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“Walter Rodney’s Dar es Salaam Years, 1966–1974:
How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Tanzania’s *ujamaa*,
and Student Radicalism at ‘the Hill’”

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Prologue

During my postgraduate exchange term at the University of Dar es Salaam from fall 2016 to spring 2017 I had planned to gather material to write up a global intellectual history of my host university with the preliminary title *Between 'the hill' and the World: Fragments of a Global Intellectual History of the University of Dar es Salaam, c. 1965–1980*.

I spent many hours digging through the atmospheric *East Africana* section of the University Dar es Salaam's library, gathering all I could find. After I had written a draft exposé of the thesis still in Tanzania and continued reading back home in Austria I applied for a two month follow-up research stay at Dar es Salaam in spring 2018 to finalize the collection of material.

As I proceeded reading and writing, I was drawn more and more away from my earlier focus on the global reciprocal influences and paradigmatic complexions of what I perceived and still perceive to be much more than a narrow “nationalist” Dar school towards an intellectual analysis of Rodney's work at the University Dar es Salaam. Honestly, this also had to do with the fact that the sheer amount of material convinced me that while I consider an in-depth inquiry into the knowledge production at the University Dar es Salaam from the 1960s onwards is still of utmost importance, as far it concerns me it has to be postponed to a later point in time.

As a result of the research trajectory delineated above, my aim is to deeply—and here I borrow a term coined by Rodney himself¹—“ground” Rodney's knowledge production from 1966 to roughly 1974 within the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania's socialist project *ujamaa*, Rodney's interaction with other scholars at “the Hill” and the revolutionary spirit of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

While focusing on this turbulent era at a vibrant campus with prolific scholars, this thesis should first and foremost remind us, that not so long ago African universities were in the front seat of producing innovative approaches in writing African history. Funded by the state, history departments all over the African continent established journals, associations and actively took part in setting the research agenda—on an equal basis and in intense exchange with the rest of the academic world. As “centres of intellectual action”, African universities at that time were the place to be for scholars from all parts of the globe², as is shown by the staff

1 Rodney, Walter (1969): *The Groundings with my Brothers*. London: Bogle L'Ouverture.

2 Cooper, Frederick (2000): *Africa's Past and Africa's Historians*. In: *Canadian Journal of African*

situation at African universities in the late 1960s and early 1970s. However, the “Golden Age” of the 1960s was not confined to the universities. Neglected during colonial rule, the 1960s and early 1970s also witnessed a remarkable rise of the literacy rate and rapid expansion of the health and educational sector in many African countries.

However, the debt spiral that was triggered by a series of world economic slumps starting in the mid 1970s when interest rates for formerly cheap credits had multiplied not only deepened the dependency to external multilateral and bilateral donors but forced most countries in the periphery to heavily cut their expenses for health, infrastructure and public education. These cuts were deemed necessary by a new trend in the international development discourse. A focus on basic needs instead of tertiary education was promoted and was translated into primary schools instead of universities.³

The research capacities of African universities were drastically reduced. And while the staff “was finding greener pastures either outside the country or in research institutes, consultancies, think tanks, and so on,”⁴ the *International Monetary Fund* and the *World Bank* obliged the universities to manage students and scholars for the marketplace⁵. Robbed of “the fundamental means of seeking and discovering new knowledge”, “universities without research activities run the risk of becoming glorified secondary schools”, as an affected scholar remarked.⁶ Certainly one could object that of course there were still research agendas but these were determined by international donors.

Esperanza Brizuela-Garcia has rightly pointed out that we may therefore ask ourselves if the often postulated crisis of African History was (and is) to a large extent “a function of the gradual decline in African institutions and their inability to participate more actively in the production of African history”⁷, caused by material impoverishment. The (re)peripheralization

Studies, 34/2, 298–336, here 304.

3 Personal comment from Eric Burton, 26.10.2018.

4 Shivji, Issa G. (2012): 8. Issa G. Shivji. In: Clairmont Chung (ed.): Walter A. Rodney. A promise of revolution. New York: Monthly Review Press, 83–94, here 86.

5 Mamdani, Mahmood (2007): Scholars in the marketplace. The dilemmas of neo-liberal reform at Makerere University, 1989-2005. Dakar, Senegal: CODESRIA Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (Codesria book series).

6 Luanda, Nestor N. (2008): Research and Publication. In: Kimambo, Isaria N./Mapunda, Bertram B.B./Lawi, Yusufu Q. (eds.): In Search of Relevance. A History of the University of Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 133–151, here 133.

7 Brizuela-Garcia, Esperanza (2006): African Historiography and the Crisis of Institutions. In: Tiyanbe Zeleza (ed.): The Study of Africa. Volume 1: Disciplinary and Interdisciplinary Encoun-

in the economic sphere unfolded itself in other sectors and fields of the state.⁸

Conversely, the impact of the “linguistic”, “cultural” or “poststructuralist” turn, that considerably changed the human and social science landscape from the 1970s/80s onward up to this present day, steered the attention away from the often dire condition of once reasonably well functioning social systems or educational institutions. In a broader perspective, historian Priya Lal brilliantly recapitulates how this turn shifted the focus of inquiry and “began to suggest that power or historical agency resided in language and structures of representation rather than autonomous human actors, economic systems, or political ventures. To many, accordingly, development became ‘development’ – an oppressive construct instead of a possible process”⁹. The cultural turn also risked “slipping into an epistemological relativism that prematurely deduces the impossibility of historical research from its complexity”¹⁰.

As intellectually engaging it might be for a wide and probably still growing audience in mainly Anglophone elite institutions—which for ridiculously high fees offer their customers (students) exquisite living and study conditions and their professors neat salaries—to speculate about if there is even such a thing as development, and how it can be deconstructed, their body of theorizing silently shies away from the facts on the ground such as African universities’ facilities in dire need of renovation, inadequate library holdings, expensive journal subscriptions, untimely salaries and scarce electronic equipment for scientific staff. While I recognize that, as Arturo Escobar remarked, the “[e]xtensions of Foucault’s insights to colonial and postcolonial situations by authors such as Edward Said, V. Y. Mudimbe, Chandra Mohanty, and Homi Bhabha, among others, have opened up new ways of thinking about representations of the Third World”¹¹, usually these approaches have less to say about the interconnections of (discursive) representations with material conditions on the ground that are embedded into manifold and complex socio-economic dependencies. The reciprocal

ters. Dakar: Codesria, 135–167, here 135.

8 Personal comment from Eric Burton, 26.10.2018.

9 Lal, Priya (2015): African socialism in postcolonial Tanzania. Between the village and the world. New York: Cambridge University Press, 13.

10 Sonderegger, Arno (2011): Nachbetrachtung zur Kolonialgeschichte und Historiographie Afrikas: Periodisierung der Geschichte Afrikas im 20. Jahrhundert. In: Sonderegger, Arno/Grau, Ingeborg/Englert, Birgit (eds.): Afrika im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Wien: Promedia, 228–254, here 230. My own translation.

11 Escobar, Arturo (1995): Encountering development. The making and unmaking of the Third World. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 6.

relationship between empirically grounded studies of actors, institutions, parties, companies, etc. with the plurality of discursive representations is often missing in these studies.

A number of these dependencies have been demonstrated and relentlessly criticised by scholars such as Samir Amin, Andre Gunder Frank and Walter Rodney from the 1950s onwards, while recent phenomena like the “digital divide” and the massive global tax evasion of multinational companies, to name just two recent examples, brought many new dimensions to the fore, that could not have been anticipated then. Concerning Africa, Arno Sonderegger, Ingeborg Grau and Birgit Englert have pointed out with reference to the prolific African historian Frederick Cooper, while there is much talk about globalization and global penetration, at the turn of the 21st century the African continent remains marginalized.¹²

As far as my observations and talks with colleagues at Dar es Salaam can guide me, one major obstacle is the unavailability of funds to acquire the ridiculously expensive scientific literature via the cartel of scientific publishers¹³, a price that public educational institutions in Europe are still willing to pay—though a number of European Union member states have recently reacted to the absurdity that the scientific publishing houses are reaping huge profits from publicly funded research.¹⁴ In Tanzania, as well as probably in many other African countries, the meagre financial environment to create local journals together with scarce access to recent publications makes it immensely difficult for local scholars to publish in renowned—that is mostly US-American or British—journals, whose boards are usually also filled with scholars from non-African universities.¹⁵ These factors pose serious barriers that students and

12 Sonderegger, Arno/Grau, Ingeborg/Englert, Birgit (2011): Einleitung: Afrika im 20. Jahrhundert. In: Sonderegger, Arno/Grau, Ingeborg/Englert, Birgit (eds.): Afrika im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Wien: Promedia, 9–26, here 9.

13 Elsevier, one of the giants in the business of scientific publishing, had a profit margin of 37 per cent (!) in the year 2017. See RELX Group (2018): RESULTS FOR THE YEAR TO DECEMBER 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.relx.com/~media/Files/R/RELX-Group/documents/press-releases/2018/relx-group-results-2017-pressrelease.pdf> [Last accessed: 17.10.2018]

14 “Plan S” is an initiative for open-access science publishing that was launched by Science Europe on September 2018. The guidelines of “Plan S” “requires scientists and researchers who benefit from state-funded research organisations and institutions to publish their work in open repositories or in journals that are available to all by 2020.” See Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plan_S [Last accessed: 17.10.2018]. The official document can be retrieved here https://www.scienceeurope.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Plan_S.pdf [Last accessed: 17.10.2018]

15 (A more common exception to the above statement are South African scholars.) Difficulties of publishing African history that was produced from African scholars in Tanzania were lively discussed at the *Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzanian* in November 2017

researchers have to face¹⁶ and, to use Rodney's concept, lead to continuous underdevelopment of the research capabilities of many African universities compared to the metropolises, where universities have better funding, steady salary for scholars, high tech equipment, access to a huge selection of journals and scholarly publications, well maintained libraries and so on. To put it simply: in the absence of necessary material preconditions, I would argue, African institutions will not be able to even engage with the (mis)representations that are produced in metropolitan universities; it will be increasingly difficult to actively take part in the academic discourse on African history which is de facto not global but rather Anglo-American with some continental European, Australian and South East Asian sprinkles in it.

Notwithstanding these limitations, there is still a considerable amount of African history produced at Dar es Salaam, many a times also with original archival and oral sources and of importance to the field but these articles, theses, edited volumes and monographs usually do not enter the big electronic databases of the Western universities; and what is nowadays not to be found in the scholarly databases in the world wide web does not receive citations and thus barely exists. There is much well-intentioned talk about decolonization of knowledge production in Anglo-American journals, while actual steps to effectively change the current conditions fail to materialize.¹⁷

that I could attend as audience. For a report on the conference consult Harisch, Immanuel Rafael (2017a): "Reflections on Post-Colonial History of Tanzania". Ein Tagungsbericht zur *Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzania* an der Universität Dar es Salaam, 17.-18. November 2016. In: *Stichproben*, 32/2017, Vol. 17, 133-142. Available open access from https://stichproben.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_stichproben/Artikel/Nummer32/Report_03_Harisch.pdf [Last accessed: 17.10.2018]

- 16 As I observed, with regards to the difficulty to access recent research literature, students at the University of Dar es Salaam resort to free services such as Google Books or use Sci-Hub, "a website which claims to have over 70 million academic papers and articles available for direct download. Sci-Hub was founded by Kazakhstani graduate student Alexandra Elbakyan in 2011, as a reaction to the high cost of research papers behind paywalls." See Wikipedia, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sci-Hub> [Last accessed: 17.10.2018]
- 17 Of course, solutions and actions should not be left to the journals and publishers who actually have no real impetus to change the current situation. One way students can reduce the dependency of financially weak universities is to share their subscription accounts and already downloaded research literature with local students. Scholars of publicly funded universities who are aware of the publishing situation can also opt to publish in their in-house journals open access to a wider public and promote the founding of more open access journals such as the Vienna Journal for African Studies, *Stichproben*. (<https://stichproben.univie.ac.at/>) [Last accessed:

Taking all these and many more developments into account, the consciousness of the past achievements and high standing of the University of Dar es Salaam in East Africa, the African continent and beyond should play a small part to re-center knowledge production from African universities—or help to “provincialize Europe”¹⁸, as it may be more fashionable to say—and thus raise awareness with regards to their position within the global intellectual landscape.

Last but not least I want to express my gratitude to a number of people who made this thesis possible. I want to thank: my family and close friends for their company and support; Daniela Waldburger and Atuswege Burton for their excellent Swahili lessons at the University of Vienna; Birgit Englert for her support for my academic career and motivation; Eric Burton for shaping part of my knowledge on UDSM and Tanzania, the exchange of material as well as fruitful discussions and comments that shaped this thesis; Arno Sonderegger for his patience and valuable comments, and seminars on African history that profoundly impacted my understanding and historiographic focus; Dominik Spörker for his comments and corrections as well as comments on Buganda history; The staff at UDSM for an enriching exchange term, especially Prof. Oswald Masebo; the kind East Africana staff in the University Library Dar es Salaam; Michelle Bourbonniere for sharing her thesis with me; Shabaan, Apollo, Eugénio and Ibra. I also want to thank the University of Vienna for funding my Erasmus+ exchange term and the two month research stay.

Yvonne, to whom this thesis is dedicated, for her loving support.

23.10.2018]) Moreover, research communities such as *academia.edu* can be utilized to make one’s own research visible to a broader audience. See <https://www.academia.edu/> [Last accessed 23.10.2018] However, there is also a non-profit alternative named *ScholarlyHub* in the pipeline. Interested scholars can currently donate for the launch of the website. See <https://www.scholarlyhub.org/> [Last accessed: 26.10.2018]. I thank Eric Burton for this suggestion.

18 Chakrabarty, Dipesh (2000): *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial thought and historical difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

The question as to who, and what, is responsible for African underdevelopment can be answered at two levels.

First, the answer is that the operation of the imperialist system bears major responsibility for African economic retardation by draining African wealth and by making it impossible to develop more rapidly the resources of the continent.

Second, one has to deal with those who manipulate the system and those who are either agents or unwitting accomplices of the said system. The capitalists of Western Europe were the ones who actively extended their exploitation from inside Europe to cover the whole of Africa.

In recent times, they were joined, and to some extent replaced, by capitalists from the United States; and for many years now even the workers of those metropolitan countries have benefited from the exploitation and underdevelopment of Africa. None of these remarks are intended to remove the ultimate responsibility for development from the shoulders of Africans. Not only are there African accomplices inside the imperialist system, but every African has a responsibility to understand the system and work for its overthrow.

Walter Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, 1972, p. 26.

1. Introduction

When the above lines were first published in what came to be the widely influential book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (HEUA), Walter Rodney was only thirty years old. During the past decade of the 1960s, Rodney had strived to understand African history through extensive reading, debating and travelling. For Rodney it seemed that “the whole of African history from the Pharaonic period to the contemporary era was a paradox, as evidenced by the abundance of raw materials and wealth and by the paucity of good human conditions [in Africa].”¹⁹

Born on March 23rd 1942 in then British Guiana, Rodney excelled in educational and athletic activities from an early age on. With one of the first scholarships available for working-class youth, Rodney went first to study at Queen’s College, a secondary school in Georgetown, and later went on to study at the *University of the West Indies* at Mona in Jamaica with an open

19 Kaba, Lansiné (1982): Walter Rodney: A Pan-Africanist Historian. In: Alpers, Edward A./ Fontaine, Pierre-Michel (eds.): Walter Rodney, revolutionary and scholar: A tribute. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies and African Studies Center University of California Los Angeles, 47–58, here 48.

scholarship. The Jamaican college was, at the time, the Caribbean region's only university.²⁰ With the awarded scholarship, the young Guyanese student Rodney belonged to a small cohort of chosen ones:

Coming from the best schools in the British Caribbean colonies in the twilight years of colonial rule and having gained distinctions in their sixth form subjects, scholarship winners could compete academically with any 17 or 18 year old in any part of the world. They were the cream of the crop and would become the elite, stepping into the political and bureaucratic positions vacated by the British.²¹

Rodney was born into a progressive working class family that was engaged with politics in British Guiana, his father being a member of the *Peoples Progressive Party* (PPP). Without ideological comrades-in-arms from other countries in the Caribbean in the 1950s, the multi-racial PPP was the only mass political organization in the Caribbean that was spreading Marxist/Socialist thought.²² Rodney left his homeland British Guiana to study History from 1960 to 1963 at the University College of the West Indies. In 1962 he had been to post-revolutionary Cuba with a student delegation and also travelled to Leningrad to represent his Jamaican *Alma mater* at a conference of the *International Union of Students*.²³ Rodney's personal relationship with his future wife Pat Rodney (born Henry) had started before he went to the University College of the West Indies. In 1960 Pat Henry went on to study nursing in London and after graduating from Mona, Walter Rodney followed her to pursue his PhD in African History at London's University School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS).²⁴

According to a number of contemporaries, friends, and Rodney himself, the London years (1963-1966) were crucial to Rodney's further development; he joined a study group of younger West Indians who met frequently with the famous Trinidadian Marxist C. L. R. James²⁵ and

20 Guyana is part of the northern mainland of South America. However, due to its strong cultural and historical links with Caribbean islands it is often considered as part of the Caribbean.

21 Lewis, Rupert (1998): *Walter Rodney's intellectual and political thought*. Barbados et al.: University of the West Indies Press; Wayne State University Press, 13.

22 Rodney, Walter (2015 [1972]): *How Europe underdeveloped Africa*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, xiii.

23 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 18-20.

24 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 31.

25 Cyril Lionel Robert James (1901 – 1989) was an Afro-Trinidadian historian, journalist and socialist. James' highly influential and widely acclaimed book *The Black Jacobins* was published in 1938. The book interrogates the history of the Haitian Revolution of 1791–1804 and sets the developments on Haiti in dialogue with the French Revolution. James used a Marxist framework

James' wife Selma.²⁶ Regarding the study groups' meetings over a period of roughly three years Rodney recounted in an interview that they helped him "to acquire a knowledge of Marxism, a more precise understanding of the Russian Revolution, and of historical formulation."²⁷ Rodney was impressed by the style of historical analysis of C. L. R. James that shaped his understanding of historical materialism and the importance of the specific history of a certain piece of Marxist scholarship—James was able to clearly identify programmatic objectives and context of an author's text and skillfully incorporate that knowledge into analysis.²⁸ James' wife Selma James had an influence on Rodney through the habit of "taking a foolish position and really indicating why that position was foolish"²⁹—a procedure that can be found in many of Rodney's later writings.³⁰ Believing in the "power of Marxist thought", Selma James convinced the study group poignantly that the (bourgeois) position was indeed foolish.³¹

At SOAS, Rodney found it very difficult to engage with Marxist thought as he perceived the university and in general the political climate in Britain as unconducive to the development of independent materialist thought.³² Notwithstanding his perception of SOAS as a bourgeois institution, Rodney continued his path of academic excellence and obtained a doctorate in African History with first class honours. For his dissertation Rodney researched in the archives in Lisbon, Seville, Rome, and London. He developed a reading proficiency in Portuguese and Italian and was reasonably well versed in Spanish.³³

Rodney first came to Tanzania in October 1966. In the immediate years to come, Tanzania's President Nyerere's foreign policy and political commitment to transform the fate of 'his' people with innovative socialist policies attracted a diverse array of scholars to the growing East African port city of Dar es Salaam: international socialists, social-democrats, Marxists, Leninists and Maoists as heterogeneous representatives of the political left, but also liberals³⁴

but is said to have been pioneering an Atlantic approach as well. See James, C. L. R. (1980 [1938]): *The black Jacobins. Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo revolution*. London: Allison and Busby.

26 Rodney, HEUA, xiv.

27 Institute of the Black World (1990): *Walter Rodney Speaks. The Making of an African Intellectual*. Trenton (NJ): Africa World Press, 29.

28 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 29.

29 Ibid, 30.

30 I try to elaborate on this topic more in Chapter Four on HEUA.

31 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 30.

32 Ibid, 28.

33 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 42.

34 In her obituary, Diane Jeater characterized Terence Ranger, the first head of the History Depart-

and conservatives found their way to the UDSM and accepted advisory positions in the government or civil service.³⁵ “Tanzaphilia”, as Kenyan scholar Ali Mazrui called “the romantic spell which Tanzania casts on so many of those who have been closely associated with her”³⁶, caused an influx of foreign scholars³⁷, that created a cosmopolitan, highly politicized atmosphere with heated debates on campus.

Under the leadership of President Julius Nyerere, Tanzania was looming large as a defender of freedom from colonial oppression and apartheid rule in Southern Africa, where the Portuguese were to clamp on their colonial territories with the same doggedness as the *Afrikaner* government would stick to their *Apartheid* regime. Both Lisbon and Pretoria enjoyed varying but continued support from the US and European NATO powers³⁸, to a large extent because companies of the West were highly active and reaped huge profits in the resource rich areas of Southern Africa.³⁹

Due to Tanzania’s diplomatic and material support to African liberation movements, Dar es Salaam quickly emerged as *the* liberation hub in Africa south of the equator. Not only did

ment at UDSM, as a “white liberal to his core. With an Oxford doctorate in seventeenth-century Irish history, he was attracted to teach British history at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (UCRN) because it was, in theory, a ‘multiracial’ institution. See Jeater, Diana (2016): Terence Ranger, 1929–2015. Obituary. In: *History Workshop Journal* 81: 306–315, here 307.

35 Bourbonniere, Michelle E. (2007): *Debating Socialism on the Hill: The University of Dar es Salaam, 1961-1971*. Master Thesis, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 4.

36 Mazrui, Ali A. (1967): *Tanzaphilia*. In: *Transition* 31: 20–26, here 24f.

37 This included academics from other African countries, Western and Eastern Europe, Asia, Australia and North America. However, there developed some ‘clusters’ over time, depending on the respective departments. In the medical departments many Indian, Pakistani and Chinese citizens were to be found, whereas for example the engineering department was heavily dominated by faculty staff of the Federal Republic of Germany. The percentage of expatriate staff varied during the 1960s and 1970s, and, more importantly, from department to department. Overall, in the year 1973/74 out of 435 staff members (excluding teaching assistants) 176 were ‘Tanzanian’, 40 from ‘Other African countries’ and 219 from ‘Non-African countries’. See University of Dar es Salaam (1975): *Calendar 1973 – 1974*. Dar es Salaam. EAF PER LG 421.D3.A1

38 Portugal’s most valuable assets were the archipelagos of Madeira and Azores, providing a strategically important air base for the United States. In addition, NATO fleets used the seaports of Luanda and Lobito. See: Lopes, Rui (2016): *Accommodating and Confronting the Portuguese Dictatorship within NATO, 1970–4*. In: *The International History Review*, 38/3, 505–526; Westad, Odd Arne (2005): *The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

39 Hirji, Karim F. (ed., 2010): *Cheche. Reminiscences of a radical magazine*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 5.

numerous liberation movements established offices in Dar es Salaam⁴⁰, but prominent figures expressing anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist attitudes visited Dar es Salaam, among them Che Guevara, Cheddi Jagan, Amílcar Cabral, C.L.R. James and Eric Williams.⁴¹

Rodney was one of the scholars who was attracted by the Tanzanian political climate. After obtaining his PhD from SOAS, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana was Rodney's first choice as a place to teach; but since the staunch Pan-Africanist Nkrumah was ousted in 1966, and Rodney still wanted to teach and research on the African continent, Tanzania remained for him as the only "progressive" country that was left.⁴² Aged only twenty-four, Rodney took up a temporary lectureship for two years at the University Dar es Salaam.

Founded in 1961 as the University College Dar es Salaam (UCDSM), and two years later integrated into the *University of East Africa* federation, the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) received full university status and her current naming in the year 1970, when it was established as a national institution of higher learning. But it was since at least from 1967 onwards – the year when Tanzania's ruling party TANU⁴³ announced the *Arusha Declaration*⁴⁴ – that the university had entered into a close relationship with state policies, though formally still part of the *University of East Africa* federation. What Priya Lal has called "the spirit of political experimentation that attended decolonization", that opened the ruling party TANU "expansive, unprecedented opportunities"⁴⁵ can be utilized for the brand new university in Dar es Salaam as well. The founding of the university was accompanied by a spirit of optimism, with new facilities in the construction line, new departments inaugurated, new syllabi drafted, and thus with considerable room for manoeuvre and new arenas⁴⁶ in the making that were contested and simultaneously shaped by a number of actors.

40 Members of liberation movements were also based in Mbeya in South-western Tanzania, as was the case for the Southern Rhodesian movements. For the ZAPU/ZANU conflict see Ranger, Terence (2013): *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with African Nationalism, 1957–1967*. Woodbridge: Currey.

41 Hirji, Cheche, 5.

42 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 32.

43 TANU is short for *Tanganyika African National Union*.

44 The Arusha Declaration was proclaimed by Tanzania's ruling party TANU in February 1967 and enshrined the basic pillars of the country's socialist project *ujamaa*.

45 Lal, African Socialism, 7.

46 Burton, Eric (2017a): Tansanias ‚Afrikanischer Sozialismus‘ und die Entwicklungspolitik der beiden deutschen Staaten: Akteure, Beziehungen und Handlungsspielräume, 1961-1990. Dissertation an der Universität Wien., 401-456.

A contemporary observer who is enjoying the panorama view from the student halls at the spacious main campus of the University of Dar es Salaam, will easily comprehend why this tree-lined idyll, which encompasses also teaching facilities, the main library and staff housing, was dubbed *mlimani* in Swahili – “on the hill”. At present, amidst a new shopping mall named “Mlimani City”, urban settlements have reached as far as the entrance gates of the campus; when the university was built back then in the beginnings of the 1960s, students and staff resided in considerable distance from the next neighbourhoods, and in relative luxury.⁴⁷ The university’s standards—newly built student and staff accommodation, spacious classrooms, a well equipped cafeteria, a sporting ground and a swimming pool—did not have to shy away from its Western counterparts.⁴⁸

Modeled on the British university education system, the student body soon imagined itself as a rising elite of a privileged few. The demonstrations in October 1966 by over 400 university students—roughly two thirds of the students at UCDSM—to avoid mandatory *National Service*⁴⁹ were interpreted by President Nyerere and TANU members as alarming signs of the students’ rising self-conception as a national elite. The *National Service* demonstrations were also condemned by the majority of faculty staff and a conference was organized to restructure the university.

Together with a vocal group of avowed Marxists—the “Group of Nine”⁵⁰—Rodney put forward

47 Ivaska, Andrew (2005): Of Students, ‘Nizers’, and a Struggle Over Youth: Tanzania’s 1966 National Service Crisis. In: *Africa Today* 51/3: 83–107, here 87, qtd. in Bourbonniere, Debating, 5.

48 Ivaska, Andrew (2011): *Cultured states. Youth, gender, and modern style in 1960s Dar es Salaam*. Durham: Duke University Press. “Western standards” because the UCDSM was affiliated the University College London and thus its structures and layout derived from the British university system.

49 In September 1966 the Tanzanian parliament passed a policy demanding a mandatory national service from all post-primary students, which included also university graduands. Described as a kind of “domestic Peace Corps with military overtones” (Bourbonniere, Debating, 55), the service was comprised of military training, teaching adult education, farming, animal keeping and the construction of infrastructure. See Mapunda, Bertram B.B. (2008): *University of Dar es Salaam's Immediate Response to Arusha Declaration*. In: Kimambo, Isaria N./Mapunda, Bertram B.B./Lawi, Yusufu Q. (eds.): *In Search of Relevance. A History of the University of Dar es Salaam*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 170–192, here 173.

50 This mainly expatriate group consisted of Giovanni Arrighi (Economics), Catherine Hoskyns (Institute of Public Administration), Grant Kamenju (Literature), Frances Livingstone (Law Faculty), James Mellen (Political Science), Sol Picciotto (Law Faculty), Walter Rodney (Department of History), John Saul (Political Science), and Herbert Shore (Arts Faculty). See Bourbonniere, Debates, 88; Ivaska, *Cultured*, 147f.

a proposal at the *Conference on the Role of the University Dar es Salaam in a Socialist Tanzania* in March 1967. Though watered down by the university administration, the proposal paved the way for the inauguration of the trans-disciplinary *Institute of Development Studies* (IDS), long before development studies became *en vogue* at universities in the US, Great Britain and Western Europe.⁵¹

With Walter Rodney as an important and ultimately long-serving member—he stayed longer than all of his expatriate colleagues of the academic year 1966/67 when he started teaching there—the History Department at Dar es Salaam was at the forefront of writing African history in the 1960s and early 1970s. The first decade of the university's existence witnessed a considerable output of academic knowledge production. Like Nigeria's Ibadan University, it is said to have established a distinctive school of African History which was flourishing in intense dialogue and close alliance with the country's national politics and policy goals. Moreover, with faculty staff from East and West in a climate of considerable academic freedom, UDSM can be perceived as an exceptional crossing point between the "three worlds".⁵²

If we situate Rodney as an active member of the so-called Dar school, the neat label of "nationalist" paints a simple and reductionist picture. Rodney's work as a historian in the 1960s and early 1970s had both a local and a trans-national, trans-continental focus, centring on the contact zones between Africa, America, and Europe. Rodney was utilizing a Marxist class analysis that was inspired by nationalism as liberating force and Pan-Africanism as a cultural and political marker of African heritage. Due to his own upbringing he was influenced by a Caribbean socialization, individuals such as Marcus Garvey and C. L. R. James and leading figures of the *Black Power* movement in the US.

In 1968 Rodney returned to the University of West Indies in Jamaica to set up a programme in African History and Languages. But a couple of months after his arrival, the government banned Rodney from re-entering the country as he was attending *The International Congress*

51 Yet, there were a number of pioneering institutions in East and West alike, as Eric Burton has informed me. The *Development Studies* program in Sussex (GB) was inaugurated in 1966. The renowned Hungarian economist Tamas Szentes, who led the Economics Department at UCDSM from 1967 to 1971, came from Josef Bognar's Institute in Budapest. The Soviet Institute for the World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) was founded in 1956, the Centre of Research on Underdeveloped Economies (CRUE) in Poland in 1962 and the Afro-Asian Research Centre in Hungary in 1963.

52 Personal comment from Eric Burton, 26.10.2018.

of *Black Writers* in Montreal, Canada. While teaching at the University of the West Indies at Mona, Rodney had “grounded” with the Rastafarian “rude boys” who were mostly secluded from the Jamaican population and suffered considerable poverty.⁵³ The Rastafarian movement “placed the racial question, the character of Jamaica’s multi-racialism, and the island’s relationship with Africa all on the national agenda.”⁵⁴ Combined with the American civil rights and *Black power* movement that had a considerable influence on the Caribbean youths of the 1960s, the Jamaican government feared a wider radicalisation among the population.⁵⁵ Ultimately Rodney’s ban from re-entering Jamaica was based on the Jamaican government’s assumptions that politically active individuals like Rodney together with leading Rastafarians might build up an oppositional movement that would threaten the newly established political system of independent Jamaica that was then only six years old.⁵⁶

After having spent some time in London and probably Cuba⁵⁷, Rodney returned to Tanzania in 1969 for his second teaching stint. As Lewis has remarked, Rodney’s wider reputation as an African historian started with the publication of his dissertation *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545–1800* in the year 1970⁵⁸. Before this publication, Rodney had already contributed three articles based on his doctoral research in the *Journal of African History* (1965, 1966, 1967).⁵⁹ In 1968 Rodney contributed a chapter on the Angolan coast to the volume *Aspects of Central African History*, which was edited by the Head of History Department, Terence Ranger. Rodney’s treatment of the West African coastal regions—including present day Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, and Sierra Leone—“established the outline for a much larger canvas and the discussion of broader issues concerning the devastating impact of the European slave trade on

53 Rodney’s “groundings” with the Jamaican Rastafarians inspired the booklet “Groundings with my Brothers”, that was published in 1969. See Rodney, *The Groundings*.

54 Lewis, Rupert C. (1994): *Walter Rodney. 1968 Revisited*. Kingston: Canoe Press, 6.

55 Lewis, 1968 Revisited, 7.

56 Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 85.

57 Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 115.

58 Rodney, Walter (1970a): *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 117-118, qtd. in Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 51.

59 Rodney, Walter (1965): Portuguese Attempts at Monopoly on the Upper Guinea Coast, 1580-1650. In: *Journal of African History*, 6/3, 307-322. Rodney, Walter (1966): African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade. In: *Journal of African History*, 7/3, 431-443; Rodney, Walter (1967a): A Reconsideration of the Mane Invasions of Sierra Leone. In: *Journal of African History*, 8/2, 219-246. They were generally well received by African historians such as Philip Curtin who became curious about Rodney’s dissertation. See Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 49.

Africa and the role of the African ruling groups.”⁶⁰

Rodney would stay in East Africa until he departed to his homeland Guyana in 1974, where he was promised a Professorship at the University of Georgetown. A number of colleagues at UDSM and beyond warned Rodney upon returning to Guyana and urged him to stay in Tanzania.⁶¹ Rodney, however, felt that since he was lacking the Swahili cultural background and Tanzanian citizenship, he could only make his contribution in his native land where he was well versed with all the cultural specificities. To understand in detail how Rodney perceived these important limitations for revolutionary change, I will quote from an interview with Rodney in 1974 at length:

[O]ne must know that society, that environment. One must have a series of responses and reflexes that come from having lived a given experience. One must be able to share a joke because of a nuance in language and pronunciation. One must be able to go to the marketplace in the case of Tanzania, and bargain in the Swahili manner without being perceived as an outsider. Now, when one thinks of all of these factors it's virtually a lifetime task to master a language and then to master the higher level of perception which normally goes into a culture. And I didn't believe that I could afford that. I believed that there is another culture from which I derived into which I could project myself with greater ease.⁶²

He then went on:

As long as I remained in Tanzania as a non-Tanzanian, as a marginal participant in the political culture, then it followed that I couldn't change my role. I would just have to remain at the university. I was in a fixed political role and my own feeling was that to break beyond those boundaries was necessary to return once more to the Caribbean. That is the background that explains where I'm at in the Caribbean and in Guyana today.⁶³

When Rodney arrived in Guyana in 1974, upon pressure from the government of Forbes Burnham, the University of Georgetown had to renounce the offered Professorship. In the following years Rodney tried to earn income through teaching stints in the US and West Germany (Hamburg). He increasingly engaged in local Guyanese politics and was a founding

60 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 50.

61 Shivji, 8. Issa G. Shivji, 89.

62 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 42.

63 Ibid.

member of the political left wing party *Working People's Alliance* (WPA). In the late 1970s many of Rodney's close comrades and leading figures of the WPA were threatened by government forces and some were assassinated. In 1980 a car bomb placed by an agent of the Guyanese Prime Minister Forbes Burnham ended Rodney's life with only thirty eight years.⁶⁴

In July 1980 a Memorial Symposium named *Walter Rodney's contribution to the Revolution* was organized at the UDSM. The conference adopted a number of resolutions such as condemning the Burnham regime, calling the UDSM to award Rodney an honorary degree, and to set up a fund to erect a Rodney memoria.⁶⁵ The university's Arts Lecture Theatre was full to the brim with not only students but the general public attending as well. The organizers explained how Rodney stood for the emancipation of Black people in both Africa and the Caribbean, a theme he had put forward in his book *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*:

[T]he majority [of the audience] had never met him, except through the medium of the written word, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, which remains his legacy and inspiration to us, our link with this great son of the oppressed masses of Africa and the West Indies.⁶⁶

With this thesis I want to shed light on Rodney's life and knowledge production during his Dar es Salaam years, that was crowned by the publication of HEUA.

1.1 Aims and guiding research questions

Arno Sonderegger has reminded the readership in the edited volume *African Thoughts on Colonial and Neo-Colonial Worlds* that the focus on key terms and classic thinkers earned itself a bad reputation in current academic history writing. A scholar's centring on 'classics' and their respective authors runs the risk of leading to a history of 'big women' and 'big men', though mostly the latter, without properly contextualizing them within time, space and culture.⁶⁷ Moreover, "[s]cience and historiographical practice do not function independently of the societal frameworks and institutions in which they are exercised, and not unaffected by

64 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, iii-iv.

65 Editorial, 2. In: Maji Maji, No 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney's Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3.

66 Ibid.

67 Sonderegger, Arno (2015): Facets of an intellectual history of Africa. Reflecting Colonial and Neo-Colonial Worlds. In: Sonderegger, Arno (ed.): African thoughts on colonial and neo-colonial worlds. Facets of an intellectual history of Africa. Berlin: Neofelis, 7–16, here 11.

the norms that very selectively control action and thought, perceptions and interpretations."⁶⁸

Anxious not to fall prey to this fallacy, in this thesis I attempt to contextualize Walter Rodney, the author of one *classic* piece of Africanist scholarship, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, "within time, space and culture." The time frame spans from 1966 to 1974, the spatial dimension is mainly confined to the University of Dar es Salaam but also partly extends to Tanzania and Southern Africa. (Politico-)cultural factors I take into account are both Tanzania's socialist project *ujamaa* and the revolutionary *Zeitgeist* of the late 1960s. The intense political climate of the 1960s was meshed with the global system competition of capitalist and communist states, leftist student demonstrations all over the world, the US invasion in Vietnam, and the intensification of Southern African liberation struggles—just to name some major currents.

The intellectual climate at UDSM was very receptive to these debates. Haroub Othman, Professor of Law and Development Studies and a comrade of Rodney, remembered the UDSM as "the epicentre of radicalism in the African continent"⁶⁹. He continued: "In the ten year period 1967-1977, the University was a major cooking pot of ideas, and provided a splendid platform for debates and discussions. No African scholar, statesman or freedom fighter could ignore its environs."⁷⁰

Although the emphasis of this thesis lies on Walter Rodney's writings at the history department and his involvement in the so-called 'Dar School' of history, the inclusion of other departments, institutes and student activism is inevitable in the strive for a complex and nuanced analysis of Rodney's opus during these formative years that led to the publication of *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* in 1972. Moreover, Rodney's own positioning within the university-wide group of socialist scholars, the "Group of Nine" provided another forum for exchange and debate on Tanzania's *ujamaa*, the role of UDSM in a socialist or soon-to-be-

68 "Wissenschaft und historiographische Praxis funktionieren nicht unabhängig von den gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen und Institutionen, in denen sie ausgeübt werden, und nicht unbeeinflusst von den Normvorstellungen, die Handeln und Denken, Wahrnehmungen und Interpretationen sehr selektiv steuern." My translation. See Sonderegger, Arno (2011b): Nachbetrachtung zur Kolonialgeschichte und Historiographie Afrikas: Periodisierung der Geschichte Afrikas im 20. Jahrhundert. In: Sonderegger, Arno/Grau, Ingeborg/Englert, Birgit (eds.): Afrika im 20. Jahrhundert. Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Wien: Promedia, 228–254, here 228.

69 Othman, Haroub (1987): A crumbling ivory tower. In: Africa Events, May, 40-42, here 40, qtd. in Lewis, Rodney's, 129.

70 Ibid.

socialist country, and how the universities' teaching could foster revolutionary gains toward socialism.

On a spatial level this thesis thus emphasizes the constitution, role and capabilities of African educational institutions in the immediate postcolonial era. With political independence, national (or federal, as in the case of Dar es Salaam until 1970) universities were to be assigned the key roles to produce both knowledge and manpower in the interest of the ruling elites. As Walter Rodney put it in an interview in 1974:

After independence, Africans made certain clear decisions about what advanced their national interest and their national perception. If you were at an institution such as the University of Ibadan, they were promoting their own scholars; they were promoting their own work and their own publications, and they were advancing it inside of the country and inside of Africa in a very steady manner, without any great pretence or a big fanfare. But it was a nationalist approach. The same is true in East Africa. They just simply decided that they had something to say about their own society and they were going to put that before their own people. If one were to look at the list of recommended texts and so on, the center of their program was what they themselves were beginning to produce.⁷¹

As this thesis is set during the emergence of the academic field of African history, it illustrates how African universities were able to compete until economic decline from the mid-1970s onwards stifled academic output as "faculty staff was finding greener pastures either outside the country or in research institutes, consultancies, think tanks, and so on."⁷²

Thus with this thesis I aim to present an intellectual biography of Walter Rodney that is deeply "grounded"⁷³ within the intellectual history of an institution, that is the University of Dar es Salaam, situated in the Tanzanian political context of *ujamaa*. I intertwine Rodney's writings with his political activism and personal engagement for a socialist reorganization of society. By scrutinizing a variety of Rodney's writings of the 1960s and early 1970s I want to shed light on the complex evolution of Walter Rodney as a historian, engaged faculty member, and highly political individual. As Rupert Lewis has aptly remarked in his extensive intellectual biography of Rodney:

There is a tendency to superficially trace Rodney's writings in a linear way from

71 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 118f.

72 Shivji, 8. Issa G. Shivji, 86.

73 Rodney, *The Groundings*.

bourgeois historian trained at the London School of Oriental and African Studies to a Dar es Salaam Marxist historian. His evolution was more complex than that.⁷⁴

A close colleague of Rodney at UDSM, the Canadian African historian Edward Alpers noted in a commemorative publication in honour of Rodney's life:

So if you go through Walter's life with this in mind, you see that in Jamaica 1968 his thinking was, it had to be, at a different point from his thinking in Tanzania 1974. He read, as we all know, and therefore there's a cumulative growth in his understanding and in his insights. And so, I think that in comparing what Walter's thinking was like at two points, one should, as was pointed out, look at the social context.⁷⁵

To pursue the intellectual and activist tracks that have been laid in the preceding paragraphs, I concentrate on the contexts which shaped Rodney's thinking, academic approach, and political positioning during his time at UDSM. My focus is on three crucial relations, which were also intertwined:

1. Which role did the political surroundings in Tanzania play for Rodney's *oeuvre* and how can we assess the impact of Rodney's engagement with young students at the campus? What revolutionary potential did the restructuring of the UDSM in 1967 offer to Rodney and other expatriate socialists?
2. If we read Rodney's historical knowledge production in conjunction with another leading figure of African history and the first Head of the History Department at UDSM, Terence Ranger, what is the two scholars' understanding of African agency, Nationalism and the role of the postcolonial elite? In what important ways do they differ and thus question the monolithic picture of a "nationalist Dar school" of the 1960s, that is relentlessly repeated in scholarly works? And what role does the Martinique revolutionary writer Frantz Fanon play in Rodney's and Ranger's perception of the African ruling class?
3. Under which specific departmental, (world-)socialist and political influences did HEUA emerge, and how is Rodney's understanding of underdevelopment and development? How is Rodney's portrayal of the communist states? Which

74 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 49.

75 Alpers, Edward A. (1982): Introduction. In: Alpers, Edward A./Fontaine, Pierre-Michel (eds.): Walter Rodney, revolutionary and scholar: A tribute. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies and African Studies Center University of California Los Angeles, 1–10, 5f.

publications of Rodney's colleagues can be said to have had an impact on the arguments in HEUA?

Needless to say, while the above paragraphs contain a lot of questions that I aim to tackle in the course of this thesis, there are many other interesting and important aspects in Rodney's writing that cannot be dealt with in full. Examples include Rodney's specific understanding of Pan-Africanism⁷⁶ that is only briefly touched upon here, a closer examination on Caribbean-African ideological cross-fertilizations, and Rodney's progressive interweaving of class, race and gender, that he utilized in sections of HEUA and could be judged as an early manifestation of an intersectional approach, that gained crucial importance in sections of Black and postcolonial studies. Moreover, there is Rodney as an early protagonist of global history writing⁷⁷, another academic field that has gained a lot of popularity recently.

1.2 Source material of the thesis

To answer my research questions, I draw on a range of published and unpublished source material such as books, pamphlets, conference papers, manuscripts, newspaper articles, and memoirs. During my exchange term at the UDSM in 2016/17 I was digging through the *East Africana* of the University Library Dar es Salaam. I started to read the papers of the Historical Association of Tanzania (HAT), Ranger's ideas about early resistances and mass colonialism, Iliffe's and Gwassa's portrayals of the *maji maji* war, and Iliffe's *Modern Tanzanians* more widely. I also came across the first edited volumes the department had produced such as *A History of Tanzania* which was compiled by Tanzanian historians Isaria Kimambo and Arnold Temu, *Aspects of Central African History*, and the proceedings of the first major congress of African history in Dar *Emerging Themes in African History*, both edited by Ranger.

As I was reading the works of Dar's department members like Rodney, Ranger, Iliffe, Gwassa, Temu, Kimambo, and Alpers I looked out for their conceptualization of African agency, portrayal of nationalism, presence or absence of materialist analysis, and *foci* that evaded the

76 See for example Rodney's speech that he gave at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Dar es Salaam in June 1974. It was entitled *Aspects of the International Class Struggle in Africa, the Caribbean and America*. See Campbell, Horace (1975 ed.): Pan-Africanism: Struggle against Neo-colonialism and Imperialism – Documents of the Sixth Pan-African Congress. Toronto: Afro-Carib, 18-41.

77 Personal conversation with Eric Burton, 24.10.2018.

narrow label of nationalist history such as the history of ideas (Ranger), trans-regional trade networks (Rodney, Alpers), trans-Atlantic trade networks (Rodney), inter-regional religious phenomena (Ranger, Kimambo) and comparative perspectives on African attempts to control and manage education (Ranger, Rodney).

As I have mentioned in the Prologue, after I had read HEUA and other texts of Rodney I decided to utilize what I understand to be Rodney's complex interplay of African agency, Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Marxist class analysis not only as a proof for a much more diverse "Dar school" but rather set Rodney's writings more in dialogue with the universities' political surroundings. The juxtaposition with Ranger's writings as well as tracing the departments' members influences in HEUA followed logically from my earlier research focus on the whole History Department of UDSM.

While the chapters Three and Four almost exclusively draw on my reading of Rodney's and Ranger's works, I am indebted to a number of scholars for their research on the UDSM, Tanzania's *ujamaa*, student activism at "the hill", and into Walter Rodney's intellectual and political thought. Student elitism, student activism, and the heated socialist debates at UDSM are well captured in Andrew Ivaska's *Cultured States*, Michelle Bourbonniere's *Debating Socialism on the Hill*, and Karim Hirji's *Cheche. Reminiscences of a radical magazine*.

The institution UDSM as an arena of competing interests during an era of global system competition is skillfully analysed in Eric Burton's dissertation *Tansanias ‚Afrikanischer Sozialismus‘ und die Entwicklungspolitik der beiden deutschen Staaten*. The dissertation also gives a complex assessment of *ujamaa* politics, that is used here together with Priya Lal's equally superb study on *African socialism in postcolonial Tanzania* to portray the political surroundings of the university campus. Crucial for my understanding of intellectual history and paradigmatic shifts in African history were the writings of Arno Sonderegger.

However, the major piece of scholarship that this thesis builds on is Rupert Charles Lewis' *Walter Rodney's Intellectual and Political Thought*. On 298 pages Lewis deals basically with all periods of Rodney's short albeit productive life, starting with his "Early Years" (chapter 1) until "Rodney's Perspectives on Caribbean and Guyanese Politics" (chapter 9). The book also does not miss to treat extensively Rodney's student years in Jamaica and England (chapter 2 and 3), as well as "Rodney's Academic and Political Agenda in Tanzania" (chapter 6). An assessment along the lines of intellectual history is provided by Lewis in chapter 4, named "Walter Rodney and the Writing of African History". Describing his goals in the Introduction,

Lewis sets out

to trace and discuss the evolution of Walter Rodney's intellectual and political thought. In the discussion of Caribbean political thought, Rodney is remembered largely as an activist who posed issues concerning race, class and ethnicity in Jamaica in 1968 during the Black Power era. His pioneering work on African history and politics and his Pan-African activism in Tanzania are virtually ignored. On the other hand, those who are familiar with his African activities are vague about his work in the Caribbean. There is a need, therefore, to bring together his African and Caribbean intellectual and activist contributions for they constitute a whole.⁷⁸

Apart from reading widely, Lewis also interviewed Rodney's wife Pat Rodney and a variety of department members and contemporaries of Rodney at universities in the Caribbean, the US and Tanzania during the early 1990s. Lewis utilizes this plurality of voices and familiarity with Rodney's writings to arrive at an excellent understanding of Rodney's knowledge production.

With this thesis I hope to provide new and innovative insights on Rodney's scholarship and further a dialogue with his writings that, as I would argue, still offer new perspectives towards today's understanding of Africa's complex interlacing in the global economic system.

1.3 Brief overview on the chapters

Proceeding from the introduction, this thesis is divided into three main chapters, each with a number of subsections. The final arguments and an outlook into Rodney's legacy are recapitulated in the conclusion. The main focus of this thesis is Walter Rodney, his works and his colleagues at the History Department at the UDSM. In the course of the thesis I interrogate in what ways Rodney and his works were shaped by the social, political, cultural surroundings and *vice versa*.

To underline the local political context, I have dedicated Chapter Two to Tanzanian *ujamaa* policy, the student activism at "the hill" and ideological classes that were part of campus life. The chapter first gives a brief overview on Tanzanian independence and the basic tenets of its socialist project *ujamaa*. The *Arusha Declaration* publicly outlined Tanzania's own socialist path, and equipped with the radiance of its benevolent and educated president of widely

78 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, xiii.

admired integrity⁷⁹, the country attracted a diverse array of scholars to teach at the UDSM. Chapter Two further aims to assess as to what extent the Tanzanian political climate of *ujamaa* shaped Rodney's historical writing and public engagement at UDSM, and how important his connections to a number of young socialist students at the campus were. The chapter starts with the student demonstrations against a compulsory *National Service* scheme for university graduates. In the course of the elitist protests, President Nyerere expelled two thirds of the student body from the university. Shaken by the protests, Rodney's arrival at the Dar es Salaam campus opened windows for revolutionary action in an attempt to radically restructure the university after the *National Service* crisis of 1966. Rodney took vigorously part in discussions about the role of the UDSM in a socialist Tanzania. The proposals of the "Group of Nine", that Rodney was a member of, led to a restructuring of the Common Course, that all UDSM students had to attend. Infused with Marxism, dependency theory and Tanzanian nationalism, the Common Course evolved into the Development Studies programme and thus had a long lasting impact at UDSM.

Chapter Three analyses writings of both Rodney and Ranger along the themes of Nationalism, Resistance and African agency. It will argue that the so called nationalist school of Dar es Salaam of the late 1960s was much more diverse and complex if we look at the knowledge production in more depth. The chapter will demonstrate that both Rodney and Ranger had their specific and differing ideas of how to frame and intertwine Nationalism, African agency and European domination in the course of writing African history. I am juxtaposing Rodney's writings with those of the Head of the History Department, Terence Ranger, to highlight similar lines of thought such as the rejection of colonial and racist scholarship but also lay stress on crucial differences when it comes to the perception of African agency and room for

79 Numerous works on President (1961–1985) Julius K. Nyerere's politics, life and legacy have been written. Most assessments share similar views on Nyerere's integrity as a leader and his thoughtfulness, and how the majority of Tanzanians approved Nyerere's policies though from the mid 1970s Tanzania's bureaucracy increasingly used violence to carry on what they understood to be *ujamaa*. See for example Cassam, Annar/Chachage, Chambi (2010): *Africa's Liberation. The Legacy of Nyerere*. Nairobi et al.: Fountain Publishers; Pratt, Cranford (1999): *Julius Nyerere: Reflections on the Legacy of his Socialism*. In: *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue canadienne des études africaines* 33/1: 136–152.

For more critical voices, consult Saul, John S. (2012): *Tanzania fifty years on (1961–2011): rethinking ujamaa, Nyerere and socialism in Africa*. In: *Review of African Political Economy* 39/131: 117–125. For a recent review see Burton, Eric (2016b): *Review Article. Sovereignty, Socialism and Development in Postcolonial Tanzania*. In: *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* 31/16: 109–126.

manoeuvre of the new African ruling class. As I will argue, the writings of Martinique revolutionary writer Frantz Fanon, who had a decisive influence on Rodney, were separating Rodney's and Ranger's views on the emerging political class in Africa.

Both Chapter Three and Chapter Four, the latter of which analyses Rodney's most famous book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, aim to trace and comprehend various scholarly influences from other members of the UDSM. I will emphasize how the high morale and common ground of the departments' members stimulated intense exchange of research in a young academic field with many pioneering topics and approaches.

I will then proceed in Chapter Four to present my thoughts on Rodney's paramount book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. I will first discuss the book along a number of themes, that I found attractive to discuss in detail, such as Rodney's concepts of "development", "underdevelopment", the role and performance of real existing socialism, and Rodney's provocative style. The last section interrogates what I find to be "innovations, contradictions and shortcomings" in Rodney's writing of African history visible in HEUA.

Without doubt, there is much more in HEUA that would be worthwhile to recapitulate in depth, such as Rodney's understanding of Pan-Africanism, continuities of colonial and postcolonial education, and the role of the African petty-bourgeoisie just to name a few. Debates about African initiative, African resistance and the performance of the postcolonial elite also figure prominently in HEUA, but I found they could be discussed much more productively in conjunction with Terence Ranger's writings in Chapter Three.

In the final conclusion I will recapitulate the major arguments and research efforts of the thesis. The concluding chapter also looks into Rodney's legacy for African history and academia more general today.

2. Walter Rodney in Tanzania: *ujamaa*, the *National Service* crisis and student radicalism at „the hill“

Tanganyika, led by the party TANU, gained political independence from Great Britain in 1961. After a socialist revolution had toppled the government in neighbouring Zanzibar in 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed a political union under the name United Republic of Tanzania. The Tanzanian developmental state had a number of predecessors that ruled over parts of the new republic: the Omani sultanate that controlled not only the island of Zanzibar but also a coastal strip of the mainland; the German colonial government from the mid 1880s to World War I; and lastly the British colonial government which had battled with the Germans on Tanganyikan soil, causing more than 100.000 Africans to die as a result of European warfare.⁸⁰

However, in the immediate post-independence era another event rose to the founding myth of Tanzania: the *maji maji* war of 1905 to 1907, the biggest mass rising in colonial East Africa.⁸¹ To force the combatants, that recruited themselves across tribal lines from different societies in the South and South-east of the territory, and sympathetic civil population to surrender, German colonial troops used the tactics of scorched earth and burned *shambas*⁸², poisoned fountains, and wrecked havoc. As a result, an estimated 200.000 – 300.000 Africans died, most of them starving to death.⁸³

During British rule—first as a mandate given by the League of Nations, and then as a UN trust territory—the resource-poor territory of Tanganyika was even more neglected than its East African neighbours and thus only possessed minimal educational facilities and industrial capacities.⁸⁴ “Tanganyika emerged from decades of colonial rule with paltry financial

80 Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus, 55.

81 Koponen, Juhani (1994): Development for Exploitation. German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914. Helsinki; Hamburg: Studia Historia, 229.

82 Kiswahili for a plot of land.

83 Gwassa, G.C.K. (1973): The Outbreak and Development of the Maji Maji War 1905-1907. Dissertation, Universität Dar es Salaam, 120; Iliffe, John (1979): A Modern History of Tanganyika. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 200.

84 Burton, Eric (2017a): Tansanias ‚Afrikanischer Sozialismus‘ und die Entwicklungspolitik der beiden deutschen Staaten: Akteure, Beziehungen und Handlungsspielräume, 1961-1990. Dissertation an der Universität Wien, 56f.

resources, inadequate infrastructure, and a distorted economy.”⁸⁵ The national political movement TANU was founded in 1954 and led by Julius K. Nyerere, a teacher who studied at Makerere College in Uganda and at Scottish Edinburgh University. After two electorate victories in 1954 and 1958 Nyerere formed a government in 1960 and successfully negotiated political independence from Great Britain which was achieved one year later. Tanganyika was the first independent territory in British East Africa.⁸⁶

2.1 Tanzania’s socialist project *ujamaa*

To portray *ujamaa*’s multiple, contesting visions and historical evolution in a couple of sentences can not possibly do justice to the development and trajectories of Tanzania’s ambitious socialist project. Therefore this section aims to give a brief overview and highlight basic ideological pillars of *ujamaa* in the 1960s.

Ujamaa was first published in 1962 by Nyerere as a philosophical guide to a national ethic. As Eric Burton has pointed out, during this period Nyerere understood *ujamaa* rather as a state of mind than a concrete socio-economic formation. Cornerstones of Nyerere’s writings were respect and dignity, communal ownership of land and key goods, an obligation to work and the vision to terminate the exploitation of man by man.⁸⁷ *Ujamaa* appealed to the ideal values of an African pre-colonial society such as respect, sharing and hospitality, but also the dedication to hard work. Priya Lal has highlighted the contradictive nature of *ujamaa* as a political project:

[U]jamaa transcended many of the binaries inherent in conventional conceptions of development and nation building. The Tanzanian experiment was simultaneously utopian and pragmatic, antimodern and modernist, populist and statist. It contained opposing impulses toward centralization and decentralization and toward planning and improvisation. It manifested, buttressed, and challenged both a politics of technoscience and a politics of radical humanism.⁸⁸

There was a “dialectical friction” that accompanied the processes of state formation, nation-building, socialism, and national development in Tanzania.⁸⁹ To sum up, while *ujamaa* as a

85 Lal, *African Socialism*, 6.

86 Burton, *Tansanias Sozialismus*, 57.

87 Burton, *Tansanias Sozialismus*, 57.

88 Lal, *African Socialism*, 11.

89 Lal, *African Socialism*, 11.

creative and complex ideology of African socialism had many meanings to different audiences, the Tanzanian project of socialism was easily the most ambitious version of African Socialism".⁹⁰ The 1967 *Arusha Declaration*, that figured as a milestone for *ujamaa*, was met with great enthusiasm across the country as socialism and self-reliance evoked discussions and debates as well as high hopes to rapidly alleviate poverty. Spirits of *ujamaa* were to be infused into new school curricula, institutional policies, constitutions and the like. Students and community members were, as Bertram Mapunda recalls, among the most enthusiastic marchers of the pro-Arusha marches in the city of Dar es Salaam.⁹¹

TANU's *ujamaa* also had a profound impact on the knowledge production at the university. Donald Denoon and Adam Kuper, two South African social scientists working at Ugandan Makerere University in 1970, found their colleagues of the History Department in neighbouring Tanzania "surrounded by the activity of a highly articulate national political party, building a nation out of an ex-dependency. They were exposed to stronger ideological currents than scholars in many other independent countries, where national movements are less pervasive and dominant."⁹²

This section briefly outlined basic tenets of Tanzania's socialist project *ujamaa* and its impact on the university. The impact of Nyerere and TANU on the knowledge production was considerable but not unidirectional, the knowledge production, student protests and conferences at UDSM itself having reverberations into the political sphere.

I will conclude with what Denoon and Kuper perceived to be one of the most manifest examples of *ujamaa* influence on the History Department. In a chapter on the Nyamwezi of 19th century East Africa, Andrew Roberts stated:

Looking back on the course of Nyamwezi history, this blend of competition and co-operation involving so large an area of Tanzania, we can see how appropriate it was for President Nyerere to adopt the tune of Mirambo's war-song "Iron breaks the heads" as the tune of the song "TANU builds the nation."⁹³

TANU indeed sought to "build the nation", and history was an important tool for this task.

90 Lal, *African Socialism*, 3.

91 Mapunda, *Response to Arusha*, 170.

92 Denoon, Donald/Kuper, Adam (1970): *Nationalist Historians in Search of a Nation: The 'New Historiography'* in Dar es Salaam. In: *African Affairs*, 69/277, 329-349.

93 Roberts, Andrew (1968): *The Nyamwezi*. In: Roberts, Andrew (ed.): *Tanzania before 1900*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, qtd. in Denoon/Kuper, *Nationalist Historians*, 341.

This can be witnessed in the first edited volumes on Tanzanian history, where the political entity of Tanzania was claimed to have existed centuries backwards. However, President Nyerere was aware of these endeavours, and periodically warned from a too uncritical treatment. When he received a copy of *A History of Tanzania*, he is reported to have “called upon African historians to refrain from exaggerating historic facts about Africa simply because their alien counterparts played them down or excluded them from their writings in the pre-independence period [...] He said that impartiality was important in the production of a succinct and authentic history of Africa.”⁹⁴

Another part of nation-building was the *National Service* programme. Originally founded in 1963 with Israeli assistance, the *National Service* started as a voluntary programme for young men and women with training in politics, military, agricultural and vocational training before spending two years within “nation-building” projects.⁹⁵ Considerations for a compulsory scheme for all university graduates required the students to “pay back” the free education they had received through the building of needed infrastructure or teaching at schools. However, the students considered this an affront and protested against the governments’ plans.

2.2 The *National Service* demonstration

Rodney came to Tanzania in October 1966 to take up a temporary lectureship for two years before pursuing his teaching at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica. The young Guyanese historian was attracted to teach in Tanzania because of its progressive path taken. In the month of Rodney’s arrival however, the UDSM was in turmoil. Over 400 students took part in elitist protests against a *National Service* scheme imposed on them by the government. Confident that they belonged to a small cohort of educated manpower, protesting students felt that the scheme would hamper their high aspirations and delay accumulation of status and wealth.

To understand the aspirations of the students it is important to note that a number of universities in British colonial territories such as Rodney’s undergraduate institution, the University of the West Indies, and the University College Dar es Salaam (UCDSM) were shaped by the British colonial educational system as they started as constituent colleges of the

⁹⁴ Denoon/Kuper, *Nationalist Historians*, 347f.

⁹⁵ See Ivaska, *Cultured*.

University of London.⁹⁶ In the case of UCDSM, the college started as a constituent college of the University of East Africa with partner colleges in Kampala and Nairobi as well, each site specializing in some fields only.⁹⁷

In the early 1960s the UDSM, at that time only consisting of a course in law, moved from the TANU headquarters in the city center to the new spacious campus more than ten kilometres Northwest where soon new faculties followed. The universities' facilities such as student housing, lecture halls, and sporting grounds were envisaged by the ruling party to adhere to the standards of British or US-American universities and were thus luxurious compared to the living conditions of the population majority. The spatial and material separation of intellectuals from the rest of the city's residents was increasingly unpopular among the population and some of the country's leading policy makers. According to the first president of Tanzania, Julius K. Nyerere, intellectuals, as a class of a privileged few, should serve the population and not to feel any superior than their countrymen and countrywomen, who, in Nyerere's rhetoric, financed their study⁹⁸:

We do not build skyscrapers here (at the Hill) so that very few individuals can develop their own minds and then live in comfort, with intellectual stimulus making their own work and their own leisure interesting to themselves. We tax the people to build these places only so that young men and women may become efficient servants to them. There is no justification for this heavy call being made on poor peasants.⁹⁹

On October 22, 1966, more than four hundred Tanzanian university students protested in a long march towards the city center against a mandatory *National Service* programme for university graduates. Certain of their highly desired skills in an only recently independent country, the demonstrating student body perceived the compulsory program as a threat to their high standing aspirations vis a vis the political ruling class. The protesters carried with

96 July, African Voice, 160f.

97 Kampala started with medical studies, Nairobi with a technical college.

98 Following a discourse of self-reliance, this assertion omits substantial international support for the construction and teaching at the UDSM. Comment from Eric Burton, 26.10.2018.

99 Nyerere, J. K. (1968): Freedom and Socialism. Uhuru na Ujamaa. Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 184, qtd. in Mapunda, Bertram B.B (2008): University of Dar es Salaam's Immediate Response to Arusha Declaration. In: Kimambo, Isaria N./Mapunda, Bertram B.B./Lawi, Yusufu Q. (eds.): In Search of Relevance. A History of the University of Dar es Salaam. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 170–192, here 173.

them banners such as “Kawawa Must Quit” and “Terms Harsh—Colonialism Was Better”¹⁰⁰. In November 1965 Vice President Rashidi Kawawa had already announced plans to make the National Service mandatory for university graduates and students who had finished their education by form VI. The compulsory National Service would last for two-years comprised of different sections such as three months of basic training in a camp; two months rural nation-building tasks for infrastructure or farming; as well as working the remaining eighteen months in teaching or civil service with 40 percent of the job’s regular salary.¹⁰¹ In 1965 the TANU Youth League (TYL), National Service leaders and the government became irritated by the fact that Tanzania’s educated youth barely participated in the programme that was soon perceived to offer “a dumping pit for those unlucky ones who failed in other spheres of life, notably those who for one reason or another could not go beyond primary school level.”¹⁰²

The following months saw a heated debate in the party’s daily newspaper, *The Nationalist*.¹⁰³ Boniface M. Kimulson, president of the *University Students’ Union* (USUD), rejected the government’s plans of mandatory National Service for the students. Kimulson criticized the salary reduction and found the living standards in the National Service camps not well suited for university graduates since they would not “march with some of [the university graduates] basic educational and social standards.”¹⁰⁴

Importantly, the debates in the press did not only circle around the luxurious environments at “the hill” and objected to the students’ elitism expressed by their lack to commit themselves to nation-building goals; the debate also highlighted the inter-generational conflict lines between the young, aspiring, educated few and their counterparts in their thirties or forties, who had already secured their posts in the party machinery and started accumulating wealth and status. The notion of “nizer” or *naizesheni* was used to depict the elite class of the 1960s in government and business who had profited from the nationalization of posts.¹⁰⁵ High-level government and party leaders were chastised for their material wealth, especially houses and cars. One letter to the *Nationalist* pointed to the elite in the expensive neighbourhood of

100 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 127.

101 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 136.

102 United Republic of Tanzania (1973): *Ten Years of National Service, 1963–1973*. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, qtd. in Ivaska, *Cultured*, 135f.

103 For a detailed account on these debates in the press consult Ivaska, *Cultured*, 136–143.

104 Qtd. in Ivaska, *Cultured*, 136.

105 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 126.

Oyster Bay and their motorized (*wabenzi*¹⁰⁶) way of living.¹⁰⁷

Interestingly, the role of the university and intellectuals in restructuring the society were themes Rodney had already reflected on while studying at the University of the West Indies. Together with fellow student Earl Augustus Rodney wrote a paper entitled *Some political aspects of independence*.¹⁰⁸ It analyses the middle class and university graduates as a leading force for revolutionary action to replace the present establishment. The two students emphasized the importance of group leadership of a committed group of leaders that would spread these revolutionary ideas among the proletariat.¹⁰⁹ They hoped the University of West Indies could produce such a leadership. However, Rodney and Augustus rejected the “urbane detachment of the British University” whose luxury was not affordable, and pressed more for a Latin American model of the university.¹¹⁰

Albeit separated by the Atlantic ocean and roughly 3000 kilometres of African mainland, the situation for Tanzanian students in the immediate post-independence era of a British ex-territory was similar. A number of students longed for the consumptive capacities of the ruling political class and were thus not eager to suspend their ascendancy to lucrative posts for two years of *National Service*. Although calls of President Nyerere and other political leaders aimed to signal the students that their expensive education was paid by the country’s peasants and workers, and that this implied a certain gratitude towards the nation, the students repeatedly grasped how central they and their newly acquired skills were to be in a postcolonial society dearth of skills and university graduates. “High Level Manpower” was the keyword of the day.¹¹¹ Karim Hirji who studied at UDSM remarked that

In all physical aspects and way of life, the university stood a world apart from the poor neighbourhoods that surrounded it, and from the rest of the nation. No wonder the outlook of the academic staff and students at the Hill was similar to that found on other

106 The term *wabenzi* was used to describe the political and economic class that was driving Mercedes-Benz cars, therefore *benzi*. *Wa-* is the plural form used in Kiswahili for humans.

107 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 142.

108 Augustus, E./Rodney, Walter (1961-1962): *Some political aspects of independence*. Pelican Annual – University of the West Indies, 90-95.

109 Augustus/Rodney, *Political aspects*, 92, qtd. in Lewis, Walter Rodney’s, 22.

110 Augustus/Rodney, *Political aspects*, 92, qtd. in Lewis, Walter Rodney’s, 23.

111 Burton, Eric (2016a): *African Manpower Development during the Cold War: The Case of Tanzanian Students in the Two German States*. In: Exenberger, Andreas/Pallua, Ulrich (eds.): *Africa Research in Austria. Approaches and Perspectives*. Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press, 101–134.

African campuses. The students—children of peasants and workers—were inflicted with an elitist (petty bourgeois) mentality. Their eyes and ears were set on a rapid elevation of their social status.¹¹²

It thus makes no wonder that students that lived and studied at a luxurious campus on a hill, spatially separated from the rest of the population, developed an elitist mentality since they were “quite conscious of their place at the top of a narrow apex of educational achievement.”¹¹³

As Andrew Ivaska expressed it, the debates around the *National service* crisis, that found its apex with the demonstrations of over 400 university students against the scheme, marked “a shift in the history of the university and its relationship with the state: the moment that heralded the end of a stridently elitist university that was failing in its role to produce servants of the nation and the beginning of a radical campus, a “people's University” at the service of the state's drive for modern, socialist development.”¹¹⁴

The measures for the demonstrating students were harsh. Their ten-kilometre walk in academic gowns was diverted by the riot police to the State House instead of the Vice President’s office. In the state house grounds, President Nyerere, Vice President Kawawa, and fourteen ministers waited for the students. They read a partition that closed with the following words: “Unless the terms of reference and the attitude of our leaders towards students change we shall not accept the National Service in spirit; let our bodies go, but our souls will remain outside the scheme. And the battle between the political elite and the educated elite will perpetually continue.”¹¹⁵

President Nyerere himself responded with a spontaneous speech. He concluded that without doubt the salaries of the politicians were too high, and immediately offered to cut his own salary by twenty percent. He admitted that the educated section of the population, including himself, belonged to a class of exploiters and that the “damned salaries” would play a crucial part in shaping elitist attitudes.¹¹⁶ As for the students, Nyerere sent them home. Consequently the two thirds of the university’s student body that took part in the demonstration, were

112 Hirji, Cheche, 6.

113 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 135.

114 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 127.

115 Cited from Ivaska, *Cultured*, 144.

116 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 144.

expelled indefinitely¹¹⁷ by the government from attending the university. This signalled a severe crush of high hopes of the student body, who often were sent as the first member of their family to acquire high positions that would eventually benefit the students' kinsfolk.¹¹⁸

The *National Service* crisis and its aftermath were important factors in shaping Tanzania's political policies in the second half of the 1960s in general and the constitution of the UDSM especially. The *National Service* crisis also marked the starting point for a new publication of Dar es Salaam scholars. Printed in 1968 it was a direct reaction to the October 1966 demonstrations. In the introduction, editor Idrian Resnick stated:

The authors of this book [these included e. g. Rodney, Ranger, Arrighi, Saul, and other members of the "Group of Nine"] are convinced that there is a need for radical changes in the substance and form of education in Tanzania. To be sure, it was spawned by the events following the student crisis of 1966 [...] The 1966 crisis stimulated people to express their views and to formulate alternative approaches to the solution of highly complex educational problems.¹¹⁹

In the chapter *Education and Tanzanian Socialism*¹²⁰, Rodney examined how race and class have been affecting the provision of colonial education and what educational challenges the ruling party of Tanzania faced in the immediate independence period. The article is written in an essayistic style, providing only a few footnotes. Furthermore, Rodney raised many assumptions without sufficient references. It shows that in 1967, when the article was probably submitted, Rodney had not yet delved deep into research literature on colonial education in East Africa and other parts of the continent that he later in HEUA, he would analyze more eloquently.

In the beginning of the article, Rodney shows that colonial education in territories such as Tanganyika equipped only a very small number of the African population with education,

117 However, after some months the students were allowed to continue their studies. Although many of the faculty staff condemned the demonstrations, at the *Conference on the Role of the University College* speakers asked the government to pardon the students. Consult University College of Dar es Salaam (1967): *Conference on the Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam in a socialist Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam, 11th – 13th March 1967.

118 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 145.

119 Resnick, Idrian N. (1968): Introduction. In: Resnick, Idrian N. (ed.): *Tanzania: Revolution by Education*. Arusha: Longmans, 3-14, here 11. My comment.

120 Rodney, Walter (1968a): *Education and Tanzanian Socialism*. In: Resnick, Idrian N. (ed.): *Tanzania: Revolution by Education*. Arusha: Longmans, 71-84.

mostly to fill the lower ranks of bureaucratic positions in the colonial machinery. The weak education system was thus designed to perpetuate the existing economic exploitation, social inequality and political dependence.¹²¹ Three classes existed when it came to the provision of education: descendants of white settlers, Asians, and, the majority African population. Thus, Rodney concluded "that race and education in Tanzania were correlates of class."¹²²

Educated Africans were incorporated into the "comprador Asians and white settlers", who were the local representatives of the European bourgeoisie. Soon, however, sections of the African educated elite used European concepts ("bourgeoisie") of democracy to claim their rights. A colonial educational system by its very structure could not fulfill these demands, and after the transition to political independence the dependence in the educational sphere remained. Even more, political independence brought no interruption to the dissemination of "bourgeoisie ideology".¹²³ Only recently the *Arusha Declaration* sought to "escape from this vicious imperialist circle."¹²⁴

In the following pages Rodney engaged in a fierce criticism of "bourgeois education", and the ideological influence exerted by educational institutions in the UK and the US. Though the Tanzanian educational system witnessed serious increases at all levels, as well as improvements in teacher education and decolonizing of syllabuses, the influential staff of the ministries and bureaucrats of the state machinery received their education in the colonial metropolises. "[T]he revamped educational system failed to serve the best interests of the workers and peasants of Tanzania."¹²⁵ Rather, especially the higher levels of education were fostering a locally trained bureaucracy subservient to international capitalism.

Delicately, Rodney also commented on his employer, the UDSM. Clearly referring to the student demonstrations against *National Service*, but extending "capitalist aspirations" towards the mostly expatriate staff, Rodney postulated:

The new University College of Dar es Salaam epitomised capitalist aspirations and distinctions within Tanzania. The university staff, like so many of the other teachers above primary school level, were Europeans or Americans. This was decisive in ensuring that the schools would not produce challenges to the international capitalist system and

121 Rodney, *Education*, 71.

122 *Ibid*, 71.

123 *Ibid*, 72f.

124 *Ibid*, 73.

125 *Ibid*, 74.

to the burgeoning political class which was a reflection of neo-colonialism.¹²⁶

These lines highlight the importance of Burton's metaphoric arena¹²⁷—though very vocal, and acting in a political climate of socialist discourse, UDSM was not dominated by socialist staff; importantly, there was not the socialist position, but a variety of contesting approaches and ideologies competing with each other. These ranged from Marxist-Leninist thought to more undogmatic socialist positions, social-democrats, liberals, but also conservatives could integrate *ujamaa* into their world-view.

According to Rodney, the university staff at UDSM was comprised (only) of Europeans and Americans—he must have meant US-American since “American” would include his regional origin as well—that would ensure the reproduction of neo-colonial structures. However, besides staff from Europe and the US, there were many other regions present at UDSM. At the inauguration of the UDSM as a national institution of Tanzania in 1970, academic staff originated from thirty countries, with the Western nations—Great Britain (62), USA (20), Canada (11), Sweden (8), Denmark (7), France (5), Australia (4), Norway (3) adding up to more staff than Tanzania itself (85 persons). Apart from that, there were also nine Nigerians, seven Kenyans, six Hungarians, five Ugandans, four Egyptians as well as two persons each from Malawi, Guyana and India.¹²⁸ Together with individuals from Czechoslovakia, Burma, Pakistan, Jamaica, Switzerland and Bulgaria, the campus was very diverse and the category of expatriate not so easily located between “East” and “West” or “socialist” and “neo-colonial staff”. While it is certainly true that the British and US-American expats formed an indispensable part of the teaching and research operations and thus could exert far more influence than their counterparts from socialist countries, there were also avowedly Marxist scholars from Canada, the US or Great Britain who were attracted by Tanzania's socialist political climate.¹²⁹ Moreover, West German Africanist and political scientist Franz Ansprenger, who was also visiting lecturer at UDSM in 1967, remembered that scholars from socialist countries did not necessarily had to adhere to socialist policies. A Polish colleague told Ansprenger in private: “I have now experienced the collectivization of peasants three times - in Russia, in Poland after 1945, in Ghana under Nkrumah; I do not see why it should work well

126 Ibid, 75.

127 Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus.

128 University of Dar es Salaam (1971): A Report on the University of Dar es Salaam for the Year 1970-71, Dar es Salaam, 271, qtd. in Burton, Afrikanischer Sozialismus, 401.

129 Bourbonniere, Debates.

here in Tanzania ...”¹³⁰. Bourbonniere has shown how these “hot debates” over socialist thought and “true socialist policies” at “the hill” were fought mostly by expatriates while the Tanzanian staff occupied a moderate position.¹³¹ Notwithstanding all these complexities there can be no doubt that the high percentage of expatriate staff underscored the dilemma for a postcolony to achieve self-reliant education while keeping the high standards that were set by TANU immediately after national independence.

As for the students, given that roughly two thirds of the Tanzanian student body at UDSM had been expelled, it is no exaggeration to assert that the university administration and ruling party were in a severe state of shock. According to some voices the college was almost to be closed down. The Vice Principal and Professor of Education, R. C. Honeybone, gave a testimony about the serious state at “the hill”:

“[F]or the college could easily have disintegrated. It was under attacks from outside often in unsigned newspaper letters containing a travesty of the facts, and by hostile demonstrations; and internally there was much breast-beating, blood-letting and sharpening of hatchets. Believe me ladies and gentlemen, the hatchets were out. Fortunately, strong nerves and wise counsels prevailed.”¹³²

In the Tanzanian press, demonstrators were denounced for their elitist stance and unwillingness to serve the nation. A few weeks after the *Arusha Declaration* had been proclaimed on the 5th of February 1967, the policy paper *Education for Self-Reliance* was launched from the President’s office. To discuss lessons of the *National Service* crisis, a major conference was held at “the hill”, entitled *Conference on the Role of the University College Dar es Salaam in a Socialist Tanzania*.¹³³ Although it was convened in March 1967, proposals that were discussed at the conference were written before the *Arusha Declaration*.¹³⁴ The conference brought together high-level party officials, the university administration and staff,

130 My translation. Original quote: “Ich habe jetzt die Kollektivierung der Bauern dreimal erlebt – in Rußland, in Polen nach 1945, in Ghana unter Nkrumah; ich sehe nicht ein, warum es hier in Tansania besser laufen soll ...”. See Ansprenger, Franz (1992): Politische Geschichte Afrikas im 20. Jahrhundert. München: C.H. Beck, 115f.; Eric Burton also discussed this quote and several similar statements by socialist staff from East Germany in much detail. See Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus, 406f. For East German lecturers at UDSM consult Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus, Chapter Three, section 7, 417-430.

131 Ibid.

132 University College of Dar es Salaam, Conference, 29.

133 Ivaska, Cultured, 147f.

134 Bourbonniere, Debating, 85.

TANU members and the interested public to discuss about the reform measures.¹³⁵ The National Service crisis thus marked a unique opportunity for socialist staff members at UDSM like Rodney to radically restructure the university along anti-elitist lines and turn it into a “people’s institution”. Although Issa Shivji, law student from 1967 to 1970 at UDSM and a close comrade of Rodney, did not remember if Rodney was already present at the *National Service* demonstrations¹³⁶, Rodney was one of the most vocal individuals in the ensuing debate on the university in a socialist Tanzania. It is this conference and its impact that we now turn to.

2.3 The Conference on the Role of the University College in a socialist Tanzania

After the profound impact of the *National Service* demonstrations in October 1966 many scholars, the university administration and politicians felt that the university college was in need of a new orientation. Already in late 1966 socialist scholars such as Walter Rodney, John Saul, Giovanni Arrighi formulated proposals for a stronger socialist ideology in the curriculum and a “socialist education” as a result of the *National Service* crisis that was depicted in the last section.¹³⁷ Their aim was to counter the elitist mind set of the students and educate them in the spirit of a country committed to a socialist society. This section shows how the crisis offered socialists like Rodney a unique possibility for a radical transformation of the paramount university in Tanzania. It highlights the holistic understanding of science that Rodney and fellow comrades outlined in their proposals. The proposals of the “Group of Nine” led to a restructuring of the Common Course that paved the way for the *Institute of Development Studies* (IDS), where a unique blend of Marxist thought, dependency theory, international socialism, Tanzanian *ujamaa* and TANU’s Pan-African nationalism was infused into the curricula.

As a result of the debates and proposals that followed the National Service crisis, a conference at the campus was organized. Convened in March 1967 under the leadership of the Head of the History Department, Terence Ranger, it discussed *The Role of the University College, Dar es Salaam in a socialist Tanzania*.¹³⁸ The Principal of the university college, Wilbert Chagula, highlighted the importance of the conference as an aftermath to the *Arusha Declaration* by contributions of “eminent persons” such as the Second Vice-President of Tanzania, Rashidi

135 University College of Dar es Salaam, Conference.

136 Rodney is reported to have arrived at UDSM some time in October 1966, though I could not figure out an exact date.

137 Bourbonniere, Debates, 85.

138 University College of Dar es Salaam, Conference.

Kawawa, who delivered the first lecture. The audience was comprised of observers from other universities in East and Central Africa, interested individuals, and party delegates of TANU and its youth wing TYL as well as secondary school teachers.¹³⁹

According to Principal Chagula, the conference sought to „discuss the various ways in which Colleges such as this one can be fully incorporated into the social and political fabric of the nation so that their contribution to the social, economic and political development of the countries in which they are situated could justify the large amounts of money that have been invested in them by the people.”¹⁴⁰ It also reflected on the elitism that became visible in the 1966 National Service crisis as Tanzanian high ranked officials framed the behaviour of the students in the affluent environment that influenced them. Second Vice President Kawawa remarked that “[l]iving conditions at the Hill are, I believe, as good as those at any University anywhere in the world – and better than a large number. The University College now represents a national asset worth millions of pounds – and it may still be necessary in the future to add to it.”¹⁴¹ In his final words Kawawa invited the participants to contribute boldly and explained that “the government is looking anxiously for your suggestions. We want the University College to play its proper role in the advance guard of the struggle for socialism and self-reliance.”¹⁴²

The conference included four committees—two of them led by Ranger—of university staff that covered the topics of curricula, staff, students within the community, self-reliance, college organization, and intellectual work. The committees submitted proposals to the university administration. In the foreword of the publication that summed up the results of the conference it was stated that the Academic Board will consider the proposals while in the end the College Council is responsible to run the College.¹⁴³ This can already be understood as a cautious warning against too radical attempts from Rodney and other perceived radicals to restructure the university and remind them that the final decision would ultimately lay in the hands of the college council.

Among the submitted proposals that were agreed upon was the establishment of a TANU and TYL branch at the Hill, the continuation of the National Service scheme for students, the “East

139 Ibid, 5.

140 Ibid, 5.

141 Ibid, 10.

142 Ibid, 13.

143 Ibid, Foreword.

Africanization” of academic staff, and the revision of syllabi and teaching methods.¹⁴⁴ Considerable impact had the proposal of the “Group of Nine”, consisting of nine expatriate scholars of Marxist orientation. The “Group of Nine”-proposal has already received some scholarly interest since it was formulated by a group of socialist scholars, that would later become “household names in international leftist circles”¹⁴⁵: Giovanni Arrighi, Catherine Hoskyns, Grant Kamenju, Frances Livingstone, James Mellen, Sol Picciotto, Walter Rodney, John Saul, and Herbert Shore.¹⁴⁶

As Michelle Bourbonniere has pointed out in her excellent Master thesis on the intellectual debates at “the hill”, Walter Rodney, Giovanni Arrighi, and John Saul had been expressing their ideas concerning a socialist transformation of the university in the immediate aftermath of the October 1966 *National Service* crisis.¹⁴⁷ At the time of the conference in March 1967, the “Group of Nine” distributed their proposal at the beginning of the conference to the audience. It detailed the envisaged changes in syllabus, teaching and hiring structure at the University in accordance with Tanzania’s socialist path—some of which are going to be outlined in this section.

It is thus important to note how a group of progressive scholars such as Rodney pushed for interdisciplinary work among the departments, stimulating the exchange of ideas and break up the departmentalization of knowledge. The lively and often fierce debates among faculty staff finally culminated in the institutionalization of interdisciplinary research in the form of the *Institute of Development Studies* in 1973.¹⁴⁸ But we are leapfrogging ahead.

The fundamental aim of the socialist staff’s proposal was to drastically alter the “Common Course”, that was compulsory for all students at UDSM. Socialist ideology should play an important role in it. With regards to the genesis and structure of UDSM the proposal emphasized that “the inherited model of higher education was western and in particular

144 Ibid, 45.

145 Ivaska, *Cultured*, 148.

146 Bourbonniere, *Debates*, 88; Ivaska, *Cultured*, 147f.

147 Bourbonniere cited from John Saul’s personal papers, e.g. Arrighi, Giovanni n.d. (October 1966-January 1967): “Creation of an Interdisciplinary Department,” JSP C-12.4; Rodney, Walter, n.d. (October 1966-January 1967): “Some Ideas on the University Curriculum,” JSP C-12.4.

148 Kimambo, Isaria N. (2008): Establishment of the University of Dar es Salaam. In: Kimambo, Isaria N./Mapunda, Bertram B.B./Lawi, Yusufu Q. (eds.): *In Search of Relevance. A History of the University of Dar es Salaam*. Dar es Salaam: Dar es Salaam University Press, 152–169, here 167. For a detailed account on the preceding debates and the establishment of the institute, see Bourbonniere, *Debates*, chapter 3, 80–109.

American in origin, and that it was essentially anti-socialist.”¹⁴⁹ The “Group of Nine” and other sympathetic staff were “highly critical of what was supposedly “post-liberal, ‘value-free’ American-inspired social science.”¹⁵⁰ (Socialist) ideology would thus have to play the leading role to prevent student elitism as observed in the national service crisis. Furthermore, the proposal argued that “socialist do not grow on trees but have to be *formed* through (often painful) experience and study.”¹⁵¹

As Bourbonniere has rightly judged, the above claim for a socialist vanguard force that had to be formed through disciplined study of socialist thought was at odds with President Nyerere's perception of African socialism that considerably reflected on communal values and indigenous socialist thought. According to a variety of African socialisms like *ujamaa*, Africans knew socialism quite well and did not need to be “taught” or “converted” to socialism.¹⁵²

Moreover, it is crucial to highlight that the university campus was place to a number of competing factions; this included different ideological and theoretical perspectives, reformers and radicals, nationals and expatriates, and much more. In his doctoral dissertation Eric Burton has conceptualized “the hill” as an arena where disputes were conducted. Conflict lines that arose were much more complex than imagined cold war binaries:

Alliances and conflict lines, however, are much more complex than just those between “East and “West”, encompassing ideological and theoretical divisions as well as conflicting interests at the global, national, institutional, and personal level. The campus was a space in which the ambiguities of the Tanzanian development project condensed and intensified.¹⁵³

Debates about the essence and applicability of socialism/Marxism-Leninism/African socialisms at the UDSM extended from the classrooms to the cafeteria, spontaneous teach-ins

149 Cited from Bourbonniere, Debates, 89.

150 Cited from Bourbonniere, Debates, 89.

151 Bourbonniere, Debates, 87.

152 Bourbonniere, Debates, 87.

153 Burton, Afrikanischer Sozialismus, 2. My translation. See the original:

“Allianzen und Konfliktlinien sind dabei aber deutlich komplexer als nur jene zwischen „Ost“ und „West“, sie umfassen ideologische und theoretische Gräben genauso wie Interessengegensätze auf globaler, nationaler, institutioneller und persönlicher Ebene. Der Campus war ein Raum, in dem sich die Ambivalenzen des tansanischen Entwicklungsprojekts verdichteten und verschärften.”

and coffeeshops.¹⁵⁴ The most long-lasting effects, however, were probably in the successful restructuring of the *Common Course*, where Rodney and other socialist staff took a leading role.

2.4 The impact of the “Group of Nine” on the Institute of Development Studies at UDSM

The *Department of Development Studies* emerged from the earlier *Common Course* that all university students had to attend. The reshaping of the syllabi was considerably influenced by the aforementioned “Group of Nine” proposal. Thus, although the “Group of Nine” proposal for a radical transformation of the university along socialist lines was watered down by the university administration and due to interventions of the “moderate” staff, with regards to the redesigning of the “Common Course” socialist thought in combination with dependency theory played a crucial role in the future syllabi of the *Department of Development Studies* that became the *Institute of Development Studies* (IDS) on July, 1973.¹⁵⁵

Drawing on the course descriptions in the UDSM’s Calendar from 1973/74, this section illuminates how close the syllabi of the courses in *Development Studies* were shaped alongside Rodney’s own research agenda. The socialist orientation of the *Development Studies* programme is hinted by the composition of the staff members in 1971/72. The director was Tanzanian scholar K. Guruli, who studied his MA and PhD in economics at East German Leipzig University. Lecturer F. Mbengo from Zimbabwe made his MA and PhD in Sofia and Prague respectively, while Tanzanian H. Othman studied at Moscow State University in the Soviet Union. Compared to other departments at the university, the *Department of Development Studies* and later the IDS was one of the few arenas where socialist staff had a considerable impact on devising curricula.¹⁵⁶

154 Burton, *Afrikanischer Sozialismus*, 5.

155 University of Dar es Salaam (1975): Calendar 1973 – 1974. Dar es Salaam. EAF PER LG 421. D3 A1.

156 In a personal comment Eric Burton has rightly pointed out that returnees from universities in socialist countries not necessarily had to be advocates of socialist ideas. Proof of their ideological orientation is given by publications and curricula rather than only their place of study. However, as for Guruli and Othman, both scholars supported socialist ideas of the Eastern orbit.

According to its aims and objectives in a Calendar from 1973/74¹⁵⁷, the IDS was to

- Instruct undergraduates about problems of Tanzanian and East African development
- Conduct research „in matters of development“, „either on its own or in collaboration with other persons or organisations”
- Act in accordance with Tanzanian socialist construction and with the policies of TANU
- Follow an inter-disciplinary approach, and build working relationships with other persons or organisations nationally and internationally

One legacy of the “Group of Nine” proposal was the new institute’s inter-disciplinary focus on development. In the following paragraphs we will have a closer look at the curriculum of Development Studies in the year 1973/74 when Rodney was still teaching at UDSM. It clearly shows how the lessons were rendered along an innovative blend of international socialist thought, dependency theory and Tanzania’s *ujamaa* experience. As Michelle Bourbonniere has pointed out, the version taught incorporated “a more Marxist interpretation of socialism than the outline suggested.”¹⁵⁸ She attributes this shift to the first course director Lionel Cliffe¹⁵⁹. The description of the course programme for the first year’s introductory lessons, however, strongly resembles Rodney’s own work as well:

An over-view of the concept of underdevelopment. The existing social economic structure of East Africa. East Africa in the world context. The determinant role of the environmental factors in Socio-economic formations, man as a product of his environment, man as creator of his environment. History as the struggle of classes, stages in human development, the unity of nature and society as the starting point of History, the role of labour in the separation of society from nature, material production —the determining force in social development, productive forces and production relations.”¹⁶⁰

The aim to introduce “the concept of underdevelopment” to the students of UDSM must have been inspired by Rodney’s own research for his book HEUA and publications of fellow

157 University of Dar es Salaam, Calendar 1973 – 1974.

158 Bourbonniere, Debates, 104.

159 The British political economist and activist Lionel Cliffe came to Tanzania in 1961, first as a tutor at Kivukoni college, later as a lecturer at the Political Science department. He had a close relationship with John S. Saul, with whom he wrote several articles and published the two-volume edition “Socialism in Tanzania: An Interdisciplinary Reader”. See Bourbonniere, Debates, 104.

160 University of Dar es Salaam, Calendar 1973 – 1974.

scholars Samir Amin, Tamas Szentes and Andre Gunder Frank. When examining the “existing social economic structure of East Africa”, it is likely that the writings of law graduate student and close comrade of Rodney, Issa Shivji, who had scrutinized the Tanzanian class structure, were discussed.¹⁶¹

The aim to teach “History as the struggle of classes, stages in human development, the unity of nature and society as the starting point of History, the role of labour [...] the determining forces in social development, productive forces and production relations” emphasizes the Marxist dedication of the curriculum. It also shows how UDSM in the beginning of the 1970s was a site of considerable academic freedom and academic dispute, given the tendency of the TANU government to avoid the evocation of class struggles and internal ruptures.

Yet, the curriculum also incorporated TANU where deemed necessary, e.g. concerning Tanzania’s role in the Pan-African Movement. A number of lessons were dedicated to the theme of “The Pan-African Movement and TANU and Tanzania’s struggle for national emancipation. The OAU and the struggle of the African people still under classical colonial domination and racist regimes; the struggle against neo-colonialism. The relationship between the struggle for democracy in Western countries and the national liberation movements.”¹⁶² Section 17 of the course curricula again blends in the national task for the construction of a socialist, self-reliant society under the auspices of TANU, Tanzania’s single ruling party:

Birth and development of TANU; the role of TANU in pre-Arusha period; TANU and the Arusha declaration; Socialism and Self-reliance; the party—leadership and a consistent ideology in the transition to socialism; party-cadres and their commitment to the ideology of socialism: politicisation of party membership; strategy and tactics.”¹⁶³

More sections that I want to describe in more detail are section 7 (“System of Underdevelopment”), section 8 (“Development of Socialist thought”) and section 9 (“Socialist Ideas in Africa”).¹⁶⁴ Section 7 aims to make the first year students familiar with theories of

161 Shivji’s long essay “The Silent Class Struggle in Tanzania was first published in a special issue of Cheche in 1970 (see also next section). Shivji analyzed the actual implementation of socialist *ujamaa* policies and propounded that, in fact, capitalist production was being expanded and hid behind socialist rhetoric. The essay led to the book publication Shivji, Issa G. (1976): *Class struggles in Tanzania*. London: Heinemann.

162 University of Dar es Salaam, Calendar 1973 – 1974.

163 Ibid, 148.

164 Ibid, 146.

underdevelopment, the external as well as internal causes of underdevelopment as well as with “the way out”.

“The way out” is stated clearly in Rodney’s HEUA that was published in Dar es Salaam in 1972. The preface of the book postulates that “African development is possible only on the basis of a radical break with the international capitalist system, which has been the principal agency of underdevelopment of Africa over the last five centuries.”¹⁶⁵ In these regards Rodney’s influence on the teachings in the restructured *Common Course* is clearly visible.

Section 8 engages with “Utopian socialism, Marx and scientific socialism.” It traces the development of socialist thought from 1917 to the present day with an emphasis on the anti-imperialist struggle. It looks at “Socialism distinguished from social democracy and reformism.” Section 9 interrogates the concepts and roots of “African Socialism” as well as current trends and developments. Ghana and Mali as well as Tanzania, Guinea and Congo-Brazzaville figure as case studies. Theoretical works from a number of African and Afro-Caribbean writers are studied: Fanon, Nyerere, Nkrumah, Cabral, Senghor and Mboya. To be sure, the last two Africans—Senegal’s first President (1960-1980) Léopold Sédar Senghor and Kenyan trade union leader Tom Mboya—did receive their fair share of criticism in this illustrious group of left-wing anti-imperialists.

According to Rodney’s 1972 article, *Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism*, Mboya and Senghor were ideologically not ideal companions of Fanon, Nyerere, Cabral and Nkrumah. Conversely, Senghor and Mboya were perceived by Rodney as African leaders who abused the term socialism for nothing more than collaborating and selling out to the imperialist West:

When ‘African Socialism’ was in vogue early in the 1960s, it comprised a variety of interpretations ranging from a wish to see a socialist society in Africa to a desire to maintain the status quo of neo-colonialism. Since then the term has come to be identified with its most consistent and least revolutionary ideologue, Leopold Senghor, and with the late Tom Mboya.¹⁶⁶

We thus see that the course outline favoured a specific understanding of socialism, blended with dependency theory but also incorporating national politics and nationalist efforts in shaping the countries’, regions’, and continent’s fate. Michelle Bourbonniere has argued that

165 Rodney, HEUA, vii.

166 Rodney, Walter (1972): *Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism*. In: *Monthly Review*, 61-76, here 61f.

the creative and inter-disciplinary application of dependency theory further alleviated contradictions of Third-World-Marxisms since “[t]he dependency approach resolved this contradiction, providing a means of marrying Marxist universalism with a form of socialism relevant to the Tanzanian context.”¹⁶⁷

The second year’s syllabus continued with lessons on “Industrialization in Africa” that could only be successfully achieved by Pan-African technical, scientific and economic cooperation. The resource-potential of Tanzania itself was critically examined and industrial strategies in East Africa were compared. It was followed by sessions on “Planning in East Africa” that sought to interrogate the necessity for planning in East African economies, limitations of planning as well as the East African coordination of such plans.

Section 20 on “National Culture and Education” finally not only echoed the need for a national culture and language, but stressed the role of the university in a socialist Tanzania that was initiated by the 1967 conference and discussed in more depth in 1970, when UDSM became a national university of Tanzania after the dissolution of the *East African University*. The curricula of the IDS in 1973/74 continued the debates of the 1967 conference on “Education as social service. Education as a national investment; the role of the university in building socialism; the commitment of the intellectual.”¹⁶⁸ The (socialist) commitment of the intellectual was crucial for Rodney, who adhered to the model of a revolutionary intellectual along the lines of Vladimir Lenin and Amílcar Cabral. These two individuals, among anti-imperialist writers such as Kwame Nkrumah, Che Guevara, and Frantz Fanon were revered by a small but very vocal group of self-designated radical socialist students at the UDSM, to whom we turn in the next section.

2.5 Rodney and student radicalism at “the hill”

Rodney was himself very active during his undergraduate and graduate degrees in Jamaica and Great Britain. At the University of the West Indies he was part of the universities’ debating team and chose to represent the university together with a fellow student at a debating competition at Pittsburgh in the US. Companion debater Franklin Knight, later History Professor at John Hopkins University, recalled that Rodney had “an almost singular quality of mind. He was the smartest guy I ever knew. In a minute Rodney could demolish the argument of his opponent. He would have made an absolutely brilliant lawyer. He also had a good sense

¹⁶⁷ Bourbonniere, *Debates*, 107.

¹⁶⁸ University of Dar es Salaam, *Calendar 1973 – 1974*.

of humour.”¹⁶⁹

During his student years in London, Rodney began reading Marxism more consciously, engaged in debates in Hyde Park with fellow West Indians, and met with other Guyanese and Caribbean students and workers to discuss the future of the region.¹⁷⁰ The study group which met at Staverton Road No. 20 in North London was organized by Richard Small and Norman Girvan and included a number of West Indian students. As Rupert Lewis in his intellectual biography of Rodney has emphasized, the study group with C.L.R. James and his wife Selma James had a significant impact on Rodney. This Marxist study group of the James’ did not follow a specific party line but rather stimulated independent thought and creative thinking.¹⁷¹

So Rodney was part of a Marxist study group in London during his student days. As he arrived at the Dar es Salaam campus in late 1966, he came upon a vibrant climate to discuss socialism, elitism and the role of the university in an African independent state. The debates were increasingly heated when Tanzania’s TANU proclaimed a socialist path of development with the 1967 *Arusha Declaration*. Inspired by the spirit of what they perceived *ujamaa* to be, a small but very vocal group of students aimed to propagate socialism at the campus. One of these students was Yoweri Museveni, later president of Uganda, who came to Tanzania in July 1967. Museveni was impressed by “Tanzania’s militant anti-imperialist stand” when Nyerere rejected the West German pressures towards Zanzibar’s alignment with East Germany and cut diplomatic ties with Britain after London decided to remain idle via the white settler regime in Southern Rhodesia. He came with huge aspirations to study at “the hill”:

It was mainly because of my over-evaluation of Tanzania’s achievements that while at home in Uganda, I was determined to come to Tanzania at any cost. I was so determined that I put UCD [University College Dar es Salaam] as my only choice on the university entrance forms. In fact, if, for any reason, I had failed to get admission to UCD, I would not have gone to university at all. This is because I was not so much interested in going to a college as in coming to Dar es Salaam—to Tanzania. *It is Dar es Salaam’s atmosphere of freedom fighters, socialists, nationalizations, anti-imperialism that attracted me* rather than the so-called “academicians” at the UCD [University College Dar es Salaam].¹⁷²

169 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 19.

170 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 34.

171 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 38.

172 Museveni, Yoweri (2010): Activism at the Hill. In: Hirji, Karim F. (ed.): Cheche. Reminiscences of a radical magazine. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 11–17, here 12. My emphasis.

Immediately upon his arrival Museveni felt that the student body lacked militancy and “was taken up by frivolous activities: drinking, dancing, and watching decadent Western films.”¹⁷³ To counter the students’ apathy, a small group formed a revolutionary student organization called the *Socialist Club*. Members included students from Malawi, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and other countries.¹⁷⁴ The TANU youth wing, the TANU Youth League, was reckoned as an ineffective, unpopular organization whose leaders lacked commitment.¹⁷⁵ Around November 1967 the small group of socialist students founded the *University Students African Revolutionary Front* (USARF) to transform the college “to a hotbed of revolutionary cadres, cadres that would dedicate themselves, unto death, to the cause of the African revolution.”¹⁷⁶

Walter Rodney was one of the faculty members that took part in the meetings of the *Socialist Club* and later the USARF. A number of USARF members entered into a close relationship with Rodney who was at that time in his mid-twenties, and therefore hardly older than most of the students.¹⁷⁷ Issa Shivji, who was a law graduate student at UDSM from 1967 to 1970, remembers that the USARF “was all the initiative of students, not the faculty. Walter was one of the few young faculty who was involved, but purely within a relationship of equality. There was no professor and student there.”¹⁷⁸ Rodney was among the most active, “[b]ut like others, he was a comrade among comrades.”¹⁷⁹

The goals of USARF were very ambitious¹⁸⁰:

- a) To work unceasingly for the promotion of a revolutionary spirit *within the University, Tanzania, Africa and the world in general*
- b) To contribute to the success of the various liberation movements and to work hand in hand with other progressive forces *here and elsewhere*
- c) To drive home the urgent need for African solidarity as the only means of getting real independence for Africa and of safeguarding that independence

173 Museveni, *Activism*, 13.

174 Shivji, Issa G. Shivji, 84.

175 Museveni, *Activism*, 13.

176 Museveni, *Activism*, 14.

177 Hirji, Cheche, 30.

178 Shivji, Issa G. Shivji, 84.

179 Shivji, Issa G. (1980): Rodney and Radicalism on the Hill, 1966 – 1974. In: Maji Maji, No 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney’s Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3, 29-36, here 31.

180 All goals taken from Shivji, Rodney and Radicalism, 31. My emphasis.

d) To keep a constant vigil against imperialist ideology and propaganda by every possible means

e) To stand firmly within the ranks of the workers and peasants of *Tanzania, Africa and the world* in their fight against imperialism and for socialism.

The highlighted phrases clearly show how the USARF understood the revolution not limited to the African continent (or, African nation states) but as a socialist world revolution guided by the inevitable class struggle of Marxist-Leninist thought. Another driving force was African solidarity for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa that symbolized the entrenched evils of imperialism, racism, and capitalist exploitation.

To achieve the pursued goals, the USARF organized public lectures and seminars, where Rodney often delivered a speech¹⁸¹, distributed leaflets, and issued statements on a variety of political events to “disseminate anti-imperialist propaganda.”¹⁸² Renowned radicals such as Stokeley Carmichael, Cheddi Jagan, Gora Ebrahim, C. L. R. James, and A. M. Babu spoke at USARF events at the university’s Arts Lecture Theatre.¹⁸³ To get an impression of these days of intense engagement, former USARF member Hirji demonstrated what in 1969 at the UDSM campus was considered as a “norm week”:

[On Monday] there is a general TYL [Tanu Youth League] meeting to attend; on Tuesday, a public lecture on “Apartheid and Zionism;” on Wednesday afternoon, the 2nd Vice

181 In the vacation month of December 1969, e. g., the TYL branch of the university together with the TANU headquarters organized the *Second Seminar of the East and Central African Youth*. The seminar should discuss the prospects as well as obstacles of the African revolutions that were emerging especially in Southern Africa at that time. The event lasted four days, apart from presentations and discussions participants were invited to visit an *Ujamaa* village and the Ruvu national service camp. Among the speakers was Walter Rodney, who lectured in front of participants not only from Tanzania but also neighbouring countries as well as members of liberation movements. Rodney's speech, in which he ridiculed most African leaders, sparked a heated debate. It was published in the government newspaper *The Nationalist* on December 1969 under the title “African Revolution ‘Must Be Accepted’”. Four days later, *The Nationalist* published an editorial letter that strongly rejected Rodney's radicalism “Revolutionary Hot Air”. The Guyanese non-national Rodney and other “campus radicals” were denounced as “irresponsible” and erratic. Rodney in turn wrote a letter to the newspaper to explain his actions, but in a very conciliatory tone thanked the government to be allowed to teach in the country. See Hirji, Karim (2010): *Tribulations of An Independent Magazine*. In: Hirji, Karim (ed. 2010): *Cheche. Reminiscences of a Radical Magazine*. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota, 35-53, here 39.

182 Shivji, Rodney and Radicalism, 33.

183 Ibid.

President of Tanzania, Rashidi Kawawa, is scheduled to speak on “The Role of the Youth in Socialist Tanzania.” He will be followed by a film show on Vietnam organized by the National Liberation Front of Vietnam; on Thursday, a film show and speeches will mark Che Guevara Day; and on Sunday, the second ideological class with papers on political economy to be read beforehand. Our plans include spending one Saturday of every month in an Ujamaa village. This type of schedule is the norm week after week during the current academic term.¹⁸⁴

Without doubt, the debates within USARF were significant not only for the students but also for Rodney's work. That he recognized the students' knowledge and abilities “within a relationship of equality” is most visible in the preface to his book HEUA (Chapter Four). First Rodney refers to the political context of Tanzania that shaped his understanding of African history: “It is no accident that the text as a whole has been written within Tanzania, where expressions of concern for development have been accompanied by considerably more positive action than in several parts of the continent.”¹⁸⁵ While Rodney acknowledges the work and help of many colleagues in the preparation of HEUA, he thanks two individuals, “who read the manuscript in a spirit of constructive criticism”¹⁸⁶, explicitly: “comrades Karim Hirji and Henry Mapolu”, who were undergraduate students at UDSM and members of USARF.¹⁸⁷

It is also interesting to note here that Rodney referred to the two students not as students but as comrades, symbolizing not a student-lecturer division based on authority and status, but rather a common ideological denominator that symbolized oneness in the struggle: comrade.

Rodney was also to contribute a couple of times to *Cheche*. *Cheche* was a radical, socialist student magazine that was published by the USARF at UDSM.¹⁸⁸ It existed only a very short time—from 1969 to 1970, altogether four issues—since the university administration was increasingly anxious of the radical Marxist perspective of the magazine and its involvement into campus politics. *Cheche* gained prominence that reached far beyond “the hill”. It sent copies to socialist sympathizers overseas and gained a reputation among the African liberation movements, as most of them had an office in Dar es Salaam at that time and were frequently

184 Hirji, *Cheche*, 30.

185 Rodney, HEUA, vii.

186 Rodney, HEUA, vii.

187 Rodney, HEUA, vii.

188 The editorial board consisted of Karim Hirji, Henry Mapolu, and Zakia Meghji. Hirji was a second year student in Mathematics, Mapolu a first year sociology and economics student, and Meghji a first year student of political science and history. See Hirji, *Cheche*, 27f.

invited to talk at the University campus.¹⁸⁹ In November 1970 both USARF and its magazine *Cheche* were banned by the Tanzanian government.¹⁹⁰

However, the involved students managed to incorporate themselves into the Youth body of the Tanzanian ruling party TANU and launched the successor magazine *Maji Maji* which is named after the *maji maji* war against German colonial rule in 1905 to 1907. *Maji Maji* took a similar ideological stance and in the next fifteen years forty-six issues were published by the students. In 1980, *Maji Maji* published a commemorative issue to honour Walter Rodney's contribution to the African revolution.¹⁹¹ The magazine ceased to exist in 1986, when it "died a natural death".¹⁹²

2.6 Rodney's article on Tanzanian *ujamaa* and his views on manual labour

Issa Shivji, one of Rodney's close comrades at UDSM, has remarked how the Guyanese historian saw his main role at UDSM as participating in ideological struggles and to clarify the character of the African Revolution. *Ujamaa* was perceived by Rodney as a serious attempt towards restructuring the whole society though he constantly sought to assess its strengths and shortcomings. As has been highlighted in earlier chapters, it was not only Rodney who acted upon such an understanding: "The very context in which he [Rodney] was functioning and the atmosphere of the time at the Hill during the period that Rodney was here (roughly 1966 to 1974) was one of intense intellectual ferment and ideological debates and discussions."¹⁹³ TANU issued the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 and *Mwongozo* in 1971. The *Mwongozo* led to a further workers' radicalization, as "[w]orkers were flexing their muscles and locking out personnel and general managers and spreading panick [sic!] among them as they quoted Clause 15 for doing so."¹⁹⁴ The UDSM witnessed a period of intense and relatively free debate, "the kind of which the University has not witnessed since."¹⁹⁵ Again, Shivji's statement emphasizes the multitude of factors in a climate of political experimentation and

189 Ibid, vii.

190 Ibid, vi.

191 *Maji Maji*, No 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney's Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3.

192 Hirji, *Cheche*, vi.

193 Shivji, *Rodney and Radicalism*.

194 Bgoya, Walter (1980): *Reminiscences of Comrade Walter Rodney*, 17th July 1971. In: *Maji Maji*, 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney's Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3, 45-48, here 45.

195 Ibid.

socialist enthusiasm, that led to a stimulating campus atmosphere, probably unique on the African continent or even the world.

Rodney himself contended that at UDSM “[t]here were perhaps only a few individuals, but nevertheless it was a community that was operating. We had a degree of freedom which was greater and remains greater than that which is accorded to academics in most parts of the Third World. That allowed us to pursue scientific socialist ideas within a political framework that was not necessarily supportive of those ideas, but was not repressive in any overt sense.”¹⁹⁶

In the section the National Service crisis I have highlighted Rodney’s views on educational reform. However, given *ujamaa*’s strong focus on the rural peasant, a topic that loomed large was to interrogate the overlappings of education and manual labour. In this instance, Rodney emphasized the important intervention from the Tanzanian government, that was to come with the *Arusha Declaration* and the policy *Education for Self-Reliance*, which was written by President Nyerere. Apart from other things, these policy measures posited a healthy attitude towards agriculture as a subject that must be part of the curriculum. Rodney highlighted why this is important. Considered to be the lowest form of labour activity during colonial times, the new policy aimed to restore the dignity of agricultural labour and that it will receive high social recognition within Tanzanian society.¹⁹⁷ It was thus clearly aimed to elevate the status of the mass of Tanzanian peasants via the educated elite and bureaucrats.

However, to Rodney it mattered who took up the task of manual labour and on which circumstances. The following statement by Rodney is especially interesting since it criticized actions and discursive strategies, that were used by USARF members, university staff and even President Nyerere himself: taking up a *jembe* (hoe) and appreciate the value of honest manual labour. Rodney contended that:

As an isolated act, participation in agricultural labour by a non-agriculturalist (and by those clearly destined to earn their living by mental labour) is at best a questionable symbol of solidarity and at worst a piece of arrogance—no different from a titled aristocrat descending into a coal-mine for once in his life wearing a worker’s cloth cap. But as part of an educational system for youths and a political programme for adults, it can be an integrative force in the life of the country and a means towards the solidarity of

196 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 38.

197 Rodney, *Education*, 76.

the working classes.¹⁹⁸

A picture in the UDSM's yearbook from 1974/75, that Burton has discussed in his dissertation,¹⁹⁹ gives testimony to the staging of self-reliance through an "isolated act" but this time not on a plot of land but in the countryside.



Picture 1: University staff and Vice Principal Pius Msekwa (on the right) at the construction site of the Tanzania Women's Union Nursery School.²⁰⁰

Concerning the visits of intellectuals to *ujamaa* villages, the pivotal question that remains to be asked is what Rodney defined as an "isolated act"—was it only a few hours of work? A day? A week? Or did it rather depend on the relationship with the respective farmers and workers? Indeed, Rodney's comrades from the *Socialist Club* and later USARF frequently aimed to visit *ujamaa* villages. Purposefully highlighted as an act of solidarity to the proletarian masses, one is left to ask if the young students' labor force was a blessing at best, hardly more than a welcomed variation of everyday life, or, at worst, even a burden. According to an article of J. L.

198 Ibid, 78.

199 UDSM (1976): A Report on the Activities of the University of Dar es Salaam for the Year 1974-75, Dar es Salaam, 130, qtd. in Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus, 410.

200 Ibid.

Kanywanyi in the commemorative issue of the radical student magazine *Maji Maji* in 1980, Rodney himself was working in *ujamaa* villages:

More than that, the well-remembered and cherished late Walter Rodney was not to be left behind when the progressive students under TYL and when the militant TANU Study Group in the city organised working visits to local factories and *ujamaa* villages. He was there, talking, working and sweating like everyone else. He did so without pomp, without asking for better treatment than the rest; arguing and urging our total identification and sympathy with and encouragement to the workers and the *wajamaa* peasants in question; [...] Of course, he was not alone in doing this; but he was a shining example in both word and deed. In this way, he was making his contribution to what he understood and regarded to be the generally progressive policies of the Party and Government.²⁰¹

When I try to reconcile different statements from Rodney's colleagues and comrades, as well as his own, there emerges a contradictory friction between the themes of non-Tanzanian revolutionary intellectual, a lacking Swahili cultural background, participation in *ujamaa* villages, and the university as the principal stage for a revolutionary intellectual. To illuminate these contradiction I will quote from an interview with Rodney:

My political role in that situation was fairly well-defined: to stay within the university walls; first and foremost, to develop and struggle at the level of ideas, to relate to the student population. For me, being a non-Tanzanian, it meant that I had to relate to the indigenous Tanzanians, indigenous intellectuals and students, within the university, and only secondarily to relate to Tanzanians outside the walls of the university. I draw that distinction.²⁰²

Rodney recognized a number of limitations that he as a foreigner would inevitably face, regardless of similar ideological backgrounds. Moreover, in another statement, he emphasized that "Tanzanians have to make 'their' revolution" since only they are sufficiently "grounded" in the complex web of culture, politics, and language that society constitutes.²⁰³

Tanzania's revolution was imagined in the socialist project *ujamaa*. But the meanings and policies, that should be put down on the ground, were highly contested. As Eric Burton has

201 Kanywanyi, J. L. (1980): Walter Rodney. In: *Maji Maji*, No 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney's Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3, 42-44, here 43.

202 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 39.

203 Ibid, 44.

remarked, in the beginning of the 1970s different fraction competed within the ruling party TANU for influence; in 1971 the Marxist wing gained some leverage with the radical *Mwongozo* guidelines, that pressured managers and led to strikes and workers self-organization. Rodney's paper *Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism* from 1972 entered the discussion about the nature of *ujamaa*, and sought to reconcile *ujamaa* with scientific socialism.²⁰⁴

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Rodney considered himself a Marxist with a world view inspired by scientific socialism: "Scientific Socialism (or Marxism, if you like) is an explicit world-view which contemplates every conceivable phenomenon from protein to literature, in terms of a methodology applicable to nature and society."²⁰⁵ Rodney claimed that scientific socialism was regularly distorted by academics; "[a]s carried out both by some self-professed Marxists and by bourgeois analysts, the transformation of Marxism into a barren, dogmatic, mechanistic and uni-dimensional theory has understandably led many creative individuals to reject what purports to be Scientific Socialism."²⁰⁶ Rodney felt that to "re-open the issue, one must go back to first principles and rescue the essence of Scientific Socialism."²⁰⁷ As Issa Shivji tells us in retrospective, he and a number of close comrades of Rodney advised him not to submit the paper for publication since "you cannot identify petit bourgeois socialism [as Shivji viewed *ujamaa* in the early 1970s] as scientific socialism."²⁰⁸

Ujamaa, incepted through the *Arusha Declaration* in 1967 and formulated by President Julius Nyerere, was seen by Rodney as Tanzania's own brand of "African socialism". Thus, Nyerere and his ruling party would be anxious of foreign ideological imports, both from the West and East. TANU's leadership was mass based and would not orient itself after the model of Lenin's socialist "vanguard". Rodney himself undoubtedly was very sceptical of the first wave of African socialisms of the 1960s:

When 'African Socialism' was in vogue early in the 1960s, it comprised a variety of interpretations ranging from a wish to see a socialist society in Africa to a desire to maintain the status quo of neo-colonialism.²⁰⁹

204 Eric Burton, personal comment, 27.10.2018.

205 Rodney, Walter (1972a): *Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism*. In: *African Review*, 1/4, 61-76, here 61.

206 Rodney, *Tanzanian Ujamaa*, 62.

207 Ibid.

208 Shivji, 8. Issa G. Shivji, 90.

209 Rodney, *Tanzanian Ujamaa*, 61.

He felt the term was abused by ideological ghost-drivers such as Kenyan Tom Mboya or Senegalese Leopold Senghor.²¹⁰ While the majority of African socialisms of the 1960s remained toothless, official policy declarations in Tanzania had breathed life and meaning into *ujamaa*. Different to other African socialisms that Rodney depicted as “utopian”, since they refused to engage with the internal class struggles in their societies, *ujamaa* had arrived principally at a correct perception of the class dynamics.²¹¹ Interestingly, this notion was most probably neither shared by President Nyerere and other leading party members as well as criticized—from the Left—by close comrades and Tanzanian intellectuals such as Issa Shivji²¹², whose essay *The Silent Class Struggle* took pains to show how *ujamaa* fostered capitalist production patterns.²¹³ For Rodney, the crucial dimension to these achievements was the *Arusha Declaration*, and, more precisely, its proposition toward state ownership.

To advance the main argument of the article, that *ujamaa* comes close to scientific socialism, Rodney drew attention to the situation of 19th century Russia. According to him, “there is a great deal in Tanzanian *Ujamaa* that is analogous to the pre-occupations of the Russians in question, who are known to posterity as Populists.”²¹⁴ Both Tanzania and 19th century Russia had figured as the exploited colonial sector of the international imperialist economy; in both countries there existed among the peasantry communal forms of organization like village communes and cooperatives. Unlike Tanzania however, 19th century Russia had already experienced full feudal relations and was becoming capitalist and industrialized on its own agency.

Rodney then went on to pose that Marx and Engels were much more flexible regarding revolutions and their theories of stages than is usually acknowledged since they did not argue

210 Ibid.

211 Ibid, 63.

212 Shivji recalls the debates around the paper: “Another issue where we [Shivji and Tanzanian comrades] had strong disagreement was a piece he [Rodney] wrote called “Ujamaa as Scientific Socialism.” [...] He was trying to show, drawing on the Narodniks, that Ujamaa is scientific socialism. Before he published that, we met and had a discussion on his draft. We had some heated exchanges and vigorously disagreed with him. We argued that you cannot identify petit bourgeois socialism as scientific socialism. At the end of it, Rodney said he would defer to his Tanzanian comrades since we were the ones who knew the situation here. He went ahead and published it. We did not expect he would. So what I am trying to say, coming from a different background, is that we did not accept everything.” See Shivji, 8. Issa G. Shivji, 90.

with unanimity.

213 Shivji, *Class Struggles*.

214 Rodney, *Tanzanian Ujamaa*, 65.

for a “mechanical line of historical progression.”²¹⁵ Marx and Engels had formulated a number of requirements that could provide a “shortcut” from communalism to socialism without going through a capitalist stage. These requirements included that “traditional forms” endured with vitality and favourable international conditions. Paramount to Rodney is the assumption, that Marx had actually not perceived the transformation from capitalism as the only viable option to achieve a communist society, but acknowledged that his model was rendered towards Western Europe. Therefore, a move from (Tanzanian) communalism/agrarianism to socialism is possible given the specific institutions that still remain in Tanzania as an embodiment of its communalist and agrarian characteristics. He deduced these possibilities to bypass a capitalist stage from Marx and Engels who mentioned as requirements “firstly, that the 'traditional' forms should exist in real life and have some social vitality, and, secondly, that international conditions should be favourable owing to a socialist breakthrough in some part of the world.”²¹⁶

For Rodney, Tanzanian *ujamaa* has set these national conditions. While denouncing “‘African Socialists’, ‘Arab Socialists’ and other denominations who are more concerned with fighting religious wars against ‘Communism’ than with emancipating the African people”²¹⁷, Rodney sees in Tanzania’s socialist project *ujamaa* a “radically different framework”. Though *ujamaa* has ingrained “anti-Marxist doctrines”, “it has placed the common struggle against capitalism and imperialism on a much higher plane.”²¹⁸ As a non-dogmatic Marxist, Rodney certainly acknowledged that the roots of socialist revolutions and their theory emerged partly independently of scientific socialism, such as Jose Martí in Cuba.²¹⁹ However, taking “Russia, China, Vietnam, Korea, Cuba” as an example, “every successful socialist revolution has borne out the truth of Engels’ observation that Scientific Socialism is the fundamental condition of all reasoned and consistent revolutionary tactics.”²²⁰

To conclude, Rodney’s piece *Tanzanian Ujamaa and Scientific Socialism* aims to strike a delicate balance between the proponents of *ujamaa* as African socialism, who rejected Marxist thought as dogmatic and unsuitable for African conditions, and adherents of scientific socialism, that viewed Russia, China, Vietnam, Korea, Cuba already on a next level of socialism,

215 Ibid, 66.

216 Rodney, *Tanzanian Ujamaa*, 68.

217 Ibid, 75.

218 Ibid, 75.

219 Ibid, 76.

220 Ibid, 76.

a road that Tanzania has already taken but where constant mobilization of the masses and producers has to be pushed forward to “defend the revolutionary gains”.²²¹ The *ujamaa* villages would play a central role as a “traditional” institution that, according to Rodney's reading of Marx and Engels, could foster the transition from an communalist agrarianism to scientific socialism.

221 Ibid.

3. Walter Rodney and Terence Ranger: Nationalism, African agency and resistance at Dar's History Department

The African historians Walter Rodney and Terence Ranger were two prolific protagonists in the writing of a (post-)colonial African history. Their ideas provoked fierce debates in the field of African history. Ranger's proposition of the connections between African resistance and mass nationalism²²² was highly influential for the view of resistances and nationalism,²²³ Rodney's dialectic understanding of Europe's active underdevelopment of Africa²²⁴ as an expression of the "African dependency approach" had long lasting effects within the field of African studies and development studies.²²⁵ HEUA will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter Four.

Terence Osborn Ranger was born in 1929 into a "Home Counties Conservative-voting home" where he "received an entirely conventional English middle-class upbringing".²²⁶ Ranger went to Hagedate School in north London, pursued his undergraduate studies at Oxford University, where he also carried out his postgraduate research into 17th-century Irish history. Ironically Ranger was supervised by the British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper, whose views on African history for many Africanists would symbolize the arrogance of colonial historiography.²²⁷ In 1957—aged 27 and "with two thirds of a doctoral thesis written"—Ranger moved to Southern Rhodesia where he secured a lectureship at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Salisbury, present-day Harare, Zimbabwe.

Ranger described the year 1956 as a political wake-up call, referring to the British imperialist reaction with regards to the Suez crisis and the Soviet reaction in Hungary, "We [Ranger and

222 Ranger, T. O. (1968a): Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa. Part I. In: *The Journal of African History*, 9/3, 437-453.

Ranger, T. O. (1968b): Connexions between 'Primary Resistance' Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa: II. In: *The Journal of African History*, 9/4, 631-641.

223 Eckert, Andreas (1997): Widerstand, Protest, und Nationalismus. In: Deutsch, Jan-Georg/Wirz, Albert (eds.): *Geschichte in Afrika. Einführung in Probleme und Debatten*. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 129-148.

224 Rodney, HEUA.

225 Bourbonniere, Debates, 108; Burton, Tanzania's Sozialismus.

226 McCracken, John (1997): Terry Ranger: A Personal Appreciation. In: *Journal of Southern African Studies* 23/2: 175-185.

227 Ranger, Terence (2013): *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with African Nationalism, 1957-1967*. Woodbridge: Currey, 4.

his wife Shelagh] began to think that it would be useful to go and work overseas– to ‘do good’ in a post-imperial world.”²²⁸

Other than Rodney, who was born into a working class family and engaged himself with Marxist theory in the London study circles led by C.L.R. James, Ranger admitted that he was not well versed in Marxist thought: “Neither then [at the end of the 1950s] nor after did I read much Marxism.”²²⁹ When Ranger was elected Secretary of the *Christian Action Group* some authors sensed a “typical communist infiltration”, though Ranger stated that “no one was less communist than I was.”²³⁰

Apart from their different views on Marxism both Rodney and Ranger can said to be activist-intellectuals. Whereas Rodney directed his attention against global imperialism and capitalism, Ranger’s activism in Southern Rhodesia was staunchly anti-racist. In 1961 Ranger organized an anti-color-bar demonstration in Salisbury, intended to file legal cases against a number of segregated services in the city, such as the Salisbury bus system, hotels and cinemas. The test cases were successful since from now on separate facilities for the different races were considered discriminatory in front of the law.²³¹

Both Rodney and Ranger received their postgraduate education at British universities, and both wrote their dissertations in the British empirical tradition, relying heavily on archival research—a method both carried on to produce historical knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s.²³² Both Rodney and Ranger published extensively and prominently in the 1960s and early 1970s, e.g. in the *Journal of African History*, the *Cambridge History of Africa* and the *UNESCO General History of Africa*—although Ranger was far more productive from the mid-1970s onwards given his considerably longer life²³³ and more favourable circumstances for knowledge production compared to Rodney after his return to Guyana where Rodney was denied the promised professorship at the University of Georgetown, Guyana. Consequently, Rodney had to take teaching stints in the US and West Germany to earn an income.²³⁴

The two historians were separated by thirteen years. Ranger was born in 1929, and took the

228 Ranger, *Writing Revolt*, 6.

229 Ranger, *Writing Revolt*, 21.

230 *Ibid*, 21.

231 *Ibid*, 110f., 116.

232 Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 50; Ranger, *Writing Revolt*.

233 Ranger died in 2015, aged 85.

234 Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*.

professorship at UDSM in 1963 aged 34. Rodney was born in 1942, went to Dar as a 24 year old lecturer in 1966. Ranger published his first major monograph (on African history), *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97: A Study in African Resistance*, in 1967²³⁵ aged 38; Rodney's dissertation *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800* was published in 1970 when he was only 28 years old, followed two years later by his major work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*.

On November 1965, the then twenty-three year old PhD student Rodney wrote to Ranger, Professor and Head of the History Department at UDSM, to apply for a job as lecturer in West African history. In his letter Rodney outlined his academic profile starting from his university education at the University of the West Indies. He offered a description of the themes in his doctoral thesis "*A History of the Upper Guinea Coast: 1545-1800*" and that he had recently written an article based on the dissertation that was accepted by the *Journal of African History* —the pioneering journal engaging with the young academic field of African history. However, Rodney had also admitted that he saw his future at the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, where he sought to establish a programme in West African Studies upon his return in 1968. Rodney therefore applied for a temporary post at the UDSM after he would have defended his doctoral thesis in June 1966.²³⁶

Ranger confirmed Rodney as lecturer at Dar es Salaam. Although Rodney did indeed return to Jamaica in 1968 only after a couple of months teaching at the University of the West Indies the Jamaican government banned Rodney from re-entering the country in October 1968 while he was attending *Congress of Black Writers* in October 1968 in Montreal, where he met with the leading figures of the *Black Power* movement like Stokely Carmichael, James Forman, Harry Edwards, but also with his mentor C. L. R. James, and Caribbean activists and scholars like Richard Moore and Richard Small. Rodney's appearance at the congress "ushered him onto the world stage"²³⁷, particularly due to the drastic measures of the Jamaican government whose ban prevented Rodney from establishing the first "serious" African studies programme in the English-speaking Caribbean.²³⁸ Confronted with this setback Rodney decided to come back to Tanzania in 1969 and applied a second time for a job as lecturer, again earning a positive response from Ranger, who supported Rodney's rehiring in spite of the political turbulences

235 Ranger, T. O. (1967): *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia 1896-7. A Study in African Resistance*. London: Heinemann.

236 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 43f.

237 Austin, David (2001): Introduction to Walter Rodney. In: *Small Axe* 10/5/2: 60-65, here 63.

238 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 44.

and Rodney's status as *persona non grata* as viewed by the Jamaican government.²³⁹

Rodney at that time had earned himself a Marxist profile; Ranger himself professed in an interview that he himself had hardly any clue of Marxist literature.²⁴⁰ As this chapter will also argue, the scholarly assessment of the postcolonial African ruling class was totally different. These factors lend credibility to Ranger's claim, that he was looking for the best minds he could get and that ideological orientation was not the major concern.

After his second appointment in 1969 Rodney was to stay at UDSM six more years until 1974; from 1969 to 1972 he was Senior Lecturer and from 1972 to 1974 he functioned as *Associate Professor* of History²⁴¹, before he would return to his home country Guyana to take up a professorship at the University of Guyana. Due to pressure from Prime Minister Forbes Burnham, Rodney was denied the post at the university. However, Rodney lived with his wife and three kids in Guyana from 1974 until his assassination by the Burnham-government in 1980. Ranger left Dar es Salaam in 1969 towards California to teach at Berkeley before he returned to the UK to teach first at Manchester and then at Oxford.

3.1 The "Dar School" at the UDSM's History Department

In early 1963 Ranger was deported by the South Rhodesian government. Preferring to teach in Africa—and thus refusing offers from Berkeley and London—he successfully applied for the chair of History at the brand new University College Dar es Salaam. The *Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences* was to be established as the second faculty after the already existing law faculty. It housed six subjects: Language and Linguistics, Education, History, Literature, Economics and Political Science. After his appointment at the university college, Ranger had one year before the teaching began to design a syllabus, order books for the library, and to recruit staff. Regarding the curriculum, Ranger recalled in an interview with Diane Jeater in 2011:

And so I had this *extraordinary opportunity of constructing the whole syllabus myself without any staff to disagree to it*, as they hadn't yet been recruited! And for the six years that I was there, we taught that same syllabus: a course on industrialization, which John Iliffe taught; a course on nationalism, which included both Ireland and India; a course on 'historiography of revolution' where the poor little dears had in one term to understand

²³⁹ Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 128.

²⁴⁰ Jeater, Terence Ranger.

²⁴¹ Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 126.

the historiography of both the English and the Russian revolutions, taught by me and Walter Rodney.²⁴²

Describing his first year at UDSM, Ranger recalled:

So I was able to construct a syllabus but also one was able to recruit an embarrassing plentitude of really first rate people. Iliffe in any case would have wanted to come to Tanzania because he'd done his research. The first person appointed was in fact John Lonsdale and here they all were, these Cambridge firsts, an embarrassment of Cambridge firsts. I tried very hard to variegate: I was bold enough to appoint Ed Alpers for example.²⁴³

According to the yearbook of the UCDSM of 1967/68, the members of the Department of History were the following²⁴⁴:

Professor and Head of Department	T.O.Ranger
Lecturers:	K.J. McCracken, J. Iliffe, E. Alpers, W. Rodney
Lecturer in History & Archaeology:	J.E.G. Sutton
Special Lecturers:	A.J. Temu, I.N. Kimambo
Research Fellow in Oral History:	A.D. Roberts
Research Assistant:	G.C.K. Gwassa

Looking at the staff list, the strong impact of expatriate scholars (all but Temu, Kimambo, and Gwassa) at the Department of History becomes evident as it was no different at other departments of UDSM in these early years. A number of scholars have argued that the “age of development” dates back to the attempts of the British and French colonial administration in the late 1930s and early 1940s, when they set up their own “welfare acts”.²⁴⁵ Concerning

²⁴² Jeater, Terence Ranger.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ University of East Africa (n.d. [1968]): The University College Dar es Salaam. Calendar 1967-1968, 19.

²⁴⁵ For a good overview on colonial development “efforts”, see the special issue of *Stichproben*, Schicho Walter (ed., 2014): Kolonialismus und Entwicklung. Paternalistische Kontrolle und "zivilisatorische Mission". *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, 26/14. Consult also Hodge, Joseph M./Hödl, Gerald/Kopf, Martina (eds., 2014): *Developing Africa: Concepts and Practices in Twentieth Century Colonialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; For the French colonial *la mise en valeur* see Schicho, Walter (2014): *Wirtschaftliche Inwertsetzung – la mise en valeur – und soziale Entwicklung. Der Entwicklungsdiskurs der kolonialen Verwaltung von Französisch Westafrika (AOF) zwischen 1920 und 1960*. In: *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, 26/14, 49-105.

British ruled Tanganyika, colonial attempts towards what they perceived development can be at best judged half-hearted or rather as almost non-existent: out of 184 doctors in Tanganyika only 16 were Africans; out of 57 lawyers two were Africans, and out of 84 engineers there was a single African engineer. Only two percent of the Tanganyikan youth attended secondary school at the eve of independence.²⁴⁶ Needless to say, Tanganyika could not boast of a university on its territory since during colonial times tertiary education for Tanganyikans usually had to be obtained at neighbouring Uganda's Makerere College.²⁴⁷

Albeit the percentage of Tanzanian university staff at UDSM was slowly increasing from the beginning of the 1970s onwards, when the young generation of Tanzanian scholars, who mostly obtained their degrees abroad, were appointed as lecturers and later professors and as Head of Department, with regards to Tanzania's vision of self-reliance the issue remained a fiercely debated one. Especially since the inauguration of the UDSM as a national university in 1970, the administration put great emphasis on 'Tanzanizing' the faculty staff. From a cursory reading it seems, that at the beginning of the UDSM in the mid-1960s, this question was not so much debated since there were very few Tanzanians to be appointed, and posts were to be assigned by the University of London.²⁴⁸

Without doubt, the small history department at UDSM that Rodney and Ranger were part of was highly active from its inception; the newly founded *Historical Association of Tanzania* (HAT) published papers in pamphlet form, with the aim to disseminate historical knowledge outside the university.²⁴⁹ Early contributions included Rodney's *The West African Slave Trade* and Ranger's *The Independent African Churches*.²⁵⁰ A departmental journal, *Tanzania Zamani*, was founded, and members of the department engaged in an oral research project about *maji*

246 Burton, *Tansanias Sozialismus*, 82.

247 Burton, *Tansanias Sozialismus*, 82.

248 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 32f.

249 For an overview and short review on the first five papers see Lonsdale, John (1969): Review: The Historical Association of Tanzania Reviewed Work(s): The East African Coast: An Historical and Archaeological Review by J.E. G. Sutton; West Africa and the Atlantic Slave-Trade by Walter Rodney; The EastAfrican Slave Trade by Edward A. Alpers; Records of the Maji Maji Rising, Part 1 by G. C.K. Gwassa and John Iliffe; The African Churches of Tanzania by T. O. Ranger. In: The Journal of African History 10/3: 517.

250 Rodney, Walter (1967b): West Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade. Paper No. 2 of the Historical Association of Tanzania. Nairobi: East African Publishing House; Ranger, T. O. (1969a): The African Churches of Tanzania. Paper No. 5 of the Historical Association of Tanzania. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

maji, where twenty-five students conducted interviews in their home areas²⁵¹. Furthermore, a guide was published to encourage amateur historians to undertake local research.²⁵² Last but not least, there was an edited volume entitled *Aspects of Central African History*. Commissioned by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education to provide teaching material for high school teachers, it was edited by Ranger and included two contributions from Ranger and one from Rodney.²⁵³ Asked about the 'secret' of the small department and the later success of most of its young members, Terence Ranger stated that:

[A] small university is absolutely marvellous, as long as it's full of good people (and absolutely awful if it's full of mediocre people). Dar es Salaam was a small university that was full of very good people and it meant that you were in constant interaction. We had tremendous morale in the department: we were all on the same beam; *we all used to attend each other's lectures so as to hand on the baton for the next course*; and so on.²⁵⁴

This remarkable team spirit of the Department, as I would argue, broadened Rodney's canvas and was certainly one factor that facilitated the writing of HEUA in which Rodney draws on a number of research from colleagues at the Department (see Chapter Four). Yet, the common activities of the department members were not restricted to the classroom:

And it extended, of course, from the campus to the trips we made all around the country, to give Historical Association conferences in various places. So it was very good people, inspired by an admiration (which was sometimes taxed) for Nyerere's Tanzania; taxed, for example, by all the students being arrested and sent away²⁵⁵, which was a bit of a

251 Coordinated by John Iliffe and Gilbert Gwassa, the *Maji Maji Research Project* (MMRP) documented numerous interviews with elders. Students wrote seminar papers with their collected material, and Gwassa and Iliffe used some of the interviews for their publication *Records of the Maji Maji Rising. Part One* (1968). See Gwassa, G. C. K./Iliffe, John (1968): *Records of the Maji Maji Rising. Part One*. Paper No. 4 of the Historical Association of Tanzania. Nairobi: East African Publishing House; Iliffe, John (1967): *The Organization of the Maji Maji Rebellion*. In: *The Journal of African History*, 8/3, 495-512.

252 Roberts, Andrew (1968): *Recording Africa's Past. A Brief Guide for the Amateur Historian*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

253 Ranger, T. O. (1968c): *Aspects of Central African History*. Edited by T. O. Ranger. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

254 Interview with Terence Ranger by Diane Jeater, July 16th 2011. <http://www.historyworkshop.org.uk/terence-ranger-life-as-historiography/> [Last accessed: 28.10.2018]. My emphasis.

255 Here Ranger refers to the Akivaga Crisis in 1970 (and not the demonstrations against National Service), when the leader of the student union, Simon Akivaga, was dragged away by police forces on the campus and then sent back to his home country Kenya. See Bourbonniere, *Debates*,

blow.²⁵⁶

In an interview with Rodney's biographer Rupert Lewis, Frederick Kaijage, a Tanzanian historian who is as of 2018 still teaching at UDSM, assigned to Ranger a decisive role as he had laid solid foundations for future generations of historians:

[Ranger] deserves a lot of credit for what he did at the University of Dar es Salaam and it is no wonder that the Department of History is still one of the best departments in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences in many ways. [...] He recruited some of the best minds wherever he could get them ... I think he must have encouraged some team spirit.²⁵⁷

Kaijage emphasized that Ranger was looking for the "best minds wherever he could get them".

One agenda setting event for the writing of African history in Dar and other leading universities was the first major historical congress the young History Department hosted. In October 1965 the *International Congress of African Historians* took place at the University of Dar es Salaam, inaugurated by a speech from president Nyerere. Historians, linguists, and archaeologists from all over the world attended, among them Jacob Ade Ajayi, A. B. Davidson²⁵⁸, Ivan Hrbek, Bethwell Ogot, Merrick Posnansky, Jan Vansina, and the 'doyen' of African Studies at the *School of Oriental and African Studies* (SOAS) in London, Roland Oliver. Contributions of the congress were jointly edited by P. E. Mveng for the French, and by T. O. Ranger for the English publication. The edited volume appeared under the title *Emerging Themes of African History*²⁵⁹ in 1968, with an introductory chapter written by Ranger.

What Brizuela-Garcia has argued for the two international conferences on African History and Archaeology at SOAS in 1953 and 1957 I would also claim for the *International Congress of African Historians* at UDSM in 1965; namely, that the jointly guidelines such as the "centrality of African agency, the role of interdisciplinary practice, the value of oral traditions and the importance of supporting teaching and research in African colleges have remained central to

119–132; Saul, Tanzania.

256 Jeater, Interview with Ranger.

257 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 128.

258 The Russian historian A.B. Davidson, not to be confused with the British Africanist Basil Davidson.

259 Full title: Ranger, T.O. (ed., 1968d): *Emerging Themes of African History*. Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965.

the project of African history up to the present.”²⁶⁰

The introduction, in which Ranger outlined possible future themes for African historians, had a profound impact on African historians’ scholarship, both internationally and for the department at Dar es Salaam. At least, this was so perceived by the aforementioned social scientists Denoon and Kuper, then working at Makerere college, who identified it as *the* agenda setting moment of the ‘Dar school’.²⁶¹

Up to the present day, the notion of a ‘Dar school’ is a recurring spectre, whose amorphousness is never further scrutinized; it is often articulated as a blurred reflection on a glorious past of the department and its then highly active historical association, as the numerous claims for a revival at the *Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzania* proved.²⁶² In academic discourse, the ‘Dar school’ is usually either interchangeably connected to Terence Ranger and the so-called ‘nationalist’ or ‘African agency’ approach (which, in my opinion, should be seen as two distinct approaches) or with Walter Rodney and his ‘underdevelopment’ theory.

Another classification of the Dar school was put forward by Marxist historian Henry Slater, who taught at Dar es Salaam in the 1980s. He saw Ranger and Rodney as the “vanguard figures” of different approaches at Dar es Salaam. In a mimeo entitled *The Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam: Thoughts on Two Recent Histories of Tanzania*, Slater distinguished four major phases with a characteristic position and a vanguard figure, “recruited from outside the Tanzanian social formation and who, in two out of three cases, remained in the Department for some years to help develop, consolidate, and defend against its first challenger, the new dominant position.”²⁶³ Slater’s diagram is shown below:

260 Brizuela-Garcia, *African Historiography*, 139.

261 Denoon/Kuper, *Nationalist Historians*.

262 The author was able to attend all panels at the *Annual Conference of the Historical Association of Tanzania*, held at the University Dar es Salaam on 16th and 17th November 2016.

263 Slater, Henry (1982/83): *The Production of Historical Knowledge at Dar es Salaam: Thoughts on Two Recent Histories of Tanzania*. University of Dar es Salaam, Mimeo, 3.

Crisis and Approximate Date	Historiographical Position	Catalytic Figure
	Colonialist	
Independence (1961)	----- Break	Ranger (1964-69)
	Nationalist	
Arusha (1967)	----- Break	Rodney (1966-74)
	Nationalist/Materialist	
Present conjuncture (1975-)	----- Break Materialist	Depelchin (1975-79)

Diagram 1: Slater's overall trajectory of the Department's work today (1982/83)²⁶⁴

To this schematic categorization Slater adds that “the position of the Dar ‘school’ has changed considerably through time, powered and guided by interlinked struggles within the Tanzanian social formation, within the international situation, and within the international world scholarship.”²⁶⁵ According to Slater, Ranger was appointed as Head of Department since he had earned a reputation as a leading nationalist historian. Under his influence, the Department in Dar developed “militantly nationalist positions.”²⁶⁶ The historical works thus narrowly focused on local rather than external initiative and provided the nourishing ground for a new Tanzanian nation. Slater accuses these writings to “virtually neglect” socio-economic questions and their desire to meet the needs of the ruling class.²⁶⁷

I would agree with Slater that the staff at the UDSM History Department in the second half of the 1960s indeed all shared a sense of enthusiasm in nation-building and recovering a usable past; however, they also incorporated themes such as inter-regional trade²⁶⁸, the movement of ideas²⁶⁹, and “ordinary men” instead of national heroes²⁷⁰ into their writings. They taught comparative courses on revolutions²⁷¹, gathered local oral history accounts, and presented

²⁶⁴ Slater, *The Production*, 3.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 3.

²⁶⁶ Slater, *The Production*, 4.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 4.

²⁶⁸ Alpers, Edward (1967): *The East African Slave Trade*. Paper No. 3 of the Historical Association of Tanzania. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

²⁶⁹ Ranger, T. O. (1969b): *The movement of ideas, 1850-1939*. In: Kimambo, I. N./Temu, A. J. (ed.): *A History of Tanzania*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 161-188.

²⁷⁰ Iliffe, John (1973): *Modern Tanzanians. A Volume of Biographies* edited by John Iliffe. Published for the Historical Association Tanzania. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

²⁷¹ “[A] course on ‘historiography of revolution’ where the poor little dears had in one term to un-

papers on African religious movements in the whole of Eastern Africa²⁷² or on the impact of slave trade and imperialism on African societies, as Rodney had done.

Moreover, different approaches could be combined, intermeshed and innovatively reconciled in the writing of African history. Rodney himself did not reject that nationalism was to him a valid and important framework at a certain scale:

Nationalism is a certain form of unity which grows out of historical experience. It is a sense of oneness that emerges from social groups trying to control their environment and to defend their gains against competing groups. The nation-state also imposes order and maintains stability within its own boundaries, usually on behalf of a given class. All of those characteristics were present in nineteenth century African states, some of which were much larger than the colonies arbitrarily defined by Europeans.²⁷³

Nationalist angles could be utilized progressively, e. g. to strengthen the national capacities in the struggle over national resources or foreign domination:

I [Rodney] see dependency theory as very much a profound nationalist response. It is very often Marxist but not necessarily so. Many of the liberal-progressive Latin Americans, who might describe themselves as structuralists or by some other kind of description, believe in dependency theory and all that flows from it. They're coming to grips with the fact that they must have a set of ideas which will enable them to recover their national resources.²⁷⁴

Thus I would disagree with sweeping statements that "Rodney became a 'vanguard' figure in the rise of the 'Dar School' of African historiography, a 'postnationalist' approach to African history which replaced the focus on the growth of nationalism in an earlier period of African historiography."²⁷⁵

In principle, for Rodney it was not antithetical to combine nationalism and socialism. He

derstand the historiography of both the English and the Russian revolutions, taught by me and Walter Rodney". See Jeater, Interview with Ranger.

272 Ranger, T. O./Kimambo, Isaria N. (eds., 1972): The Historical study of African religion. With special reference to East and Central Africa. London: Heinemann.

273 Rodney, HEUA, 206.

274 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 66.

275 Slater, Henry (1986): Dar es Salaam and the Postnationalist Historiography of Africa. In: Jew-siewicki, Bogumil/Newbury, David (ed.): African Historiographies: What History for Which Africa. Beverly Hills: Sage, qtd. in Borubonniere, Debates, 108.

defined nationalism as “a struggle for a whole people”, socialism as “either an ideology or a new stage of society.”²⁷⁶ “Nationalism could lead to socialism or it could lead to capitalism. It could incorporate bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology. So that these things are not antithetical.”²⁷⁷

For future research, it might be very tempting to engage further in how Rodney incorporated the overlappings of nationalism and socialism into his work, and in what relation he set them via the race/class categories. From a today’s point of view, Rodney’s interrelation of nationalism and socialism as well as race and class would constitute an intersectional approach in the analysis of social formations:

A more meaningful question perhaps, which a lot of brothers and sisters do ask, is assuming that nationalism and socialism are interrelated, assuming that race and class are interrelated, where does one put the emphasis?²⁷⁸

I believe that a number of mistaken strategies derive from taking the racial divisions merely as subjective and therefore as something that you break down merely by speaking to the white worker and by exposing him to a superior logic. [...] Perhaps I should go further and say, where there is no historical privilege, because while there may not be a sharp class difference between a black worker and a white worker, there are certainly differences of historical privilege in all respects—culturally, politically, economically, and in terms of social mobility.²⁷⁹

What certainly influenced Rodney’s understanding in the early 1970s were his intensifying contacts with Afro-American activists and scholars and the *African Heritage Studies Association* at Howard University.²⁸⁰

Notwithstanding these complexities and interlacing approaches at UDSM in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the department’s members supposed collective embarkment on a purely ‘nationalist’ historiography in the service of nation-building for the young Tanzanian republic was critically noticed by contemporary critics and led the talk about a ‘Dar es Salaam school’ of historiography—until today.²⁸¹ While Rodney’s case clearly reveals the label “nationalist” to

276 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 91.

277 Ibid.

278 Ibid.

279 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 102.

280 Rodney, HEUA, xv.

281 Denoon/Kuper, Nationalist Historians.

be far too narrow, also Ranger's writings of the Dar period have a lot to offer. It is also my conviction here that these works contain much more than only a "nationalist" perspective on African history. While at Dar, Ranger researched for example African Churches²⁸², African religion²⁸³, and "African attempts to control education"²⁸⁴ in an inter-regional perspective and contributed to "A Modern History of Tanzania" an article that sought to portray the movement of ideas; and as one is likely to guess, ideas are much more difficult to be held back by national borders, as Ranger was also aware when one reads his article.²⁸⁵ Moreover, in a manuscript from 1965 that came to be published in the flagship journal *Past and Present*, Ranger discussed African attempts to control education.²⁸⁶ He looks at African independent associations and how their members engaged in setting up their own educational systems. The scope is inter-regional since the paper draws on examples from Kenya, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.²⁸⁷

Likewise, Rodney's work is much more multi-faceted to classify than within the realm of 'underdevelopment' theory only. This chapter will thus not only outline the different themes and approaches of Rodney and Ranger, but also how both historians at Dar es Salaam influenced each other, and benefited from each other. The first section will start with what I consider the prime motivation for both authors to become engaged with African history: to fight against colonial scholarship and prejudices on Africa.

3.2 Against colonial scholarship

One major unifying theme in the writings of both Ranger and Rodney, that I will emphasize in this section, is first and foremost to fight the prejudices and (mis)interpretations of colonial scholarship. Their research strives to counter the inherently racist views that were heretofore state of the art and in many academic and non-academic circles were kept unabated despite of political independence on the African continent. Moreover, based on a comparison of some of

282 Ranger, African Churches.

283 See e.g. Ranger's suggestions in Ranger, *Emerging Themes*; Ranger also edited a volume on African Religion with his former colleague at the department, Isaria Kimambo: *The Historical study of African religion: with special reference to East and Central Africa*.

284 Ranger, T. O. (1965): African attempts to control education in East and Central Africa, 1900 to 1939. Paper presented at the East African Academy Symposium, September 1965, Dar es Salaam. Revised version printed in *Past & Present*, December 1965. EAF PAM QTO DT 365.R3

285 Ranger, *The Movement of Ideas*.

286 Ranger, African attempts.

287 Ranger, African attempts.

Rodney's and Ranger's writings, I will argue that the unifying element of both scholars is neither nationalism nor underdevelopment theory, but rather their focus on African agency and on a "usable past" (Ranger) or rather "the past as present" (Rodney).

Anyone who served, even as a foot soldier, in the armies that fought and won these battles can remember the sense of solidarity and excitement. I can remember myself my admiration for the coherence and vigour of the strategy for research embodied in the first issues of the *Journal*; my gratitude for the first synthesising works which made undergraduate teaching possible; my even greater gratitude for the essential demonstrations of the respectability of oral history or historical linguistics. I can remember the exhilaration of being part of the small but active historiographical communities which developed in east and central Africa. And I can remember the sense that historians of Africa everywhere were engaged in the same task of *demonstration* of the possibility and viability of the field.²⁸⁸

The writings of the immediate post-independence-period aimed to recover "a usable" African past by countering the colonial attempts of dehumanization. The African past was used as a sense of pride in line with cultural nationalism, that had also helped to legitimize the African ruling classes, as Ranger has reflected in the mid-1970s.²⁸⁹ In 1968 while at the *International Congress of Black Writers* in Montreal, Rodney made an interesting speech regarding "African history in the Service of Black Liberation". Speaking to a mostly black audience, Rodney pointed to the dilemma that "we, as black people, are placed in [the] invidious position of having to justify our existence by antecedents, having to prove our humanity by what went before."²⁹⁰ Rodney continued:

One doesn't really set out to prove it. But, unfortunately, the historical circumstances in which black people have evolved in recent centuries have implanted in the minds of black brothers and sisters a certain historical conception and, in order to destroy that historical conception, one has to engage in this type of game of saying, "This is what the white man said but no, it isn't really so, we have a past," and that sort of thing.²⁹¹

288 Ranger, T. O. (1976): Towards a Usable African Past. In: Fyfe, Christopher (ed.): African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson. Proceedings of a seminar in honour of Basil Davidson's sixtieth birthday at the Centre of African Studies University of Edinburgh under the chairmanship of George Shepperson. London: Longman, 17-30, here 18.

289 Ibid, 22.

290 Rodney, Walter (2001 [1968]): African History in the Service of the Black Liberation. In: Small Axe, 10/5/2, 66-80, here 66.

291 Ibid, 67.

Concerning this “Golden Age” of writing African history that Rodney and Ranger mostly lived through while teaching and researching at Dar, Ranger remembered the pioneering journals, undergraduate teaching, scholarly milestones in oral history and linguistics and in general being “engaged in the same task of *demonstration* of the possibility and viability of the field.” For Rodney, it was not the methodological advances of an academic field but rather African history as a tool to emancipate Black people on the African continent and the Americas. Rodney saw himself as a product of the Atlantic slave trade and a dehumanizing experience that was connected to capitalism, that “barbarous and dehumanising system which snatched me from Africa in chains and deposited me in far off lands to be a slave beast, then a subhuman colonial subject, and finally an outlaw in those lands.”²⁹²

For Rodney, an African historian was also an activist who is involved in mobilizing the society towards racial emancipation and revolutionary goals. The re-creation of black consciousness is important but not an end in itself. Rodney's focus is on the struggle, the struggle for Black Liberation. This entailed an anti-capitalist orientation, e.g. as the Cubans had set out to follow, and as such Rodney voiced criticism on “white liberals”:

They [the Cubans] struggled, of course, alongside white people who had a vested interest in struggle—white people who wanted to break the imperialist's bonds. Not white liberals who are enjoying the luxuries of capitalism and give us some platitudes about behaving in the right way and so on; white people involved in struggle.²⁹³

Rodney was also more radical in his approach towards established concepts and paradigms. In his 1968 lecture at the *Congress of Black Writers*, for example, he argued to abolish the concept of “civilization” altogether that had informed many of a studies in the writing up of African pre-colonial kingdoms:

So we have to challenge those criteria and when I look back at African states, at African society in the broadest sense, I would, in fact, like to throw out the word civilization. I think it is a very arbitrary word, I don't think it gets us very far. I mean, we use it as a prop so that we can advance our thoughts and at a certain stage it will abolish itself, as it were.²⁹⁴

292 Maji Maji, 43/1980. Special Issue: Walter Rodney's Contribution to the Revolution. Published by the Youth Organization of Dar es Salaam. East Africana, EAF PER LH8 M3, Editorial, 1.

293 Rodney, African History, 68.

294 Ibid, 72.

Albeit both Rodney and Ranger can be viewed as engaged intellectuals of the 20th century²⁹⁵, their orientation and commitment was influenced by their social and regional background. Ranger's white liberal middle-class background led him towards a strong rejection of racism and racist policies that were expounded by colonialism. Ranger and his wife Shelagh engaged themselves in anti-racist activism in Southern Rhodesia, in a "post-imperialist world". For Rodney, influenced by his working-class background and his London Marxist study group, imperialism was far from over but now existed in another, though less overt, form.

3.3 On African initiative and African resistance

In this section I will argue that Rodney and Ranger, in their perception and writings on the above themes in African history and politics, varied considerably. To illustrate this argument I will use several articles and books of both authors, as well as an unpublished manuscript of Ranger²⁹⁶, that I found in the East Africana section of the University Library of Dar es Salaam.

Before we are prepared to analyse both authors' writings on African initiatives and resistances we must understand that these themes loomed large in 1960s historiography of Africa. Given the eminent need of nation-building after the political independence, anti-colonial resistances received paramount attention by African historians in that decade. During his time at the UCRN and also later at his time at UDSM, Ranger himself worked on the 1896/97 Shona risings against the English colonialists; from the mid-1960s onwards, at UDSM John Iliffe²⁹⁷, Gilbert Gwassa²⁹⁸, and a number of undergraduate students²⁹⁹ worked on the *maji maji* war in German East Africa, a somehow coordinated uprising of various African societies against the German oppressors. Advocating for a direct link between these anti-colonial resistances and modern mass nationalist parties, in 1968 Ranger published a widely resonating paper.³⁰⁰

295 Judd, Tony (2012): *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century*. New York: Penguin, 13, qtd. in Sonderegger, Introduction, 13.

296 Ranger, Terence (1966): *African Reaction and Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East and Central Africa*. Mimeo, University Dar es Salaam. Signature East Africana: EAF PAM.QTO DT365.R32.

297 Iliffe, Organization; Iliffe, John (1969): *Tanganyika under German Rule, 1905-1912*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

298 Gwassa/Iliffe, Records.

299 Mapunda, O. B./Mpangara, G. P. (1969): *The Maji Maji War in Ungoni*. Maji Maji Research Paper No. 1. Nairobi: East African Publishing House. See also the interviews in the Records of the maji-maji risings, Gwassa/Iliffe, Records.

300 Ranger, *Connexions*, Part I; Ranger, *Connections*, Part II.

Closely connected with the theme of resistance in the era of freshly gained political independence was the psychological dimension of scholarship. Decades of colonial scholarship in their turn have completely distorted African history; European scholars had even argued, that there is not even such a thing as African history apart from European historical actors on the African continent—a view that was defended for long into the post-war period and beyond African political independence by professors of History in academic institutions.³⁰¹ Understandably, one of the major tasks of progressive historians in the 1960s working on the newly established academic field of African history³⁰² was to debunk the still widely believed myth of white cultural superiority, and, connected to the former aim, to reassert African agency, countering views of African passivity.

Both Rodney and Ranger in their works aimed to de-mask the myths of the colonial period and sought to stress African agency and initiative. However, their framework with which to reconcile African initiatives varied substantially. Ranger put more emphasis on the loopholes, disorganization, and limited resources of the colonial machine in African colonies, that in turn showed how African actors used their agency.

Rodney on the other hand stressed the political, economic, technological, and thus military superiority of the European intruders, that left only marginal spaces for African initiatives, such as resistance. This is not that Rodney negated African initiatives but he used a much more (Marxist) deterministic framework, that was honoured by another colleague and friend of Rodney, Edward Alpers:

[T]o date only a handful scholars have successfully managed to balance African initiative with a fully aware realization of constant European initiative and with a clear-sighted recognition that the pre-colonial relations led directly to the colonial subjugation of Africa by Europe.³⁰³

301 Ironically, Ranger's History Professor in Oxford, Hugh Trevor-Roper, became notorious for his pejorative view on African history.

302 For the institutionalization of African history in the 1950s and 1960s see e.g. Falola, Nationalism and Fyfe, Christopher (ed. 1976): African Studies Since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson. Proceedings of a seminar in honour of Basil Davidson's sixtieth birthday at the Centre of African Studies University of Edinburgh under the chairmanship of George Shepperson. London: Longman.

303 Alpers, Edward (1973): Rethinking African economic history: a contribution to the discussion of the roots of under-development. In: Kenya Historical Review, 1/2, 163-188, here 166, qtd. in Lewis, 53f.

To illustrate these different understandings in more detail, I will extensively quote both authors from their writings. I begin with Ranger from his 1966 manuscript on “African Reaction and Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East and Central Africa”:

The myth of the early colonial period dies hard. The old assumptions of European cultural superiority, of over-whelming moral force, of relieved African acquiescence have all been challenged. But in their place has too often been erected the *counter myth of European material superiority, of over-whelming military force, of despairing African inability to affect their own fate.*³⁰⁴

In the above paper, Ranger came to outline African attempts to increase the quantity and quality of education, organized by African associations. At the beginning of the article Ranger reflects on existing literature concerning “resisting” and “collaborating” African societies and aims to show the comparative lack of finances and personnel that colonial administrations in a number of territories were confronted with. Thus also Ranger’s accusation, that a number of historians sought to erect the “counter myth of European material superiority, of over-whelming military force, of despairing African inability to affect their own fate.”

To contextualize this view it is important to note that at the same time—and already from the early 1960s onwards³⁰⁵—Ranger researched the initiatives of African Independent Churches. Moreover, Ranger’s and Rodney’s colleagues at the History Department at Dar es Salaam highlighted African attempts to engage in cash crop farming (Iliffe, HAT paper), and pointed at African leadership that was able to coordinate a multi-tribal war (Iliffe, Gwassa). It is in light of the activities of the History department at UDSM and other universities such as Ibadan that we can better understand the following lines in Rodney’s HEUA regarding African initiatives and responses:

There is a more sympathetic school of historians of Africa who contend that to see colonialism as completely negative is to underrate the initiative of Africans. Africans, they say, moved boldly into the labor market, into cash-crop farming, into commerce in some instances, into the educational field, and into the churches.³⁰⁶

304 Ranger, Terence (1966): African Reaction and Resistance to the Imposition of Colonial Rule in East and Central Africa. Mimeo, University Dar es Salaam. Signature East Africana: EAF PAM.QTO DT365.R32. My emphasis.

305 Ranger, Writing Revolt, 117.

306 Rodney, HEUA, 206.

Rodney then went on to explain his current (1972)³⁰⁷ understanding of African responses:

Yet, those were simply responses (albeit vigorous ones) to the options laid open by the colonialists. *True historical initiative by a whole people or by individuals requires that they have the power to decide on the direction in which they want to move.* That latter aspect had to await the decade of the 1960s. Within any social system, the oppressed find some room to manoeuvre through their own initiative. For instance, under the slave regime of America and the West Indies, Africans found ways and means of gaining small advantages. They would flatter and "con" the slavemasters, who were so arrogant and bigoted that they were readily fooled. Similarly, under colonialism many Africans played the game to secure what they could. Africans in positions like interpreters, police, and court officials often had their way over the ruling Europeans. However, that should not be mistaken for power or political participation or the exercise of individual freedom.³⁰⁸

From the above statements we can grasp that Rodney in principle agreed with the importance to highlight African initiative and responses in the colonial encounter, albeit recognizing that those responses were integrated into a relationship of severe power asymmetry to the detriment of Africans; he went further by implying that African responses in the colonial period can not be classified as "true historical initiative by a whole people or individuals" since the direction was blatantly laid down by the colonialists.³⁰⁹

Ranger instead proposed that "Africans were not helpless during the early colonial period in East and Central Africa. They could not avoid the eventual imposition of colonial rule but they were not simply objects nor victims of progresses set in motion outside Africa and sustained by white initiative and energy alone. They were to a very significant and often shaping degree participants."³¹⁰

307 The different publication dates of the two analysed works might indeed pose a problem for comparability since academic paradigms are in flux and influenced by political developments. However, to the author the perceptions of African agency differ considerably and are grounded in Ranger's and Rodney's methodological framework of understanding and writing African history where a mere number of years would not have brought the two authors much closer in line.

308 Rodney, HEUA, 206.

309 On the other hand, the belief that political independence opened up the possibilities for true historical agency is severely at odds with most of Rodney's (later) writing on the postcolonial African leaders and African "flag independence". The formulated claims for "true historical initiative" of the immediate post-independence period were probably a current snapshot in a period of nationalistic discourse that emphasized the agency and possibilities of the new nation-states to shape their own fate.

310 Ranger, African reaction, 1.

Importantly, according to Ranger, Africans shaped colonial policy because “resistance or the potentiality of resistance had a profoundly important effect on colonial policy”³¹¹. Since the British and German governments, who without doubt possessed “great technical, man-power and capital resources”, used only a small proportion of these resources for the active colonization of East and Central Africa, especially the early trading companies but also both the British and German administrations were short of men and capital in territories such as Kenya, Northern Rhodesia and German East Africa.³¹² Thus, “[b]y 1902 the ‘balance of power’ could still be described in terms far from an over-whelming white superiority.”³¹³ Taking the cases of military advanced societies such as the Wahehe, Wangoni, and kingdoms such as Buganda and Barotseland, who had increasingly access to firearms, Ranger concluded that “in terms of military strength and of the ability of the stronger East and Central African societies to defend themselves there can be little doubt that the European colonisers faced a significantly more formidable task than would have been the case a century earlier.”³¹⁴ Thus, “the confrontation of relatively weak colonial administrations with relatively strong African military systems did produce a ‘balance of power’ [...] There were, in fact, some African societies or peoples whom the early colonial administrations could not afford to fight.”³¹⁵ In the confrontation with South African natives colonial troops had to witness several disasters.³¹⁶

This depiction is a far cry from Rodney's assessment of European and African military strength and African agency at the beginning of the 20th century:

“It is widely accepted that *Africa was colonized because of its weakness*. The concept of *weakness* should be understood to embrace *military weakness and inadequate economic capacity*, as well as *certain political weaknesses*: namely, the incompleteness of the establishment of nation-states, which left the continent divided, and the low level of consciousness concerning the world at large, which had already been transformed into a single system by the expansion of capitalist relations.”³¹⁷

Whereas during the era of slave trading Rodney saw different gradings of African initiatives, in

311 Ibid, 10.

312 Ibid, 1f.

313 Ibid, 2.

314 Ibid.

315 Ibid, 2f.

316 Ibid, 3.

317 Rodney, HEUA, 134.

the period following the year 1885, when the partition of Africa had already been settled at conferences in Berlin without a single African attending, Africans seized to make autonomous decisions:

The truth is that a developing Africa went into slave trading and European commercial relations as into a gale-force wind, which shipwrecked a few societies, set many others off course, and generally slowed down the rate of advance. However, (pursuing the metaphor further) it must be noted that African captains were still making decisions before 1885, though already forces were at work which caused European capitalists to insist on, and succeed in taking over, command.³¹⁸

Although there were “Africans in positions like interpreters, police, and court officials often had their way over the ruling Europeans” also after 1885, “that should not be mistaken for power or political participation or the exercise of individual freedom. Under slavery, power lay in the hands of the slavemasters; under colonialism, power lay in the hands of the colonialists.”³¹⁹ This leads us back to the first quote in this section where Rodney argued that to possess real initiative one must have power; since European colonialists exercised power in the colonial period, windows for African initiatives remained few and were doomed to be without much impact.

The above quotes clearly illustrate that Rodney's approach is characterized by a determination to avoid ambiguities in the colonizing process when it comes to African agency —no later than 1885 Africans seized to make autonomous decisions and European capitalists took full scale command.

Another then hotly debated issue that emerged from the analysis of African initiatives, is the assessment of cooperating versus resisting African societies. Looked from the rapidly emerging world of politically independent African nation-states in an era of fierce system competition between global socialism and global capitalism, this question also had profound political implications. Soviet historians of Africa such as A. B. Davidson laid great stress on African resistances against colonial rule since they were considered a disproof of the colonial myth.³²⁰ Davidson embraced the view that “it is impossible to understand the African past

³¹⁸ Rodney, HEUA, 124.

³¹⁹ Rodney, HEUA, 207.

³²⁰ Davidson, A. B. (1968): African resistance and rebellion against the imposition of colonial rule. In: Ranger, T.O. (ed.): *Emerging Themes of African History*. Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians held at University College, Dar es Salaam, October 1965, 177-188.

without the re-establishment of the truth about this resistance”³²¹, a line that Ranger took up in his monograph on the Shona risings as well as later articles.³²²

In the United States and Western Europe, emphasis was put on the co-operating societies rather than resisting societies. Resisting societies were depicted as ignorant of modernization and differed radically in their structure and motives. Furthermore, while the co-operating societies were held to develop more rapidly, resistance was portrayed as futile and disastrous for the resisters.³²³ In light of the political transition from colonial rule to independent African nation-states, that was negotiated by individuals of the former colonial powers and the emerging African political class, this historical emphasis was also congruent with the actual political and economic aims of the former colonial powers and the USA, who favoured a smooth transition from colonial rule to political independence; the European powers were anxious to secure as much as possible of their multinational companies’ established position and trading links, whereas the USA perceived political stability as a pledge of security against the spread of communism.³²⁴

Ranger’s own preoccupation with resisting societies rather than cooperating societies stemmed from a lack of research conducted on the former:

In order fully to understand how Africans participated in the early colonial period and how their participation shaped the future we have to take into account both collaborators and resisters. Since the role of co-operating societies is so much better known than that of resisting ones it seems worth-while therefore to devote the rest of this chapter to an initial exploration of the significance of resistance and rebellion.³²⁵

One of the most illuminating examples Ranger gives with regard to the limitations of colonial administrations were alliances; here was considerably space for African initiatives, especially in so-called “key alliances on which the whole colonial position in a particular territory depended.”³²⁶ Ranger went on to describe certain advantages for the African societies who cooperated with the Europeans:

321 Ranger, *African reaction*, 6.

322 Ranger, *Revolt*; Ranger, *Connexions*, Part I & II.

323 Ranger, *African reaction*, 7.

324 Westad, Odd Arne (2005): *The Global Cold War. Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; see also Rodney’s chapters on Unilever and Diamang in Rodney, *HEUA*.

325 Ranger, *African reaction*, 7.

326 *Ibid*, 4.

This happened partly because of the advantages which could be gained within an African society by co-operating individuals or groups; partly because of the advantages that could be gained by an African society of its rulers at the expense of other societies. For many of the secular ruling groups the whole process offered an opportunity of considerable extension of power and profit, of a greater hold on the political system and of privileged access to the new sources of prestige and advantages like education and economic development.³²⁷

Rodney on the other hand stressed that Africans who entered into an alliance with Europeans to gain an advantage via their African neighbours could not gauge their actions since “[f]ew of those rulers [in an alliance with Europeans] appreciated the implications of their actions. They could not know that Europeans had come to stay permanently; they could not know that Europeans were out to conquer not some but all Africans.”³²⁸

Rodney was extremely cautious when it came to systemic exploitation of one African polity by another. While Rodney was a fierce critic of the African ruling classes in pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial times, the prime exploiter of African polities were European capitalists. If Africans that did not belong to the ruling class cooperated with the European intruders they usually did this without knowing the implications of their actions. This, it seems to me, is a perspective that is defended by Rodney due to his Pan-African goals where the theme of Africans’ deliberate exploitation of other Africans does not play the center stage.

Interestingly, on an individual level Rodney used a different framework to explain African cooperation with European intruders to the detriment of other Africans. Basically, existing rivalries between African social and ethnic formations were exploited by the colonialists, as Rodney aimed to illustrate by the military conquest *of Africans by Africans employed by Europeans*. Black Angolan³²⁹ soldiers were used from the 1880s onwards in the Portuguese

³²⁷ Ibid, 5.

³²⁸ Rodney, HEUA, 134.

³²⁹ Rodney used exactly the term “Angolan soldiers”. This clearly illustrates how Rodney used “nationalist” categories for the colonial period when such entities did not exist. However, this category is reflected by Rodney when he stated that “An African nationalist might be tempted to look back at the history of this continent and those individuals who fought alongside the Europeans against other Africans. Anyone who fought alongside the Portuguese in Angola, Mozambique or Guinea today would certainly deserve being branded as a traitor, but the use of such terms about the early Angolan reaction to the Portuguese would be misleading. To say, for instance, that a Bailundu who sided with the Portuguese in 1624 was a ‘traitor’ to Angola is to imply that the

colonial army, e. g. in the war against Mozambican rulers. The Angolan soldiers were put at the most risk and usually suffered far more casualties than their white counterparts.³³⁰ However, in this constellation Rodney did not classify these Angolan soldiers as collaborators. He rather oriented towards the World War II association of the term “collaborators” and thus argued that “even the most benign conception of ‘collaborators’ involves unanimity with respect to objectives; and this could not have been present when Africans were unaware of European intentions and were indeed deliberately misled on that issue.”³³¹

In other words, Africans lacked sufficient knowledge concerning the goals and objectives of the Portuguese colonialists and therefore contributed to Portuguese goals (against other fellow Africans) *without their knowledge*. This rather romantic line of argument in defence of (Pan-)African values and moral integrity ignores material or other incentives that might have led the Angolan soldiers to enter the Portuguese colonial army.

3.4 On postcolonial elites and African leaders

Another interesting focus of inquiry is how the Guyanese Marxist Walter Rodney and the British Liberal Terence Ranger perceived the emergent African ruling class in the postcolony. As I will argue, it is important to acknowledge the different socio-economic background—Rodney's Guyanese working class upbringing compared to Ranger's British “middle class” environment that led him to Oxford—and the ideological compass of both scholars in the 1960s.

As I will put forward in this section, one decisive disagreement—though there are certainly many more—between Rodney's and Ranger's assessment of the postcolonial elites can be illustrated along their reception of one paramount writer, that is Frantz Fanon. Born in 1924 on the Caribbean island Martinique, Fanon studied philosophy and medicine in Paris. In 1953 he moved to Algeria in support of the Algerian national liberation movement, for whom he

Angolan nation already existed. This was not so. What existed was a number of separate peoples within the geographical area which later became the political unit of Angola.” See Rodney, Walter (1968b): European activity and African reaction in Angola. In: Ranger, T. O. (ed.): Aspects of Central African History. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 49-70.

330 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 64.

331 Rodney, Walter (1971): The year 1895 in southern Mozambique: African resistance to the imposition of European colonial rule. In: Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria, 5/4, 509-535, here 535, qtd. in Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 64.

worked as a doctor.³³² One year earlier, in 1952, Fanon published *Black Skin, White Masks*, an analysis of the psychological effects of colonialism, that was based on Fanon's own experience in the French army in World War II and later as a student in France.³³³ In 1961, on the same day that Fanon died of leukaemia, his highly influential book *The Wretched of The Earth* was published in French. It was translated into English in 1963.

As Alamin Mazrui informs us, in the mid 1960s Fanon's ideas were already circulating widely in Eastern Africa, where the English translation of *The Wretched of the Earth* had been disseminated by returning African students from the USA. Quite a number of these students took part in the 1960-1963 "airlift" project, that was designed by Kenyan trade union leader Tom Mboya and US-President John F. Kennedy to provide scholarship for East Africans. Influenced by the US-American Black Power movement, the students engaged themselves with radical black thinkers such as Fanon.³³⁴ Especially the chapters "The Pitfalls of National Consciousness" and "On National Culture" were heavily discussed by East African readers at a time, when varying discourses of socialism were highly popular.³³⁵ Contemporary analysis of the postcolonial condition focused not only on the (ex-)colonizers but turned their attention to the emerging African elites, who were heavily criticized by Fanon as he accused them for maintaining the (neo-)colonial dependencies on Western capitalism and adhering to the same goals, standards and epistemology as the West.³³⁶ Fanon's ideas also came to vibrate strongly within *ujamaa*-Tanzania, where President Nyerere himself asserted the importance of modest socialist leadership in close alliance with the Tanzanian peasants. The activities of the "parasitic national bourgeoisie" that Fanon criticised so heavily was also echoed in *ujamaa* discourse, that sought to end the exploitation of men by men, and cut back the privileges of the emerging bureaucratic elite.³³⁷

Fanon's writings were also held in high esteem at the university campus in Dar es Salaam by a

332 Fanon, Frantz (1981 [1961]): *Die Verdammten dieser Erde*. Vorwort von Jean-Paul Sartre. Deutsch von Traugott König. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.

333 Batchelor, Kathryn (2017): Introduction. *Histoire Croisée, Microhistory and Translation History*. In: Batchelor, Kathryn/Harding, Sue-Ann (eds.): *Translating Frantz Fanon Across Continents and Languages*. New York: Routledge, 1.

334 Mazrui, Alamin, (2017): Fanon in the East African Experience. Between English and Swahili Translations. In: Batchelor, Kathryn/Harding, Sue-Ann (eds.): *Translating Frantz Fanon Across Continents and Languages*. New York: Routledge, 76-97, here 76.

335 Mazrui, Fanon, 77.

336 Ibid.

337 Ibid.

number of lecturers and students, most notably the “Group of Nine”³³⁸ and the socialist student groups at campus³³⁹. Rodney himself admitted to be heavily influenced both by Fanon’s writings as well as his embodiment of a revolutionary intellectual.³⁴⁰ Rodney’s understanding of colonial education and the psychological effects of colonialism in HEUA draw intensively on Fanon.³⁴¹

To understand the connections and divisions between what Ranger termed the “Africanist school” and the “Fanonist school”, we have to take a closer look at the *International Congress of African historians* that was convened in 1965 at the university college in Dar es Salaam. The congress was co-organized by Terence Ranger, and together with the Egyptologist P. E. Mveng Ranger was editing and publishing the proceedings of this conference.³⁴² The conference was realized with support from the Tanzanian government, and President Julius Nyerere held the opening speech. Top-class historians, archaeologists and linguists presented papers at the conference—Nehemia Levtzion, Roland Oliver, Jan Vansina, Bethwell Ogot, Jacob Ade Ajayi, John Lonsdale just to name a few. Thus the conference marked an important event that set into motion many developments within historical studies in Tanzania.

Originally designed as “a meeting ground for African students of African history who should at the same time act as hosts to representatives of the Africanist schools of Europe, America and Asia”³⁴³ the conference brought intense discussions about methodologies in writing African history, especially the intersection of oral, written and archaeological records in reconstructing an African past. In his introduction to the volume Ranger raised a number of crucial questions and outlined emerging themes in African history. He also argued for the importance of inter-disciplinary—among historians, political scientists, sociologists, etc.—as well as inter-regional exchange between historians of Europe, Asia and Africa.³⁴⁴

By foreshadowing Rodney’s later book HEUA, Ranger stated:

338 Andrew Ivaska hints that Kenyan literary scholar Grant Kamenju familiarized the socialist staff of the “Group of Nine” with Fanon’s writings in more depth. See Ivaska, *Cultured*.

339 The radical students’ USARF was also highly influenced by Fanon’s writings, as is visible in the first editions of *Cheche* and later *Maji Maji* magazine. Consult also Hirji, *Cheche*.

340 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney.

341 Rodney, HEUA, 262.

342 Ranger was responsible for the English version, while Mveng introduced the French version. Ranger, *Emerging Themes*.

343 Ibid, ix.

344 Ibid, xiii-xiv, xix-xx.

Yet it is important to realise that the Africanisation of African history is not a matter of ignoring European activities in Africa. A vast amount of work needs to be done to establish and document the impact of the Slave Trade in Africa; the character of African participation in it. A similar amount of work needs to be done to establish the complex character of African response and involvement in the colonial process.³⁴⁵

Writing in December 1967, less than a year after TANU's *Arusha Declaration*, Ranger was convinced that the debate within African historiography in the mid-1960s had greatly been influenced by the political events that followed the conference. However, apart from the political upheavals and policy formulations, Ranger sensed disillusionment with the African state of development and the alleged "impotence of independent Africa to develop itself, to attain unity, or liberate the south, has made many men firm adherents of the Fanonesque analysis of African nationalism."³⁴⁶

In contrast to those scholars adhering to Fanon's writings, according to Ranger, Africanist historians value a couple of themes of "genuine importance and formidable energy"³⁴⁷, such as the national movements, the winning of independence by Africans, and mass participation. Thus, the real Africanist historian would have "to argue his case against a wide belief that national independence was an episode in a comedy in which the colonial powers handed over to their selected and groomed bourgeois successors and in which nothing fundamental changed."³⁴⁸

What was Rodney's opinion regarding "national independence"?

The last chapter of HEUA, "Colonialism as a system for underdeveloping Africa", deals with political independence and African leadership. In the closing "Brief guide to reading" Rodney listed three works from Frantz Fanon (*Black Skins, White Masks; The Wretched of the Earth; Towards the African Revolution*) alongside seven suggestions altogether, thus highlighting the importance of Fanon's writings in this chapter. Rodney held the studies of Fanon as "unique in revealing the psychological aspects of enslavement and colonization as far as Africans are concerned, whether in the Americas or on the African continent. Fanon does not have any equal in analyzing the last stages of African colonialism and the advent of neo-colonialism."³⁴⁹

345 Ibid, xiv.

346 Ibid, xxi.

347 Ibid, xxi.

348 Ibid, xxi.

349 Rodney, HEUA, 262.

We thus can grasp Rodney's admiration for Fanon's analysis of the colonial/postcolonial transformation processes.

On his part, Rodney acknowledged that political independence of Africans did indeed mean *something*, since it ended *direct* political control from outside. In the last pages of HEUA, Rodney "affirmed (from a revolutionary, socialist, and people-centered perspective) that even "flag independence" represented a positive development out of colonialism."³⁵⁰ According to him, political independence was the necessary precondition that enabled African leaders to formulate alternatives in the political, economic, and cultural sphere. In fact, however, there were few African leaders at the eve of independence who followed a "non-capitalist path of development" and engaged themselves with questions of inequalities and contradictions — "[m]ost African leaders of the intelligentsia and even of the labour movement were frankly capitalist, and shared fully the ideology of their bourgeois masters."³⁵¹

Quite early in *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Rodney mentioned how the "revolutionary writer, Frantz Fanon has dealt scorchingly and at length with the question of the minority in Africa which serves as the transmission line between the metropolitan capitalists and the dependencies in Africa."³⁵² It is one of the few instances in the book that Rodney named another scholar. He shared Fanon's assessment of the "African sellouts" who follow the orders from Paris, London and New York³⁵³ who are responsible for the underdevelopment of the masses. For Rodney, the removal of direct colonial rule and oppression cleared sight towards an understanding of imperialism's exploitation of the African mass of workers and peasants.³⁵⁴ The pattern of the colonial period was to continue: "the ruling class protecting itself, while helping the Europeans to exploit the common people. This is of course the widespread pattern of modern neo-colonialism."³⁵⁵

Therefore, for Rodney the historical focus after Africans achieved political independence must be on the outward connections and influences. In contrast, Ranger's perspective emphasizes more the inward connections such as those between African primary resistances and mass nationalism, African mass participation in resistances and religious movements that were

350 Rodney, HEUA, 259.

351 Rodney, HEUA, 260.

352 Rodney, HEUA, 25.

353 Rodney, HEUA, 25.

354 Rodney, HEUA, 261.

355 Rodney, A History, 51.

decisively shaped by African leadership. In Rodney's view, political independence is only the first step to an independent, mass-based socialist society that critically engages with interior inequalities as well as with foreign exploitation; in Ranger's view, African independence has a crucial meaning in itself that allows African leaders principally to shape a prosperous society without world revolution.

The Africanist historian, who follows up the suggestions of Professor Ajayi or Dr. Lonsdale and who emphasises African activity, African adaption, African choice, African initiative, will increasingly find his main adversaries not in the discredited colonial school but in the radical pessimists.³⁵⁶

With "radical pessimists" Ranger referred to scholars—most probably Rodney included—who were very cautious of the emerging African ruling classes and viewed political independence without real economic independence as a farce. Rodney, in a 1969 lecture, would refer to the independence of many African states as "Briefcase independence".³⁵⁷

Notwithstanding the intense production of historical knowledge, the so-called "Golden Age" did not last long. In 1976, an edited volume on *African Studies since 1945*, that honoured Africanist Basil Davidson, was published. Therein Ranger had emphasized how in the mid-1970s the British academia lacked excitement and commitment to African studies; likewise in the US, due to the economic crisis, it became difficult for graduates of African studies. In addition, institutes would battle over methodological questions rather than conducting regional research.³⁵⁸ While Ranger did not hide his pride for being part of pioneering academic writing of African history and all that it had entailed, such as the founding of the JAH and the constant battle against colonial scholarship and its efficacious prejudices, in retrospect he identified a number of mistakes during the "Golden Age". According to Ranger, historical works in Dar es Salaam (where he was head of the History Department) or Ibadan displayed a "need for cultural heroes", did not put sufficient emphasis on methodological developments, especially in the field of oral history, and were "catering for interests that were too easily satisfied and too little demanding".³⁵⁹ Answering fierce criticism, that African historiography has been important in Africa for reasons of pride because it could not possibly have been

356 Ranger, *Emerging Themes*, xxi.

357 The *Nationalist*, "African Revolution 'Must Be Accepted'", Wednesday, 10th December 1969; Shivji, 8. Issa G. Shivji, 86f.

358 Ranger, *Usable Past*, 17.

359 *Ibid*, 18.

useful for anything else³⁶⁰, Ranger argued that after independence the political emphasis of African history writing dominated; the focus was laid on state structures rather than local realities, and there was a neglect of economic, agricultural or conceptual history.³⁶¹

Interestingly, in his mid-1970s reflections, Ranger also indirectly praised the achievements of Rodney for that matters. By drawing on the Tanzanian situation, Ranger praised the agendas of the university research bureaus in Dar es Salaam, whose specific research projects had made it recently “much more useful” to tackle problems in the regions. “The most recent historical fruits” of this approach were also a set of M.A. theses at the UDSM, that “combined a thorough study of regional economic change with an attempt to *integrate this in a general theory of underdevelopment*.”³⁶² Ranger did not explicitly refer to Rodney, but rather to “a general theory of underdevelopment”. However, as a closer look at the cited Master theses³⁶³ reveal, all of these were supervised by Rodney. I judge this assessment of Ranger as a praise of Rodney's approach to African history, that was infused by underdevelopment theory, Marxist tenets and nationalist mobilization.

The theme of underdevelopment has been famously put into form by Rodney in his book HEUA. Published in 1972 and thus a number of years before the above mentioned edited volume on *African Studies since 1945*, it had a long lasting impact on African studies and interested public in general. It is to Rodney's book that we now turn.

360 Ranger, *Usable Past*, 22.

361 Ibid, 17.

362 Ibid, 25.

363 J.R. Mlahagwa, Agricultural change in the Uluguru Mountains during the colonial period; S.K.S. Bakengesa, A historical survey of the coffee industry in Bukoba district, 1932-54; G. Manyanda, A history of the growth of the commercial cotton cultivation in Ndagalu, Kwimba district; C.K. Magoti, The development and impact of the money economy on Musoma district, 1939-60; A. Tambala, A history of the Tanga sisal labour force, 1936-64; L. Sago, A history of labour migration in Kasulu district, 1928-60; All M.A. theses from the UDSM, June 1974. See Ranger, *Usable Past*, 29.

4. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*

Rodney's seminal work *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* is considered by some authors as the groundbreaking work in African historiography of the 1970s, or even in the 20th century.³⁶⁴ Members of the *Institute of the Black World* in Atlanta, with whom Rodney worked together from the 1970s onwards, remembered that *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* "immediately struck an exciting and responsive chord among many in this country [the USA]. Among politically-oriented black people it played something of the same formative role as Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* almost a decade before."³⁶⁵

Considering Rodney's understanding of the Atlantic slave trade and European colonial rule as interlacing and interconnected parts of colonialism, Sonderegger highlights the pioneering role *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* can claim with regards to the writing of *entangled history*.³⁶⁶ Rodney takes great pains to show how the development of specific metropolitan areas is based on the active under-development of specific parts of the peripheries, especially through the extraction of raw materials that are used to manufacture industrial goods in the metropolises before selling them back to the peripheries. Following Marx's concept of "primitive accumulation", the net loss of an individual or collective is the precondition of high returns for another individual or collective.³⁶⁷

On the other hand, there are voices who consider Rodney's book not part of a scientific canon with its established rules and conventions, but rather as some piece of pamphlet literature without sufficient scientific structure and style. Thus, I am tempted to argue that few works on African history provoked such a divided judgement among scholars, and few had a comparable resonance with the wider public.

The main thesis of the book upholds that albeit outright colonial rule on the African continent lasted only for around seventy to eighty years, the foundation for Africa's underdevelopment was laid with the continent's integration into the international capitalist trade networks that were controlled by European capital from the 16th century onwards. Moreover, the full scale

364 Hirji, Karim F. (2017): Enduring relevance of Walter Rodney's 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa'. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 1.

365 Rodney, HEUA, xvi.

366 Sonderegger, Arno (2016): Ideengeschichte Afrikas. Reflexionen und Gegensteuerungen. Kumu-lative Habilitation an der Universität Wien für das Fach „Geschichte und Gesellschaften Afrikas“, 12.

367 Ibid.

colonial intervention at the end of the 19th century happened at a decisive moment of African development, thus aborting indigenous patterns of development in various fields, such as politics, economics, and culture. The rapid technological progress in the metropolises, combined with measures of force, heavily increased the exploitation of raw materials and labour supplies in the colonies that were engrained into a global capitalist system. By involuntarily providing the surplus from raw materials and labour supplies in Africa and on American plantations to the metropolises, Africa helped to develop Europe and was in turn underdeveloped through the expatriation of its profits into the hands of European and later US-American capitalists. To ensure genuine development on the African continent, African nation-states must form bigger federations and radically de-link with the global capitalist system, following a socialist path of heavy industrialization and development for the masses.

Rodney's macro-historical focus in his book was complemented by empirical studies that mostly focus on different countries and regions in West and East Africa. As I have tried to show in earlier chapters, Rodney's *repertoire* of different approaches was certainly an effect of his historical work at the UDSM where he taught from 1966 to 1974. Rodney also kept a close working relationship with some colleagues and students. At Dar es Salaam, he engaged with Tanzania's political economy, the West and East African slave trade, regional and class stratification in Tanzania, coercive labour regimes during German and British colonialism, as well as with problems of development.³⁶⁸

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa was published in 1972 by two co-operating publishing houses, namely Dar es Salaam based Tanzania Publishing House (TPH) and Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications in London. In 1974 an edition printed by the Howard University Press catered for the North American markets, while the 1970s and 1980s saw HEUA translated into several European languages, among them Portuguese (1975), German (1980), Spanish (1982), French (1986). A Chinese translation is forthcoming.³⁶⁹

In the course of publishing what was going to be his seminal work, Rodney took two unconventional decisions.

Firstly, as remarked above, he decided not to use any footnotes or references in his text, except for a few explanations. A "Brief Guide to reading" completed each chapter and contained a commented list of works Rodney deemed relevant for the respective chapter. Rodney

³⁶⁸ Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 48.

³⁶⁹ Hirji, *Enduring Relevance*, 1.

understood his practice as a deliberate act against the bourgeois establishment that functioned as the gatekeeper of academic publishing. Referring to his student days at SOAS in London, Rodney voiced the fear that adhering to “academic standards” meant in fact adhering to “bourgeois standards” that were hiding their ideology behind “objectivity.”³⁷⁰ Additionally, established academia was highly exclusive; content was presented in a sophisticated, elitist manner that was difficult to grasp for a wider audience and references were mainly used to praise the intellectual authorities of one’s own academic acquaintances. Rodney sought to break with this convention. He explained that “[t]he aim of this publication [*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*] was to reach our own people without having it mediated by the bourgeois institutions of learning.”³⁷¹ Rodney was aware of his provoking measures. In a letter addressed to his editor at the TPH, Walter Bgoya, the young scholar Walter Rodney in his late twenties admitted that his purpose was “to upset and not to please the deans of African history in London and Wisconsin.”³⁷²

To give context it is important to highlight that SOAS in London was crucial in the development of African history as an academic field. SOAS was connected to the establishment of African colleges in the 1950s and 1960s and many of the African and non-African graduates of SOAS went back to African colleges after their graduation to teach.³⁷³ “The deans” at SOAS were Roland Oliver and John D. Fage who were both in their forties when Rodney was at London; Oliver was the second referee of Rodney’s thesis besides his supervisor Richard Gray.³⁷⁴ In one of his first scholarly papers, Rodney articulated disagreement with Fage’s perception of the Atlantic Slave trade.³⁷⁵ In retrospect, Rodney saw SOAS as an institution that was “very involved in the defense of bourgeois ideology. We had weekly seminars [...] led by all

370 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 25.

371 Ibid, 26.

372 Bgoya, *Reminiscences*, 45.

373 Brizuela, *African Historiography*, 140.

374 Lewis, *Walter Rodney’s*, 43.

375 Kaba, *Walter Rodney*, 52; John D. Fage discussed Rodney’s position on slavery and its effects on Africa twice in 1969, firstly and elaborately in an article in the *Journal of African History*, secondly in the fourth edition of his *West African history* textbook. In the following years their differing opinions have sparked vivid debates on the impacts of the Atlantic slave trade on Africa. For many participants in these debates, the hint “Rodney-Fage debate” became short hand for the whole question. Personal comment from Arno Sonderegger, 03.11.2018. See Fage, J. D. (1969a): *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History*. In: *The Journal of African History*, 10/3, 393-404; Fage, John D. (1969b): *A History of West Africa: An Introductory Survey*. Cambridge, London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 225.

these deans of knowledge on Africa, who had this tremendous flair for keeping everybody at a lower level.”³⁷⁶

The “dean” of Wisconsin was Philip D. Curtin, who had introduced African history courses at the University of Wisconsin in 1959 with grants from the Ford and Carnegie foundations against local opposition within the university.³⁷⁷ Rodney objected foundations as a state of hypocrisy: “Rockefeller—who is making most of his money out of South African gold, out of the Rand, out of exploiting and participating in apartheid, the most vicious racial system in the world—that guy is going to finance a chair in African history.”³⁷⁸ Before the foundations sponsored chairs in African history, US government programs heavily financed the expansion of the so-called area studies as a strategic engagement with regions in Africa and Asia during the system competition with the Soviet Union.³⁷⁹

In 1970 Curtin, who himself had recently published a book, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census* (1969)³⁸⁰, had written a critical review on Rodney's published dissertation, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*. Curtin's main point was that Rodney mainly to overestimated the number of exported slaves. The review ended with Curtin's regret: “this is a book that might well have been a brilliant contribution to African history but it is seriously weakened by insufficient knowledge of the literature and by careless presentation.”³⁸¹

Rodney felt wounded. Therefore, Rodney's message in the letter to his editor Bgoya signals an intellectual potshot that he is not in need of their appreciation and deliberately chose not to adhere to their “standards”, ideology and methodology.

Secondly, Rodney chose to publish his seminal work in two small, heretofore almost unknown enterprises. Both managing directors of the publishing houses were affected by this decision, which, given the success of HEUA as a bestseller, had a profound impact on their companies. Walter Bgoya, managing director of the Tanzanian Publishing House at that time, contributed an article in a “Tribute to Walter Rodney” issue of the Dar es Salaam based student journal *Maji Maji* in the year of Rodney's death 1980. Bgoya admitted that TPH, as a sales outpost of

376 Institute of the Black World, Walter Rodney, 24, qtd. in Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 41.

377 Brizuela, African Historiography, 141f.

378 Rodney, African History, 70.

379 Brizuela, African Historiography,

380 Curtin, Philip (1972 [1969]): *The Atlantic Slave Trade. A Census*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

381 Curtin, Philip (1970): Review of *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*, by Walter Rodney. In: *Journal of African History*, 11/3, 453-455, qtd. in Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 53.

UK-based Macmillan publishing company, was financially not attractive for authors. Before HEUA, Rodney had already seen his doctoral dissertation printed by the renowned British publishing house Clarendon Press and had successfully submitted articles to *The Journal of African History*. Thus, Rodney's decision to publish HEUA by TPH jointly with Bogle L'Ouverture was a deliberate decision. According to Bgoya, Rodney wanted to publish HEUA in Tanzania, where he was working and living, and "whose community of active and committed students, lecturers, professors and others outside the University Community was evident as well as supportive."³⁸² In the course of the following years, the success of HEUA made TPH known to a much wider audience and far beyond the traditional markets. Bgoya held Rodney's decision as an act of solidarity vis a vis the local publishing scene of Tanzania, since from then on Tanzanian scholars increasingly cooperated with TPH.³⁸³

Right at the outset of his book, Rodney conveys his vantage point by expressing that "[t]his book derives from a concern with the contemporary African situation. It delves into the past only because otherwise it would be impossible to understand how the present came into being and what the trends are for the near future."³⁸⁴ Rodney's understanding of History as the "past of the present" is a driving motive for writing HEUA. Another crucial factor of HEUA's genesis is the specific Tanzanian political context, "where expressions of concern for development have been accompanied by considerably more positive action than in several parts of the continent."³⁸⁵ Originally, after completing his PhD thesis at SOAS in 1966, Rodney had planned to come to Ghana since his field of specialization was West Africa and Rodney was sympathetic to Nkrumah. However, after Nkrumah was ousted while on a foreign visit in 1966, only Tanzania was able to present a stimulating political climate to Rodney.³⁸⁶

In his first teaching year, Rodney witnessed the country's *Arusha Declaration* in February 1967 (see Chapter Two). Although the Marxist teach-ins with C.L.R. James and his wife Selma in his London years had shaped Rodney's ambivalence to the *Arusha Declaration* and variations of African socialism in general, in the following eight or so years the Tanzanian political context and the university environment at Dar es Salaam strongly influenced the Guyanese scholar-activist. Rodney expressed his exhilaration for the mobilizing effects of the *Arusha Declaration* and declared that "[i]t was in Tanzania in 1967 that I believe I was afforded the opportunity to

³⁸² Bgoya, *Reminiscences*, 46.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁴ Rodney, HEUA, vii.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁶ Institute of the Black World, 1990, Walter Rodney, 32.

grow in conjunction with the total movement of a society, and to grow in conjunction with other comrades, younger and older, though mainly younger, who were also grappling for the same perspective on African history.”³⁸⁷

This should be sufficient proof how significantly the Tanzanian context shaped HEUA. The personal growing “in conjunction with other comrades, younger and older, though mainly younger” refers to the intimate relationship of Rodney to a number of younger comrades—who were mostly students at UDSM—that is described in more detail in Chapter Two. Here it is sufficient to note, that two of these students, Karim Hirji and Henry Mapolu, were asked by Rodney to read the manuscript of HEUA.

4.1 Development and underdevelopment

Since the title Rodney assigned to his seminal work claims that Europe underdeveloped Africa, Rodney's understanding of development is crucial to follow the arguments presented in the book. In chapter one Rodney distinguishes individual development—more personal skills, freedom, creativity, material well-being, etc.—from development at the basis of social groups, where Rodney depicts development as the means to control external and internal relationships through productive capacities.³⁸⁸

Economic development is achieved by a social group if its members are able to increase their capabilities in coping with their surroundings. These capabilities are dependent on factors such as scientific laws, technology and organization. Humans’ understanding of their surrounding natural environment is a decisive step to put that knowledge into practice by devising tools through technological innovation.³⁸⁹

If viewed on a wider scale, this materialist oriented interpretation of development could imply gradual successes on an evolutionary road to progress. However, Rodney’s understanding does not account to a belief in strict linearity, since he is aware of geographically dispersed periods of decline of the productive capacities of societies.³⁹⁰ Rather, it is emphasized by Rodney that the rate of development to invent tools, formulate scientific laws, and take command over nature varied considerably spatially and temporally. While several thousand years ago the ancient Egyptians were a highly innovative society with great productive

387 Ibid, 35.

388 Rodney, HEUA, 3.

389 Rodney, HEUA, 4.

390 Ibid, 5.

capacity, the British Isles hosted bands of hunters, depending on their wooden clubs and bows for their survival.³⁹¹ A closer look at the British Empire at the eve of the 19th century will, on the one hand reveal a highly innovative society, that had already laid down the foundations for industrial production and established control of the Atlantic ocean while, on the other hand, Egypt's rulers realized what they need is a program of rapid technological innovation.³⁹²

Rodney acknowledged the “temporary setbacks”, but felt that the “overall tendency was towards increased production, and at given points of time the increase in the quantity of goods was associated with a change in the quality or character of society.”³⁹³ These qualitative changes of society are visualized by Rodney in stages, following Marx's stages of Communalism, Slavery, Feudalism, Capitalism, and as the furthest stage, Socialism.³⁹⁴

Taking into account that development among societies is distributed unevenly, some societies enter into different stages at different times. According to Rodney, the capacity for qualitative changes is dependent not only on the productive capacities, but rather on the latter's interplay with environmental factors and the “superstructure” of human societies as well. Religious beliefs, as part of human's superstructure, effect the capacity to handle natural environments or devise scientific laws.³⁹⁵

So far, Rodney attributes development, at one rate or the other, to all human societies. What, then, is underdevelopment viewed from that angle?

First and foremost, underdevelopment is a relational category, a category of and for comparison. It allows for discussing one subject *in relation* to another subject—be it individual, group, state etc.—in intertwined, entangled ways. If a certain society or group emerges as much wealthier in comparison with others, one could look for answers to explain this difference.³⁹⁶ According to Rodney, one will discover a relationship of exploitation between wealthy and poor societies: “All of the countries named as ‘underdeveloped’ in the world are exploited by others; and the underdevelopment with which the world is now preoccupied is a product of capitalist, imperialist, and colonialist exploitation.”³⁹⁷ Underdevelopment, therefore,

391 Rodney, HEUA, 8f.

392 Ibid, 9.

393 Ibid, 5.

394 Ibid, 6.

395 Ibid, 8f.

396 Ibid, 13.

397 Ibid.

is a relational category embedded in the dynamics of historical processes.

Rodney makes it clear from the beginning that under-development is an active process with responsible agents. Rodney rejects proposals to substitute the problematic term underdeveloped, that might be misinterpreted and extended to mental, moral, physical, etc. underdevelopment. Rodney understands his terminology from a strictly materialist perspective, because “if ‘underdevelopment’ were related to anything other than comparing economies, then the most underdeveloped country in the world would be the U.S.A., which practices external oppression on a massive scale, while internally there is a blend of exploitation, brutality, and psychiatric disorder.”³⁹⁸

In the economic sphere, the suggested term “developing” only gives the “whitewashed impression, that underdeveloped countries are ‘catching up’”.³⁹⁹ Rodney fiercely rejects the euphemistic idea of “catching up” and emancipation of the periphery, and in the course of his book, shows through a number of historical examples how the gap between rich and poor nations has actually widened—and, if capitalism remains unchallenged, will continue to do so. Following this line of thought, “many underdeveloped countries in Africa and elsewhere are becoming more underdeveloped in comparison with the world's great powers, because their exploitation by the metropolises is being intensified in new ways.”⁴⁰⁰

Looking at this assessment more than forty years later, there are few commentators that would disagree with Rodney. Apart from the rise of East Asia, which is seen by world system theoreticians such as Giovanni Arrighi as the exception of the rule⁴⁰¹, the gap between rich and poor countries has widened considerably. This is also recognized by entities, that are sympathetic to capitalist entrepreneurship, like the news outlet “The Economist”:

That implies the two-century rise in global inequality must come from elsewhere: from what is called “between-country inequality”, the gap between rich and poor nations. This gap has widened sharply. In 1820 the world’s richest country—Britain—was about five times richer than the average poor nation. Now America is about 25 times wealthier than the average poor country. The Gini coefficient for between-country inequality stood at only 16 in 1820 (ie, very low). It soared to 55 in 1950, and has been stable since. The

398 Rodney, HEUA, 13f.

399 Ibid, 14.

400 Ibid.

401 Arrighi, Giovanni (2007): *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the twenty-first century*. London: Verso.

driving force of inequality since 1820, in other words, has been industrialisation in the West.⁴⁰²

Notwithstanding the inequality between countries, there is also inequality within the populace of political entities. In general the productivity of a society integrated into the global capitalist markets is measured by GDP. The GDP can be divided through the number of inhabitants to get a gross estimate of the “average” wealth of a Briton, Ugandan or Chinese. However, as Rodney correctly stresses, this “average” can be incredibly misleading, since it does not tell us *anything* about the *distribution* of wealth in a certain society. To illustrate this point, Rodney cites a young Ugandan, who bemoans “that the per capita income of his country camouflaged the fantastic difference between what was earned by his poor peasant father and what was earned by the biggest local capitalist, Madhvani.”⁴⁰³

But economic development can not only be expressed in monetary terms; other indicators that Rodney uses in his introductory chapter to differentiate the capitalist metropolises from the peripheries are e.g. the amount of steel produced in a country; sugar production; basic food requirements in calories; social services provided (e.g. infant mortality and doctors per citizens of a given country).⁴⁰⁴ To strengthen the productive capacity, according to Rodney, heavy industry and a mechanized agricultural sector is a necessary precondition. Although many underdeveloped countries are rich of natural resources, they lack the technological means to exploit them. As Lansiné Kaba has pointed out, the paradox in African history of a continent that possessed an immense wealth of raw materials but whose human conditions were miserable to Rodney, haunted him during his academic life and made him look for answers in the archives of Portugal, Spain, Italy and later Tanzania and Guyana.⁴⁰⁵

With the above delineation we have come to realize that for Rodney development and underdevelopment exist within different strata of a given society, as well as between different countries and their embedded strata. These conditions are fluid, and are interrelated through power asymmetries. Rodney understands his dependency theory as based on a national framework without doubt, but on an international, intertwined scale.

Through the “exploitation of man by man” inequalities *within* societies emerged. At a certain

402 <https://www.economist.com/finance-and-economics/2014/10/04/breaking-the-camels-back>
[Last accessed: 23.10.2018]

403 Rodney, HEUA, 14.

404 Ibid, 16.

405 Kaba, Walter Rodney, 48.

point, this dialectical relationship was extended to the national framework. Now, “people in one community called a nation exploited the natural resources and the labor of another nation and its people.”⁴⁰⁶ Rodney at this point refers to a collective exploitation of one society as a whole by another. This, as Rodney will later argue, is the case with the European working class, which is exploited by their white capitalist employers, but on an international scale together with the capitalist class reaps the benefits of the exploitation of the African working class.

Thus we can conclude that Rodney's notions of development and underdevelopment center around the *exploitation of a nation by a nation*. The center-periphery exploitation *within* nations is not of foremost interest to Rodney, he rather concentrates on the center-periphery relations *between* nations. However, it is important to note that in later chapters Rodney also criticizes the class inequalities *within* African societies.

For Rodney, socialism is the only viable ideology to end the exploitative character that heretofore constituted the relations between Europe, North America and the colonized peripheries for almost five centuries. Thus the next section explores Rodney's depiction of socialist countries, their policies and development agendas.

4.2. World socialism and socialist development

Rodney lived through the 1960s and 1970s, a period of intense competition between socialist and capitalist modes of societal organization. As a “revolutionary intellectual” who adhered to a Marxist analysis of history and society, he was undeniably subjected to the *Zeitgeist*. Socialists all over the world believed in an ongoing “world historical process” that, based on the laws of scientific socialism, would inevitably lead to the defeat of capitalism and establishment of a socialist world order through a world revolution; the first cracks of capitalism have been initiated by the Russian revolution, the Chinese revolution and the decolonization process— the failure of imperialist invasions such as the US invasion in Vietnam fostered this belief in capitalism as a “sinking ship”.

While we know now that the Soviet Union was far from being the “superpower” that Western Cold Warriors declared her to be⁴⁰⁷, when judged by the absolute number of people, the 1970s saw one third of the Earth's population governed by one form of socialism or another.⁴⁰⁸ This

⁴⁰⁶ Rodney, HEUA, 21.

⁴⁰⁷ Sanchez-Sibony, Oscar (2014): Red Globalization. The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Krushchev. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁴⁰⁸ Burton, Eric (2017b): Socialisms in Development. Revolution, Divergence and Crisis, 1917–

was echoed by Rodney as well when he stated in HEUA that “[r]oughly one-third of the world's peoples are already living under some form of socialism. The other two-thirds constitute the capitalist/imperialist camp, with the majority being in the exploited section”.⁴⁰⁹

Denouncing the capitalist exploitation of the peripheries, Rodney's saw socialism—embodied by the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, North Korea and Eastern Europe—as the only viable answer to imperialist domination. Under “imperialism” Rodney understood “a phase of capitalist development in which Western European capitalist countries, the U.S.A., and Japan established political, economic, military, and cultural hegemony over other parts of the world which were initially at a lower level and therefore could not resist domination.”⁴¹⁰ Enthusiastic of the advances of world socialism at the beginning of the 1970s—the Vietnamese resistance against the US American invasion seemed to teach the imperialist giant a lesson while the African liberation movements in Southern Africa increasingly gained ground against the Portuguese colonialists—Rodney evaluated the successes of socialism with confidence:

*Socialism has advanced on imperialism's weakest flanks in the sector that is exploited, oppressed, and reduced to dependency. In Asia and Eastern Europe, socialism released the nationalist energies of colonized peoples; it turned the goal of production away from the money market and towards the satisfaction of human needs; it has eradicated bottlenecks such as permanent unemployment and periodic crises; and it has realized some of the promise implicit in Western or bourgeois democracy by providing the equality of economic condition which is necessary before one can make use of political equality and equality before the law.*⁴¹¹

The observation that “[s]ocialism has advanced on imperialism's weakest flanks in the sector that is exploited, oppressed, and reduced to dependency” is hardly to dispute and shows that Marx's predictions regarding the future hot spots of socialist transformations that he first and foremost saw in highly industrialized West Germany were untenable. Rather, socialist regimes were established in the world's peripheries: Russia, China, Mongolia, Albania, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, and later Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and Laos to name some governments that called themselves a “people's republic”. Focusing on the Soviet Union, Rodney was especially fond of (Soviet) socialist planning since he believed it to be geared

1991. In: Journal für Entwicklungspolitik 33/3, 4–20.

409 Rodney, HEUA, 23.

410 Rodney, HEUA, 11.

411 Ibid, 12.

towards satisfying the real needs of the masses (see also the curricula of the Common Course in Chapter Two). The techniques of development-planning as a highly innovative cultural technique were viewed by Rodney through a Marxist historical prism that spans thousands of years. Decisively, while “[m]ost of the historical processes so far described relate to involuntary and unplanned development” the recent implementation of development-planning allowed for a “consistent expansion of development under socialism.”⁴¹²

Rodney is obviously intrigued by the possibility to centrally plan development under the guidance of a socialist government. The latter notion is important since Rodney for example was a fierce critic of the *British Colonial Development and Welfare Act* and the French FIDES, which were initiated after colonialism had come under heavy attacks and were thus “part of the public relations propaganda of colonialism, striving to mask and deny its viciousness.”⁴¹³

Socialist planning on the other hand would result in socialist production, which aimed to not only eradicate unemployment, but heavily increase the provision of social services and distribute the wealth more evenly among societies’ members.⁴¹⁴ As we have seen above he was convinced that “socialism released the nationalist energies of colonize peoples” and “turned the goal of production away from the money market and towards the satisfaction of human needs.”⁴¹⁵

These proposals of Rodney are inspired by the theory of “de-linking”, most famously expounded by the Egyptian Marxist economist Samir Amin (1931–2018).⁴¹⁶ In the early 1970s, Amin was also a frequent visitor of the Dar campus: “I met Giovanni [Arrighi, member of the “Group of Nine”] frequently in the early 1970s in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, which I visited often in that glorious time of the liberation movements, and where I organized a number of seminars [...] on what I described as ‘the awakening (or the revival) of the South’ (Bandung’s era for Asia and Africa)”⁴¹⁷.

412 Rodney, HEUA, 12.

413 Rodney, HEUA, 198.

414 Ibid, 12.

415 Ibid, 12.

416 Amin, Samir (1976 [1973]): *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review.

417 Amin, Samir (2011): A Tribute to Giovanni Arrighi. In: Austin-Holmes, Amy/Schmalz, Stefan (ed.): *Giovanni Arrighi: A Global Perspective*. Vol. 27/2011. *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik*, herausgegeben vom Mattersburger Kreis für Entwicklungspolitik. Wien: Mandelbaum, 14–24, here 15.

As is obvious from his lecture notes on the historiography of the Russian revolution at around the same time (1970/71)⁴¹⁸, Rodney believed that the Soviet Union's developmental success with incredible growth rates in production and expansion of social services was mainly due to Moscow's self-reliance. Due to Western hostility the Soviet Union was not able to acquire any loans or credit lines and thus had to finance its industrial campaign from within; raw materials and grain were exported to import heavy machinery and technology. This imperative of "de-linking" was often visualized by a radical break with Western Markets, "to cut the tentacles which imperialism has extended into their countries."⁴¹⁹

However, viewed with the immense advantage of more than forty years of research and interim access to Soviet, Cuban, Angolan and Eastern European archives, the claim that socialist economies of various grades of socialist integration—be it Angola, East Germany or the Soviet Union—were able to emancipate or "delink" themselves from the money market, as Amin would have it, can not be substantiated. Quite the contrary, especially from the 1970s onwards, the socialist bloc was heavily dependent on the dominant Western markets to obtain foreign currency reserves. Hard currency was needed to import goods from the world-market that could, for various reasons, not be obtained through barter trade or produced within the member states of the *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance* (COMECON). These included Western consumer goods, technology, and loans from capitalist countries but also raw materials from countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa.⁴²⁰ This state of affairs intensified during the multiple raw material crises in the 1970s—most paramount the oil crisis—when a number of socialist economies severely struggled to obtain scarce foreign currency reserves and repay their debts. The international money market was dominated by the Western capitalist powers, and socialist/communist countries were far from emancipating themselves

418 Edited by Robin Kelley and Jesse Benjamin, Rodney's Dar es Salaam lectures on the Russian revolution were only recently published in Rodney, Walter (2018): *The Russian Revolution. A View from the Third World*. Edited by Robin D.G. Kelley, Jesse Benjamin. London: Verso.

419 Rodney, HEUA, 24.

420 For the Soviet situation in the 1950s and 1960s see Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization*. East Germany's trade and scarce foreign currency reserves is analysed in e. g. Dietrich, Anne (2014): *Zwischen solidarischen Handel und ungleichem Tausch: Zum Südhandel der DDR am Beispiel des Imports kubanischen Zuckers und äthiopischen Kaffees*. In: *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* 30/3, 48–67 and Harisch, Immanuel Rafael (2017b): *Bartering Coffee, Cocoa and W50 Trucks: The Trade Relationships of the GDR, Angola and São Tomé in a Comparative Perspective*. In: *Global Histories. A Student Journal*, 3/2, 43–60; For a more general assessment of East-South trade see e. g. Raffer, Kunibert (1986): *Ost-Süd: Vorbild oder Abklatsch der West-Süd-Wirtschaftsbeziehungen?* In: *Journal für Entwicklungspolitik* 2/2, 4–17.

from it.⁴²¹

4.3 Innovations, contradictions and shortcomings of HEUA

From a methodological perspective, Rodney's approach to African history drew its inspiration from a multitude of theories. That is why Rodney is seen by some people first and foremost as *the* scholar, who applied Latin American dependency theory to African history, while others value his main contribution in emphasizing the connections of the Atlantic slave trade and African underdevelopment. Other assessments highlight Rodney as a Marxist or Pan-African historian.⁴²² Arno Sonderegger identifies three topoi that are highly relevant for Pan-Africanist thought: racism and anti-racism (inequality), colonialism and anti-colonialism (dependency), and African Nationalism (authenticity).⁴²³ All three play a crucial role in Rodney's writing of African history. While some variations of Pan-Africanism fell prey to naturalistic language and counter discrimination⁴²⁴, Rodney's complex understanding of Pan-Africanism is framed by a) nationalism as a possible liberating ideology and as a starting point for a bigger African political entity; b) Marxist class analysis that criticizes the exploitation of the masses by the ruling class, irrespective of the latter's color; and c) the affirmation of African achievements and historic agency without blindly adhering to a European modernity and Eurocentric concepts of civilization. Moreover, there is another perspective in Rodney's writing that is especially visible in HEUA: the lens on local and global African agency and their interconnectedness earn him a label as advocate of global history, a hypothesis that provides for future interrogation.⁴²⁵

According to Lewis, "Rodney was a Marxist historian in the Jamesian sense of the term."⁴²⁶ C. L. R. James' study *Black Jacobins* and the applied methodology in it was a big inspiration to Rodney; what Rodney added was his "more rigorous analysis of the place of Africa within contemporary history and the world capitalist economy."⁴²⁷ An achievement of Rodney in

421 Kotkin, Steven (2010): *The Kiss of Debt: The East Bloc Goes Borrowing*. In: Ferguson, Niall/Maier, Charles S./Manela, Erez/Sargent, Dabiel J. (eds.): *The Shock of the Global. The 1970s in Perspective*. Cambridge (M.A.): Harvard University Press, 80-96.

422 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 48; Burton, Tansanias Sozialismus, 406.

423 Sonderegger, Panafrikanismus, 99.

424 Ibid.

425 I thank Eric Burton for hinting me towards a closer examination of the global history approach in Rodney's writings. This definitely proves a fruitful field for further investigation.

426 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 48.

427 Ibid, 48.

HEUA was to think together the themes of class, ethnicity and international trade. It would also prove fruitful to interrogate HEUA along Rodney's understanding of gender relations and their interlacing with socialist policies.

Concerning tensions and contradictions, Lewis points out that some parts of Rodney's writing of African history exhibited a "tension between the nationalist and the materialist impulses in his historical reconstructions"⁴²⁸ The nationalist element is eager to point out African achievements and enhance the self-esteem of black people in general; the materialist element would sharply analyse class differentiation and criticize the African ruling elites. Lewis shows how Rodney pointed to the initiative of West African rulers, who set the terms of trade at the onset of the Atlantic slave trade: "Europeans conducted their slave trading on the West African coast under conditions laid down by the Africans."⁴²⁹

On the other hand, Rodney shows that the trade was "organized and financed by Europeans", and that the African rulers had no control whatsoever over the European or American side of the slave trade. Europeans used African rulers for their own purpose. The willingness to cooperate was thus a matter of Africans lacking sufficient knowledge. The same was true for Rodney in the case of Black Angolan soldiers who fought from the 1880s onwards in the Portuguese colonial army, e. g. in the war against Mozambican rulers. These Angolan soldiers were put in the most dangerous situations and usually suffered far more casualties than their white counterparts. Importantly, as I have already shown in Chapter Three, Rodney did not classify these Angolan soldiers as collaborators and distanced himself from the term's association with World War II. Rather, the Angolan soldiers were unaware of the European goals and led astray on this issue.⁴³⁰

While Rodney aims to excuse the collaborating actions of workers, peasants, or soldiers, he is very critical towards the cooperating ruling classes. From the engagement with colonialists, "[o]nly the rulers benefited narrowly, by receiving the best cloth, drinking the most alcohol, and preserving the widest collection of durable items for prestige purposes. It is this factor of realised self-interest which goes some way towards explaining the otherwise incomprehensible actions of Africans towards Africans."⁴³¹

Innovately, and in accordance with his goals as an African historian to "mobilize" the (African,

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 55.

⁴²⁹ Rodney, *West Africa*, 6f., qtd. in Lewis, *Walter Rodney's*, 55.

⁴³⁰ Rodney, *African resistance*, 535, qtd. in Lewis, *Walter Rodney's*, 64.

⁴³¹ Rodney, *HEUA*, qtd. in Lewis, *Walter Rodney's*, 52.

Asian, Caribbean) oppressed majority, Rodney builds a bridge from the colonial cooperating ruling classes to today's neo-colonial lackeys—that is the emerging African ruling class who surrendered the development of their populations for luxury consumerism and who failed to engage in domestic investments but rather consume abroad.

Lewis concluded that “[t]his was Rodney the materialist avoiding the dangers of a black and white, cut and dried, good and evil, European versus African, binary interpretation of history.”⁴³² However, as I argue, there are also dozen examples in HEUA where Rodney put forward black and white, good and evil, and in general binary interpretations of history. For the colonial period, Rodney was convinced of the absolute evil of colonialism as a “one armed bandit”. This conviction stemmed from Rodney's aversion of many “bourgeois writers” who draw a “balance sheet” of colonialism, often concluding that the “good” outweighed the “bad” of colonialism.⁴³³ Rodney himself argues that the very fact of “reasoning” along those lines is faulty and misleading:

The argument suggests that, on the one hand, there was exploitation and oppression, but, on the other hand, colonial governments did much for the benefit of Africans and they developed Africa. It is our contention that this is completely false. Colonialism had only one hand—it was a one-armed bandit.⁴³⁴

Without doubt, Rodney's assessment of colonialism amounts to an “extreme moralistic point of view”⁴³⁵ that is inspired by both the total rejection of colonial and “reactionary” scholarship (see Chapter Three) as well as Rodney's identification with the Black people who suffered immense misery in the course of the Atlantic slave trade and colonialism. Rodney is right to point out that the sum of total services—railroads⁴³⁶, schools, hospitals, etc.—provided by the colonial administration was extremely small, and unevenly distributed among the colonial powers as well as within different regions of the colonies itself. Rodney also correctly remarks, that the colonial administration provided these services often due to African pressures,

432 Lewis, Walter Rodney's, 55.

433 Rodney, HEUA, 190.

434 Ibid.

435 Sonderegger, Introduction, 14.

436 Railroads were built very soon after the colonial partition of Africa in the 1890s. However, the European-designed railroad system was intended to carry raw material from inward the continent toward the coasts. The European colonialists did not intend to link the horizontal railroads with vertical lines. Thus, the railroad system was insufficient to promote travel within the colonies.

responses, and initiatives. And they provided means of social development, such as health and educational facilities, fairly late, as a matter of “development policy”, starting around the 1940s, and even then often half-hearted. However, his depiction of “colonialism as a one-armed bandit” is characterized by what I call “absolutism”. This absolutism led him to sweeping (and false) generalizations. As one example for this notion, Rodney, states that:

The negative impact of colonialism in political terms was quite dramatic. Overnight, African political states lost their power, independence, and meaning—irrespective of whether they were big empires or small polities. [...] Political power had passed into the hands of foreign overlords. Of course, numerous African states in previous centuries had passed through the cycle of growth and decline. But colonial rule was different. *So long as it lasted, not a single African state could flourish.*⁴³⁷

Rodney's sweeping assessment, that, as long as colonial rule lasted, “not a single African state could flourish” can and will be seriously disputed here. On a more general methodological level, Rodney ignores the complex and multi-faceted processes of negotiation, adaption, and resistance. Surely the room for maneuver was imposed by colonial dominance, and often violently. Yet, colonialism/imperialism was no sweeping, unstoppable, uniform force. Arno Sonderegger captured this elegantly by emphasising that “[i]t is important to recognize that the impact of imperialism was not exclusively an unidirectional influence from outside but rather the product of multiple fractured, mediated, contested and negotiated processes of encounters, thus resulting in *entangled histories*.”⁴³⁸

Moreover, scholars working at the same department as Rodney or at the universities of Makerere or Nairobi have pointed to the cooperation of societies and political kingdoms and African societies; several communities who e. g. based their income on trade experienced periods of considerable wealth while operating (at least in theory) under their respective colonial administrations. It somehow makes wonder why Rodney, who was seemingly aware of certain “sub-imperialisms” and the flourishing of a number of African social and political entities during the colonial period, would have dismissed cases of the “Golden Age” of the Haya society in Northwest Tanzania/Southern Uganda⁴³⁹ during German colonial rule or the

437 Rodney, HEUA, 209. My emphasis.

438 “Wichtig ist zu erkennen, dass der imperiale Impact keine einseitig gerichtete, ausschließliche Beeinflussung von außen darstellte, sondern das Produkt vielfach gebrochener, vermittelter, umkämpfter und ausgehandelter Begegnungsprozesse war, eben das Resultat von *entangled histories*.” My translation. Sonderegger/Grau/Englert, Einleitung, 17.

439 Ranger, African reaction, 5f.

Buganda kingdom in present day Uganda.

While Buganda opened itself to European influence and utilized its strategic position to increasingly profit from Eastern African trade networks, rivalling Bunyoro kingdom chose to ward off European intrusion. Buganda elites were christianized and used alliances with European missionaries and travellers to weaken the position of the Kabaka ruler or sought to install rulers of their choice. British colonialists used religious turmoil to install the Uganda protectorate. The well-structured administration of the Buganda kingdom was seen as well suited for British “indirect rule”. In the 1890s, British colonialists with the help of the Buganda rulers conquered other kingdoms such as Bunyoro. For their partnering role, Buganda was awarded territories of its erstwhile rival Bunyoro.⁴⁴⁰

Another argument of Rodney that is fashioned in this “absolutist” manner, overlooks serious attempts of most African governments to combat all forms of colonialism and foreign dominance in Southern Africa. Rodney objects:

During the colonial period, the forms of political subordination in Africa were obvious. There were governors, colonial officials, and police. In politically independent African states, the metropolitan capitalists have to ensure favorable political decisions by remote control. So they set up their political puppets in many parts of Africa, who shamelessly agree to compromise with the vicious apartheid regime of South Africa when their masters tell them to do so.⁴⁴¹

That metropolitan capitalists have succeeded in telling politically independent African governments in many countries to compromise with Pretoria’s Apartheid regime also gives a seriously distorting picture. While there were exceptions such as Banda’s Malawi and Mobuto’s Zaire, the majority of independent African countries condemned *Apartheid*, and worked together with other non-aligned nations, the Eastern bloc, the Scandinavian countries, and Western solidarity groups to put pressure on South Africa.⁴⁴² The “remote control”

440 I owe this example to Dominik Spörker, who is writing his MA thesis on Buganda historiography. Personal comment from 27.10.2018. For further reading see Doyle, Shane (2006): From Kitara to the Lost Countries. Genealogy, Land and Legitimacy in the Kingdom of Bunyoro, Western Uganda. In: Social Identities, 12/4, 457-470; Karugire, Samwiri R. (2010 [1980]): A political History of Uganda. Kampala: Fountain Publishers; Schicho, Walter (2004): Handbuch Afrika, Bd. 3. Frankfurt am Main: Brandes und Apsel; Wien: Südwind.

441 Rodney, HEUA, 25.

442 The most detailed account to examine the multitude of actors and activities in the decolonization of Southern Africa is to my knowledge Temu, Arnold J./Tembe, Joel das N.(eds. 2014):

metaphor paints too simple a picture of the motivations and ideology that led African independent governments to take up either a pro or a contra position towards *Apartheid*.

In the following, I want to highlight another point that makes HEUA outstanding: Rodney's unique writing style. Contemporaries and friends attested Rodney a great sense of humour combined with a sharp analytical style of arguing. It makes therefore no wonder that HEUA is full of provocative, sarcastic, and humorous passages. One of these I want to quote in length:

Some of the contradictions between the content of colonial education and the reality of Africa were really incongruous. On a hot afternoon in some tropical African school, a class of black shining faces would listen to their geography lesson on the seasons of the year—spring, summer, autumn, and winter. They would learn about the Alps and the river Rhine but nothing about the Atlas Mountains of North Africa or the river Zambezi. If those students were in a British colony, they would dutifully write that "we defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588"—at a time when Hawkins was stealing Africans and being knighted by Queen Elizabeth I for so doing. If they were in a French colony, they would learn that "the Gauls, our ancestors, had blue eyes," and they would be convinced that "Napoleon was our greatest general"—the same Napoleon who reinstituted slavery in the Caribbean island of Guadeloupe, and was only prevented from doing the same in Haiti because his forces were defeated by an even greater strategist and tactician, the African Toussaint L'Ouverture.⁴⁴³

Written in a lyrical style these tangible examples incorporate many themes of Rodney's opus, such as the relevance of education for African pupils; the hypocrisy of Europeans, e.g. preaching civilization but supporting slavery; the importance of resistance against colonial and imperialist oppression. Rodney aims to demask the European myth of "civilization" that has been used to cover up Western crimes on humanity.

The inherent racism of colonial scholarship that defended or negated colonial crimes in the name of "civilization", evoked fury in Rodney. This fury is still visible in HEUA, though some of its initial powerfulness was ironed out in the editing process. Drawing on an earlier manuscript of HEUA that I was able to retrieve in the East Africana section of the UDSM University Library, I want to show how Rodney's fierce temper and disgust towards "reactionary" scholars manifested in his writings. In the 1970s manuscript Rodney wrote that

Southern African liberation struggles: contemporaneous documents 1960 - 1994. 9 vols. Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota.

443 Rodney, HEUA, 229.

*“two dyed-in-the-wood [sic!] white-settler colonialists of Rhodesian extraction still preach that ‘the Bantu could be saved from the wasting struggles and from their general economic and technical backwardness only by the imposition of stable (European) government.’”*⁴⁴⁴

This wording is changed in the final version of HEUA to *“some writers still preach that ‘the Bantu could be saved from the wasting struggles and from their general economic and technical backwardness only by the imposition of stable [European] government.’”*⁴⁴⁵ To sum up, when it was published in 1972, Rodney’s HEUA was without doubt an original, pioneering piece of scholarship for a wider public. Rodney not only decided to publish it in two heretofore rather unknown publishing houses, he also renounced to use footnotes and thus to comply with the standards of what he termed “bourgeoise scholarship”. Rodney’s lens throughout the book is switching between micro and macro, from specific African societies to African nation-states and federations, from colonial administrators to the emerging African ruling class and colonial as well as multinational corporations.

HEUA is written in a clear, sharp and witty style. It draws from a wide range of historical examples on the African continent to advance Rodney’s main argument: the capitalist relations with Europe (and later the US) that Africa had entered into from the 15th century onwards, led to a dialectical—interrelated, intertwined, entangled—process of European development through African under-development. This encompassed the fields of politics, culture, religion, and technology. European capitalists extracted surplus from Africa and used this surplus in the metropolises to reap bigger profits. Paramount for this *longue durée* was the Atlantic slave trade, that was initiated by European capitalists’ demand for a resilient workforce in the American plantations. The Atlantic slave trade drained the African continent of able-bodied young males (also women) and shattered African societies through the impact of (African) slave raiders. It disrupted the “natural evolution” of African societies. The imposition of colonial rule on the spot in the late 19th century was a logical outcome of this development and had robbed African political leaders of their last corners of agency. Colonial education was used in the colonial period to train a small class of “responsible” Africans that would take over after political independence and ensure continuing neo-colonial dominance.

The publication of HEUA fell into a transitional phase between competing conceptions of writing African history. Materialist analysis and liberating thought that Rodney adhered to

444 Rodney, Walter (1970b): Historical Roots of African Underdevelopment. In: East African Society and Environment. Volume 1. EAF.QTO HC 517.E2.E52

445 Rodney, HEUA, 221f.

was becoming increasingly popular amidst global leftist student protests, the US invasion of Vietnam, and the struggle against settler colonialism and Apartheid in Southern Africa.

Moreover, after some African states had witnessed a decade or more of political independence, the often promised great leap forward had not been achieved; African countries were still not industrialized societies but continued to be dependent producers of raw materials. In combination with what was perceived as rampant corruption and predatory leadership, historical works focused more strongly on colonial structures in African countries and their legacies.

5. Conclusion and Rodney's legacy

In the mid 1970s the “Golden Age” of African history had already come to an end. Economic crises shattered the enthusiasm of the immediate post-independence period and government funding for the universities were continuously reduced. (Western) African historians were reflecting on the state of African studies. Ranger, who attended the symposium *African Studies since 1945* in Edinburgh, cites historian Ann Seidman, who had also taught at “the hill” in the late 1960s:

[P]olitical economists must make 'inter-disciplinary analysis' of the 'historical roots and consequences' of underdevelopment. In short, faced with the problem of African poverty, scholars of other disciplines are increasingly turning to historical explanation, as well as to 'valuable empirical research' on social formations. Here there is obviously a context in which historians could make a most important contribution.⁴⁴⁶

As we have seen in the last chapter, all these proposals of the mid-1970s have been taken into account by Rodney in his HEUA, which par excellence aimed to explore the “historical roots and consequences of underdevelopment” based on a materialist method and empirical tradition.

The conclusions of the last chapter have demonstrated that Rodney's work, and here especially its focus and method, was one of the agenda-setting pieces in the scholarly debates on Africa. But Rodney's impact in this regard is not limited to his publication of HEUA alone, but also his teaching and supervision at UDSM, the restructuring of the *Common Course*, the political debates at “the hill”, his activities as member of the *Socialist Club* and USARE, his engagement for *ujamaa* and the African revolution, as well as his globally oriented mindset that aimed to link the Caribbean and Africa more closely together.

At the beginning of this thesis, I have highlighted Rodney's working-class upbringing in Guyana, where the political engagement of his father had exposed him to political activism and socialist thought from an early age on. Rodney was an excellent student and received a scholarship to study at the University of West Indies in Jamaica. He was active in the university's debaters club and student politics, and thus had the opportunity to travel to the Soviet Union and Cuba in his undergraduate years. From Jamaica Rodney went to study African history at SOAS in London, again on a scholarship. Outside the university, Rodney met

446 Ranger, *Usable Past*, 24.

with other Caribbean students in a study group. The study group that was led by the famous Trinidadian intellectual C. L. R. James and his wife Selma had a profound and long lasting effect on Rodney. He started to read Marxist scholars more widely and was impressed by C. L. R. James' historic method. I emphasized that Rodney's approach to African history was informed by interlacing Marxist analysis, nationalist frameworks and *Black Power* sentiments. Importantly, Rodney adhered to the model of a "revolutionary intellectual" along the lines of Lenin and James.

After he obtained a first class honor in African history from SOAS with a dissertation on the *History of the Upper Guinea Coast 1545-1800*, in late 1965 the 24 year old Rodney applied for a lectureship at the brand new History Department at the university college in the port city Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. The East African country Tanzania had only recently formed a political union with neighboring Zanzibar, and became known for its anti-imperialist stance. Nyerere countered West German attempts to dictate the country's foreign policy as well as Britain's indifference towards the white settler regime in Southern Rhodesia. Tanzania's political philosophy *ujamaa* that was first promulgated by President Nyerere in 1962 as a guiding principle and in 1967 with the *Arusha Declaration* enshrined into the country's policies, attracted a wide array of socialist and social democratic scholars from "West", "South", and "East", though British and US-American staff formed the largest groups among expatriate scholars.

As I have shown in Chapter Two, when Rodney arrived at the campus in October 1966, he was plunged into elitist student demonstrations at "the hill", as the beautiful and well appointed campus on a tree-lined elevation on the margin of the city was called. Over two thirds of the student body protested against a compulsory *National Service* scheme for university graduates that was to be introduced by Tanzania's ruling party TANU. The students objected to what they perceived to be a severe blow to their high aspirations—to quickly fill the vacant posts in government and business, and accumulate wealth and status that was often expected from their family and kin who sent them to the university. The reaction of Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere was harsh; in an impromptu speech he chastised the students but also promised to cut his own and other officials' salaries. A couple of days later the demonstrating students were expelled from the university.

I emphasized the student demonstrations to show the peculiar context of Rodney's arrival at the university campus. When Rodney was about to begin his teaching at Dar es Salaam, the

university was in turmoil. The faculty staff in principle agreed with President Nyerere to combat elitism though many perceived the measures too harsh. After the *National Service* crisis that had followed the demonstrations, politicians, the public and faculty members aimed to restructure the university. Rodney, who had reflected about the role of the university to educate progressive, revolutionary leaders among the middle-class during his Jamaican student years, was very active in this process. Together with other socialist staff members of the “Group of Nine”, the Guyanese historian Rodney wrote proposals and articles about the role of education and the university in a socialist Tanzania and took measures of this unique opportunity to restructure an emergent institution.

In February 1967 Tanzania’s ruling party TANU proclaimed the *Arusha Declaration*. The declaration clarified the basic tenets of the country’s ambitious socialist project *ujamaa*, that was to last until the late 1970s and was based on a number of key concepts such as respect and dignity, communal ownership of land and key goods, an obligation to work and the vision to terminate the exploitation of man by man. *Ujamaa* appealed to the ideal values of an African pre-colonial society such as respect, sharing and hospitality.

Though *ujamaa* certainly sped up the attempts to restructure Tanzania’s university, in March 1967 a conference under the self-explanatory name *Conference on the Role of the University College in a socialist Tanzania* was held at “the hill”. The conference was a direct reaction of politicians, faculty staff and the public to confront student elitism that erupted during the *National Service* crisis and align the university more closely along the country’s socialist path. Rodney and other members of the “Group of Nine” presented their proposals at the conference and exerted a long lasting impact on the university. Albeit many of their radical aims to set up a (socialist) people’s university were watered down by more moderate staff—the not so vocal majority—and the university administration, the “Group of Nine” proposal paved the way for the reorganization of the *Common Course*, an interdisciplinary course that all students at Dar’s university had to attend.

By drawing on the original curricula of the course, in Chapter Two I have shown how the *Common Course* was modeled along Rodney’s understanding of history and society. It combined Marxist tenets with Latin American dependency theory and infused them with local Tanzanian nationalism and the liberation struggle of Tanzania’s more southern neighbors. The *Common Course*, that evolved in the early 1970s into the *Institute of Development Studies* (IDS), is one of the lasting legacies of Rodney’s and “Group of Nine”-members’ engagement to

disseminate socialist thought more widely among the student body.

Among the student body, however, there was also a small but very vocal group of radical socialist students, as they referred to themselves. The students, among them the future president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni, law student Issa Shivji, and medical student Karim Hirji, formed a radical student organisation, USARF. Rodney was a member of USARF and regularly debated with the students in ideological seminars that were held on a voluntary basis at Sunday mornings. As the students recalled, there was no student-lecturer division as the young lecturer Rodney saw them as comrades in a common ideological struggle for a socialist society. USARF also invited Rodney to speak at a number of events and seminars at a highly political and vibrant campus that was regularly visited by leaders of liberation armies, radical Black power scholars, left-wing intellectuals and revolutionaries. I have also shown in Chapter Two how this climate of intense socialist debate in the late 1960s profoundly shaped Rodney's thinking and activism; with the Arusha Declaration TANU had emphasized the importance of rural development along collective plots and villages, named *ujamaa vijijini*. Engaged intellectuals such as Rodney aimed to participate in the discourse of self-reliance, education and the value of honest, that is rural, work. The chapter also highlighted how serious Rodney took his young student comrades at USARF: in the preface of his paramount publication HEUA, Rodney mentioned two individuals by name—both of them were students and USARF members.

Another crucial impact on Rodney's understanding of African history was the academic environment at “the hill”. While Chapter Two outlined the political context that influenced the knowledge production at UDSM, Chapter Three took a closer look at Rodney's workplace, the History Department at Dar. Led by Professor Terence Ranger, the department was soon referred to as the “nationalist Dar school” of African history. As I argued in that chapter, this depiction misses out a lot of innovative approaches that actually amounted to much more than only “nationalist history”. Based within an enormously productive department with high morale and similar convictions, I have set out to analyse writings of both Rodney and Ranger along a number of themes I found intriguing: their commitment to combat colonial scholarship, their views on African initiative and resistances and their perceptions of the African postcolonial ruling elite. While my reading left me to conclude that they shared the task to rewrite African history and emancipate it from colonial (mis)representations, a nuanced look on their understanding of African agency revealed important deviations. Rodney had a much narrower conception of (autonomous) African agency at the advent of European

domination and colonial rule. Ranger's emphasis was more on the messiness and insufficient means of colonial penetration that opened up opportunities for African societies—be it resistances, alliances or other forms of adaptation. Rodney saw cooperating societies and rulers as important cultural agents that helped colonial powers to ultimately exert full control over African political entities in a relationship of extreme dependency. Moreover, Rodney saw a clear pattern of continuity in the immediate post-independence period of the 1960s, where the African ruling classes were controlled by European capitalists in the metropolises. In his views, Rodney was strongly influenced by the revolutionary writer Frantz Fanon. By drawing on probably the agenda-setting event for the so called Dar school, the *International Congress of African Historians* in 1965, I contrasted Ranger's aversion towards what he saw as the radical school of pessimists inspired by Fanon with Rodney's perceptions of the African ruling class. Once more I aimed to show that although the political context of *ujamaa*, the high morale of colleagues and the work of fellow historians such as Ranger shaped Rodney's understanding of African history, there were significantly different approaches within the "Dar school", that are often neglected in scholarly literature.

In the last chapter, Chapter Four, I took a closer look at what is by most people considered Rodney's paramount publication: *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. With his decision to have the book published by two small publishing houses, Rodney showed courage; this move was accompanied by the deliberate decision to do without footnotes and write the book for a wider public not for the deans of African studies in London and Wisconsin. In a clear, witty and sharp style Rodney looked at the African continent through a *longue durée* dependency framework. Importantly, in his dialectical understanding of European development and African underdevelopment, Rodney emphasized the entanglements of the Atlantic slave trade, plantation economies in the Americas and technological advancement in the European metropolises. Surplus from the slave trade helped to foster the European advantage in naval science, industrial production and military technology. While African rulers had successively lost their agency from the onset of the Atlantic slave trade, the European partition of Africa in the late 19th century shattered African indigenous development completely.

To better understand Rodney's HEUA, I first portrayed Rodney's understanding of development and underdevelopment. I showed how Rodney used a variety of indicators to arrive at his judgement. Moreover, albeit development for him was mostly dependent on economic variables, they did not form the only determinants. Development was also no uninterrupted march to glory since Rodney—though adhering to a model of Marx's stages of

development—was aware of setbacks and the specific geographical, historical, cultural and religious contexts that shaped development regionally and unevenly.

For Rodney, African development could only be achieved through a socialist path of radically de-linking from capitalism and indigenous heavy industrialization along a Soviet model. Thus I took a closer look at Rodney's perception of world socialism and the Soviet bloc. I showed how the intense political climate of radicalism in the late 1960s, the advancements of socialist states such as China and the Soviet Union, as well as setbacks for US-American domination in Vietnam and elsewhere led to a widely shared enthusiasm among left-wingers that the capitalist social formation is in decline—as the laws of scientific socialism propagated.

Finally, I highlighted innovations, contradictions and shortcomings in Rodney's HEUA. Examples included Rodney's sharp and humourous style, the multitude of theories that informed his distinctive approach towards African history, as well as his tendency to make sweeping generalizations. Two examples of what I called Rodney's "absolutism" have been disputed and contrasted with other attempts of Rodney to avoid certain binaries. The chapter concluded with an emphasis on innovations in the field of African studies and development studies that Rodney's book HEUA provoked and that led to a long lasting legacy of his knowledge production.

To better understand the relations of Rodney's early work compared with later publications I have tried to trace certain influences—Tanzania's *ujamaa*, the student radicalism at "the hill", and the writings of Rodney's colleagues at UDSM—to illustrate what a former colleague of Rodney, historian Edward Alpers, has called the "developmental sequence"⁴⁴⁷ in Rodney's opus. Moreover, this thesis showed that Rodney's eight years at the History Department of the University of Dar es Salaam can probably be said to be not only his most formative but also most productive years. When we examine Rodney's life, I find it important to keep in mind that "productive" must be extended beyond the academic sphere. Rodney understood the role of an African historian as being involved in a process of mobilization for political goals, not only in producing articles and books. He adhered to the model of "revolutionary intellectual", with the Russian revolutionary Vladimir Lenin and the Trinidadian Marxist C.L.R. James as role models. As a student at Mona and London, Rodney engaged in political debates, gave public speeches and pushed for a socialist revolution. As a lecturer in Dar es Salaam and Kingston,

⁴⁴⁷ Alpers, Edward A. (1982): Introduction. In: Alpers, Edward A./Fontaine, Pierre-Michel (eds.): Walter Rodney, revolutionary and scholar: A tribute. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies and African Studies Center University of California Los Angeles, 1–10, here 5.

Rodney continued to give public speeches, organize teach-ins and highly valued political activism and revolutionary engagement such as in the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa.

With this thesis I am hoping to contribute to a better understanding of Walter Rodney's writings during his Dar es Salaam years as well as his localization within the 'Dar school' of African history. Thus, this thesis emphasizes the important role the University Dar es Salaam—and many others on the African continent—played in the production of knowledge in the immediate post-independence period. As a meeting point of three worlds—"East", "West" and "South", the University of Dar es Salaam produced first class research, innovative curricula and sought to engage with Tanzania's ambitious socialist project *ujamaa*. Heavily affected by the multiple crisis of the 1970s, however, the not-so-invisible hand of the international financial institutions forced most African states in the 1980s to severely cut funds for their public universities, if otherwise they would be deliberately sent into bankruptcy. Looking at the neo-liberal world order as it still persists today, the historical consciousness of a time where the asymmetries in knowledge production were not yet so firmly established, might at least point to the possibility to change the current state in the not so distant future.

6. Bibliography

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Anhang

Abstract

In this thesis I contextualize the Guyanese historian Walter Rodney, the author of one classic piece of Africanist scholarship, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, within time, space and culture. I show how the intellectual biography of the “revolutionary intellectual” Rodney is deeply “grounded” within the intellectual history of an institution, that is the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM), and situated in Tanzania’s socialist project of *ujamaa* and the revolutionary *Zeitgeist* of the late 1960s. I intertwine Rodney’s writings from 1966 to 1974 with his political activism and personal engagement for a socialist reorganization of society, as shown in Rodney’s interaction with *ujamaa* policies and the attempts of Rodney and other socialist staff to radically restructure the university’s curricula. By scrutinizing Rodney’s knowledge production at UDSM, I will also argue that the so called nationalist school of Dar es Salaam of the late 1960s was much more diverse and complex if we look at Rodney’s interplay of African agency, Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Marxist class analysis. Moreover, by juxtaposing Rodney’s writings with those of the Head of the History Department at UDSM, Terence Ranger, I will demonstrate that both Rodney and Ranger had their specific and differing ideas of how to frame and intertwine Nationalism, African agency and European domination in the course of writing African history. Lastly, Rodney’s paramount book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, is discussed along its understanding of “development”, “underdevelopment”, the role and performance of real existing socialism, while I also highlight its innovations, contradictions and shortcomings. As my thesis is set during the emergence of the academic field of African history, it illustrates how African universities were able to compete internationally during this “Golden Age”. Heavily affected by the multiple crisis of the 1970s, however, the not-so-invisible hand of the international financial institutions forced most African states in the 1980s to severely cut funds for their public universities and stifled academic output.

Zusammenfassung

Mit dieser Arbeit kontextualisiere ich den guyanischen Historiker Walter Rodney, Autor des Klassikers *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, in Zeit, Raum und Kultur. Ich zeige auf, wie die intellektuelle Biografie des „revolutionären Intellektuellen“ Rodney tief in der intellektuellen Geschichte einer Institution, der Universität von Daressalam (UDSM), verankert ist und von Tansanias sozialistischem Projekt *ujamaa* und dem revolutionären Zeitgeist der späten 1960er Jahre gerahmt wird. Ich verknüpfe Rodneys Schriften von 1966 bis 1974 mit seinem politischen Aktivismus und seinem persönlichen Engagement für eine sozialistische Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft, wie Rodneys Interaktion mit der tansanischen *ujamaa*-Politik und die Versuche Rodneys und anderer sozialistischer Lehrender, die Lehrpläne der Universität radikal umzustrukturieren. Anhand Rodneys Zusammenspiel von afrikanischer Handlungsmacht, Nationalismus, Panafrikanismus und marxistischer Klassenanalyse in seiner Wissensproduktion an der UDSM argumentiere ich, dass die so genannte nationalistische Schule von Daressalam der späten 1960er Jahre viel vielfältiger und komplexer war als ihr Label. Durch die Gegenüberstellung von Rodneys Schriften mit jenen von Terence Ranger, dem Leiter des Geschichte-Instituts der UDSM, zeige ich auf, dass sowohl Rodney als auch Ranger ihre spezifischen und unterschiedlichen Vorstellungen darüber hatten, welchen Platz Nationalismus, afrikanische Handlungsmacht und europäische Dominanz in der afrikanischen Geschichte einnehmen sollten. Abschließend wird Rodneys wichtigstes Buch *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* anhand seiner Darstellung von "Entwicklung", "Unterentwicklung", sowie der Rolle und den Leistungen des real existierenden Sozialismus erörtert, und Innovationen, Widersprüche und Mängel von mir hervorgehoben. Zeitlich in den Anfangsjahren von afrikanischer Geschichte als akademischem Feld angesiedelt, zeigt meine Arbeit auf, wie afrikanische Universitäten in diesem "Goldenen Zeitalter" international konkurrieren konnten. Als Folgeeffekt der multiplen Krisen der 1970er-Jahre zwang die nicht allzu unsichtbare Hand der internationalen Finanzinstitutionen indessen in den 1980er-Jahren die meisten afrikanischen Staaten ihre Gelder für ihre öffentlichen Universitäten stark zu kürzen und die akademische Wissensproduktion abzuwürgen.