masculinity? Was there a shift whereby the link between age and authority was broken? How did women's access to power change over the second half of the century? What has been the role of post-colonial legal regimes in shaping access to power?

Primary Sources:

- Extracts from Meja Mwangi, *Going down River Road*, London: Heinemann, 1976

Essential reading:

- Andrew Ivaska, 'Anti-Mini Militants meet Modern Misses: Urban style, gender and the politics of 'national culture' in 1960s Dar es Salaam, Tanzania', *Gender and History*, 14, 3, 2002, 584-607
- David Cohen and Atieno Odhiambo, *Burying S.M.: The Politics of Knowledge and the Sociology of Power in Africa*, Portsmouth NH: Heinemann, 1992

Further Reading:

- Andrew Burton and Hélène Charton-Bigot, *Generations Past: Youth in East African History*, Athens: Ohio University Press, 2010
- Andrea Cornwall *Readings in gender in Africa*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005
- Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam*, Durham N.C: Duke University Press, 2011
- Lisa Lindsay and Stephan Miescher, *Men and masculinities in modern Africa*, Portsmouth N.H: Heinemann, 2003

Class 6: “Traditional” authority in the post-colonial state

This class returns to the theme of authority. Post-colonial states took very different approaches to chiefs and other holders of “traditional” authority. Some swept them away and sought to create a radically new structure, others sought to co-opt them to the post-colonial nationalist project. This class explores the strategies adopted and the new political forms which resulted in the early post-colonial state, and the more recent reconfigurations of chiefship in the late twentieth century.

Primary source

- ‘The Appointment of Chiefs’, 2 March 1966, Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard), January 25-March 10 1966, pp. 1720-1727

Essential Reading:

- Richard Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951-1960*, Oxford: James Currey, 2000
- Tim Kelsall, ‘Rituals of verification: indigenous and imported accountability in northern Tanzania’, *Africa*, 73, 2, 2003, 174-201

Further reading:

- Pierre Englebert, ‘Born-Again Buganda or the Limits of Traditional Resurgence in Africa’, *JMAS*, 40, 3, 2002, 345-368
- Sara Berry, *Chiefs Know their Boundaries: essays on property, power and the past in Asante, 1896-1996*, Oxford: James Currey, 2001
- Cherry Leonardi, *Dealing with Government in South Sudan: Histories of Chiefship, Community and State*, Oxford: James Currey, 2013
- Barbara Oomen, *Chiefs in South Africa: Law, Power and Culture in the Post-apartheid era*, Oxford: James Currey, 2005
- Olufemi Vaughan, *Nigerian Chiefs: Traditional Power in Modern Politics, 1890s-1990s*, Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000