# DEVELOPMENT AID IN THE EAST CENTRAL AFRICA

Thesis submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** 

**ETUKURI BALA SHOWRY** 

CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL POLITICS ORGANISATION
AND DISARMAMENT
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067, INDIA
1989

Dedicated to
My Wife, Susan



### जवाहरलाल नेहरु विश्वविद्यालय JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

**NEW DELHI - 110067** 

Centre For International Politics, Organisation and Disarmament, School of International Studies Jawaharlal Nehru University New Delhi-110067

21 July 1989

#### CERTIFICATE

Development Aid in the East Central Africa is submitted to the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, to fulfil the requirements for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. It is a record of bona fide research work carried out by Etukuri Bala Showry. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any Degree or Diploma.

( S. C. GANGAL )

( R. C. SHARMA ) 21.7.85 Supervisor

GRAM: JAYENU TEL.: 667676, 667557 TELEX: 031-73167 JNU IN

## CONTENTS

		Page No.
	ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i - iii
CHAPTER - I	INTRODUCTION	1 - 12
CHAPTER - 11	EMERGENCE OF THE EAST CENTRAL AFRICA AND COLONIAL LEGACY	13 - 56
CHAPTER - III	RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS	57 -123
CHAPTER - IV	NEED FOR DEVELOPMENT AID	124 -151
CHAPTER - V	AID AVAILABILITY AND PATTERN	152 -186
CHAPTER - VI	MAJOR POWERS AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES	187 -217
CHAPTER - VII	OTHER PARTICIPATING NATIONS INCLUDING INDIA	218 -275
	CONCLUSION	276 -285
	APPENDIX - I & SUMMERISATION OF BORDER DISPUTES	286 -297
	SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY	298 -322

#### ACKNOWLED GEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Professor R.C. Sharma, under whose guidance, I had the privilege to carry out this research work. He has been a source of inspiration and encouragement to me throughout the preparation of this thesis. I utilize this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude towards him for introducing me to the field of international politics in area studies. Moreover, his humanitarian character has left an everlasting impression on my mind. But for his unreserved co-operation, which this would not have seen the light of the day. My thanks to Professor M.L. Sondhi for his scholarly and valuable suggestions in my research work.

My special thanks are due to Shri S. Subbanna,
Joint Director, Directorate of Field Publicity, Ministry
of Information and Broadcasting, Shri M. Koteswara Rao,
Assistant Editor, Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
(Publications Division), Ministry of Information and
Broadcasting and Shri David Mally, Joint Director, Central
Employment Exchanges, Ministry of Labour, for the help
rendered to me by making available various government
documents.

My sincerest thanks must also go to the large number of other scholars and friends who at one point and

another discussed, questioned and criticized the contents of this thesis. In this respect Dr Deora, Ms D. Shanthi Sree, Miss T. Bharathi, Mr Shaul Hameed and Mr K. Ramesh deserve special mention for giving me a helping hand and continuous encouragement.

I sincerely thank Mr K.U.M. Rao, Deputy Librarian of this University and the staff members of the libraries of JNU, Indian Council of World Affairs, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, UN Information Centre, World Bank, Central Secretariat, Kenya and Tanzania High Commission, for making available research material and other related information.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not express my gratitude for the spontaneous help and assistance provided to me by Shri Meduri Nageswara Rao, ex-Member of Parliament, Shri Nisankara Rao Venkata Ratnam, Member of Parliament and Dr. Prabhudas, Chairman, Guntur Municipality, Guntur.

My thanks are due in no small measure to my wife Mrs Susan, who had kindled inspiration and strength in me all these years. The credit of this work, to a greater extent, should go to her. I am also deeply indebted

to my family members, who offered constant encouragement and co-operation.

My sincere thanks to Mr D.K. Pahwa, for his good and neat typing and the Jawaharlal Nehru University for the financial assistance.

However, for any typographical and other narrative mistakes I own myself responsible.

New Delhi,

July 21, 1989.

E. B. Showry

#### CHAP TER I

#### INTRODUCTION

The underdevelopment of the Third World countries is a universal fact in the present day competitive world. Among the Third World countries, the East Central African nations viz. Kenya. Tanzania. Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda. are very backward and it can be stated that except Kenya. the four countries are the least developed countries. Among the explanatory variables, the most important is the colonial The scenario of the underdevelopment of the East legacy. Central Africa is marked with enthusiasm and competition among the developed countries to supply development aid. The channels are varied, from institutional to national in character. Many are multilateral agencies to come up with financial and technological assistance. It is not a unique feature specifically to the East Central African countries, as this is part of the development ethos in many of the Third World countries.

For this purpose, the period from 1973 to 1982, i.e. after a decade of the independence of the East Central African nations has been taken for the present study. The newly born East Central African nation states lack necessary external policy in getting the development aid in desired

forms from various sources. However, after a decade of their independence, how these countries have looked after their development problems needs to be analysed and understood within the framework of this study.

Basically, these countries were the colonies of European powers. Despite the disappearance of colonial rule in these countries, they are still facing the onslaught of exploitation under the garb, specially in the name of scientific and technological assistance and other aid programmes. Out-dated technology is being transferred to these countries. In the name of health care, the population of these nations get drugs and medicine after to be tested. many times resulting into serious after effects. Loans received are long-term but lead to an unbearable 'debttrap' as one can notice in the case of Latin American nations. Sometimes hard bargain agreements compel these nations to export agricultural products much in demand in the developed world on throw-away prices. In order to bear the debt and to increase the paying capacity, these developing nations have to produce more, even at the cost of chemical pollution and wasteland creation on the marginal lands and deforestation resulting into ecological imbalances.

Territorial issues are part of the colonial legacy in various forms and intensity. None of these East Central African nations is without a territorial issue, often

resulting into border clashes and wasteful expenditure on arms development, specially through purchases from the developed countries. Border disputes are also necessary to be solved as these are obstacles and are responsible for the conflict situation. There are examples like the border disputes between Tanzania and Uganda; Kenya and Somalia; Tanzania and Malawi; Kenya and Ethiopia and Uganda and Zaire. Due to these problems, the bilateral relations are always at stake. There is always an opportunity for external powers to intervene in the local affairs.

With the nature of the underdevelopment and the conflict situation of the border problems, the East Central African nations could not come out from the clutches of the critical situation, i.e. growing dependence and exploitation by the external powers. unnecessary growing expenditure on arms build-up, lack of independent judgement on the regional and international issues, accentuated regional imbalances and marked disparities among the people and the callous role of the ruling elites who is almost a pawn to the external powers. Therefore, the case of the East Central African countries viz. Kenya. Tanzania. Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda is remarkable on many accounts i.e. in terms of colonial legacy, underdevelopment in socio-economic terms, political ambivalence and immaturity and inter-state and inter-tribal contending issues and bilateral border problems etc.

From the point of view of geographical and demographical aspects. the East Central African countries covering a total area of 1.8 million square kilometer and population of about 70 million (1985). They were part of British (Kenya and Uganda), German and British (Tanzania), Belgium (Burundi) and German (Rwanda). Kenya is located on the eastern coast of Africa, with some known maritime activities. Tanzania, as the melting pot of more than 100 tribes, has typical equatorial regime. Uganda, is a typical case of hinterland landlocked State. Burundi and Rwanda in the region which is part of the great African rift valley are known as "Land of almost Ideal Beauty". Geography is strong in leaving its impact on the development process in this region, partly because of the fact that the man has yet to sharpen his tools, techniques and power for gainful exploitation of nature. The majority of the East Central African people fall below the poverty line and are agricultural and rural in character with main cash crops of coffee, cotton, tobacco, tea, sugarcane and spices etc. , They have either very weak industrial base. The network of means of communication and transport is skeletal in character and does not encourage industrial balanced development.

Almost all the countries of the region are organic parts of the Indian Ocean Region. They are part of the

rich agricultural resources region which export products of the commercial crops to the outside world. There is no regionalist mark on the export-import trade relationship. They are western world oriented in their export and import trade links. They form the part of the typical extraregional ethos of the Indian Ocean Region. It is a pity.

Considering the socio-economic fabrics of these nation-states including political instability and developmental activities by getting aid, the present theme which is being discussed in the thesis is important, both as affecting the basic interest of these countries as well as their foreign relationship and future stakes in development. In fact, the development aid from various donor countries and agencies cannot solve all the development problems of these countries. At the same time, these countries cannot solve their developmental problems with their indigenous inadequate basic infrastructure. it lacks finances. technology or skilled human resources and will to exploit for a balanced development. Naturally, when the investment is less, they will get low production and in result, they will get low This is a vicious circle of poverty. they need fair external assistance which can uplift their standard of living.

But by getting more aid in form of loan with high interest, they may not escape from the financial crisis.

They need soft term loans to have much needed technical assistance which is indispensable for the development of the industrial sector and necessary infrastructure. For this. the coordination and co-operation between the donor and recipient countries is necessary. Alongwith this, these countries' basic requirement is that of trained manpower. This necessitates development training programmes through educational and manpower training institutes. important feature of the natural ambience of these countries is the beautiful nature as possible base for developing the international tourism. There is wildlife and many worldfamous sanctuaries, but proper tourism has not been developed till date. There are international tourist organizations involved in exploiting this, but this does not return income generated in right proportion. If tourism and training of necessary human resources is generated in these countries, then it will generate enough resources to take care of funding economic development as well as in raising the living standard of masses. These countries must reorient themselves to harvest nature's gift.

Information and date base is primary and secondary in nature and collected through year books, monographs, government documents, UN publications, research bulletins and paper clippings and other general literature on

development aid and its background. The material on the motivations of donor countries in supplying the aid to the East Central Africa with terms and conditions has been collected from the general literature. However. it is necessary to make a note that enough primary information and data could not be collected in the absence of the field work to these countries. It would have helped greatly if a chance to visit these countries could have materialized. Hence much necessary data could not be acquired in order to use much needed techniques and tools of analysis. No doubt. this lacunae has slightly affected the quality of the work. but one cannot do much about it in the absence of the field work.

The thesis is divided into the following chapters:

Chapter I : Introduction

Chapter II : Emergence of the East Central African
Nations and the Colonial Legacy

Chapter III : Resources and Development Problems

Chapter IV : Need for Development Aid

Chapter V : Aid Availability and Pattern

Chapter VI : Major Powers and Development Programmes

Chapter VII : Other Participating Nations, including India

Introduction being the first chapter, reviews the relevant literature, objectives and hypotheses of the dissertation. It gives the information regarding the nature of the East Central African nations' underdevelopment, the problems of development and the way to solve the same. The sources of data and the methodology indicate how and from where the material has been collected. Thus the first chapter gives the conceptual background of this research work in order to expose the theme.

The second chapter deals with the historical background and pre-colonial history of the East Central African nations i.e. the condition of their social, economic and political set up before the arrival of colonial masters and also during the colonial rule as well. It discloses pathetically backward conditions of the East Central African people during the colonial rule and the manner they were exploited to lose their precious wealth. This chapter describes the circumstances of the emergence of the East Central African nations. It shows how the people of these countries had struggled and fought for independence during the colonial era. Consequently, as a result of the colonial legacy these countries have the problems for the development in agriculture, industry, and other fields. The border disputes persist as a result of the legacy of colonial rule.

//

The nature of limited resources alongwith the development problems of these countries, specially in the case of agriculture, industry and business sector; as well as the GDP and GNP are being discussed in the Third Chapter. The resources from the agriculture sector are very important, as most of the population (75%) is in agriculture sector. The skilled manpower in agriculture and industrial sector is inadequate. As such, the East Central African nations could not come up to the extent of self-sufficient consumption. On the other hand, these countries suffer on account of rapid increase in population number thus increasing the occupancy ratio detrimental to the growth and development. These countries have infrastructure problems of means of communication and transport.

The core of the fourth chapter is on the need for development aid. In this chapter, the factors or the causes to seek the development aid, and the conditions of various underdeveloped sectors are discussed. The atmosphere of the relations between the donor, and recipient countries is exposed along with their conditions attached to the development aid programmes. The objectives of the donor countries and agencies in supplying the aid and the recipient countries in receiving the development aid are

discussed in this chapter. The competition among the donors in supplying the aid to Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda is focused in this chapter.

The fifth chapter deals with the subject of aid availability and pattern. In this chapter, the sources of aid is cited and discussed like the main source of aid from Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and other agencies. The pattern of aid to the East Central African countries are given in this chapter. Among the aid patterns, the bilateral and multilateral channels in respect of short-term and long-term loans are discussed. The motivation in supplying the aid to these countries is explained. The aid from the developed countries and the impact of the development aid on economic and political fields of the recipient countries is explained to understand the true nature and intentions of the donor countries.

The sixth chapter describes the role of the major powers i.e. the USA, the UK, West German, Sweden and Japan and their development aid programmes to the East Central Africa. The role of the individual countries, organisations and agencies is emphasized. Among the major powers, how and why the Super Powers are executing their programmes, is

discussed. The motivations behind the competition among the developed countries are explained and discussed in this chapter. The nature and quantum of aid and its impact on the agriculture and industrial sectors of the East Central African nations is explained and analysed.

The last and the seventh chapter, deals with the role of the other agencies like OECD, OPEC and multilateral agencies in giving aid to the East Central Africa. From the Third World countries, the role of India is discussed and how the Indian Government is pioneering the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa, is analysed in the context of the foreign policy framework and available resources in India.

In order to pinpoint here the traumatic experience of these East Central African nations in getting independence from the colonial masters and in proceeding with the development and self administration are being focused.

This all have yet to bear the fruits. Extraneous factors as well as domestic environment could not allow to achieve much needed respite from underdevelopment, poverty, malnutrition and social backwardness. Associated with exploitation under the neo-colonialism, rapid population growth almost coming to demographic explosion, political immaturity and corrupt administrative machinery, and

unprecedented pressure on the natural endowments almost resulting into ecological crises, these countries need radical change in the man-nature development relationship in order to assure good quality of life. This region is almost nature's rich domain and needs conservation and regulated development process, which could only be possible if neo-colonialism and international exploitation mechanism is forestalled once for ever otherwise the future of this region is bleak.

• • • •

#### CHAP TER II

## EMERGENCE OF EAST CENTRAL AFRICAN NATIONS AND COLONIAL LEGACY

The political scenario of the East Central African nations. before the colonial rule was a period of strife among the native tribes for the establishment and expansion of their self styled rule and territorial jurisdiction in their respective areas. In the process of expansion of these countries, the Arab traders occupied East African nations viz. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, The native tribes of Central Africa viz. Twa and Tutsi occupied nations -- Burundi and Rwanda -- till 1800 A.D. 1 Thereafter, that is after 1800 A.D. the history of East and Central African nations had experienced political, social and economic crisis under the colonial powers of Portugual. France. Britain. Germany. Belgium and Italy. These colonial powers imposed their imperialism in the East Central Africa with deception. hypocrisy, oppression and exploitation. As a result, the natural conditions and the degeneration of administration in these native countries had invited the colonial masters of 18th century in this region.

<sup>1</sup> Rene Lenarchand, Rwanda and Burundi (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Philip M. Sweezy, <u>Imperialism and Social Classes</u> (New York: Augustus Kellying, 1951), p. 1.

How the natural conditions of East Central Africa have influenced the man-kind can be understood by the study of Ecology which would mean, man's relationship with nature. The Ecology can help us to know the conditions of the African people, how they lived in tropical countries, how they lived in a hot and dry atmosphere, some were in the forest, open plains and some were at high altitude.

The historical perspective of each country of East and Central Africa was more or less the same since the Central African nations i.e. Burundi and Rwanda are the appendices of the East African nations namely Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.

#### East Central Africa

The knowledge of East and Central African nations' history before 15th century was based on unwritten history in the form of archaeology and the things used by the people and remembered history i.e. spoken or oral history respectively since the people did not know the knowledge of writing in the concerned country. 4

Since time immemorial the East Central African people lived in groups of villages and such a group came

Basil Davidson, The Growth of African Civilization (Nairobi: Longman, 1967), p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Jan Knappert, East Africa (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1987), p. 44.

15 Burc,"

under a single chief, which indicates self rule. The nature of the problems in social life will take us to the root cause of conflict among the native rulers. The Kikuyu, Nilotic, Bantu and Tutsi ethnic groups had played a vital role in the administration. The nature of the backwardness of economic, political and social issues had forced the subjects of these countries to keep their sweat and blood in the colonial Treasury. African livelihood was mainly based on the development of agriculture, cattle and pasture.

Due to the poor quality of the soil, the people use to migrate to fertile lands even where little land is available to develop the pasture. Sometimes they have to face the storms of rain or fury of flooded rivers. While migrating from place to place and settling in new places, the people obviously faced many situations of conflicts. The presence of Arab Traders had appeared to Kenya and Tanzania in the eighth century and they occupied these two countries till the sixteenth century. There was a scene of extensive migration and establishment of number of separate powerful chiefs with their area of dominance till the arrival of Britishers in Uganda. The background of the Central African nations i.e. Burundi and Rwanda which were in feudal social structure was with the conflicts

<sup>5</sup> Basil Davidson, The Growth of African Citivlization (East and Central Africa to the late 19th Century) (Nairobi: Longman, 1967), p. 32.

of the native ethnic groups of Hutu and Tutsi.

The princely dynastic families of Ganwa and Mwami of Burundi fought against each other for power. The Mwami family indicates the Tutsi people who were cattle breeders arrived from the Horn of Africa to this area about 500 years ago and gradually subjugated the Hutu inhabitants who were cultivating the lands.

The powers and the skill of organisation of the Tutsi group led it to dominate the various small kingdoms before the arrival of the colonial powers in nineteenth century.

#### Spread of Colonial Rule

The colonial rule had been spread over the East Central Africa after 500 years as compared to the continents of America and Australia. May be the Portuguese and Dutch rulers had come to East Central Africa in the 16th century, but they could not sustain themselves in these areas for a long time. The British, French, Germans and Belgians rulers arrived and occupied these countries mostly at the end of the 19th century and established their colonies and left their legacy for history.

Why the Europeans have arrived in East Central Africa at the end of the 19th century? What are the

<sup>6</sup> Year Book 1987: Countries of the World and its Leaders (USA: Gale Research Company Book Tower, 1988), p. 1009.

causes or circumstances that prevented them to have a thou, to come to East Central Africa before the 19th century? The are the questions to be clarified in the context of spread of colonial rule in the East Central Africa.

The Europeans had established their colonies in America and Australia over the past 500 years, 7 for a new society with new politics and religion. At that time the African continent as a whole was not attractive to the Europeans, because of its harsh geographical ambience. 8 What are the geographical factors of African continent one must know it.

If we have a look at the physical map of the African continent, we can understand the physical structure of la rgely composed of a great central high plateau and a very narrow belt of low coastal land, wide area of swamps desert. So the Europeans' belief that it is not good and possible to settle in this continent at that time that is before 19th century by noticing the poverty of the land and heavy incidents of tropical diseases.

The pertinent view is that due to these reasons, the colonial powers had established their colonies in the

<sup>7</sup> John Hatch, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1960), p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Mountjoy, Alan B., Clifford Embleton, Africa (A New Geographical Survey) (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966). p. 48.

East Central Africa at the end of the 19th century and caused so many problems in the aspect of social, political and economic issues which will come under colonial legacy. Then what is the interest of Britishers especially to involve in these countries' administration in the 19th century?

Before their arrival some Europeans had come and found the sea route to establish their colonies. The British colonial policy consisted of divide and rule and was interested in raw materials and power. No doubt their method was to impose their policy in the administration and protect their interests. Their policy was indicative of the strategies they used in communication with Europe.

So, the foreign invaders i.e. Portuguese, Dutch, and Arabs had occupied the East Central Africa in the 16th century and later these countries, namely Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, were occupied by the Britishers and Germans in the year 1895, 1885 and 1894 respectively.

The nature of policy of administration of the Britishers in the East Africa can be seen in Burundi and Rwanda also which were occupied by the French, German and Belgium in 1894 and 1916 respectively.

The main cause for colonial rule in the East

Central Africa and elsewhere was the struggle for raw

materials for their industrial development. Their intention

to get the raw materials had been spread over to the

dimensions of economic, social and political motives to establish their colonies and their motives were the cause which laid down the foundation for imperialism in the East Central Africa in the 19th century.

#### Consolidation of Colonial Rule

Soon after occupying the areas of East Central Africa, the colonial rulers have decided to consolidate their rule to have political power, economic influence, their culture and religion spread through length and breadth of the region. After their settlement in the East Central Africa, the colonial rulers have decided to make some agreements among themselves to help each other in the context of consolidation of their rule.

The political agreement in the year 1885 among the Anglo-German-French colonial rulers was held to hold their position in East Africa, but it was not fruitful. Due to the failure of the treaty of 1885 the Anglo-German rulers decided to make a political agreement for their mutual co-operation in partition of land in East Central Africa in the year 1886. The 1886 agreement was the first and most significant political treaty. The British and

<sup>9</sup> T.O. Ranger, Emerging Themes of African History (Dar es Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1965), p.7.

Daniel D.C. Don Nanjira, <u>The Status of Alliance in East Africa</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976), p. 47.

German rulers consolidated their administration with the signing of a treaty at Berlin in 1890 which was called "Holigoland Treaty". This treaty was very important to them, because Holigoland was a naval base of Germany and moreover the Britain wanted the German co-operation against the French or the Russian threat of war. According to this agreement they have to co-operate and help each other. So, it was useful to both of them. The German and the British had made not only these agreements but also some protocol agreement in 1892, 1893, 1898 and 1906 to co-operate with each other to consolidate their rule in the East Central Africa.

Therefore, in Kenya, the British protectorate was declared in 1895 primarily to secure the route to Uganda. 11 After securing the route, British explorers, missionaries and traders reached Uganda. Due to inefficiency of native rulers of Kenya, the white settlers were encouraged in the highland and gradually the Europeans had become landholders.

with the primary establishment of European existence in Kenya, a thought of "white men's country" had appeared in the minds of native Africans. The settlers were allowed to have a voice in the Kenyan Government even before Kenya was officially made a British colony in 1920.

<sup>11</sup> Richard Walker, <u>South of Sahara: Recent History of Kenya</u> (London: Europa Publication, 1988), p. 544.

THESIS 338.9167 Sh829 De

time when they had a voice on official matters and after the Africans were not allowed any direct political participation until 1944.

Before the British arrival in Uganda the Arab Traders were moving from their enclaves along the Indian Ocean coast of East Africa and reached the interior Uganda in 1830. At the same time the British explorers were searching for the Nile River, but they reached first Buganda in 1860 which was under discussion to get separate statehood from Uganda. The British rulers declared Buganda as a protectorate in 1894 and at that time Uganda also came under the control of Britishers. 12 With the policy of administration of the Britishers. the relations between native chiefs and Britishers: had been strained and they waited for their independence. Thus the Britishers consolidated their rule in Buganda and Uganda till the time of formation of the United States of Uganda under the leadership of Matoyo.

Germans ruled Tanzania from 1885 till the first world war. During this period the administration of the Germans in East Africa was cruel and ruthless especially in Tanganyika by the then colonial administrator Peter. The goal of his administration was clear that the German flag

Wilfred Carten and Amatin Kilson, The Africa Reader (The Colonial Africa) (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 12.

and its impact should be spread over the entire East Africa and should dominate among the colonial rulers.

By imposing the rigid and inhuman methods of colonial rule which were unacceptable even by the German settlers of East Africa, he ruled with ruthlessness. So that he was nicknamed by Africans as "Mkono-wa-dance" that is "the man with the bloodstained hands". 13 Why then the Germans' administration was inflexible in character? The reason given by one of the administrators was that it was very very difficult to administer African since the Africans were strong and persistent.

Mandated to Britain in the year 1916. The German rulers faced the problems of administration due to their direct rule, whereas the British rulers have managed to administer the Africans by introducing indirect rule and moreover the divide and rule policy which was gradually introduced by Germans. During the administration of Britain in Tanganyika "Cameron" the administrator was the important figure in the history of British rule. He introduced the system of Local Native Administration by taking most able natives as chiefs and the natives were given the administrative duties and powers. The difference between Germans and

<sup>13</sup> Daniel D.C. Don Nanjira, n. 10, p. 35.

Britishers was the administration, the way they ruled in East Africa. The East Africa was under the control of Britain till the year of 1945 and it was named Tanganyika. The following year the Tanganyika had become a trust territory under the British administration and the British rule was there till its independence.

The Central African countries, namely Rwanda and Burundi, were mostly administered by Belgians. Though the first European country to occupy these countries was Germany in 1899, but it could not sustain itself for a long time. After the first world war the territory of Rwanda-Urundi was mandated by the League of Nations to Belgium in 1915. 14 After the second world war, this territory was made under the UN a trustee territory with the administration of Belgium. Even though Rwanda was under the control of Belgium the administrative powers have been given to native Tutsi chiefs by implementing the indirect rule till the end of the year 1958.

As a result of Tutsi's administration in this area, the Hutu people revolted and they were driven out during the rule of Tutsi in the year 1962 and Belgium trusteeship had also ended. At the same time Burundi also attained independence under a monarch. Thus the foreign

<sup>14</sup> Year Book, n. 6.

rule ended in 1962.

The political scenario in East Central Africa before the colonial rule was the perpetual feuds and incessant bloody wars among the tribal chiefs for the establishment of their local authority in their regions. The disunity among the local chiefs was utilized by the colonizing powers to intervene in the administrative matters of East Central Africa. The subsequent colonial rule hampered the development of the post colonial new emergent nations in East Central Africa in such a way that they have not been able to overcome the problems of the poverty and underdevelopment even today. The impact of the colonial administration has remained a legacy with the acute border problems leading to conflict situation in this region.

#### Socio-Economic Environment

The socio-economic environment during the colonial rule in the East Central Africa was a typical product of imperialism. In fact, these countries had only a few coastal fertile lands in Kenya and Tanzania. The remaining area was filled with rift vallies, rock livers and hills.

The industrialists and capitalists of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and other colonial powers occupied the coastal lands and the lands by the side of great lakes like Lake Victoria, with an intention to get the raw

materials and to have the market for sale of the manufactured goods of the home countries and at the same time, to defuse the investment of surplus capital in these areas to capture the markets. To develop the trade, the settlers occupied the areas where the sea route to their homelands were available and where the natural resources were available.

The nature of capturing wealth from the poor countries was the gift for the colonial power. Earlier, the Europeans bought black slaves from Africa for exchange of guns and ammunition.

During the regime of the colonial rule the East
Central African people were suppressed socially and
depressed economically. African people were not allowed to
participate in the state administration most of the time.

Even if the colonial rulers introduced the new methods for
the development of agriculture, industries etc. the African
people were employed as manual labourers only. They were not
allowed to learn the skilled work to know the development of
their lands and industries.

# Causes and Process Responsible for the Breakdown of the Colonial Regime .

The nature of the colonial rule in the administration and the methods and policies which they applied during their regimes in the East Central Africa made the natives for self-rule in their countries. So the East Central African people were forced to change their concept from the situation of apathy and despair which had completely deprived their lives.

In such circumstances any human being would want a self reliant existence. Because no man, no society, or country can live on the idea of the past which was not suitable to the present situation. The people of East Central Africa have decided to sacrify their lives for nationalism. It was filled in their minds that they must have determination to create separate political entity and They wanted to cultivate the common freedom/colonial rule. ideals to attain nationalism. They thought that the nationalism represents the feeling of belonging, a spirit of sentiment of loyalty. In their view that the unity can provide a group consciousness of nationality. The unity and national feeling can prevent the attacks launched by the foreigners. 15 Hence the causes of nationalism in indigenous Africans were mainly in three dimensions i.e. social, economic and politicall.

Socially, the first problem of Africans was the question of their land, which flourished from time immemorial by customs and traditions. This was a sensitive issue to the indigenous people for their culture. The colonial rulers occupied these areas and exploited the natural resources and

**∠**from

<sup>15</sup> Nanjira, n. 10, p. 76.

human resources. In the East Central Africa the manpower was considered as one of the leading resources. The colonial rulers treated the manpower (slaves) as the chief export from the continent. In this way the African people were socially depressed and this led to vociferous call for return of their land. Another point of cause was economically the Africans were exploited. The settlers occupied the fertile lands and got mineral wealth and developed their home industries in the coastal line of East Africa. Among the causes of responsible attitudes to break down the colonial rule in the East Central Africa, the political aspect was the vital point. Because of the ruthless and inhuman administration of the colonial powers especially the German government during the regime of Peter was unforgettable in the history of East Central Africa.

The foreigners always followed the divide and rule policy, as a method of imposing control, indirect rule in the East Central Africa. Because of these conditions the people of East Central Africa struggled for national liberation from the European powers. In this connection the statement given by "Kwame Nkrumah" was correct. He said that the road of the national liberation movement to colonial independence cannot come through delegations, gifts, charity, paternalism, grants, concessions, proclamations, charters of reformism but only through the complete change of the

colonial system, <sup>16</sup> a united affort is indispensable to break the colonial rule. So, to get unity, the East Central African people thought that of how to organise a new community, how to choose leading men, how to fix rules for keeping law and order, how to live in peace with the other people in the land. Because before launching a national movement to get freedom, these are the chief fundamental outlines to achieve their goals.

The problem of unity among these people was not a single reason. There are problems of beliefs, customs, languages and forces. All the types of people having different views and methods, it was a problematic deed to get unity.

In the area of East Africa the people got unity against the administration of the European rule and had profound effect in Kenya and northern Tanzania after 1600 A.I or 1700 A.D. The main causes for East African people's reaction or response to the European rule were: 18

<sup>16</sup> Kwame Nkrumah, <u>Towards Colonial Freedom</u> (London: Pamat, 1962), p. xviii.

<sup>17</sup> Knappert, n. 4, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> Nanjira, n. 10, p. 80.

- (1) The European colonial policies and practices had included restrictions on the movements of the Africans, the loss of their stock, and closing of forests to them, fines imposed on Africans for the slightest trespass, excessive and inhuman physical abuse of Africans, summary dismissals of the Africans after they had done dirty work, and encouragement of disrespect among African youth for the traditional and customary ways of African life.
- (2) The Euro-Asian struggle for dominance war in complete disregard of African interests and aspirations.
- (3) The overall position of aliens in East Africa was continually improving.
- (4) The position of Africans vis-a-vis the position of aliens in these regions was deteriorated.

These are the problems faced by East African people as a whole. In this struggle from 1952 to December 1959, Kenya was under the state of emergency arising from the "Mau Mau" rebellion against British colonial rule 19 and during this period only the political movement had increased rapidly and finally with the result of this movement Jomo Kenyatta a member of the predominant Kijiyu tribe became Kenya's first president in the year 1964.

<sup>19</sup> Year Book, n. 6, p. 725.

In the case of Tanzania the national movement was in two phases. One was at one mainland and another was at Zanzibar before independence. In the area of Zanzibar the native Africans faced the domination of Arab Traders whereas in the main land i.e. Tanganyika the people were dominated by Germans and Britishers. In the mainland and Zanzibar there was development of territorial political consciousness among the African civil servants; basing on this and intact development, after the Second World War. the European rule was unable to exist in these areas. After 1945 Tanganyika was declared to be a multiracial rather than African country and in 1951 the local government councils exclusively for Africans was opposed. 20 To protest against this intention. the then leader Dr Julius Nyerere fought for legitimacy rights to have a Central Organisation to which many local groups were already affiliated. With the Organisation of Tanganyika African National Union which was founded by Julius Nyerere, the Africans got through the elections in 1958 and 1959. After a couple of years Tanzania got independence and Julius Nyerere had come to the power as a president.

There was strife in Uganda for independence between the modern nationalists and the champions of traditional values i.e. hereditary kings, long established tribal forms

John Lonsdale, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications, 1988), p. 987.

of government, religious rivalries. Taking advantage of the native kingdom fivalries, the British government extended its rule everywhere in Uganda. And mainly the period between 1920 and 1940 witnessed increasing strain between the British authorities and the chiefs who feared the extension of Kenyan settler power. 21 Therefore, with the result of the policy of imperialism, the people of Uganda were disgusted at the most and launched the anti-British revolts in Uganda. At the same time, the nearby territory of Uganda namely Buganada demanded separate independence for it from British rulers but it was not fruitful. In the year 1962 the general election was held and the Uganda People's Congress defeated its opposition and Obetto was elected as the chief and in the same year Uganda got complete independence.

The result of the European explorers, missionaries of 1858 in Rwanda-Burundi was caused to establish Germany's administration in 1899 and later the Belgium rule was there from 1916 onwards. <sup>22</sup> The nature of colonial rule in these two countries also was the same as in East Africa. Since then there was a struggle for power between Hutu and Tutsi tribes in Burundi and Rwanda, the Hutu people who were

<sup>21</sup> Walker, n. 11, p. 1029.

<sup>22</sup> Alan Rake, Africa: South of Sahara: Recent History of Burundi (London: Europa Publications, 1988), p. 803.

cultivators of agricultural land, occupied the position in the government and at the same time these countries got independence in 1962.

# Colonial Legacy and Underdevelopment

The colonial legacy in terms of underdevelopment and disparities among the East African nations and its people was diversified with respect to the three utterly different nations i.e. one, slaughter house, two, slum and thirdly a risky success. All three may now be turning in new directions into Tragic Uganda, Failed Tanzania and Upwardly mobile Kenya. 23 This condition is existing in these countries and still these three regions and its people should develop. Because the common characteristics of East Central African countries are peculiar, the ecological consequences lead to the depth of the economic problems. In fact, the underdevelopment of politics and the society of East Central Africa were encashed upon by the European powers for their industrial development for the last hundred years. Basing on these factors the economic condition of these countries was that the underdevelopment of East Central Africa and the wealth of these countries in respect of minerals and

<sup>23</sup> Nicholas Herman, "On the Road to Somewhere: East Africa - A Survey", The Economist, vol. 33, no. 7503, 20 June 1987, p. 3.

agricultural products had been captured by the European powers and the colonial powers became as regular suppliers of finished goods to these countries.

The colonial power always kept these African nations as the main source of the raw materials and did not want to develop these countries in economies. The partial tone of economic development among these regions was kept for their entire colonial regime and caused to food problem mainly. The motivation of politics and administration of colonial powers has made the African people to cultivate the habit of dependency for their lives as a whole. The disparity among the regions and its people in East Central Africa was caused to face the multi-problems even after their independence in 1960s.

Due to the colonial legacy there were problems of food, agriculture and transport and in addition to that exploitation of minerals led to deprivation in natural resources. All the problems cited above are derived from the following objectives of the colonial powers. The first is that the area of extraction and production of raw materials. Second is the convenient places to build ports for the export of raw material and import of manufactured goods. The third is the regions suitable for locating colonial administration and the last point is the localities where white settlements could be set up.

Therefore, one can understand the situation of the East Central African regions and its people under the control of the European powers by studying their policies in administration. In this connection it can be said that the process of under development of East Central Africa has been started when the Europeans entered after 1885 and the political motivation of the colonial power was to involve indirectly and later directly in the affairs of politics of East Central Africa and their spheres of influence had been penetrated into the nature of the exploitation. During the period of colonial rule the fertile lands of these areas were alienated for European settlers or converted into plantations on the Africans were forced to work in mines or plantations producing export commodities i.e. especially minerals and cash crops. 24 The minerals and agricultural products were committed to be sold to Europeans and later the Europeans became as regular suppliers of finished goods in their colonies.

The European powers have achieved their goal of capturing the ownership, the means of production, accumulation of the surplus and developed their relations with developed countries especially with the countries of the capitalist systems. The indigenous markets were suppressed by the

V. Gupta, "Economic Crisis in Africa", India Quarterly, vol. 41, no. 2, April-June 1985, p. 237.

colonial sophisticated traders and the colonial rulers aligned with capitalists, imperialist countries to prevent any opposition in this context. Since there was no co-operation and integration among the export commodities producers of East Central Africa, the white settlers have taken an advantage to exploit the African society. With this particular political motivation the colonial powers have decided to make co-operation and integration among themselves at their home and in East Central Africa to create a common service in this regard to serve two purposes, viz.

- (1) it was designed to exploit the raw materials and to create and easy access to the East African markets for the imported manufactured goods;
- (2) it served as a base for the expansion of foreign manufacturing industries in East Central Africa.

Therefore, the underdeveloped colonies were left in a poor condition due to the colonial powers' vested interest.

Moreover some of indigenous petty bourgeoisie have co-operated with the white settlers to promote the system of freehold title of lands in order to hold the power and share the profit of exploitation of their native land. Therefore the exploitation of the poor has existed between the rich and the poor and was perpetuated. The time when the East Central African people did not have unity among themselves with the

attitudes of Vested interest, the administration of their countries obviously deteriorated. By taking this advantage of coups, economic strangulation and political destabilization the colonial powers kept control over small mono-crop or monomineral oriented African countries. Hence, the colonial legacy in the East Central Africa has been spread over the main potential means of the food source for which they are facing problems at present. The colonial legacy can be seen in mass starvation due to agricultural problems which are more than any other; the colonial legacy caused the sociocultural crisis. In this particular phenomena Mustafa Tolba of UNEP says that this "lack of skills and technologies, finances, management and other str-ictly human ingenicities that have led to the formation of a new generalisation of environmental refuges". 26

Because of the European rule or imperialism, the legacy of the colonial powers has created a new dimensions among the East Central Africa. The relations between these countries at best distruftful, at worst hostile and they remained as more and more poor. Since these countries are facing development problems, naturally they have to get loans

V. Mansour Ali, "East African Economic Co-operation",
Review of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 628
5 June 1976, p. 21; and P.H. Desai, Developent in
Africa (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1982), p.245.

Santi Sadiq Ali and A. Gupta, Africa: Dimension of the Economic Crisis (New Delhi: Sterling Pub., 1987), p. 63.

from the developed countries which leads to debt crisis. Hence
the debt crisis can come from the external and internal
factors. To have a relationship to get a loan or aid from
a country is not much of a problem but to come out from the
net or clutches of the debts is not so easy. To come out
from the debt crisis the East Central African nations are
spending the wealth of the natural resources on impracticable
and extravagant schemes for development and by this process
one can say that they are ruining their economies. Since
they do not have the technological know-how for large scale
industries and import substitution and since they do not have
neither the technology nor the capital to sustain such
policies, they have to spend more money at the cost of the
welfare of the people.

In addition to this, the external factor is that the oil price increase commencing with Arab oil boycott of 1973-74 slapped oil importers with new burdens, the subsequent worldwide recession devastated foreign exchange holdings, and the higher interest rates blotted existing debts. 27 Moreover the British had left a set of joint agencies in East Central Africa to run the many air, rail and water transport, harbours and whole range of British regional services. Even after their independence, the East Central African states are dependent on the colonial powers. Then

<sup>27</sup> Henry F. Jackson, "The African Crisis: Drought and Debt", Foreign Affairs, vol. 63, no. 5, Summer 1985, p. 1082.

where is the possibility to get out from these crises which are the results of colonial legacy. To add to these factors of economic crisis of East Central Africa, the nature of dependency of these countries for want of infrastructure equipment mainly for food storage is another severe problem. The growth of population is also one of the main problems in the East Central Africa.

Basically the lands of these countries were underdeveloped in agriculture due to the ecological degradation,
soil erosion, over-grazing of large lands. So the main
national income source i.e. agriculture income is badly
affected. It has caused many crises and the neighbouring
countries will also face the impact of these crises. Therefore
the governments of these countries have to take a drastic
step to solve the burning problems. By observing these
conditions of these countries Mc Namara has stated that "the
economic crisis in East Central Africa threatens to condemn
an entire continent to unimaginable human misery unless
strong action is taken to control population growth, reverse
ecological devastation, climate distortions in domestic
policies and increase external development finance. 28

The nature of the development in the East Central Africa was to struggle for life. The condition of socio-

<sup>28</sup> Mc Namara, "Plan for African Crisis", <u>Democratic World</u>, 1 December 1985, p. 13.

economic and political problems in these areas will direct the subjects to exist in an uncertainty situation. Because the unfavourable weather, adverse natural conditions, the shortage of agricultural production factors i.e. land, water, power and capital, the increase of population, the unfavourable world economic situation, the insufficient amount of aid. the underdevelopment agricultural wealth which was the main characteristic to the concept of industrial development.29 are the reasons for the uncertain situations of the Africans. According to the development theories of 1960s, the root cause of economic crisis in Tanzania was that the agriculture was the source of capital that would help initiate new industries and finance their continuing needs for raw material. technology and expatriate management and also the agriculture would be the spring board for the development of a wide array of sundry rural industries devoted transportation storage and processing. 30

To solve these problems, the governments of these countries have to have mutual co-operation among themselves with cordial talks or some agreement regarding their agricultural problems. They have to work unitedly to drive

Judit Kiss, "Why is Africa Starving", <u>Development and Socio-Economic Progress</u>, vol. 9, nos. 1-2, January-June 1985, p. 7.

Michael F. Lofchine, "The Roots of Economic Crisis in Tanzania", <u>Current History</u>, vol. 84, no. 501, April 1985, p. 159.

out the devil of the debt crisis. And also it is very important and vital issue to take up a special research programme to increase the world's understanding towards Africa's ecological issues. Then there may be possibility to develop these countries.

# Regional Issues and Conflict Situation

After the colonial rule in the East Central Africa. there are so many problems which are the results of the European administration. Among the issues of East Central Africa, the regional issues are the burning problems, which include border disputes. the problem of border demarcation and with this result. the conflict situation among the nations. The cause of the border dispute between two or more countries was their misguided policy. There was no proper identification of a broader area and this gave rise to disputes. The native kings of the East Central Africa and the foreigners have administered their concerned states with an easy method of administration by framing the jurisdiction according to their convenience.

The migration of a particular region's people will create a border dispute basing on their ethnic group or language factors by settling in other areas. Because these people will claim the area which they occupied. The third reason is that the rulers used to invade the other country

for their political influence. In the process of administration of the particular area, the administrator will divide the territory for their convenience to rule the country. After some time the new rulers will come and so on. This process will be in a scramble situation for successors, and that will be caused to expose the border dispute or regional issue. And the fourth reason is that if there are mineral deposits in a particular region and intense political situation develops then there will be a cause to raise border dispute and fifth reason is that the occupation of the grazing land or access to water sources of a policy of territorial expansion based on current power and historical arguments.

Having a broad perception on the study of the origin of the boundaries, some writers have classified boundaries in terms of geographical, strategic and ethnic factors.

The alignments which recognize a particular area is boundary which is also to be known as artificial one. The process to recognize an area is that there should be a line describing in words in a treaty and shown on map or chart and should mark on the ground by physical indicators such as concrete pillars or cairn of stones. Some boundaries may be in terms of natural features such as embankments or watersheds.

While the competent authority is discharging its duties in demarcation on a particular area, due to misguided policy or lack of correct information to the concerned work, some problems or issues may arise. This situation has occurred in the case of British administration during their rule in East Central Africa. Because of these mistakes there are some internal and external border disputes between the East Central African countries among themselves and their neighbouring countries.

There were 33 agreements and protocols between the East Central African countries and their neighbours from 1890 to 1960 in connection with the fixation of their concerned borders and border disputes. After their independence also the East Central African people are facing border dispute problems and conflict situation within their territorials.

The problems of border disputes are not correctly exposing as burning ones but there were suffocated aspirations among the people of East Central African countries which are obstacles to their day-to-day lives.

# Burundi-Rwanda

There was no border dispute between these two countries as such, since the area is consisting of rivers and streams to indicate the border limits of each country. But the conflict situation in these countries is a struggle

for power. The situation of Burundi's internal problems is with the groups of Hutu and Tutsi people for the kinship from 1960 onwards. The military regime has shown the path to overthrow the opposite group. In this manner the monarch was overthrown by military coup in 1966 and 1976 and in the same year Jean Bapatista Bagaza had come to power. The nature of the administration of Burundi and the manner how the successors are attaining the position is the same policy in Rwanda also, since these countries' administration is under the military regime. The recent conflict situation in Burundi was between the Roman Catholic Church and the Government which took place on 10 March 1985. The a result of this, some Roman Catholics were asked to leave the country.

# Burundi\_Tanzania

There is no border dispute between these two countries. The boundary was demarcated by streams and pillars apart from the Lake Tanganyika segment

#### Kenya-Uganda

The issues of Kenya and Uganda are not leading to the conflict situation. But there was a particular area of Bukwa and Kanamuton rivers is undemarcated, and since the

<sup>31</sup> Rake, n. 22, p. 293.

time of colonial rule there was a problem of recognition for the pastoral people who were inhabitants of Karasuk, the region of Kenya, and administered by Ugandan Government.

This region/adjacent to the boundary of Karamoja district.

In this area there was competition for a pastoral people between these two countries.

/is

Since Kenya is located on the coastal land it has transport convenience on the sea also. Uganda is a land-locked country and it has to depend on its neighbouring coastal land countries for its development by sharing the water facilities also. And another important fact was that it has already constructed Railway line in 1901 up to Kisumu area on Lake Victoria to develop its trade with Kenya. 32

But the internal conflict situation in Uganda can be disclosed from the time of its independence. It is the scenario of coups from the beginning. The rulers do not have desire to develop the welfare of the country. There is a power strife among the political leaders and military administrators. The desire to capture the chair is not for the welfare of the people. So this country is facing the serious condition since 1966 with the regime of Milton Obote and after from the time of Maj. Gen. Idi Amin till 1985.

<sup>32</sup> Mountjoy and Embelton, n. 8, p. 335.

Robon Luckham, Africa: South of Sahara - Recent History of Uganda (London: Europa Publications, 1988), p. 49.

The conditions of security and economy completely deteriorated.

### Kenya-Tanzania

The border between these two countries has been demarcated in 1898 from Lake Jipe eastward to the coast, and in second phase between Lake Victoria to Laitokitok and thence to Lake Jipe in 1904-1905 during the colonial period. Since the demarcation between these two countries was not satisfied by the both nations, again some alignments and protocols have taken place and accordingly the redemarcation has taken place in 1925-26, 1927-28 but during the period 1956-57 the survey departments of Kenya and Tanzania have made a joint undertaking to demarcate the area as per the alignment of 1898. Due to disintegration of unilateral decisions the relations between these countries have not improved.

#### Tanzania-Uganda

The dispute between Tanzania and Uganda was to claim the area between the Kagera river (which divides Uganda from Tanzania) and Lake Victoria from each side. Actually the boundary between these two places (Kagera river and Lake Victoria) was demarcated by Anglo-Germen's governments' boundary commission in the year 1902-1904. The problem was

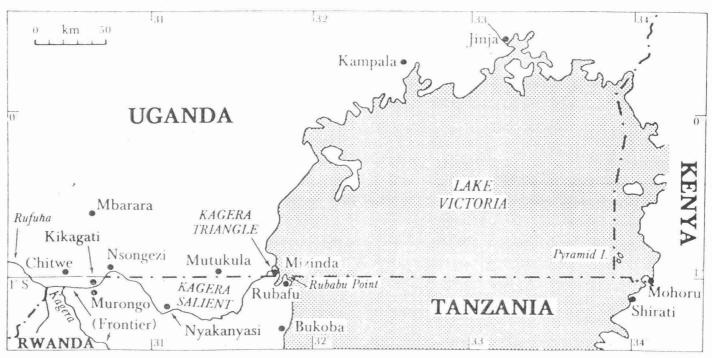
that the area of Busungwe belonging to Uganda was left south of the Kagera river, but not the parallel near the Lake Victoria. At this place there was a large area of Tanzania. In this issue there are various opinions. Because the countries needed the water facilities for their countries. The Government of Uganda has the same problem with Kenya and Tanzania since it was landlocked beween Kenya and Tanzania. Having this critical problem the Government of Uganda was trying to occupy this particular area and the Government of Uganda announced on 1 November 1978 its annexation with the limits of the parallel and up to the Kagera river and boundary along the parallel leaves of the north part of Rubabu point within territory of Uganda. 34 But Tanzania was accusing that Uganda has announced the annexation of the Kagera salient comprising 1,840 k.m. of Tanzania territory. 35 After After that some pressure from African countries has come and then the troops of Uganda were withdrawn but the border dispute has not been solved. (Map 2-A)

#### Rwanda-Tanzania

The border between these two countries lies with the frontier alongwith the river Kagera. There was no

J4 Ian Brownlie, African Boundaries (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1979), p. 1015.

<sup>35</sup> Lonsdole, n. 20, p. 989.



TANZANIA-UGANDA

dispute or conflict situation between these countries due to demarcation of the border.

# Rwanda\_U ganda

Rwanda in 1911 by the Governments of German and Great Britain and it was indicated that a segment of traditional Rwanda should leave within Kigezi district of Uganda. After some time some minor claims have been exposed in respect of rectifications of mistakes which were occurred at the time of survey in 1911 and those were settled. Since then no dispute is known. The border disputes and conflict situation between the East Central African nations and the neighbouring countries are also important in the context of the regional issues. Among the external issues of East Central African nations, the issues between Kenya-Somalia and Tanzania-Malawi are the major problems.

#### Kenya-Somalia

The dispute between these countries is mainly focusing on the issue of recognizing the area of Northern Frontier District of Kenya as a Somali's land. It was stated that most of the people inhabited by the Northern Frontier District (land of 150,000 sq. miles) were Somali speaking people. The border demarcation between Kenya (specified NFD) and Somalia was not recognised by the latter, 36

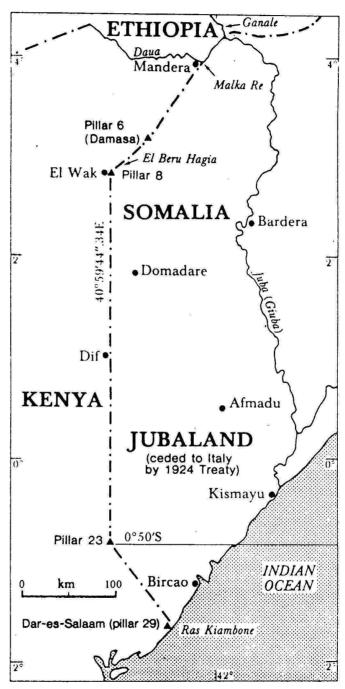
<sup>36</sup> Alan J. Day, <u>Border and Territorial Disputes</u> (London: Longman, 1982), p. 131.

where by the territory known as Jubaland. It was detached from the Britain Kenya colony and incorporated with Italian Somali land. Due to this policy of closed district of this area by the Britishers, the subjects of Somalia felt very difficult to exist in this area. To solve this border dispute, some commissions have been appointed and diplomatic relations have been done and also some organisations have taken a forward step to solve the problem, but they could not.

From 1967 to 1980 the relations between Kenya and Somalia had improved due to the Arusha formula and official meetings between these countries had taken place. the President of Somalia Barre had a meeting with the President of Kenya, Moi. at Nairobi after the June 1981 and announced that Somalia had no territorial claims on Kenya. 37 and as a result the two leaders had a further discussion in 1984. But due to insurgent activities by Shifta group in Kenya's North East Province, the relations between Kenya and Somalia did not improve and the problem Therefore, it is understood that the problems is as it is. of border dispute over the area of North Eastern part of Kenya i.e. Garrissa. Wajir and Mandera districts. which was demarcated in accordance with the treaty of 1924, were not recognized by both the countries, even after redemarcation in 1957 with pillars. 38 (Map 2-B)

<sup>37</sup> I.M. Lewis, Africa: South of Sahara - Recent History of Somalia (London: Europa Publication, 1988), p. 874.

<sup>38</sup> Brownlie, n. 34, p. 915.

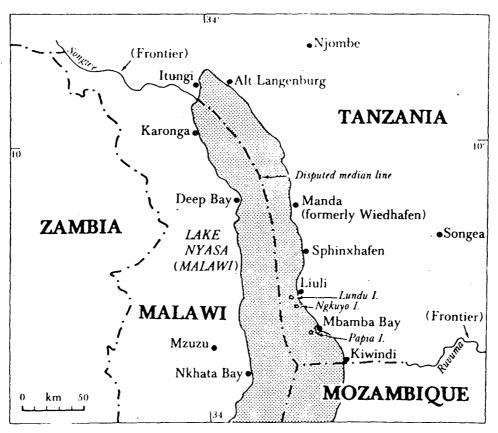


KENYA-SOMALIA

## Tanzania-Malawi

The issue between Tanzania and Malawi was to share the water from the Lake Nyasa. The water problem is vital point to these countries since the water is very important for agricultural developments. During their regime the British and the German governments had some agreements from 1890 onwards to solve the Lake Nyasa border dispute. Later the British Government has officially shown the western border of this territory as the median line through Lake Nyasa during the period 1916-1934 and issued a report between 1947 and 1961 for Tanganyika and Nyasa land regarding the recognition of eastern shore of Lake Nyasa as the boundary between Tanzania and Malawi. But the Government of Tanzania has rejected this change and stated that the maps produced in recent years will give the impression that the international boundary between Malawi and Tanzania follows the eastern and northern shore of Lake Nyasa. it does not want an international issue between these countries to share the water of Lake Nyasa and Tanzania has no claims over the waters of Lake Nyasa beyond the median line running through the Lake which is both legal and delineation between Malawi and Tanzania. 39 (Map 2-C)

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 965.



MALAWI-TANZANIA

The demarcation between Tanzania and Malawi has been done with the natural features of strait line sector adjacent to the Zambia tripoint lies between pillars 1 and 2 of the 1898. After that no demarcation has been occurred. 40

But the President of Malawai Banda has condemned the 1967 statement of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and disclosed his demarcation of all sides consisting of natural features of 160 k.m. north of Songwe river which is to the extent of in south-west Tanzania to the south, it is the Zambezi river which is in Mozambique to the west it is Luangwa river which is in Zambia and to the East it is the Indian Ocean. 41

The President of Malawi claimed the area as their territory as per the features cited above in 1968 was in the map of ancient Maravi designed by the Portuguese. So he was emphasizing that the Lake Nyasa is to belong to Malawi only to prove his legitimate right to declare the Lake Nyasa as Lake Malawi.

After the statement of the President of Malawi,

Nyerere, the President of Tanzania and Kunde, the President

of Zambia discussed their common problem and decided to

dismiss the claim of the President of Malawi. After that

<sup>40</sup> Alan J. Day, <u>Border and Territorial Disputes</u> (London: Longman, 1982), p. 142.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

the relations of Tanzania with Zambia have strengthened the trade through Dar-es-Salaam and also Tanzania relaxed the closure of its Kenyan border allowing the transportation through Tanzania to Zambia. 42 After three years, the presidents of these three countries decided to develop their bilateral relations. Therefore, Zambia opened its high Commission at Malawi and Tanzania in 1971 and Nyerere, the President of Tanzania exchanged message with Banda, the President of Malawi in 1972. According to their exchange of message, it was announced that the relations between these countries would be strengthened. 43

# Kenya-Sudan

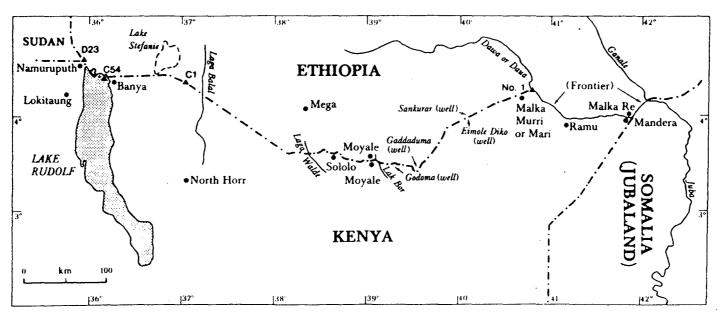
There was no border dispute between these two countries. The area Rudolf was between Sudan and Uganda. According to the protectorate order of 1926 the area of Rudolf, the province of Uganda, has been transferred to Kenya. So finally, the border between Kenya-Sudan was Rudolf. No conflict situation is there relating to the border dispute.

# Kenya-Ethiopia

Kenya may not have a problem with Sudan but there was a problem with Ethiopia. The border issue between

<sup>42</sup> Lonsdale, n. 20, p. 989.

John Mc Cracken, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publication, 1988), p. 634.



ETHIOPIA-KENYA

The problem of the issue was since 1891 and with a treaty a definite alignment was made and also demarcated on 9 June 1970 but the problem is that Ethiopia's area adjacent to the Sudan tripoint has been postponed, and the Sudan tripoint was not determined for demarcation. 44 In this area there was a long standing issue of access to wells at Gaddaduma. The people of this area had to depend on the water facilities and grazing rights. The alignment of 1907 of British Government created the problem of Gaddaduma area's issue and later it was resolved in 1970. (Map 2-D)

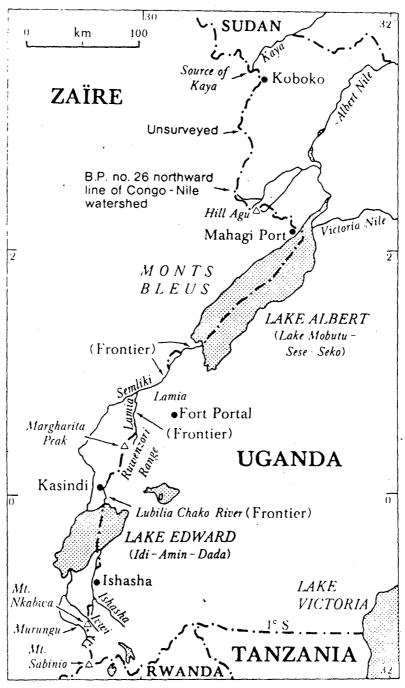
### Tanzania-Zaire

The demarcation of the border between Tanzania and Zaire does not have the nature of dispute of conflict but the media line of Lake Tanganyike requires joint determination from Tanzania and Zaire to share the water facilities and other privileges with mutual co-operation. The demarcation of border between Tanzania and Zaire was the media line sector on Lake Tanganyika.

# Tanzania-Zambia

In settling the border between Tanzania and Zambia, an agreement between Great Britain and Germany was signed

<sup>44</sup> Brownlie, n. 34, p. 823.



UGANDA-ZAÏRE

at Berlin on 23 February 1901 by demarcating the area between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. This agreement will define to share the water resources from the concerned lake. But there was no sign of dispute between these countries.

### Tanzania-Mozambique

The border issue between Tanzania and Mozambique was not a dispute since the area consisting of natural features i.e. Ruvuma river does not require any demarcation.

## Uganda-Zaire

The border issue between U ganda and Zaire was with the territorial plateau adjacent to lakes Edward and Albert. The colonial powers of these countries -- Great Britain and Belgium - made an agreement on 14 May 1910 at Brussels to fix the border between U ganda and Congo (Zaire). Despite they demarcated the area, the north south division of U ganda to the Sudan tripoint, there was an unserveyed sector of the boundary. This particular area follows the Congo-Nile watershed. Even then, there is no dispute in this area. But U ganda wants demarcation of the waters in lakes Albert and Edward, otherwise there was no dispute. 45 (Map 2-E)

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 690.

### Uganda-Sudan

The border between Uganda and Sudan was piller for 30 miles from Jebel Lonili to Jebel Urengo in 1960 but it was not demarcated, even though no dispute is existing.

#### Burundi-Zaire

In the case of Burundi-Zaire the border demarcation is not there. The area of the border is surround by rivers or the median line of Lake Tanganyika. When there is natural features there will not be any dispute,

It is clear to state and identify the correct border between Rwanda and Zaire which was demarcated by pillars between the shore of Lake Kivvu and Mount Nehu. This was approved by both the sides.

# Conclusion of Border Disputes

In the early 19th century, the European power have occupied the regions of East Central Africa. The colonial powers have imposed their colonialism in these regions and ruled these countries till 1960s. These Ea Central African nations viz. Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda got their independence after the 196 only. During their regime, the colonial powers have ma their own jurisdiction in these areas by making some

artificial lines as boundaries for their easy administration.

So the legacy of the colonial powers has left some border issues which are now remained as disputes among the East Central African nations and its neighbouring countries. The internal dispute between Tanzania and Uganda is on the Busungwe area which is between Kagera river and Lake Victoria. This particular area was left south of the Kagera river but not the parallel to the Lake Victoria. Since both countries are needed to share water facilities, this problem has come up.

The external border disputes are between Kenya and Ethiopia and Kenya and Somalia. The dispute between Kenya and Ethiopia is a pending case since long time. The problem is that the Ethiopia's area adjacent to the Sudan tripoint has to be demarcated. Since the dispute area is connected with the lands of Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan, the problem has arisen. The dispute between Kenya and Somalia is the issue of recognition of the area of Northern Frontier District of Kenya as Somalia land. It was claimed that most of the people inhabitated by the Northern Frontier District were Somalia speaking people.

There are some water sharing disputes between Tanzania and Malawi, and Uganda and Zaire. The dispute

between Tanzania and Malawi is to share water from the Lake Nyasa. And another dispute between Uganda and Zaire is to share the water from the lakes Albert and Edward. In fact, Uganda wants demarcation in these lakes, otherwise there is no dispute.

• • • •

#### CHAPTER III

#### RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

The region of the East Central Africa is very backward in development. The development of these countries is based on ecological, economic and political factors. The wealth of the natural resources is limited except the manpower. The people of the East Central Africa before independence were deprived socially, exploited economically and suppressed politically by the colonial powers. East Central African people were literally crushed heavily, despite their livelihood was based on agriculture. cattle and pasture. In this context it can be disclosed that the domination of the colonial powers during their regime in various dimensions, but with a barbarian character. The barbarian domination in the East Central Africa was the earliest phase of capitalists. The colonial powers have introduced maritime technology to facilitate trade between the distant places.

With the privilege of this technology, the Swahil port settlements had a coastal maritime (trade in gold, ivory and copper) orientation and their ties with the Indian

<sup>1.</sup> Amechi Okolo, "Dependency in Africa: Stages of African Political Economy", <u>Alternatives</u>, vol. 9, no. 2, June 1983, pp. 247.

Ocean borderlands were far more important than their ties with their immediate hinterlands on the East African marinelands. In the Barbarian phase the sphere of influence of the colonial powers was penetrated into the lands of the East Central African countries with the intention not to rule or govern the regions but the purpose was to unstrain loot and plunder without parallel in Africa's history. This domination was the root cause for the development of underdevelopment in these regions. It paved the way to the imperialistic domination which was cited as second phase.

# The Imperialistic Domination

This domination shows the predominent position of the colonial powers in the national economy with international linkages. The domination of Britain, France, Belgium and Germany have occupied the East Central African lands and established their administration.

Soon after occupying the lands and holding the government position there was continuation of struggle for

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> P.A. Memon, "Kenya", in Harm de Blij and Esmond Martin, eds, <u>African Perspectives</u> (New York: Methuen, 1981), p. 64.

control of raw materials and markets among the European countries. The determination of colonization was materialized with the strategy that the natives should depend on every step of development in the British sphere of influence (the territories of Kenya and Uganda); the German sphere of influence (Tanzania) and the Belgium sphere of influence (Burundi and Rwanda) respectively. The establishment of European hegemony in East Africa, however, had achieved what their predecessors had never thought of.

With the permanent establishment of colonial powers in these regions again, the condition had been changed and it turned into the "Colonial Domination". This colonialism was institutionalized in most seized lands. It was unique form of capitalist domination and control. The uniqueness consisted in its totality. It was the most complete and the most direct form of western domination. This domination openly indicates the dictatorship, arbitrariness and control of another people. Therefore, the influence of the colonial powers in these regions had dominated the East African society, in political, economic and cultural aspects. <sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Basil Davidson, The Growth of African Civilization: East and Central Africa to the late of 19th Century (Nairobi: Longmans, 1967), p. 49.

### Nature of Resources

No country will exist without resources. The progress of development of a particular region or country will depend on its own human and natural resources. In the context of the East Central Africa i.e. Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda, the resources are limited.

The manpower is a basic resource for transforming other resources. Since the agriculture sector is dominating or main occupation in the East Central Africa. 75 or 80 per cent of the working class people are engaged in agricultural sector. In terms of development of a country, it depends on mainly industrial sector. The agricultural sector and other natural resources should be converted into industrial sector. Industrialization depends on the development of science and technology. Here the literacy percentage is required more. Because the education is an economic investment in the development activities. Basically, these countries are underdeveloped areas and most of the population is unskilled labour force. In fact, the skilled labour i.e. the labour force which is expert in modern technology or non-traditional process of work is required for the development of these Though the literacy percentage is more in Tanzania countries.

<sup>6</sup> Easter Boserup, "Effects of Population Distribution on Economic Development", Population and Development Review, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1985, p. 385.

and Uganda, the technical know how force in agriculture and industry is inadequate. The progress of development in these countries can be found based on skilled and unskilled labour force in all types of sectors.

Therefore, the process of development will take place in various dimensions. The industrialization is an important source of country's structural change. According to the progress in the development of East Central Africa, the industrialization has not improved in indigenous productic for their minimum requirements. The industrialization can increase the country's economy, reduce the dependency on foreign countries and also it provides employment and domestic savings.

The resources of the East Central African nations from various sectors is given here. The agriculture, industry and business are the main resources in these regions. The labour force in the above sectors is in three activities viz. primary, secondary and tertiary. The primary production

<sup>7</sup> World Bank, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa (An agenda for action) Human Resources in African Development (New York: UNO, 1981), p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> Vuai Mansouri Ali, "East African Economic Co-operation", Review of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 628, 5 June 1976, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> Livington and H.W.Ord, Economics for East Africa (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1980), p. 40.

activities are based directly on the agriculture, mining, forestry and fisheries. The secondary activities are on manufacture and construction which are also called industrial activities and the tertiary activities comprise services such as distribution and commerce, transportation, banking, insurance and domestic services etc.

The following tables show the occupational distribution of the labour force for the period from 1973 to 1982 which give information after a decade of their independence:

Table 3.1

Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force:

Kenya

(in thousand)

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1973	265.4	10.3	111.3
1974	261.1	114.8	125.4
1975	240.6	111.9	123.3
1976	243.6	121.3	133.2
1977	260.3	131.0	140.4
1978	243.0	141.9	145, 4
1979	254.5	150.9	159.2
1980	231.4	153.8	165.3
1981	235.5	158.6	167.4
1982	223.9	163.8	171.3

Sources: Year Books of Labour Statistics, 1978 (p. 209); 1980 (p. 162); 1982 (p. 225) and 1983 (p. 231).

Table 3.2

Occupational Distribution of the Labour Force: Tanzania

		(in	(in thougand)		
Year	Primary	S <b>eco</b> nda <b>r</b> y	Tertiary		
1973	109	83	72		
1974	124	86	77		
1975	121	94	90		
1976	132	95	99		
1977	127	102	91		
1978	123	127	101		
1979	127	132	107		
1980	135	132	1 10		
1981	119	133	112		
1982	115	132	112		
•					

Sources: Year Books of Labour Statistics
1978, p. 211; 1983, p. 236 and 1987, p. 345.

The manpower in agriculture sector is more in the East Africa. But at the same time, the manpower of both the countries -- Kenya and Tanzania -- in industrial sector is increasing gradually. The manpower in business sector of Kenya and Tanzania is also taking place for improvement. In terms of agriculture, business and industrial sectors of Uganda, the progress is less comparatively since it is land-locked country. In this country, the manpower (labour force) is estimated 4.5 million and about 250,000 people are in paid labour and the remainder is in subsistence activities. 10

The manpower and the output of the various sectors in the Central African countries i.e. Burundi and Rwanda are low profile results. There is no such difference between these two countries in any aspect of development. The population of Burundi has been divided as hereunder:

Table 3.3

Population Division: Burundi

			in thousand)	
Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	
1973	14	3	3	
1974	13	3	3	
1975	17	3	3	
1976	17	3	3	
1977	20	3	4	
1978	20	4	3	
1979	20	4	4	
1980	_	5	1	
1981	8	5	2	
1982	17	3	4	
Commence	Vaca Books of Yo	house Ctationia	1000 (2 160)	

Sources: Year Books of Labour Statistics - 1980 (p. 160), 1981 (pp. 248, 288, 294 and 300), 1983 (pp. 317, 378, 385 and 392); and 1985 (p. 289)

<sup>10</sup> Director, U.S., C.T.A., <u>Hand Book of the Nations</u>, edn. 7 (New York: Directorate of Intelligence, 1982), p. 251.

There was no much progress in the industrial sector of this country from the beginning. The progress of the Rwanda also is the same in the three sectors. According to 1985 estimation, the labour force in Rwanda is 3.6 million and out of that 91 per cent of the labour is working in agricultural sector. But the manpower in industrial sector is 2 per cent only.

The East Central African countries as a whole are not capable of getting indigenous production in industrial sector and at the same time, they have to depend on developed countries for their necessities in agriculture and industry. The development of these countries is based on the production of agriculture, industry and natural resources. Unless they have certain percentage of education in science and technology there will not be improvement in indigenous production. The percentage of literacy in Burundi is 25: Rwanda's percentage is 37 and that of Kenya is 47 per cent. Tanzania's interest in developing the education has reached the percentage of 79 and that of Uganda's is 52 per cent. 11 The literary percentage in Burundi and Rwanda has not improved to the extent it has improved in Tanzania and Uganda. Even though the literary percentage is more in Tanzania and Uganda, the professionals in science and technology are very

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pp. 39, 206, 131, 239 and 251.

less. These factors will lead to the net result of development in various fields.

# Agriculture

The agricultural production in these five countries is poor. The production of cash crops are coffee, tea, cotto and in some areas there are cloves and coconuts. The food crops in these regions are cereals, maize, wheat, rice, potatoes and bananas. The food production in the agricultura sector of Kenya is nearer to its self-sufficient number. The production of cereals, wheat, barley, maize and potatoes is exceeding the number of metric tons of its neighbour countries. In the production of rice, Tanzania is dominating the others.

The livestock position in the agricultural sector is better in Tanzania and Kenya. The people in these two countries are concentrating to get more livestock production than the others. Among the East African countries, Kenya and Tanzania can improve the agriculture sector to convert into the industrial sector for their development. Unless the convert the agriculture sector into industrial sector, they may not get development in any sector. In view of the cash crops, coffee and cotton are important in these five countries. Uganda is dominating in producing the coffee and the Kenya's production comes in second place. The

cotton production of Tanzania is fifteen times more than that in Kenya and double the quantity of Uganda. The following tables indicate the position of food crops and cash crops of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda.

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops

- Cereal Production

		(thousand metric tons)			
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
				*	
1974	2,842	1,317	1,390	306	191
1975	3,078	1,483	1,748	310	219
1976	3, 236	1,528	1,671	301	234
1977	3, 177	1,594	1,511	299	251
1978	2,799	1,736	1,545	404	269
1979	2,423	1,579	1,271	303	254
1980	2,315	1,416	1,078	297	260
1981	2,774	1,384	1,165	277	271
1982	3,050	1,450	1,248	279	281

Source: Statistical Year Book. 1982, p. 50.

Table 3.5

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Wheat Production

(thousand metric tons)

•					
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	125	88	-	-	-
1974	172	89	9	11	3
1975	. 153	83	14	13	2
1976	200	67	12	4	3
1977	178	40	13	4	4
1978	175	73	14	3	4
1979	207	76	5	3	3
1980	216	68	17	4	3
1981	212	<b>7</b> 8	8	4	4
1982	235	86	9 .	. 6	2

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 154 1981, p. 492 1983/84, p. 526.

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Barley

Table 3.6

			(thou	usand metri	c tons)
Year	Kenya .	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda :
· <del></del>					
1973	31	1	-	-	-
1974	31	1	-	-	-
1975	32	2		-	•
1976	36	2	•	•	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1977	46	2		-	•
. 1978	35	2	-		-
1979	75	3	-	••	-
1980	82	2	<b>-</b>	• • .	***
1981	80	2		<b>-</b> ,	-
1982	85	<u> </u>		~	
					•

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 135 1981, p. 498 1983/84, p. 530.

Table 3.7

# Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Maize

(thousand metric tons)

			•	·	-,
Year	Kenya	Tanzan <b>i</b> a	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
4073	1,600	888	<del></del> 360	368	55
1973 1974	2, 250	1,210	430	109	55 64
1975	2,500	1,332	570	137	67
1976	2,600	1,210	674	140	71
1977	2, 553	1,648	566	140	77
1978	2,169	1,465	594	140	76
1979	1,800	1,600	453	140	93
1980	1,768	1,726	286	130	80
1981	2, 250	1,600	342	140	85
1982	2 <b>,</b> 349	1,549	393	144	108

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 137

1981, p. 499 1983/83, p. 533.

Table 3.8

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Rice

(thousand metric tons)

Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	36	130	16	5	
1974	33	134	15	6	2
1975	32	150	16	6	3
1976	40	172	29	7	3
1977	43	194	21	<b>13</b> .	3
1978	42	210	26	13	4
1979	37	220	15	10	3
1980	40	215	17	8	5
1981	40	200	14	8	4
1982	43	379	18	9	-

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 149 1981, p. 494 1983/84 p. 528

Table 3.9

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Potato

Year	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	215	95	-	235	140
1974	280	72	199	238	110
1975	333	66	321	146	150
1976	342	155	301	100	170
1977	341	72	210	110	177
1978	361	154	330	23	206
1979	360	140	330	19	213
1980	350	14O	330	2 <b>2</b>	221
1981	365	140	350	22	228
1982	346	200	196	35	269

Source:	Statistical	Yea	r Books
	1975,	p.	147,

1981, p. 503, 1983/84 p. 536.

Table 3.10

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Coffee

			(th	ousand metr	ic tons)
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	71	58	215	21	19
1974	<b>7</b> 0	42	202	28	14
1975	66	62	198	17	18
1976	60	55	137	21	20
1977	101	48	155	17	15
1978	84	51	121	23	13
1979	75	51	120	27	30
1980	91	52	123	19	28
1981	87	68	130	29	24
1982	88	54	166	20	23

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 121 1981, p. 507 1983/84, p. 538.

Table 3.11

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Cotton

			(thousand metric tons)			
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda	
1973	5	88	<b>7</b> 8	2	-	
1974	5	<b>7</b> 5	36	2	-	
1975	5	43	32	1	_	
1976	5	67	25	1	-	
1977	5	63	19	2	-	
1978	9	56	20	2	-	
1979	9	60	7	2	-	
1980	9 .	51	8	3	-	
1981	13	<i>57</i> ′	5	3	-	
1982	8	44	15	2	-	

Source: Statistical Year Books

1975, p. 122 1981, p. 512 1983/84, p. 542.

Table 3.12

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Tobacco

			(thousand metric tons)				
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda		
1973	0.1	12.6	4.9	1,6	0.9		
1974	0.1	18.3	4.6	1.6	1.0		
1975	0.3	14.2	3.7	1.6	1.5		
1976	0,8	19.1	3.1	1.6	1.5		
1977	1.7	18.4	6,9	1.6	1.6		
1978	1.8	17.1	3.0	1.6	1.6		
1979	2.3	17.2	<b>3.</b> 0	1.6	1.7		
1980	2.6	18.5	3.0	1.6	1.7		
1981	3.7	16.1	<del>-</del> · .	1.7	2.3		
1982	5. 2	13.6	0.1	1.8	2.4		

Source: Statistical Year Books,

1979/80, p. 159 1983/84, p. 540.

Table 3.13

Position of Food Crops and Cash Crops - Livestock

Year		Kenya			nzania			anda		Bun			Rwa			
	Cattle	Sheep	Pigs	Catt- le	Sheep	Pigs	Catt- le	Sheep	Pigs	Catt- le	Sheep	Pigs	Catt. le	Sheep	Pigs	
1973	7370	3172	62	11322	2700	160	3920	750	-	756	796	-	740	243	53	
1974	7400	3200	65	12044	2850	160	<b>3</b> 840	758	-	761	203	-	740	245	55	
1975	9712	2495	60	11333	3428	137	4790	826	165	784	313	32	687	242	75	
1976	4804	3060	63	14362	2950	24	4880	1081	180	800	311	46	638	248	71	
1977	4456	3 <i>5</i> 00	65	14817	<b>3</b> 000	25	4963	1072	156	799	312	47	620	248	71	
1978	9100	3980	65	15272	3000	25	5321	1068	220	808	324	49	610	248	71	
1979	9457	4000	75	12388	3716	155	5000	1070	230	819	282	32	631	379	113	. 9
1980	11500	4300	76	12578	3775	160	4800	1072	240	846	316	34	640	290	130	76
1981	11500	4700	7 <b>7</b>	12701	3856	165	5000	1075	250	872	332	37	650	<b>3</b> 00	140	
1982	11000	6200	90	13600	3760	85	5000	1200	300	548	320	35	627	327	129	

Source: Statistical Year Books: 1975 (pp. 129, 132, 134 and 136), 1978 (pp. 118, 122, 126 and 128), 1981 (pp. 514, 516, 517 and 518), and 1983/84 (pp. 544, 546, 547 & 548).

Therefore, the quantum of each production of food and cash crops can indicate the stage of the development in agriculture sector in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. Except Kenya, the remaining four countries are not in a position to have the self-sufficient food products. The production of food and cash crops is dependent on the development of science and technology in agriculture. If they develop the technical methods (know-how) in agriculture, then the entire agriculture sector set up will be changed and there will be possibility to convert this sector into industrial sector.

The production of agricultural food and cash crops in Kenya are rapid development. This is the impact of the Swynnerton Plan which was introduced in 1954 and its special intention is to improve the cash crops in agriculture sector. 12

The consumption of various fertilizers is different from that of commercial energetic consumption. An annual average consumption of Nitrogeneous fertilizers, phosphate fertilizer and potash fertilizer is furnished in the following tables.

<sup>12</sup> Livington, n. 9, p. 102.

Annual Average Consumption: Nitrogeneous
Fertilizer

	-		(thousand metric tons)			
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda	
1973	20.4	11.1	. 4.0	0.2	0.1	
1974	19.4	13.9	1.6	0.6	0.1	
1975	21.9	14.9	0.9	0.3	0.1	
1976	22.4	14.4	1.0	0.5	0.2	
1977	25.3	17.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	
1978	0.4	12.9	-	0.4	0.1	
1979	0.5	23.0	-	0.5	0.1	
1980	0.9	22.8	0.7	0.9	0.1	
1981-1982	0.3	17.5	0.5	0.3	0.4	

Source: Statistical Year Book, 1978 (p. 643), 1982 (p. 557), and 1983/84 (p. 574).

Annual Average Consumption: Phosphate Fertilizers

Table 3.15

			(thousa	and metric	tonnes)
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	28.0	5.8	2.4	0.2	0.1
1974	29.4	11.7	1.3	0.2	0.1
1975	20.2	11.3	0.7	0.2	0.1
1976	27.3	11.0	0.4	0.0	0.1
1977	21.2	9.1	2.0	0.1	0.1
1978	16.5	10.4	0.3	0.3	0.1
1979	10.7	4.5		0.3	0.1
1980	25.9	9.4	0.1	0.1	0.1
1981-1982	40.0	8.5	0.1	0.4	0.1

Source: Statistical Year Book, 1981, pp. 742 and 743; 758 & 759; 756 & 757; and 752 & 753.

Table 3.16

Annual Average Consumption: Potash Fertilizers

			(	thousand me	tric tons)
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	2,6	3.0	0.8	-	0.2
1974	4.0	5.9	0.7	<del>-</del>	0.2
1975	2.4	<b>3.</b> 5	0.2	<u>-</u>	0.1
1976	4. 2	6.4	0.3		0.1
1977	5.0	10.8	0.3	<b>-</b> .	0.1
1978	9.1	6.0	0.3	0.4	0.1
1979	8.0	2.5	-	0.1	0.1
1980	9.0	3.3	0.1	0.1	-
1981-1982	5.8	3.1	0.1	0.4	0.1

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1978, p. 649; 1982, p. 563; and 1983/84, p. 580.

The consumption of phosphate fertilizers in the case of Kenya is more than its consumption of potash fertilizer and nitrogenous fertilizer consumption. Tanzania's consumption is more in nitrogeneous fertilizer and Uganda's consumption in nitrogenous fertilizer is exceeding its other fertilizers consumption. The consumption of Burundi and Rwanda in these fertilizers is very poor.

To get more yielding crops in the agricultural sector, the fertilizers are indispensable for the cultivation. Unless they use the fertilizers in proper and appropriate time, they cannot get more quantity of any output from the agriculture. So, basing on the utilization of the fertilizers and proper attention in the cultivation, one can get the deserving quantity and quality of agricultural output. In these countries, except Kenya, the other countries are not self-sufficient in food production. The utilization of the land and its requirements for cultivation are progressive in Kenya. And more over the provisions of irrigation and the natural conditions i.e. weather and rain are better than the other countries.

Out of the agricultural products, cotton is required in every country. The consumption of cotton in Tanzania is more than Kenya and Uganda. Its annual average consumption is 11.0 thousand metric tons, whereas the other two countries annual average consumption is 9.6 thousand metric tons of

each. 13

In the case of industrial commodity consumption, the steel consumption is more in Kenya. Its annual average consumption is 192 thousand metric tons. <sup>14</sup> The consumption of tea in these regions, especially in East African nations, the per capita consumption is in grams only. In Kenya, the total annual average consumption is 7 thousand metric tons and the per capita annual average consumption is 550 grams and the annual average consumption of Uganda and Tanzania is 1 and 2 metric tons and per capita consumption is 150 and 160 grams respectively. <sup>15</sup> The consumption of sugar is more than the tea consumption in each country. In these countries, per capita sugar consumption is from 6 to 10 kilo grams.

# Industrial Sector

This particular sector is the most important for the development of any country. It has the vital role in developing the agriculture, forestry and other natural resource sectors. The manufacture of the commodities, metals,

fertilizer and tools is the key role in this sector. Sin the livestock is famous in these countries and also it is

<sup>13</sup> Statistical Year Book, 1978, p. 637 and 1983, p. 731.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 1978, p. 640.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 1978, p. 631.

one of the main items of livelihood of the East Central Africation people, these countries are producing meat. Kenya is producing in good quantity of meat among these five countries. It shows that the Kenyans are also interested in producing more meat as there is demand for it.

The following table shows the position of each country's production of meat for the period 1973-1982.

Table 3.17
Position of Meat Production

Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	135	136	75	-	_
1974	134	143	74	-	14
1975	152	145	85	16	15
1976	162	151	92	16	16
1977	164	156	93	. 17	16
1978	181	161	94	17	17
1979	232	165	114	17	17
1980	234	174	116	18	17
1981	219	162	115	16	20
1982-	242	169	119	16	20

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1975 (p. 240), 1977 (p. 230) 1978 (pp. 238 and 247), 1979/80 (pp. 246 and 247), 1983/84 (pp. 647, 648, 649 and 650).

Here the position in the production of meat, Burundi and Rwanda are very poor. These two countries are not in a position to produce, at least for their local consumption sufficiently.

The production of tea also very little in the case of Burundi and Rwanda, whereas the East African countries i.e. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda are producing 40 times more than the Central African countries (Burundi and Rwanda). Among the East African countries. Kenya is in high position in producing the tea. It has increased its production more from 1977 onwards, whereas Uganda is not able at least to keep on constant the quantity and moreover it lost the improvement year by year. In the case of Uganda, there is a problem of transport in every step of development issues. Since it is landlocked country, it has the territorial access problem. Due to this problem its transport and market business are isolated from the mainstream of the world society's This is the one of the main causes for the underdevelopment in this country. The same situation of the transport and business is applicable in the case of Burundi and Rwanda, since they are also landlocked countries. following table shows the manufacturing the tea production of the East Central Africa.

Brandt Commission Papers, Dependent Development issues 1978-79 (Hague, 1981), p. 240.

Table 3.18

Tea Production of the East Central Africa

(thousand metric tons) Kenya Tanzania U ganda Burundi Rwanda Year 56.6 12.7 21.9 0.7 2.7 1973 53.4 21.7 3.4 1974 13.0 0.9 56.7 18.4 4.0 1975 0.9 13.7 62.0 15.4 4.9 1976 14.1 1.2 86.3 16.7 1.5 1977 15.2 5.4 93.4 17.3 10.9 1.5 5.3 1978 1.5 1979 99.3 17.9 1.8 5.8 1.6 89.9 1.5 7.0 1980 17.1 90.9 15.9 1.7 2.2 6.8 1981 1982 96.0 16.2 2.6 2.2 7.1.

Source: Statistical Year Books

1981, p. 646 1983/84 p. 668. In the case of sugar commodity, the East African countries are producing and the activities of Kenya in industrial development is taking place faster than the others. The sugar refining flour milling is one of the chief innovations in Kenya. The following table is indicating the production of sugar of the East Central Africa.

Table 3.19
Sugar Production of the East Central Africa

			(thousand metric tons)			
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda	
1973	150	114	74	Nil	Nil	
1974	<b>17</b> 9	105	4/4	-	-	
1975	175	112	27	-	-	
1976	182	110	20	-	-	
1977	185	108	12		<b>,</b>	
<b>197</b> 8	236	136	8	-	-	
1979	3 <b>17</b>	123	10	-	-	
1980	400	122	15	-	-	
1981	350	122	20	-	-	
1982	320	105	15		-	

Source: Statistical Year Books,

1981 p. 645 1983/84, p. 667.

John Wiley, World Mark Encyclopedia of the Nations:
Africa (New York: World Mark Press, 1984), p. 145.

In the production of cement also, these three countries - Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda - are the main producers. Again Kenya is the leading country in this production. Basing on the raising production of quantity in cement from year to year, it can be said that Kenya has the rapid development. But in the case of Uganda, the position of its production of quantity is deteriorating, particularly from 1978 onwards. Tanzania's production is not so bad, but from 1974 to 1978 was downfall. The position and the quantum of cement production can be seen from the Table 3.20.

Table 3.20

Cement Production of the East Central Africa

			(thousand metric ton		
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	792	314	143	Nil	Nil
1974	856	296	153	-	~
1975	897	266	98	•	-
1976	971	241	87		-
1977	1137	246	<b>7</b> 3	`	40
1978	1156	250	4	-	-
1979	1178	299	13	-	_
1980	1228	306	5		<b></b>
1981	1280	<b>3</b> 90	8	•••	
1982	1238	334	17	-	-

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1981 (pp. 690-91), 1983/83 (pp. 712-13).

The manufacture of Beer in these countries has taken place in the industrial sector and there is a little deference in the production from country to country. Kenya's production is dominating the other four countries' production. In this production Uganda is very poor and its production is falling down from 1973 to 1982. Even the small countries i.e. Burundi and Rwanda are keeping their quantity of production progressively. Tanzania is struggling for improvement in this production.

Table 3.21

Bear Production of the East Central Africa

			(thousand hecto litres)				
Year	Kenya	Tanzani a	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda		
1973	1394	693	456	340	204		
1974	1576	699	435	380	235		
1975	1538	642	389	398	266		
1976	1656	664	233	480	355		
1977	1952	741	221	525	425		
1978	1991	815	228	525	498		
1979	2089	752	65	526	377		
1980	2217	638	12	701	505		
1981	2283	643	7	687	599		
1982	2337	642	10	684	629		

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1981 (pp. 648-50), 1983/84 (pp. 670-2).

In the production of Sawn wood, Kenys is leading among the East Central African countries. Burundi and Rwanda are very poor in this production.

Sawn Wood Production of the East Central African
Countries

			(tho	usand cu.	metric tons)
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
					-
1973	104	101	30	4	2
1974	92	<b>7</b> 5	41	1	2
1975	125	69	34	1	2
1976	173	67	45	1	2
1977	170	49	24	1	2
1978	130	<b>5</b> 6	24	1	2
1979	194	68	24	1	2
1980	194	72	24	1	2
1981	181	41	24	1	2
1982	181	35	24	1	2

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1981 (p. 661), 1983/84 (p. 683).

The production of paper and paper board, chemical, wood pulp, copper, woven cotton fabrics, coal and fertilizers are rarely can be found in these countries. Tanzania is the only one country which is producing the woven cotton fabrics and fertilizers (nitrogenous fertilizer and phosphate fertilizer) during the period of 10 years i.e. from 1973 to 1982. The annual average production in woven cotton fabrics is 80 million metres. The nitrogenous fertilizers in this country, an annual average production is 8 thousand metric tons during the period cited above. The phosphate production also more or less is the same quantity in Tanzania.

The Kenya's production in chemical wood pulp and other paper and pepr bound is accountable in this group. Uganda is producing the copper and its annual average smelter production is 4 thousand metric tons 19 during the period of 10 years from 1972 to 1982. The another type of production in the manufacture of the industrial sector is the petroleum refinery distillation capacity. This particular production is indicating the capacity of development in this area of Kenya and Tanzania and these countries annual average production is 4,630 and 850 thousand metric tons of coal-equivalent respectively. 20

<sup>18</sup> Statistical Year Book, 1981, p. 654.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 1978, ap. 337; 1979/80, p. 348, and 1981, p. 695.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 1979/80, p. 321, 1983/84, pp. 751-2.

# Natural Resources

To increase the growth rate of development in agriculture and industry, the natural resources also are contributing its values. The natural resources in the East Central Africa are (1) forestry production, (2) mineral resources. (3) energetic resources. While disclosing all the natural resources in these regions, the wild-life resource is also important. 21 Since Kenya is famous in wild-life. in Kenya. the tourism is the second highest foreign exchange earning source. 22 The wildlife resource in East Africa is very important in general. It is interesting to state that "East Africa has agencies for such moments. Wildlife and landscape here have about them a force of melodrama and They are the Book of Genesis enacted as an annunciation. afternoon dream. 23 The tourist of this statement has visited Kenya and given his views as stated above and a farmer by name Jim Trinch, residing at Mount Kenya was once showing the Giraffes to tourists and remarked that "Africa would not be Africa without wild animals. A wild animal does not contradict its own nature, does not thwart itself, as man endlessly does". 24

<sup>21</sup> Forje, John W., "Misuse, Destruction and Exhaustion of Natural Resources in Africa", <u>Alternatives</u>, vol. 10, no. 4, 1985, p. 567.

<sup>22</sup> Anne Bigsten, "Welfare and Economic Growth in Kenya, 1914-76", World Development, vol. 14, no. 9, September 1986, p. 1158.

<sup>23</sup> Lane Marrow, "Africa", Time, no. 8, 23 Feb 187, p. 34.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 43.

# Forest Production

The resource from the forest is mainly from wood production. In the East Central Africa, the Central African countries viz. Burundi and Rwanda are producing the wood for local consumption mainly for the purpose of traditional fuel. The forests in Burundi are erosin and cutting chiefly for fuel purpose and almost eliminated the forests. The reforestation is being made in this country. In Rwanda, there are no commercially exploitable wood lands, but some wood is using for fuel and building purposes.

Uganda's production in industrial round wood is more than Kenya and Tanzania. The following tables show the production of various types of wood and each country's position in this production. To note, Kenya is leading in producing the sawlogs and venerlogs, saw wood and sleeper wood and it is the only one country, which is producing the pulp wood (Table 3.27) In the case of Tanzania, its production in fuel wood, charcoal and round wood is more than that of Kenya and Uganda (Tables 3. 23 and 3. 24). industrial round wood quantity is good in 1973 but after that its quantity was redulced (Table 3.25). The quantity of other industrial round wood production is increased every year except from 1979 to 1981. Tanzania is dominating the other countries by producing the fibre broad and fibre board

compression wood. The overall production of forest wood of Tanzania is 47 per cent of total land area which is classified as forest and wood lands. 25

The production of various types of wood in the East Central Africa and the position among these five countries is shown in the following tables for a period of 10 years from 1973 to 1982.

Table 3.23

Production of Fuel Wood and Charcoal in East
Central Africa

			(quantity in 000 cu. m		
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	18821	28 448	18227	2784	4661
1974	19523	29296	18745	2837	4798
1975	20 258	30 183	19295	2884	4941
1976	21054	31102	19874	2942	5089
1977	21883	32048	20476	<i>3</i> 00 <i>5</i>	5245
1978	22765	330 47	21119	<b>3</b> 0 <b>7</b> 9	5407
1979	23681	34080	21782	3151	4350
1980	24630	35 <b>157</b>	22468	3226	4520
1981	25655	<b>362</b> 82	23179	3306	4687
1982	267 <i>5</i> 8	37461	239 <i>2</i> 8	3396	4860

Source: Year Book, 1983, of Forestry Production (Pub. in 1985), p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> John Wiley, n. 17, p. 250.

Table 3.24

Production of Round Wood in East Central Africa

(quantity 000 cu. m.)

Year	Kenya	Tanzan <b>ia</b>	U gánda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	19610	29423	19459	2815	4721
1974	20366	<i>3</i> 0 225	20009	2869	48 50
1975	21211	31125	20 528	2917	5001
1976	22181	32032	21150	2976	5149
1977	230 57	33040	21788	30 40	5305
1978	24237	34049	22469	3115	546 <b>7</b>
1979	25178	34727	23137	3188	4615
1980	26075	36086	23896	3264	4797
1981	27024	37196	24649	3344	4973
1982	28 18 1	38747	254 <b>41</b>	3435	51 <i>5</i> 7

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestroy Production (pub. in 1985), p. 64.

Table 3.25

Production of Industrial Round Wood in East Central Africa

				(000 cum.)		
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda	
1973	789	1172	1232	31	60	
1974	845	975	1264	32	60	
1975	953	929	1233	<b>3</b> 3	60	
1976	1127	942	1276	34	60	
1977	1174	930	1312	35	60	
1978	1472	992	1350	· 36	60	
1979	1197	1002	1358	37	265	
1980	1436	647	1428	<b>3</b> 8	276	
1981	1369	929	1470	38	286	
1982	1423	914	1515	39	297	

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production (pub. in 1985), p. 96.

Table 3.26

Production of Sawlogs Venerlogs in East Central Africa

		والمراجع وا	(Quantity 000 cu. m.)			
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U gand a	Burundi	Rwanda	
1973	<b>3</b> 09	261	162	1	10	
1974	286	193	162	2	10	
1975	277	183	· 98	2	10	
1976	396	147	106	2	10	
1977	421	184	106	2	10	
1978	460	168	<b>1</b> 06	2	10	
1979	406	154	106	2	15	
1980	539	290	<b>1</b> 06	2	16	
1981	447	275	106	2	16	
1982	447	341	<b>1</b> 06	2	17	

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production (pub. in 1985), p. 110.

Table 3.27

Production	of Pulp	Wood in	East	Central	Africa

	·			( (	uan t	ty oc	00 cu.	m,)		
Country	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Kenya	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140
Tanzania   Uganda   Burundi   Rwanda		•	<b></b>	Ni	L1.	•	· <del></del>			

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production (pub. in 1985), p. 143.

Table 3.28

Production of Other Industry Round Wood in East Central

Africa

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				(quar	ntity	000	cu. m.	)		
Country	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1980	1981
Kenya	480	513	550	560	587	·606	606	629	654	708
Tanzania	714	736	759	783	801	834	493	639	639	945
U ganda	1070	1102	1135	1170	1206	1244	1282	1332	1364	1409
Burundi	30	30	31	32	33	34	35	.36	36	38
Rwanda	50	50	50	50	50	50	250	260	270	280

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production (pub. in 1985), p. 161.

Production of Sawn Wood and Sleeper in East Central Africa

			(00	00 metric to	onnes)
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973	104	10 1	<i>3</i> 8	4	2
1974	92	<b>7</b> 5	41	1	2
1975	125	69	34	1	2
1976	173	67	45	1	2
1977	173	31	24	1	2
1978	131	<i>3</i> 9	24	1	2
1979	151	50	24	1	2
<b>19</b> 80)	181	52	24	1	2
1 <b>9</b> 8 <b>1</b> ;	181	41	24	1	2
1982	18 1	35	24	1	2

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production (pub. in 1985), p. 172.

Table 3.29

Production of Plywood in East Central Africa

					(	quan	tity	)00 a	1.m.)	
Country	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	198.2
Kenya	5 .	10	11	12	14	17	19	23	23	23
Tanzania	8	8	3	2	3	4	4	3	3	2
U ganda	5	6	1	. 1	1	, 1	1	1	1	1
Burundi   Rwanda				N:	il					

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production, (pub. in 1985), p. 224.

Table 3.30

Production of Fibre board and Fibre board
Compressed in Tanzania

					( (	luan ti	ty oc	o cu.	m.)	
Product	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Fibre board	155	155	155	155	91	69	69	69	69	69
Fibre board compressed	1115	115	115	115	68	44	44	44	44	44

Source: 1983 Year Book of Forestry Production, pp. 242 and 249.

#### Mineral Resources

The minerals among the natural resources are treated as precious wealth. In this source, diamonds, gold, copper and coal are important. The wealth of the natural resources of these countries - Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda - is in micro level. An annual average of diamond production of Tanzania is  $420^{26}$  thousand metric carats only. There was no production from Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. The production of gold is available in Kenya and Tanzania but it is in small quantity. The Kenya's annual average gold production is 3 k.g. and Tanzania's production is 5 kg.  $^{27}$ 

#### Energetic Production

The energetic production is in the form of petroleum. The petroleum production's divisions are liquified petroleum gas, gasolin, kerosin, jet fuel, distillate fuel oil and residual fuel oils. Another energetic production are electricity and fuel wood. The capacity to produce the petroleum products, the Kenya is the first country to give more products. Tanzania could not compete with Kenya in this production. The other countries viz. Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda do not have this production. But in the

<sup>26</sup> Statistical Year Book, 1978, p. 218.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 202-3 and 1983/84, pp. 627-8.

production of electricity, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda are producing a small amount of quantity.

The following tables indicate the production of energetic resources of East Central Africa and its capacity.

Table 3.31

Production of Energetic Resources: Kenya

Petroleum

(thousand metric tons of coal equivalent)

	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
Liquified Petro. Gas	15	17	18	18	19	19	23	37	34	31
Gasolin	333	369	363	, 363	366	378	556	643	553	483
Kerosin	93	79	88	89	75	47	88	99	140	112
Jet Fuel	290	30.3	425	347	302	289	427	457	560	445
Distillate Fuel Oil	547	563	564	504	524	550	<b>7</b> 95	757	776	673
Residual Fuel Oil	1293	1380	1282	1133	899	1113	1620	1886	918	1041

Sources: Statistical Year Books,

1979/80, p. 332 1981, p. 765 1982, p. 775.

Production	of	Petrol	eum :	Tanzania

Table 3.32

			( t	housar	nd metric	tonnes	of coal
Year	Liquified Petroleum Gas	Gasolin	Kerosin	Jet	Distil- late Fuel oil	Resi- dual	equi.
					•		
1973	5	115	39	57	178	361	
1974	6	120	32	53	190	368	
1975	6	106	29	44	177	367	
1976	6	117	26	44	193	358	
1977	6	105	55	31	162	279	
1978	6	93	22	22	135	238	
1979	9	136	56	49	196	365	
1980	9	75	57	44	217	354	
1981	12	127	52	41	326	326	
1982	8	112	53	41	203	333	
		•				•	

Sources: Statistical Year Books,

1979/80, p. 337 1981, p. 769 1982, p. 779. The following table shows the quantum of electricity production of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda and position of their capacity:

Table 3.33

Quantum of Electricity Production - East
Central Africa

	(thou	usand metr	ic tonnes of	coglequi.)
Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
723	51	84	2	12
800	53	83	2	13
119	80	94	-	17
119	66	72	-	14
111	69	72	-	14
170	85	83	-	19
193	86	. 80	-	20
183	87	80	-	20
216	88	81	-	20
22	89	82	-	20
	723 800 119 119 111 170 193 183 216	Kenya       Tanzania         723       51         800       53         119       80         119       66         111       69         170       85         193       86         183       87         216       88	Kenya       Tanzania       U ganda         723       51       84         800       53       83         119       80       94         119       66       72         111       69       72         170       85       83         193       86       80         183       87       80         216       88       81	723       51       84       2         800       53       83       2         119       80       94       -         119       66       72       -         111       69       72       -         170       85       83       -         193       86       80       -         183       87       80       -         216       88       81       -

Source: Statistical Year Books, 1975 (pp. 393, 396, 398-400), 1978 (pp. 407, 409-11), 1981 (pp. 765, 767 and 769), and 1982 (pp. 775, 777, and 779).

In the self production of installed capacity of electric generating plants, Rwanda is concentrating in development, whereas the Kenya is having the capacity in public sector. The position of each country of East Central Africa is given in the Table 3.34.

Table 3.34

Installed Capacity of Electric Generating Plants

Country	Voan		Self P	roducers		Public	
Country	1eal	Total	Therm.	Hydro.	Total	Therm.	Hydro
Kenya	1973	17	12	5	203	133	<b>7</b> 0
	1975	19	14	5	264	130	134
	1978	17	12	.5	467	160	<i>3</i> 07
	1979	17	12	5	463 ·	148	315
	1980	. 17	12	5	446	136	310
	1981	17	12	5	509	160	349
Tanzania	1973	18	18		143	94	49
	1975	20	20	-	140	50	90
	1978	20	20	-	238	50	188
	1979	20	20	-	238	50	188
	1980	20	20	-	238	50	188
	1981	20	20	. <del>-</del>	238	50	188
U ganda	1973	7	2	5	155	4	151
	1975	5 7	2	5	156	5	151
	1978	7	2	5	156	5	151
	1979	7	2	5	156	5	151
	1980	7	2	5	156	5	151
	1981	7	2	5	156	5	151
Rwanda	1973	21	0	21	15	1	14
	1975	. 21	0	21	14	1	13
	1978	23	1	22	14	2	12
	1979	23	1	22	15	2	13
	1980	23	1	22	16	2	14
Source: S	1981 tatis	23	1 Year Boo	22 ok, 1981,	16 pp. 793	, 795 & 7	14 795 <b>.</b>

The production of agricultural crops, industrial output and natural resources have been discussed so far. It shows that the East Central African countries are capable of producing certain commodities, minerals, materials and energetic resources. Though the agricultural and industrial productions are important, the indigenous production of the above sectors of the East Central Africa are not self-sufficient. Therefore, they have to import the essential commodities or materials from other countries for their survival.

To increase their agricultural production, the new techniques for cultivation, the modern methods for more production are very essential. In the same way, to get rapid development in the industrial sector, the latest technology is indispensable. In this context, the primary energy is required to these countries for the development of the industrial sector to get more indigenous production. The present production of petroleum and electricity is not sufficient. Hence, it is necessitated to import the concerned power or commodities as the case may be.

Burundi's primary commercial energy - solids, liquids, gas and electricity - annual average production is 1 thousand metric tons, but its consumption is about 49 thousand metric tons. Therefore, its importing quantity is 30 to 40 thousand metric tons of coal equivalent during this period. 28

The Kenya's primary commercial energetic - solids, liquids, gas and electricity - production of an annual average is 119 thousand metric tons of coal equivalent and its consumption is 1560 metric tons of coal equivalent and in the case of Tanzania, Uganda, and Rwanda the productions and consumptions are 60, 922; 84, 444 and 18, 78; respectively.

So far, the information regarding the production of agriculture, industry and natural resources and the consumption in certain commodities have been discussed for the period 1973-1982. Here the information is that how the people of East Central African nations are engaging in various sectors for their required production and the opportunities and feasibilities in their respective fields.

### Development in Kenya

The fact is that the East Central African people are primarily dependent on what land provides for grazing and crops, shelter and firewood. Therefore, 75 per cent of population of these countries remain in agricultural sector, since it is the basic economic activity. So, in

<sup>28</sup> Statistical Year Book, 1978, p. 38 and 1982, p. 756.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 1981, pp. 742-3, 752-3, 756-9.

Kenya, the agriculture is the most important economic source. <sup>30</sup> Kenya's agricultural Gross Domestic Production during the period 1970-1981 was 35.1 per cent which is high rate of all sectors and its Gross National Production is 96.3 per cent. <sup>31</sup> The manpower in this country is high rate. Its population's average annual growth rate is 4.1 per cent, which is vital source for agricultural activities. The most important farming areas in Kenya are (1) Coastal Plain, (2) Rift Valley, and (3) Nynza province beside Lake Victoria. <sup>32</sup>

The coastal plain of Kenya is well watered in southern part of the area which gives the food crops - maize and rice - and the cash crops - sugar and cotton. The highlands areas, viz rift valley areas are very fertile. In this area, most of the crops are cash crops. These main commercial crops are coffee and tea. The third area near Lake Victoria (Nyanza province) is suitable for a good climate and the rainfall is sufficient. In this particular area, the agricultural main production is maize which exceeds the local needs and allows the export. Therefore.

<sup>30</sup> John Wiley, n. 17, p. 148.

<sup>31</sup> World Bank, World Tables - Economic Data, edn. 3 (New York, 1983), p. 101.

Alan B. Mountjoy and David Hilling, Africa: Geography and Development (New Jersey: Barner & Noble Books, 1988), p. 405.

in general, they use to call this piece of land as "granary of Kenya". 33

Among the development sectors of Kenya. the agriculture is dominating sector of the economy. It accounts for one third of the GNP and provides a livelihood for 80 per cent of the population. It is also caused for 50 per cent The development of a particular country of export earnings. in every aspect, the human resource is the most important Because the human factor in economic life is factor. central and competent of individuals which were the basis of individual and national wealth. Here, it can be noted that Adam Smith in his great work "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of the Nations" in 1776 stated the role of land and capital in production process. He stated that land was a form of "expropriated" property and Capital was congealed labour". 34 Therefore, the manpower is playing a vital role in the development of the country. Despite the efforts for development in agricultural production are there these East Central African nations are needed to new technology, new attitudes towards agriculture and forms of assistance from the international community. 35

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 406.

<sup>34</sup> Eli Ginzberg, The Development of Human Resources (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1966), p. 2.

\_organi\_ 3 sation.

<sup>35</sup> Food and Agricultural/World Food Report (Rome: FAO Pub., 1983), p. 9.

Kenya's development in industrial sector is improving to get self-sufficient production in cement, mineral water and cigarettes etc. But the coffee and tea are main exports and principal industrial activities. <sup>36</sup> In the industrial sector, the production of mining and quarrying is very poor.

### Development in Uganda

Basically, Uganda is a landlocked country. This factor is caused to sabotage the trade progress with the other countries. This country does not have full-fledged market activities in the world trade, whereas the coastal countries viz. Kenya, and Tanzania have the transport privileges. The defect of transport facility is also caused for communication gap. To develop the landlocked countries' transport and communication facilities the UN General Assembly has declared the transport and communication decade of Africa 1978-1988 vide resolution No. 32/160 of UN. 37

The food production of agriculture in Uganda is mainly of sweet potato, plantain and this production is growing in the high rainfall regions. The low rainfall region is favourable to maize crop and also useful to keep the grass for the cattle. The main cash crops grown in

<sup>36</sup> Wiley, n. 17, p. 146.

<sup>37</sup> Brandt Commission, m. 16, p. 269.

<sup>38</sup> Mountjoy and Hilling, n. 32, 412.

the high rainfall zone are cotton and coffee. The Uganda's Gross Domestic Production for the years 1970-81 from the agriculture sector is 65 per cent and its Gross National Production is 99.9 per cent. 39

In the industrial sector, Uganda is backward with the comparison of its neighbouring countries - Kenya and Tanzania. Uganda is very poor in the production of tea, sugar and cement. In the mineral resources, it is confined to copper. Uganda, the only one country is producing the copper among the five countries of East Central Africa.

Uganda is crippled in the international trade and very poor in industrial production due to shortage of foreign exchange to import raw materials and spare parts as well as capital goods to replace outdated and damaged equipment. The internal disturbance of administration in the country is also caused for the underdevelopment in industrial sector.

## Development in Tanzania

Agriculture is the backbone of the economy in any country in this region. Most of the population (nearly 85 per cent) is involved in agricultural production. In this country the Gross Domestic Production percentage from the agriculture sector is 50 and the Gross National Production

<sup>39</sup> World Bank, n. 31, p. 187.

is 99.7 per cent. In the agricultural production the main food and cash crops are growing only in some particular regions of this country. The overall farming regions in this country are (1) coastal land, (2) North East highlands, (3) The interior plateau, (4) South-east plateau, (5) The southern highlands, (6) The Lake Victoria low lands, and (7) Zanzibar and Pomba. Tanzania is the largest in area, among the East African nations, but at the same time it is the poor in food crops production.

The main agricultural products from the coastal lands, which is about 800 km of coast and the plain bordering it for the most part varies between 15 and 60 km width. In this area the main crops are sugar and rice. In the North-East highlands the main cash crop is coffee. The famous highest mountain viz. Kili Manjaro (5895 m.) in Africa, is in these highlands only. In this area there are well-watered uplands which are consisting of good forests.

Tanzania's wood production is good in quantity in fuel wood, charcoal, round wood and fibre board production than the other East African states.

The interior plateau of Tanzania is unfavoured for cultivation. It is with pest ridden, frequently drought-ridden and also with poor soil. Most of this area

<sup>40</sup> Alan B. Mountjoy and Clifford Embleton, Africa: A New Geographical Survey (New York: Praeger, 1966), p. 312.

is utilising for the pastoral purpose. In some places of this area, small quantity of cotton is growing. In this area the market centre namely Dodoma which town was designated in 1972 to be the new capital of Tanzania. is there.

The South-East Plateau is better watered. Local irrigation in the basin of Rufiji river gives an opportunity for the cash crops like cotton and tobacco. The Southern highlands are feasible to yield the coffee, tea and tobacco cash crops. The Lake Victoria lowlands are also better watered bu the rainfall is less. In these lands, the principal cash crop is cotton. In the area of Zanzibar and Pemba, the cultivation is concentrated on two cash crops i.e. cloves and coconuts. The people of this area have the more production in cloves which is exchangeable commodity for the import of the food products.

Tanzania's role in the production of industrial goods is small. Among the East African countries, its area and population are more, but in terms of output in the development activities, it is not proportionated. Its entire arable land is 5 per cent, the percentage of permanent crop is only one, and the moreover in the main industrial activities is based on agricultural process (sugar, cigarettes, sisal, bear etc.). Despite the labour force of 90 per cent is involved in agriculture, their Gross Domestic Production

in agriculture is nearly 50 per cent. In the industrial sector the manpower is only 10 per cent and its Gross

Domestic Production is 14 per cent. 41

## Development in Burundi and Rwanda

These countries are small countries in area but densely they are more than their neighbouring countries.

Most of the land of these countries is rugged dissected terrain and poor soils except some areas which are volcanic in origin.

In Burundi, 93 per cent of the population is involved in agricultural activities. Its Gross Domestic Production from agriculture is 60 per cent. The labour force in industrial sector is only 1.5 per cent and its Gross Domestic Production in this sector is 12 per cent. 42 From all the sources, the Gross National Production is 98 per cent. The agricultural products, especially in cash crops, coffee product is dominating their economy. Coffee itself brings in about 85 per cent of the foreign exchange. 43

<sup>41</sup> World Bank, n. 31, p. 175.

<sup>42</sup> Director, CTA, n. 10, p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> World Bank, n. 31, p. 27.

The percentage of manpower in agriculture is more but the output is based on the traditional process. They are cultivating only 8 per cent of the arable land of 43 per cent. Some interior corner people have depended on the occupation of cattle breeding and most of the rural population is dependent on forests for fuel wood.

In the industrial activities, Burundi's production is very poor. Its Gross Domestic Production is 7 per cent. The output of mining and quarrying is in micro level. Since it is landlocked country, there are major obstacles for development. The transport, communication problems are major. Even this country does not have the rail road.

The condition of the agriculture sector and the production of the industrial sector in Rwanda more or less is the same like Burundi. Because these two countries were administered by the same colonial power viz. Belgium and the development activities of various sectors in these two countries are the same since the time of their independence in 1962. The occupational distribution of labour force is more in agriculture sector. The agricultural production of food and cash crops are very poor due to poor soil. Ecologically, the land is not favourable for cultivation. Rwanda's arable land is 29 per cent but the permanent crops land in cultivation is 11 per cent. The area which is utilizing for forest and wood is equal to the permanent crops land.

The rural area people depend on forest and pasture lands for their livelihood. In Rwanda and Burundi, Tutsi tribal people have the cattle breeding occupation and the Hutu tribe people are the cultivators. Therefore, in these two countries the majority group of people - Hutus and the minority group of people Tutsi - are not developed in modern technological activities in agriculture and industrial sectors. Their main food and cash crops in agriculture are sweet potato, plantain and coffee respectively. Their Gross Domestic Production in agriculture is 50 per cent and the Gross Domestic Production in industrial sector is 18 per cent. The livestock also is the other source of income and not only that but it is an individual social system in Rwanda.

In the case of industrial production, Rwanda is very backward. The labour force in industrial sector is less than 2 per cent. 44 The mineral resource is very limited. The most disadvantage of this country is the lack of communication. It is also landlocked country like Burundi. Therefore, the problem of transport and communication is the main obstacles for the trade activities with other countries. There is no rail road in this country for trade activities. 45

<sup>44</sup> Wiley, n. 17, p. 250.

<sup>45</sup> Director, CTA, n. 10, p. 207.

#### Development Problems

The basic issues in the East Central Africa are mainly social, economical and political aspects. economical basic issues had the key role to bring the concerned country forward in the development or to keep the country in the abnormal condition. In other words, the basic problems of economic issues can move with the impact of the investment of manpower (social) and the policies or ideologies of concerned government (political). The basic issue in the East Central Africa is the education with technical knowledge in agricultural and industrial sectors. The rapid development of population should live with sufficient food and health provisions. In these countries the land is not cultivated to that extent wherever the arable land is available. The industrial sector does not have the skilled manpower to produce more quantity or to invent the methods for more production.

Therefore, the East Central African nations have to get development in land and every sector of production.

Because the development is based on new ideas into a social system in order to produce higher percentage of income and levels of living through the modern methods. It implies a total transformation of a traditional or pro-modern society into various types of technologies. Then it can build up the people's lives in a manner that they can build up

their future with dignity and self-respect. 46 By studying the history of these countries, one can understand that the East Central Africa is full of development problems. The characteristics in development problems can be seen in the form of population pressure. an inefficient agricultural system, shortage of cultivated land, regional disparities. rural-urban migration, rapid urban growth and urban unemployment. 47 The population pressure is due to rapid growth of population and caused to occupy various places for shelter over-crowdedly, even by making deforestation, The lack of modern techniques caused for underdevelopment in agricultural land and they could not convert the arable The regional disparities are caused land into cultivation. to rise the political problems among the large scale farmers and the reserves of peasant farmers and pastrolists. The migration from rural to urban areas has created the problems of unemployment in the East Central Africa.

The main economical development problems are the inadequate production of goods and materials in the society. The social development problems are ill-health, illiteracy and lack of welfare. The development problems in the

<sup>46</sup> P. Oak and C. Garforth, <u>Guide to Extension in Training</u> (Rome: FAO, 1985), p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Memon, n. 3, p. 59.

agricultural sector can state from the ecological factors to occupational distribution of labour. The land of the East Central Africa by nature itself. it is not consisting of much arable land and moreover floods, droughts and desertification are other defects for the development of these countries. 48 The analytical approach towards these problems gives the information that the soil degradation and erosion, shifting cultivation i.e. degradation of eco-systems under shifting cultivation, deforestation and degradation of forest resources, desertification and land utilization problems in highland zones 49 are the factors for the underdevelopment. According to the Food and Agricultural Organization, drought has become as one of the major constraints on the development of the African agriculture. The research result of paleo-climatic and historical data indicate that the drought is a normal component of climate in many parts of the tropics and subtropics including Africa. Therefore, economic condition of African countries in particular the agricultural production system must be versatile enough to endure prolonged drought. 50

<sup>48</sup> Least Developed Countries 1986 Report, p. 53.

<sup>49</sup> FAO, National Resources and the Human Environment for Agriculture in Africa (Rome: FAO, 1986), p. 61.

Vijaya Gupta, "Economic Crisis in Africa", <u>India Quarterly</u>, vol. 4, no. 2, April-June 1985, pp. 242-3.

The practice of deforestation in these regions is clearance for agriculture. This attitude has been started due to the population growth and economic development. degradation of forest resources is the result from logging and the extraction of forest products other than fuel wood. The fuel wood collection exceeds the annual sustainable yield which is leading to the gradual degradation. The government is not able to take drastic steps to protect the areas due to population pressure. 51 These are the land and agriculture problems within the countries. But there are some problems from outside which are caused to lead to the financial problems. These are the lower prices for mineral wealth and over pricing of imports. To import the essential commodities, it is unavoidable circumstance for these countries. Because, the food production in these countries went up by one per cent, but the population has been growing at the rate of three per cent per year. Therefore, these countries cannot feed their people with the indigenous production. 52

The rapid growth rate of population, lack of education and skill or modern technical methods for more

<sup>51</sup> FAO, n. 49, p. 63.

<sup>52 &</sup>quot;The African Struggle - Problems and Prospects", Party Life, vol. 22, no. 11, November 1986, p. 58.

production in agricultural and industrial sectors, lack of employment, heavy prices for imported goods and materials, drought and desertification, soil degradation and erosion are certainly caused for unimaginable poverty in these areas.

The basic statistics of the East Central Africa in respect of Gross National Products per capita, total population and annual growth and the illiteracy percentage over 15 years of age and above are furnished hereunder for the assessment of their overall condition.

Table 3.35

CNP. Population. Growth and Illiteracy of the East Central Africa

Country	GNP per capita US \$ 1983	Total Popula- tion (million)	Annual Growth of Population 1973-1983 %	Illiteracy % over 15 years
Kenya	340	19.0	4.0	53
Tanzania	240	21.0	3.3	27
U ganda	220	14.0	2.8	48
Burundi	240	4.5	2, 2	73
Rwanda	270	5 <b>.</b> 7	3 <b>.</b> 4	51

Source: Alan B. Mountjoy and David Hilling, Africa:
Geography and Development (New Jersey: Barnes
and Nobles Books, 1988), p. 4.

In addition to that when the people are unemployed and suffering for food even in the towns, then the condition in the urban areas will also be worsened with more shanty towns, more congested roads with more beggars. 53

The problems of transport and communication are not new to these countries, especially in the case of Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. They do not have feasible transport from the principal towns to their towns. The following table can indicate the mode of transport to the main ports with shortest distance for trade purpose.

Mode of Transport to the Main Ports of Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda

Country	Distance to the Sea	Means				
Burundi.	1,455	Rail and water				
Rwanda	1,750	Road, water and rail				
U ganda	1,450	Road and rail				

Source: Least Developed Countries 1986 Report, p. 51.

John Revenhill, Africa in Economic Crisis (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), p. 1.

The development of transport facilities in urban areas is in such a way that the people have to spend more money and devote more time to fulfil their target of work. This condition is better than the rural areas. There was no improvement in making long routes and light traffic and improvement in rural roads for agricultural development. 54 Unless the improvement between roads and railways and air, urban roads and rural roads, coastal and ocean shipping and telecommunication and road construction is there, there will not be any progressive achievements in social, economical and political developments.

#### Conclusion

Basically, the people of East Central Africa are very backward in standard of living. Because the production of food crops and cash crops from the agriculture are not self-sufficient. It shows that they do not have skilled manpower in agriculture and latest method to produce at least self-sufficient production.

The industrial sector in these countries is also not developed. Except sugar, tea and cement production, there are no other essential commodity productions in these

Gosh, <u>Population</u>, <u>Environment and Resources and Third World Development</u> (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), p. 120.

countries. Even these three commodities are not selfsufficient. The people of East Central Africa have plan to
develop their agriculture sector to convert into industrial
sector in future. Their bilateral relations with European
and other countries are included with the requisition of
technical experts for the development of agriculture and
industrial sectors. The Governments of East Central
African nations are developing the relations with multinationals to have the required science and technology knowhow for the development of their countries.

....

#### CHAPTER IV

#### NEED FOR DEVELOPMENT AID

The Gross National Products and contribution of agricultural, industrial and service sectors would help in making an assessment of the situation regarding the need for deficit financing and aid from outside. It depends upon the planned growth rate aimed at in the process of planning. Many of the third world countries are in need of foreign aid to increase rate of growth and African countries are no exception. These countries have marked poverty, very high rates of population growth, low growth rate of gross domestic products, low rate of industrialization, extremely high dependence on agriculture, high rate of unemployment and uneven income distribution.

Basically, the nature of the development of these countries is very low. Adding to this the colonial powers have exploited the wealth of these countries and caused a weak and languished economy in the East Central Africa. So, the present condition of the underdevelopment of various sectors of these countries is the legacy of the colonial rule. These countries were liberalized from the imperial clutches after the 1960s. Therefore, the newly born countries in the Third World society could not achieve the

self-sufficient production in all sectors. So, foreign aid is necessitated to supplement the domestic resources and also to meet the foreign exchange requirements of a developing economy. The development programmes of the developing countries require heavy involvement outlay, which cannot be sustained by the level of their domestic savings. Otherwise, the financial conditions of the borrowing countrie can lead to heavy debt burden.

Africa after independence could not achieve to provide self-sufficient infrastructure for the countries' development Those countries could not control the rapid development of population which growth rate is the highest in the world. Here, there are two main factors. One is that these countries do not have self-sufficient products and second is that the growth rate of population is very high. Therefore, the necessity for development aid to these newly acquired sovereignty countries is mainly based on two problems. Firstly, the poor economic condition and technical resources, and secondly, the over-increasing consumption demands of the rapidly growing population. <sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Goran Ohlin, Aid and Indebtedness (Paris: OECD, 1966), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> R.K. Sharma, Foreign Aid to India (Delhi: Marwah, 1977), p. 9.

Bhuchandra P.R. Baidya, <u>Foreign Aid and Economic Development</u> (Bhuvaneswar: Konarak Publishing House, 1984), p. 1.

The meagre income of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda is based on the facts that most of the land is not cultivated for agricultural products. It is either forested or used as pasture for herds and flocks; only small plots are cleared for cultivation. 4 And the progress of the industrial sector is at low level.

In the East Central Africa, some part of the arable land was extended for agriculture but there was no technical innovation to raise more yields per acre. of traditional methods, naturally, the agricultural production tion will be less in quantity. The underdevelopment of agriculture sector is the vital problem of those countries since it is main occupation for the livelihood. And also there are some obstacles from the government side. in the process of agricultural activities i.e. giving licences to plant coffee, pyrethrum and transport facilities in the trade. It is noticed that the governments could not give proper attention in time for the development in transport facilities. So, the people themselves provided transport and traders took the goods to the market places. 5 The

<sup>4</sup> Easter Boserup, "Economic and Demographic Interrelationship in Sub-Saharan Africa", Population and Development Review, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1985, p. 385.

<sup>5</sup> R.M.A. Van and Anne King, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda (London: Macmillan Press, 1975), p. 41.

problem of development in any sector will have so many reasons.

But the main factors are the quantity of land and the actions

of the government and the people.

The social development as a whole will depend on the economic development of the concerned country. developed countries in this way are large and small. old and new, rich and poor in physical resources. in terms of customs, traditions, religions, sense of unity and character of leadership. Some countries have already commenced on the road to development, while many others have not done so yet. Having these qualities and characters, the loss incurred by the developed countries have been in terms of their ideology. The reason whatsoever. the production of the agriculture (food and cash crop) is inadequate to the people in East Central Africa. national resources of these countries are unfortunately also very limited. So, the trade with other countries is also minimum. From the trade point of view, the transaction of material exchange or on barter basis will be within the The problem of transport in the case of Burundi, limit. Rwanda and Uganda is severe, as these countries are landlocked nations. They have to depend on their neighbouring

<sup>7</sup> Rene Le Marchand, <u>Rwanda and Burundi</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 25.

coastal countries, viz. Kenya and Tanzania for the import of emergency assistance and also for their normal trade imports and exports. Due to inadequate facility on the parts of Kenya and Tanzania, consequently the transport problem is further aggravated.

Another severe problem concerning the production of cash crops is the low return values and heavy taxation. The farmers are not in a position to receive the reasonable price of their products. The products of industrial crops in the developing East Central African countries are seriously handicapped by (a) the low price which the farmers receive, (b) heavy taxation of agricultural exports, (c) the production of fledgling industrial and (d) the inefficiency of marketing agencies. Bespite. all these problems from the beginning, the recent depression in 1984 was virtual death blow to the East Central African countries' economy and their peoples in various aspects. In the "Conference on Africa's Current Economic Crisis and the Prospects for 1985". Adebayo Adedej, the executive secretary of the economic commission for Africa and special representative of the UN Secretary General on the African Economic Crisis. has dis-classed the following adverse factors:

<sup>8</sup> UN, <u>Survey of Economic and Social Conditions in Africa, 1985-1986</u> (New York: UN Publication, 1988), p. 30.

The year 1984 will go down in history as Africa's worst year in the economic domain since the great depression. The Africa of 1984 was invariably associated in the minds of the public with drought and desertification, famine and hunger, diseases and deaths for both human beings and livestock and a massive displacement of population from drought affected regions in search of food, water and pasture. Africa was in 1984 the very sick child of the international economy. 9

The rapid growth rate of population, the deficiency of agricultural, industrial and natural resources products, the inadequacy facilities in health, education and employment, non-availability of proper food and fuelwood, lack of trade and transport facilities have caused to move these East Central African countries to appeal for foreign aid for their development.

The political conditions of the East Central African countries also have created some obstacles which sabotage the countries progress. Mainly there are two obstacles in the East Central Africa. One is sub-groups in the society - family, tribe, language, and religion - and second is national boundaries drawn by the colonial powers.

Adebayo Adedej, Development of Socio-Economic Progress (Conference on African Current Economic Crisis and the Prospects for 1985), p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Thorp, n. 6, pp. 26-27.

#### Sub-Groups in the Society

In the East Central African countries, the concept of national loyalty is yet to be developed, especially in the case of Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda. In these three countries the family, the tribe, the language, religious group and region will take place precedence over the "nation". In this context, the group of people is important than the nation. So, it can lead to the national disturbance, resulting in chaos and disintegration of the political units.

# National Boundaries Drawn by the Colonial Powers

This second obstacle is the legacy of the colonial rule. It is here that the national boundaries were usually drawn in colonial times from simple maps without any effort to build on a moral rational basis. Due to this incorrect demarcation of the borders, there are problems to take advantage of modern methods of production where the watershed is available. The third obstacle, it can be added, is that one powerful force uses to overthrow the other. There are frequent occasions in Uganda to overthrow the ruling military regime. It can lead to the deterioration of country's economical condition and at the same time the welfare of the country will be the worst.

Therefore, the social, political, economical and geographical problems of the East Central Africa forced them to go around the developed countries to get the development aid as and when necessary. <sup>11</sup> The nature of necessity of any country will create such a situation that they have to seek some kind of assistance from a developed country to come out from the defective situation. <sup>12</sup>

In the case of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda, the production of agriculture, industry and natural resources and the consumption of the concerned people, the capabilities and the debt burden of these countries are main factors to get foreign assistance in various types.

Among these five countries, except Kenya all the countries do not have enough food production to meet the requirement of the country's population. Including Kenya, these countries do not have facility to preserve the food production. <sup>13</sup> Even though the production is less in every sector, their military expenditure is not reduced (see Table 4.1)

<sup>11</sup> Edward Grant Stockwell and Karen Anne Laidlaw, Third World Development - Problems and Prospects (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1981), p. 13.

<sup>12</sup> Dunstan M. Wai, <u>Interdependence in a World of Unequals</u> (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982), p. 45.

<sup>13</sup> Yuri Osipov and Yuri Cherkason, "Africa's Difficult Path to Progress", <u>Social Sciences</u>, vol. 18, no. 1, 1987, p. 185.

Table 4.1

Military Expenditure in Constant Price Figures

Country	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Kenya	71.2	76.5	77.0	110	251	325	354	288	279	282
Tanzania	102	134	126	132	<b>3</b> 00	5 <b>5</b> 8	440	206	(277)	(248)
U ganda	409	315	315	279	147	158	209	399	<b>73</b> 0	554
Burundi	10.2	11.9	10.6	12.6	25.8	(25.5)	(21.9)	(27.8)	( 26,8)	(31.0)
Rwanda	17.0	13.6	12.4	14.2	23.3	17.2	19.7	21.8	25.3	23.6

Note: From cols. 1 to 4: Figures are in US \$ m. at 1978 prices and 1978 exchange rates

From cols 5 to 10: Figures are in US \$ m at 1987 prices and 1987 exchange rates

Figures in parentheses are SIPRI Estimates.

Source: (1) SIPRI Year Book, 1981, (London: Taylor & Frances Ltd., 1981), pp. 159-60.

(2) SIPRI Year Book, 1987 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 170-71.

### <u>Kenya</u>

kenya's total income of all resources from agriculture, industries and business is 105.7 per cent. Out of these resources, their expenditure towards payment of interest and principal amount of debts is (\_) 3.7 per cent, the expenditure on import of goods like foodgrain, fertilizer and other industrial equipment is 34.6 per cent. The expenditure on export of coffee, tea etc. cash crops to various foreign countries is 28.9 per cent. The expenditure towards private sector is 62.1 per cent and the general consumption of government i.e. for the purpose of public works is 18.8 per cent. The expenditure of gross domestic investment is 28.8 per cent. Therefore, the entire expenditure of Kenya is 169.2 per cent, but its total resource percentage is 105.7. 14

# Tanzania

Tanzania's total resources per cent is 110.0, but the total expenditure per cent is 181.4 excluding the expenditure of factor payments to abroad (net). Among the East African countries Tanzania's expenditure is double the rate of its Gross National Products of 99 per cent. It

<sup>14</sup> World Bank, World Tables, edn 3, vol. 1 (New York, 1983), p. 101.

shows that the financial condition of Tanzania is full of burdens. 15

### <u>Uganda</u>

In the case of Uganda, its Gross National Products is 99.9 per cent and the total expenditure is 109.7 per cent excluding the factor payments abroad (net) (-) 0.1 per cent. Uganda's total resources is 100.2 per cent.

The financial stability of Central African countries i.e. Burundi and Rwanda is also very weak.

Burundi's total resources is 108.3 per cent and its total expenditure is 138.9 per cent; Rwanda's total resource is 110.4 per cent and that total expenditure is 150.8 per cent. Here the Rwanda's expenditure is more than the Brundi's. The resources and the expenditure will show the balance of the financial position of the concerned country. When the expenditure is more, obviously, the country has to seek the loans, or grants from the developed countries, which condition will lead to the path of debt burden. The following table shows the debt position of the East Central African countries.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

Table 4.2

Debts Position of East Central Africa

	(Millon of U.S. dollars)				
Year	Kenya	Tanzania	U ganda	Burundi	Rwanda
1973-74	569.5	621.5	211.9	9.4	12.3
1975-76	764.0	907.5	239.6	21.3	47.7
1976-77	1382,2	1141.4	362 <b>.</b> 7	70.4	98.4
1978	1809.4	1193.4	503.8	111.1	124.0
1979	2215.9	1383.3	602,8	142.0	155.8
1980	2315.4	1497.2	539.7	157.4	170.7
1981	2423.0	1646.7	601,5	201.8	189.3
1982	2383.7	1819.6	623.2	284.0	219.7
			•		

Sources: Statistical Year Books, 1983/84 (p. 327), 1986 (p. 328).

According to the table cited above, the expenditure of the East Central Africa is more than the resources from all the sectors. Hence, the excess expenditure will force the countries to give some loans or grants. The overall financial position of these countries is in deficit.

Therefore, to develop the immediate and necessary sectors, the development aid or foreign assistance is necessitated.

### Rationale for Foreign Aid

Since the East Central African countries are underdeveloped countries and the means from all sides of its own cannot solve the development problems successfully, these countries certainly will go for external assistance in various types. The underdeveloped East Central African countries are getting development aid or foreign assistance from various developed countries and organization with the objectives of the development of economic, social and political aspects.

The development or the underdevelopment of any country will depend on its Gross National Products. The countries which are below the per capita of \$ 200 are the underdeveloped countries. <sup>16</sup> Therefore, the under-developed countries naturally will seek the foreign aid for their development in every deficit sector. Foreign aid does not mean, it should be the condition of economic assistance. This fact is from the history of the developed countries and also it can progress without government to government aid. <sup>17</sup> The underdeveloped countries can get the foreign aid not only in the form of economical assistance but also assistance of technical activities and food aid and

Barbara Ward and P.T. Bauer, <u>Two Views on Aid to Developing Countries</u> (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1968), p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

agricultural exports.

In fact, the international flow of assistance for development is not new. Historically it took place largely through private ventures, missionary activities and migration. <sup>18</sup> The intention of assistance from the developed countries in the form of kind or cash to the underdeveloped countries was indicating the motivation of concerned donor countries. Now the new method of foreign assistance from government to government is existing with the commercial motivation or otherwise.

The transfer of resources from the developed countries to the less developed countries takes place either through trade or aid or investment. 19 The channel of foreign assistance or transfer of resources can certainly explain the motivation of the transfer of resources or the foreign assistance. The underdeveloped countries can get the foreign aid with the objectives to develop socioeconomic and political aspects. But the recipient countries may not fulfil their motivation merely by getting the aid. Since the per capita of the underdeveloped countries is

<sup>18</sup> Thorp, n. 6, p. 3.

<sup>19</sup> Baidya, n. 3, p. 8,

less than \$ 200, they may not set right their problems simply by getting foreign skills, resources and investments. The foreign aid is a seldom a reward and almost never provides an adequate assistance. 20

The foreign assistance will not produce gratitude for a long time. It could not effect every country in the same way even if it were offered in a standard form. Aid will not benefit the same political elements or economic sectors in different countries. But when the indigenous production is not in a position to meet the necessary requirements. the recipient countries have to request for foreign assistance. Then only, with the help of foreign skills. resources and investment, the underdeveloped countries can develop the scientific-technical revolution to use their natural resources in more rational way to avoid a wasteful boubling of economic capacity and utilize the manifold advantages of regional division of labour efficiently. this connection, the objective from the side of recipient countries is necessitated to have the economic co-operation among the underdeveloped countries. in the process of economic decolonization. 21 And also they have to try to reach the minimum level in the international trade. Then there will

John D. Montgomery, Foreign Aid in International Politics (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1967), p. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Aksjuk, L.N. and Walter, H.U., "Rational Utilization of Mineral Resources and Regional Co-operation in Africa", <u>Development and Socio-Economic Progress</u>, vol. 9, no. 32, October-December 1985, p. 111.

be possibility for their objectives achieved by getting the development aid.

### Economic Development Aspects

The East Central African nations' per capita income The development of a sector indicates the is verv low. Gross National Production in that particular sector. times to determine the development position, these countries depend on the consumption rather than on Gross National Product. 22 The total production in various sectors of these countries is not sufficient for its people. It shows that there is no development in the particular sector mainly a in the agricultural and industrial According to the consumption of electricity, there is progress in development of industry. The socio-economic development depends on the utilization of the natural resources, agriculture, industry and international trade. The East Central African countries had inadequate facilities in every aspect for their development. To fill the gap of development in these sectors, these countries need the foreign aid for the development of economical status which includes improvement of level of living, savings, industrial sector, and the development in utilizing the natural resources.

<sup>22</sup> Marian Radetzki, Aid and Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 41.

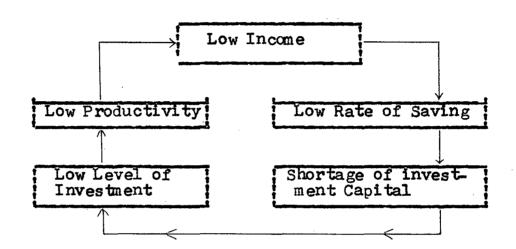
In the economic development the level of living is more important. The people in the East Central Africa are facing the problems of food, diseases and high child mortality due to acute shortage of medical and para-medical facilities to provide needed health care. 23 In the East Central Africa, there is high rate of illiteracy, especially in science and technology. There are shortages of schools. teachers and there is no minimum requirement of communication and transport facilities. Having faced with all these problems, their standard of living is very low and it requires rapid improvement. In terms of the income and saving of the East Central Africa, the poverty is the most outstanding characteristic of these countries. Their income indicate that their economic growth and the income is the source of savings. Here, the important point is that the income is very low and generally there is nothing left over to save. So the status of the low income group countries of this region is acting as one of the obstacles in the development of international circle. The East Central African countries are poor, because they do not develop and they do not develop because they are poor. 24 concept can be seen in the diagram as under:

<sup>23</sup> Stockwell and Laidlaw, n. 11, p. 27.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. P.33

## Income and Savings

# Diagramatic Illustration of the "Vicious Circle of Poverty"



The second point of economic development aspect is industrial development. In the East Central Africa the labour force is very less in the industrial sector, whereas the agricultural sector is consisting of large labour force. The low level of industrialization character of these countries is indicating its poor production. If the industrial sector dominates the other sectors in Gross Domestic Product and Gross National Product, the concerned country can take rapid development. Once the industrial sector is depressed or handicapped, the scale of the improvement of the country will go down.

The natural resources also can include in the industrial sector. Without science and technology, the

fruits of the natural resources cannot be enjoyed by the people. The natural resources including land and agriculture is very important for industrialization. Unless the agriculture sector and mineral resources are converted into industries, the progress in the development of these countries cannot be seen. In view of the development of economic of aspect, the East Central African people have to develop the land and capital investment to get the qualitative resources.

### Social and Political Aspects

The social development aspect is one of the objectives of the East Central Africa to get aid from abroad. It has already been discussed regarding the standard of living of these people. This aspect will also come under the social development. The facilities of education, medical care and foodgrain are included in the societal circle. The improvement of new methods in agricultural sector is the main segment of the societal circle. The most important portion of this aspect is the land. To get more latest technology to irrigate the land and more production in the agriculture, the East Central African people are needed for the concerned aid. They have to reduce the rate of unemployment problem by improving the status of more industries. They have to maintain the standard of shelter, mutrition and at least minimum requirements. These countries could

not achieve their minimum requirements. Consequently the people's dependency is on agriculture and hence on the availability of water, the economies of the East Central African nations are susceptible to weather conditions. <sup>25</sup>

The development of the political aspects is mainly indicating that the activities of these governments are meant for protection of the subjects and their welfare.

By signing agreements with the developed countries to get some assistance to give training to native people in various aspects. these native states have to take the appropriate decision. To have cultural exchange with other countries, the native states have to make bilateral These are the external political development relations. The internal political developmental activities activities. are that the governments have to take the constructive steps to develop the welfare projects in their countries and increase the news media. The governments have to give the opportunity to the common man to participate in the political decision at different levels and maintain the national integration. 26

Therefore, the East Central African countries' objectives to get development aid are to improve the standard of their economic, social, political and cultural

Henry F. Jackson, "The African Crisis: Drought and Debt", Foreign Affairs, vol. 63, no. 5, Summer 1985, p. 1085.

<sup>26</sup> Radetzki, n. 22, p. 44.

aspects.

## Donor Countries and Their Perception

financial assistance in the form of aid to the developing countries. In this connection the development aid from the donor countries to the recipient countries will depend on foreign policy and the second point is to promote the growth rate of economic development. Therefore, the major themes on the purpose of foreign aid expressed are: one is highly pragmatic, realistic and the second is idealistic. <sup>27</sup> The donor countries had the instrument of foreign policy in supplying the aid in various types to scale the interrelations as well as the economic development.

By keeping intact the bilateral relations and getting economical benefits, the foreign aid giving nations are playing an important role in the East Central African countries. The donor countries' policy towards aid, loans and grants will indicate that they have the objectives to encourage the economical development in developing countries. They do express that they will assist the underdeveloped countries till the stage of self-sustaining growth. The aid giving countries to the East Central African nations

<sup>27</sup> Douglas C. Dacy, Foreign Aid, War and Economic Development (USA: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 22.

have the diplomacy which consists the activities involving the use of natural and human resources for the achievement of the ends of the foreign policy of a state eventually designed to attain national objectives. The donor countries have been traditionally explaining the nature of their foreign policy, that it is in terms of national security, international order, balance of power and now have been conceptually classified under the broad ends of national self-extension, national self-preservation and national self-abnegation. <sup>28</sup>

Self extension covers all policy objectives expressing a demand for values not already enjoyed and thus for a change in status quo. Self preservation is meant to stand for all demands pointing towards the maintenance, protection or defence of existing distribution of values, usually called the status quo. Self-abnegation covers all goods transcending, if not sacrificing, the national interests such as international peace, solidarity and order rather than national security.

From the growth rate of economic development point of view, the donor countries can promote the international stability by getting interest of the aid and at

<sup>28</sup> Dewan C. Vohra, <u>India Aid Diplomacy in Third World</u> (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980), p. 2.

the same time the developed countries can increase amount for investment which in turn will get more and more financial benefits. They have the opportunity to innovate the new types of assistance and can encourage the indigenous production in the flow of the development aid to the least developed countries. In due course, the system of administration of the donor countries also needs change. The process leads to a variety of reforms in tax and fiscal policy and land tenure. 29 It is that both internal stability and economic development may require changes in the political and administrative system in the host country and its basic economic policies. The benefits of increased productivity must be well enough distributed to offer incentives to innovators and producers.

Therefore, with the introduction of new policy and methods in the development aid in the form of financial assistance, the people of recipient countries may see the advantages in their day-to-day lives which can create spirit to call for new social welfare policy and governmental attitudes. The objective of donor countries in this context is also included in the political strategy. The obligation of donor countries in terms of political activities can take place at the cost of the recipient

<sup>29</sup> Montgomery, n. 20, p. 62.

countries' administration in global politics. In this connection, the western countries can always try to keep the East Central African nations away from the communist bloc to exert their policies and principles in such a way that no other bloc should dominate them. In view of the Western powers desire that the East Central African nations may not turn towards the communist bloc for aid, the western aid keeps its recipient countries away from the Eastern bloc. 30

Therefore, the objective of donor countries can create the economic stability in their countries and political influence over the recipient countries and moreover the growth rate of per capita will increase. In this way, the donor countries can show their status in the global society.

# Capabilities and Competition among the Aid Giving Nations

The aid giving nations from the West Europe side and communist and Soviet blocs are mainly involved in the East Central Africa to supply the development aid with various types of motivations and objectives. 31 The

<sup>30</sup> Ward and Bauer, n. 16, p. 74.

Theodore Greiger and Leo Solmon, Motivations and Methods in Development Aid and Foreign Aid (Washington: Society for International Development, 1964), p. 5.

donor countries to the East Central Africa are the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD),

Communist bloc and Soviet bloc (CMEA) and Organization for

Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). These countries have

their own principles and methods to supply their concerned

aid to the Ast Central Africa.

These industrialized and developed countries had self-sufficient resources to supply the aid to the East The donor countries of West and Europe Central Africa. regions are with valuable minerals, well developed agriculture sectors, the unique strategic location on the international sea ways with well-integrated inland navigation system. 32 Naturally. these conditions are very positive to have capacity in giving the aid to the East Central The Communist bloc and Soviet bloc have African nations. also the capacity in supplying the aid to these countries in various forms and the Organization for Petroleum Exporting Countries are also participating in the programme of development aid in the case of the East Central Africa. The development aid from these triangle sides is in different objectives and motives from country to country. 33

<sup>32</sup> Bepin Behari, <u>The Pacts of Foreign Aid</u> (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1968), p. 129.

<sup>33</sup> Binguwa Mutharika, "Special Assistance needs for Africa with special reference to Sub-Saharan Africa", Development, no. 2/3, 1987, p. 30.

In the process of supplying the aid to these East Central African regions, the industrialized countries have the intention to compete each other's capacity. context the western region nations and the Communist bloc especially the USA and the USSR had an important and competitive role to play in the Third World countries. The Soviets in sub-Saharan Africa today are encountering experiences similar to those of their West European predecessors. The activities or the attitudes of these two Super Powers in the Underdeveloped countries have created the atmosphere of rivalry which is related to the Cold War. 34 The USSR's most of the aid is based on economic benefits, hence the Soviet Union's aid programme is in many respects of normal commercial activities, 35 whereas the USA's aid relate to political reasons and policies. is referred to within the Communist bloc viz. USSR and China. these two countries are also competing each other. One notable aspect about much of the aid to Africa is the competitive rivalry between the USSR and China. Each one views with the other to see which can provide the maximum aid. It can be seen in case of Kenya. It has been heightened by intrigue over military aid and the establishment

<sup>34</sup> H.J.P. Arnold, Aid for Development (London: The Bodley Head, 1966), p. 10.

James Richard Carter, The Net Cost of Soviet Region Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 15.

of political affairs. <sup>36</sup> China apparently started off the bidding with the promise of \$ 18-28 million in aid. The Russian said that they would specify the exact amount of their loan when the preliminary feasibility surveys had been completed.

In the case of France, it was adopting the vigorous policy of economic regeneration to compete with its neighbour countries. The state of the arms to the Third World countries in 1984 of worth \$5,645 million, which dominated the supply of USA, USSR, Britain and Brazil. Basing on this factor, France is competing with the other European and Western countries in supplying the aid or transferring the arms in the Third World countries. Among the European countries, UK's work is for the development governments and societies with which Britain can achieve competibility whatever their economic beliefs, types, views or activities. When compared to the aid of US, the aid of France and UK is considered as less cold war motivated. Most of the relations of

<sup>36</sup> M.I. Goldman, <u>Soviet Foreign Aid</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1987), p. 181.

<sup>37</sup> Behari, n. 32, p. 130.

<sup>38</sup> Sreedhar, "Arms Transferred to the Third World", Strategic Analysis, vol. 9, no. 5, August 1985, p. 539.

<sup>39</sup> Arnold, n. 34, p. 11.

France and UK with the East Central African nations or the Third World countries are dealing with socio economic problems, whereas the USA's observations with the policies and principles of politics. The other main aid supply countries to the East Central Africa viz. Japan, Germany (FR) and Belgium, OPEC countries are working out their commercial activities.

### Conclusion

The income of East Central Africa is very low.

Due to underdevelopment, these countries are saving the income at low rate. Naturally, they cannot afford to invest more capital for more production in agricultural and industrial sectors. The East Central African nations have to develop their standard of living by improving the production in the main occupational sectors.

In this connection, they need the development aid or foreign assistance to fill the gap of development. To give the development aid in various forms to East Central Africa, the donor countries have competition among themselves to maintain their status. The donor countries' motivation in supplying the aid or giving the assistance to East Central Africa is different from donor to donor.

• • •

#### CHAP TER V

#### AID AVAILABILITY AND PATTERN

#### Source of Aid

The underdeveloped countries are dependent on the industrial countries for aid in various aspects. In the same way the East Central African countries viz. Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda, are desparately depend on the developed countries, especially on the USA, the UK, France, Belgium, Germany (FR), Canada, Switzerland, Netherlands, Italy, the USSR, Japan and China. The Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries is also part and parcel of this development programme in supplying the aid to the East Central Africa.

The World Bank and IMF are the channels for development aid, loans and grants to the East Central Africa. The World Bank's establishment, as a source of long-term capital, was meant to help the reconstruction of economies, devastated by the war as well as the economic development of the poor countries. The Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization are also the source of

<sup>1</sup> L.K. Jha, North South Debate (Delhi: Chanakya Pub., 1982), p. 7.

the aid to these countries. In African continent itself, the African Development Bank is one of the sources for development aid. The foreign aid or the development aid from abroad can be soused in two ways, 2 One is that the aid is given with no strings attached so that the recipient countries can use it for whatever development programme it wishes. second way is that the aid is used by the recipient countries to finance domestic development programmes aimed at increasing per capita productivity and raising the living level of the population. Despite the donor countries have their own difficulties. they can give the aid with some terms and conditions. If the recipient countries could not fulfil the aim or objectives of the aid. there will be possibility to raise the political animosities and social hostilities between the donor and recipient countries. 3 Therefore, the recipient countries should maintain a balanced relationship with their donor countries.

The sources of aid and the ways of utilization of the aid are discussed briefly. In fact, the aid will not be necessary in the form of financial assistance. It may be the assistance in science and technology, training in various fields, giving assistance by sending technical manpower and

<sup>2</sup> Edward Grantwell and Karen Anne Laidlow, <u>Third World</u>
<u>Development - Problems and Prospects</u> (Chicago: Nelson
Hall, 1981), p. 41.

Bepin Behari, The Facts of Foreign Aid (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1968), p. 117.

finally, it is a mode of giving the available resources. Therefore, foreign aid means that the government of donor countries give away resources to the recipient countries4 with some terms and conditions to develop the relations of both sides. But the development aid may not reach to the extent that the particular sector cannot develop as required. Sometimes, the aim of the aid may not fulfil properly and may get adverse progress. The recipient countries may not implement the terms and conditions of receiving the aid. Because of these reasons, the recipient countries may not get aid from the donors so easily. In these circumstances it will not produce gratitude for a long time, and if it did, it would be only an ambarassment between nations. 5 It could not effect every country in the same way even if it were offered in a standard form. The terms and conditions basing on the donors' motivations will be caused for These factors will be recipient countries' benefits. different from country to country, from both sides. 6 aid may not benefit the political elements or economic sectors in different countries. May be, sometimes it will bring the greatest good to the smallest number in spirit of contrary intentions.

<sup>4</sup> Barbara Ward and P. T. Bauer, <u>Two Views on Aid to Developing Countries</u> (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1968), p. 45.

John D. Montgomery, <u>Foreign Aid in International</u> <u>Politics</u> (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1967), p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Jagadish Bhagavathi and Richard S. Eckaus, <u>Foreign Aid</u> (London: Penguin, 197), p. 18.

Some of the European donor countries given here, have made interviews with their people on the issue of giving the aid to the underdeveloped countries, including the East Central Africa. Because the people of these countries have the responsibility in giving the aid. While taking a decision to give the aid. the people will think the merits and demerits of the deed. Basing on the majority of the opinion of the people. these governments can execute the development aid programmes. When donor countries have desire to assist in development programmes in underdeveloped countries, naturally, the citizens of the donor countries will expect the improvement in the development activities from the recipient countries but not the derogatory activities. Due to some attitudes of recipient countries towards the development aid and its utilization, the people of donor countries have different opinions. The recipient countries may not utilize the aid according to the terms and conditions, and they may not repay the principal or interest amount in the case of loans. So, the survey work has been conducted in 1970s to get the Various opinions from the people of donor countries towards the development aid.

According to the survey done by Sven Lindholm in Sweden in 1970 was that a positive attitude towards the development aid must be based on conclusions drawn by the citizens themselves on the basis of a considered analysis of the information available. The young people's opinion

especially those who have had a higher education from the developed countries towards the development aid is more concerned to the social problems, whereas the old people are concerned with the national security and its expenditure. This different opinion can be seen in United States basing on the survey which was conducted in 1972. The report of survey shows that the American support for aid to the poor countries is based mainly on moral and humanitarian grounds. There are no longer any cold war motives. The public opinion in the case of Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, France, Sweden and UK is as follows:

#### Denmark

This country's public opinion through the poll in 1975 has been indicated that an appreciable increase in public support for aid to the developing countries. The situation is more remarkable at a time when Denmark is experiencing economic problems and a high level of unemployment. Fifty-four per cent of the people interviewed and the opinion indicates that they even are prepared to make sacrifices for the benefit of the developing countries.

# Norway

From the country the public opinion is positive which showed in 1972 that 72 per cent of the people

<sup>7</sup> Pradeep K. Ghoshe, <u>Foreign Aid and Third World</u>
<u>Development</u> (London: Green Wood Press, 1984), pp. 120-21.

interviewed were in favour of giving the development aid.

### Netherlands

In this country the positive public opinion is less. The energy crisis in this country is caused to be a main obstacle for the forward steps towards the giving of development aid.

#### France

The activities of co-operation in giving the development aid to the underdeveloped countries are very active in this country. More than 75 per cent of the people have been interviewed. The 18 per cent of the representatives of the people have considered the co-operation in development aid as a moral duty. Some percentage of the people are in various dimensions, but 36 per cent of the people expressed their views that the aid is not going to those in the greatest need.

#### Swed en

In this country, the regular public opinion survey showed an increase in public support for that country's co-operation programme in 1974, which is in favour of under-developed countries.

#### United Kingdom

The most important three political parties have participated in parliament in supporting the governments

policy of aid to the developing countries. It shows that the people of the United Kingdom are more interested in developing countries' welfare and its progress.

The source of aid mainly from the Western developed countries is the Agency of the United States of America. This particular Agency is expanding geographical areas viz. Africa and Europe, the Middle East and South Asia, the Far East and Latin America. 8 It show the Agency's capacity to play the role in supplying aid to various regions in the global society. By exerting these activities, the USA has gained predominance particularly after the Second World War. The role of the USSR in supplying the aid to the East African countries is mostly in the form of arms and technical assistance and the economic aid almost always has taken the form of specific projects on a loan basis with low interest rates. But in terms of defence aid the USSR has played a dominant role in the militarization of Africa. 9 time of independence of the East Central Africa. France spends 1.3 per cent (in 1964) on aid, to be counted after the USA. Therefore, it has its identity in the rich

<sup>8</sup> H.J.P. Arnold, Aid For Development (London: The Bodley Head, 1966), p. 73.

<sup>9</sup> Waren Weinsten and Thomas H. Henrikson, <u>Soviet and Chinese Aid to Africa</u> (New York: Praeger, 1980), p. 7.6.

countries' society in giving the aid to the East Central Africa.

The development aid from the UK is to assure itself that the use of its colonial development and welfare funds was shaped by development plans. The British government's decision in granting the aid or loans to the East Central Africa is composed by private funds and the energy of private enterprise.

In respect of Japan's aid to the East Central Africa is merely a commercial motivation. The aid may be in the form of technical experts or science and technology or the financial assistance in kind. The Japanese assistance is after the western aid only. The Japanese aim towards the development aid is commercial whereas the western aid is meant for political reasons as well as commercial benefits. The Japanese chief instrument is that it is lending policy in export and import Bank.

There are other new channels of development aid resources such as the British Ministry of Overseas Development, the German Ministry for Economic Co-operation, and the Dutch Ministry without portfolio and new agencies have been established such as the Swedish International

<sup>10</sup> Alan Rix, <u>Japan's Economic Aid - Policy Making and Politics</u> (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 135.

Development Authority and the Japanese Overseas Economic Co-operation Fund. 11 The other important donor countries are West Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Canada. These countries are participating in the development aid programme in the East Central Africa. The Organization for Petroleum Exporting countries is also one of the sources of aid to the East Central Africa. The OPEC fund for international development is assisting in giving the aid to the East Central Africa for the development of energy, transportation, agriculture and agro-industries, national development banks and water supply. 12

The final point in respect of the sources of aid to the East Central Africa is the special agencies of the United Nations. The World Bank and the IMF are sanctioning the loans and grants. The loans from the World Bank and International Monetary Fund merely are commercial base. The grants can be released with subsidiary privilege. The United Nations Development Programme is an important instrument and working for the development of the poor countries through the United Nations. Therefore, it is also involved in the development programme of the East Central

<sup>11</sup> Willard L. Thorp, Reality of the Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 57.

<sup>12</sup> OPEC, Annual Report, The OPEC Fund for International Development (Vienna, 1988), p. 54.

Africa. The World Food Program, United Nations Fund for Population, United Nations Children's Fund and the International Fund for Agriculture are very useful sources to the East Central Africa in getting the necessary and appropriate aid. The intention of the United Nations is to develop the every defective sector of underdeveloped society and it is the important source to the East Central Africa.

# Motivation and Pattern of Aid Supply

The developed countries which are in favour of supplying aid to the East Central Africa, certainly will have the method to give the aid. The aid or the assistance is different from country to country. But the pattern will be the same in the global society. In this connection the pattern of development aid or assistance are various types with certain terms and conditions. The development official aid pattern as defined by the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is consisting of six elements, viz. 13

- (1) Bilateral grants
- (2) Contribution to International Organisations for Development purposes
- (3) Bilateral loans, repayable in the lender's currency

James Richard Carter, The Net Cost of Soviet Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 21.

- (4) Bilateral loans, repayable in borrower's currency
- (5) Consolidation credits, and
- (6) The transfer of resources through sales of the recipient country's currency.

Another type of giving aid is the concessionary aid. 14 Its nature is the transfer of capital with small interest and repayment terms which are very less than those available in the private market. Another pattern, mostly implementing in Third World countries, is the multilateral channel.

The aid is different from grants and grants are different from loans. So, the terms and conditions are not the same in the case of aid or assistance, grants and loans. In the same manner the nature of the exertion of Bilateral, Multilateral and Organisations are different from each other.

The bilateral pattern indicates that the object is between one country and another country. Multilateral aid pattern consist of two types. <sup>15</sup> One is to provide technical assistance to the poor countries and the second is to provide capital resources to the poor countries.

<sup>14</sup> Raymond F. Mikesell, et al., The Economics of Foreign Aid and Self-Sustaining Development (Boulder: West View Press, 1983), p. 41.

David Wall, The Charity of the Nations - The Political and Economy of Foreign Aid (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 135.

### Technical Assistance

This type of activities can be exerted through the United Nations specialized agencies viz. the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the World Health Organization. All the activities of the above organizations are co-ordinated by the secretariat of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

## Capital Resources

In this channel, there are various international Banks, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) (and its subsidiaries are the International Development Association and International Finance Corporation) and the Asian, African and International American Development Banks. The channel of the multilateral aid agencies is very useful to the East Central African nations. The patterns of aid to the East Central Africa are in the form of bilateral, multilateral, organizational and regional banks. All the pattern, cited above, can be seen in these countries, since the time of their independence

George Canninghan, The Measurement of Aid Agencies (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 5.

and the terms and conditions of those patterns' aid are in various dimensions.

### Bilateral - Grants and Loans

In fact, the grants are the gifts. When one Grants: country is desparately in need of financial assistance. the donor country can assist by giving the financial help. This act will not carry the interest to be paid or much rigid restriction. 17 So. the grants do not have any re-They are unilateral transfers to a payment liability. recipient country with no financial obligation of repayments or servicing the funds made available. This is the nature of the grants. But the moment when it is received the financial assistance from the donor country, the recipient country may not feel any responsibility for which purpose the grants were given. Basing on this factor, the antigrants arguments have expressed that the recipient country should feel responsibilities in this programme and also reiterated that unless financial responsibilities are imposed they will not realise the objective for which they have taken the grants. 18 Therefore, the present situation of this act is that every financial assistance or aid is given

<sup>17</sup> Asher Robert E., Grants. Loans and Local Currencies
Role in Foreign Aid (Washington: Brookings Institute,
1961). p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Wall, n. 15, p. 99.

in the form of loan only. Literally, the grant will not carry any interest, whereas the loans will certainly be sanctioned on a certain percentage of interest and the duration of period alongwith grace period.

Loans: In the context of loans, there are two types. One is long or soft term loan, and second is short-term loan. The recipient countries are always in favour of long or soft-term loans. As a result of which, if they have the duration of period in a number of instalments they can easily repay the amount or fulfil the conditions in such a manner that the recipient country will not feel burdened, but there may be monetary loss by paying more interest for a long time. The "softer term will, of course, reduce the burden of a given debt, but soft repayment term will also produce a large debt out of a given flow of loan and thus it gives rise to higher interest charges. 19

In the case of short-term loans, they will not lose more interest but they have to clear out the principal amount or fulfil the condition of the loan payment within the stipulated time alongwith the fixed interest. One way it gives the opportunity to the recipient country to come out from the clutches of the debt burden.

<sup>19</sup> Gorn Ohlin, Aid and Indebtedness (Paris: OECD, 1966), p. 7.

Whether it is long or short-term loan, it will fall within the framework of multilateral or bilateral or private sources of external assistance. These three channels are very important in development aid process in underdeveloped countries especially in the East Central Africa.

After the Second World War, the channel of multilateral agencies have taken place in Third World countries. 21
The activities of these agencies are very much visible for the post-War reconstruction. At that time it was necessitated to establish the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development along with the International Monetary Fund to solve the development problems and to meet the necessary requirements.

The International Development Association is a favourable channel for the Third World countries. The East Central African nations have been given the services of the International Development Association since the IDA's objective is to promote the economic development and increase the productivity of the concerned recipient country. By discharging this object, one way the IDA is caused to raise the standard of living of the people of the recipient

<sup>20</sup> Behari, n. 3, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup> Michael Hood, "Africa, the IMF and World Bank", African Affairs, vol. 86, no. 344, July 1987, p. 335.

country. Moreover the terms of financial assistance from the International Development Association is free of interest, flexible and the loan can be repaid in more instalments. 22

The bilateral aid can flow from government to government. In this channel the grants and loans are possible. The terms and conditions of this bilateral agencies are dependent on the agreement between the donor and recipient countries. Since the matter is between the two governments, the recipient government can negotiate the rate of interest and also the duration of period alongwith the grace period. 23 The two governments can have amicable conversation in this respect. In this connection, the variation in terms of interest, the maturity period can be seen in the case of donor countries.

The Soviet loans have rate of interest as low as 2½ per cent per annum. Their maturity period extends from 7 to 12 years. The Swiss loans carry an interest rate of 5½ per cent per annum and West Germany loans carry the interest @ 6½ per cent and in the case of United States of America Agency for International Development, loans maturity period is forty years and the rate of interest is very low. 24

James D. Pearson, "International Financial Institutions and Economic Policy Reform in Sub-Saharan Africa", Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 26, no. 1, March 1988. p. 115.

<sup>23</sup> G. Bonbardier, "Foreign Aid and Domestic Politics", Africa Report, vol. 31, no. 4, July-August 1986, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Paul Mosley, "Politics of Economic Liberalization: US Aid and the World Bank in Kenya", African Affairs, vol. 85, no. 338, January 1986, p. 110.

So, the terms and conditions of loans, the aid, the grants, and the rate of interest and maturity period are different from country to country and from time to time.

The private source of aid is from the industrialists. In this channel, the non-governmental organizations also act to offer the assistance. The non-governmental organizations or voluntary organizations can implement its motivations by discharging the activities of missionary enterprises, disaster relief, general post war rehabilitations, aid refugees, defence support, market expansion, foreign investment, political intervention, cultural extension, multilateralism and development aid to poor countries. 25

The functions of the voluntary organisations or private source of aid or the non-governmental organisations' techniques are fundamentally different from the official aid to the underdeveloped countries. This can be seen in terms of a sense of obligation to serve the humanity. <sup>26</sup> The non-governmental organisations' activities have taken place more and more before the Second World War, and after the democratization in the global society, these activities are less than the governmental activities. In the post war period, the development aid programmes are multiplying with the motivations, politics and economic benefits in the world governments.

<sup>25</sup> Thorp, n. 11, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Montgomery, n. 5, p. 10.

The second part of the Multilateral Aid Agencies are the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and International Development Association. The contributions from various countries will be given to these international organizations for the development of the poor countries. These specialized agencies will have the control over the financial matters. The multilateral assistance is a distinct category as far as the donors are concerned since the agency gives them a degree of choice within a given aid ceiling between increasing their contributions to multilateral organizations or expanding their bilateral programmes. 27

The multilateral assistance to the East Central Africa through the United Nations Organization is in various forms through the channel of the United Nations Development Programme. Since, most of the African countries including the East Central Africa are members of the UNO, these countries naturally seek the development assistance. In the case of financial assistance, the terms and conditions are flexible through this channel than the bilateral channel. The multilateral assistance is with the service motive within the framework of the United Nations' Charter, and the bilateral assistance is dependent on the donors and recipient countries motives.

<sup>27</sup> Edwin M. Martin, <u>Development Assistance</u> (Paris: OECD, 1971), p. 51.

The bilateral loans are different from time to time and country to country. The donor countries' decision in this case is final. Sometimes the bilateral loans are repayable in the lenders' currency and sometimes it is to be repaid in the borrowers' currency. Most of the conditions from the donor countries' point of view are to be the final.

The consolidation credits and the transfer of resources, through the sale of the recipient country's currency are also in the process. The transfer of resources include the capital aid, commodity aid, technical assistance etc. <sup>28</sup>

The Capital Aid: It refers to financial transfers as well as the supply of machinery, plants, components and parts.

It is intended to raise the level of output by expanding the capital of the recipient economy.

The Commodity Aid: In the case of commodity aid it takes the form of free supply or supply at privileged price of the surplus products of the donor, to the recipient country. The USA's PLA-480 food assistance is an example of such aid.

The Technical Assistance: It involves the training of the recipient's nationals and the provision of skilled foreign

<sup>28</sup> Bhuchandra P.R. Baidya, <u>Foreign Aid and the Economic Development</u> (Bhuvaneswar: Konarak Publishing House, 1984), p. 5.

personnel/experts to carry out the required developmental tasks in the recipient country. The fundamental aim of such assistance is to raise the level of output by changing/improving the methods of production in the recipient country. The East Central African nations are also getting the development assistance through these channels. Therefore, the East Central African countries are dependent on bilateral, multilateral assistance through various channels to get improvement in their respective defective areas. The grant from the bilateral and multilateral are rare in the East Central Africa.

The foreign aid for development is mainly in two divisions. 29 One is that the aid extends by a donor country for specific projects is called Project Aid and the second is that the aid is not tied to any particular project, but is provided to meet the overall requirement of the recipient economy. And again the entire aid is consisting of two natures. In this context if the donor country decides to put certain conditions to their aid package, it is called 'Ty-ing Aid' and on the other hand, if it refrains from any condition, it is called 'untied aid'.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

## Motivations for Aid Supply

Without any motion, desire, interest, the aid or the development assistance in various forms is not given to the underdeveloped countries by the donor countries. Therefore, having a particular motive, the donor country can offer the necessary aid to the recipient country. In the process of transformation of the aid, the situation of the terms and conditions of the deed will be visualized in such a way that the recipient country may go under certain obligations, which are political options. Hence, the concept of motivation of the particular aid, sometimes may lead to involve in the political desire in assisting the poor countries. 30

The motives of the aid are in various dimensions. The development aid or the foreign aid seems to have been actuated by a number of considerations, viz. humanitarian, politico-stratetic and economic. In this context, the nature of the motive of the aid is different from donor to donor and time to time. The agreement or the terms and conditions of the aid are dependent on the mutual understandings of donor and recipient countries. So, it is not easy to draw a clear-cut dividing line for considerations

T. Geiger and L. Solmon, Motivations and Methods in Development and Foreign Aid (Washington: Society for International Development, 1964), p. 10.

between ethics, the politics and economic aid. They are narrowly strategic, broadly political, basically humanitarian and certainly economic. 31 The motivation of the aid will carry the self-interest of the donor government which throws the focus on commercial, political and strategic interests. 32 The motivations of the foreign aid or development assistance from the governmental channel are different from others. The political motivations of the foreign aid can take place in the implementation of giving the aid by the government.

The Commercial Motives: The commercial motives in the case of foreign aid or development aid are consisting of the transformation of capital with interest. When the donor country is investing the capital within an interest and getting back the principal amount alongwith the interest amount, naturally the lender will be benefited commercially in the long run. Since the less developed countries do not possess adequate savings, foreign exchange and technical resources, the foreign aid is viewed as an effective supplement to jack up the rate of their growth.

J.N. Healey, <u>The Economic Aid</u> (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971), p. 384.

Jandrum R. Bolling, <u>Private Foreign Aid</u>: <u>US Philanthropy</u> for Relief and <u>Development</u> (Boulder: West View Press, 1982), p. 18.

It is not merely that aid is a one way process of donor-donees relationship: the development of less developed countries is a benefit to the whole world including the developed countries. This financial assistance which was based on commercial motives or economic motives has been created in the post-war period. After the post-war period. the situation of the global society has come to the cold war This atmosphere is caused for competition among atmosphere. the donor countries especially the Western and Soviet bloc countries to win friends and influence the people in the Third World countries by assisting the economic aid. 33 The process of this type of assistance to the underdeveloped countries can lead to the scope of international trade and the relations between the lender and barrower will be developed commercially. The activities of the financial assistance in the East Central Africa have been developing with the interest of Western Europe and Soviet bloc countries. Consequently the financial assistance to the developing countries for their accelerated economic and social progress is a pivotal element of international development cooperation. 34

<sup>33</sup> F.W. Stockeld, "Africa and the Foreign Aid", Orbis, vol. 25, no. 4, winter 1982, p. 997.

<sup>34</sup> Ghoshe, n. 7, p. 69.

# Politics for Aid Supply

It is their traditional attitude that the donor countries keep in mind the political motives while giving the development aid or the development assistance to the less developed countries. These same motives are applicable in the case of East Central Africa. The donor countries with the political motivations are providing huge some of money and a large number of technical personnel to the East Central Africa. The industrialized countries are assisting the newly independent East Central Africa. But every donor country has its own consideration towards the aid to these countries. In these activities of donor countries the political factors are important in these regions. The main colonial powers of the East Central Africa are the Great Britain. France and Belgium who had their old traditional and historical alliances with these countries in assisting by giving the development aid.

By examining the activities of the colonial powers in these regions in terms of foreign aid or development aid, the political motivations may not be liable to quantitative assessment but their significance in providing external cannot be overlooked. These include the national interest in terms of security by giving military assistance. The

<sup>35</sup> Behari, n. 3, p. 36.

offer of finance is an international practice from the beginning to keep up friendship on historical background. In the East Central Africa, the relationship between the concerned colonial powers and native states have been developing whenever the necessity comes. In this aspect the critics of aid believe that the economic assistance is an instrument of power politics and how much a country assists is determined by the benefits, it yields in terms of political support to the donor. The politico-strategic motives are perhaps much evident in the American and the Soviet aid in the East Central Africa. <sup>36</sup>

In the development aid, the defence activities also come under the political motives since those relate to national security and integration. With the development of science and technology, the rapid growth of defence installations have taken place in the advanced world. The modern world governments have reached the level of footholds in various regions strategically. At this juncture, it is difficult for any country to exist without any proper protection. Therefore, it is necessitated to have military alliance and pacts. So the less developed countries especially the East Central African nations needed the defence aid from the donor countries to stabilize and intact

<sup>36</sup> Baidya, n. 28, p. 19.

their governments from the attack or aggression of external powers.

It is for this reason that military allowance and defence pacts have become so vital. But the distinction between the military and the economic aid is very thin, and no donor country would consider its diplomacy to forego the possible military advantages of its economic assistance programmes. When the very existence of the donor country is threatened, it would naturally expect its beneficiaries to provide at least moral support. The advanced countries do not expect the recipient countries to provide combatants; what they expect is a foothold among a large number of countries, so that the necessary military support in the event of open hostilities could be possible for their combatants to fight out the war successfully.

The West, Europe, East Europe and Communist bloc countries are playing role in giving the foreign aid or development assistance to the East Central Africa. Their intention in giving the aid cannot be taken into one particular view. Their statements or the written documents indicate in this connection that the rich must help the poor and the industrialized nations must help the developing nations. Their statements will implement the objectives

Herbert Feis, Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy (London: Macmillan, 1964), p. 66.

of the development aid within the framework of foreign policy. So, the donor country can say that the foreign aid or development aid to the poor countries is an instrument of foreign policy. In the activities of foreign aid to the East Central Africa the western view is different from the communist bloc. The Western belief in the aid activities is that they preserve national security and freedom under law. keep the strength of number of Third World countries by giving the aid and thereby there is possibility of political influence in recipient countries against the communist bloc. The communist bloc countries have the commercial motivation in supplying any type of aid to the Third World countries. Actually, by giving the aid to the East Central Africa, the donor countries have the competition spirit among themselves to acquire the position in these regions and fulfil their ends at the same time.

The donor countries can exploit the natural resources of the recipient countries by giving the aid with the unavoidable terms and conditions. When the underdeveloped countries need foreign aid or assistance, obviously, the recipient countries oblige the conditions of the donor country. In this way the donor can exploit the donee to get repaid development in their industrial production and economic benefit. These activities are possible in the case of newly independent nations. The newly born countries

viz. Kenya. Tanzania. Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda have belief that their colonial powers will keep them in such a way they (East Central Africa) will get assistance in every step of development, 38 But the colonial powers will act by keeping their status in the global society. 39 In such conditions, the East Central African nations can also seek the assistance from the East Europe, viz. from Japan and Soviet Union. In this connection the Western countries may convince the East Central Africa that they need not adopt communism or follow in its way to achieve economic growth and social justice. Therefore, this type of policy is to propagate their views against the communist countries. The western countries especially the USA is giving the needed assistance to the East Central Africa to win influence and alliance in the political game. Once the US government publically stated its strategicsobjective to have assistance for neutral and uncommitted countries to prevent the recipient countries becoming dependent on Soviet The way the Super Powers are moving towards the development aid programme in the case of East Central Africa

Amechi Okolo, "Dependency in Africa: Stages of African Political Economy", <u>Alternatives</u>. vol. 9, no. 2, June 1983, p. 255.

<sup>39</sup> Little Ian David, Aid to Africa (London: Macmillan, 1967). p. 127.

<sup>40</sup> Healey, n. 31, p. 5.

is a political competition. The other countries from the Europe region are also more or less participating in this game.

The West German's aid to Tanzania shows not only the commercial motives but also political motives. The Belgium is gradually reducing its aid to its former colonies—Burundi and Rwanda. 41 But the competition in this political game, the Super Powers and their allies have different national economic and strategic interest at stake in the East Central Africa. The interest of the US and Western Europe is to prevent the Soviet Union from establishing itself as an important military actor in the East Central Africa and the surrounding Indian Ocean. 42

They share an economic interest in ensuring that they are not deprived of access to these East Central African countries' strategic resources by Soviet-inspired natural policies. They serve these interest by giving military and economic aid to concerned states. At the same time the US and its allies have competitive economic interest in these African states that appear to offer profitable markets and investment locations. Even though the nature of the activities is commercial, the intention

European Association of Development Research and Training (EADI), Emerging Development Patterns, 1983, p. 170.

<sup>42</sup> Colin Legum and Others, Africa in the 1980s (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1979), p. 7.

to implement these activities is political game to overcome to the level of Soviet Union. These are the political considerations from the side of the United States in the programme of the development aid to the East Central Africa.

The activities of the Soviet Union in this regard try to establish a network of military base facility in these regions, to enhance its own role as a new world military power. With this competent spirit is to dominate the US influence in the East Central Africa. Also it has interest in counteracting China's growing influence in the African continent as a whole. The Soviet Union interest is to achieve these strategic and political aims by encouraging the development of Marxist regimes in the East Central Africa. 43

According to its objectives, the Soviet Union is very interested to prevent the West from the influence to have supporting governments (recipient countries) by giving military and political as well as economic support to favoured governments. By implementing these motives, the Soviet Union is seeking the possibility of making major political gains in the East Central Africa by transferr ing economic and military aid. The scenario of these activities of the Super Powers, cis flexible for growing competition among

<sup>43</sup> Legum, ibid., p. 8.

outside powers for political and military influence in these regions. The Western European and East European countries are taking the advantage of assistance in the East Central Africa and involving in the countering and encountering activities of each other and improving their influence at their level best.

### Humani tarian Motives

The development aid from the donor countries to the East Central Africa is also meant for the welfare of The African continent itself except South the people. Africa is very poor. So these countries are required to get the aid from the developed countries to improve their living conditions. Therefore, the East Central African nations have been assisted by the developed countries. The missionary enterprises and non-governmental organizations are involved in this aspect in the East Central Africa, in connection with the disaster relief. general post-war rehabilitation aid to refugees. 44 The voluntary organizations are providing aid to the East Central Africa to eradicate the diseases and poverty and drastic steps have been taken against hunger. In this aspect, the foreign aid or the development aid to the East Central Africa is moral The concept of the moral aid is to remove the one.

<sup>44</sup> S.A. Levitan, <u>Progress in Aid for the 1970s</u> (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973), p. 35.

disparities between the developed and underdeveloped countries, especially to promote the social welfare.

## Socio-Economic and Political Impact of Foreign Aid

By getting development aid some changes will certainly take place in the receiving country. It depends on the government's decision to execute the work of the foreign aid or development assistance. Because the transaction of foreign aid is from government to government. it means the aid will not go directly to the people or the concerned sector, but the aid will go directly to the Central Government. 45 Then the government will take decision to execute the work according to the agreement or terms and conditions of the aid. The procedure of implementation of the development assistance is different from country to country. Basing on these factors the impact of the foreign aid or development aid will be seen in various dimension especially in socio-economic and political dimensions. The impact of the aid will be effected within the framework of administration of the recipient government as well as the donor government. But in the case of recipient country, adjustments in the administration can lead to the reorganization of the structure of the administration. With the reorganisation of administration in native states. the entire set up of government

<sup>45</sup> Ward and Bauer, n. 4, p. 54.

machinery may get another shape of work. These administrative changes will be mixed with the political changes in the country.

fields from the donor countries will be sent to the recipient countries. In this aspect the Russian and Chinese ordinarily move in groups in the East Central Africa, whereas the Americans and Britishers fearlessly spread out in the interior regions even individually and thus the foreigners can establish a closer rapport with the local people. Thus a new kind of psychological change begins with this type of social interaction. This is the impact of foreign aid or development aid on society.

Regarding the development aid impact on economic in the East Central Africa is consisting of donor's directions and considerations in the indigenous production. The changes or the effects are enhanced by the infulential support or even pressure in the donor countries for a detailed development planning and compulsory saving by the recipient countries i.e. for government determination of the direction of economic activity outside subsistence agriculture and for special taxation to finance government expenditure. 47 These

<sup>46</sup> Behari, n. 3, p. 88.

<sup>47</sup> Ward and Bauer, n. 4, p. 55.

policies have come to be regarded in the donor country as a condition of economic development in the East Central Africa. These policies are merely to promote the standard of recipient country's economic sector.

#### Conclusion

The underdeveloped East Central African nations need the development aid from various developed countries and organisations. In the process of getting the aid or the assistance from the donor countries, the East Central African nations have bound to agree for certain conditions of donor countries. Some donor countries in Europe have their motivations based on humanitarian grounds and some will concentrate the economic benefits.

In this context, the USA's motivation is different from others in the world. The USA's development aid or assistance can be given on its political strategy. It expresses in this regard that the main motivation based on national interest and security. The USSR's activities in this development aid programmes are not completely based on commercial motivations. Japan seeks economic benefits by giving its development aid or assistance to East Central Africa. Therefore, the aid giving nations in the East Central Africa have their own strategies to maintain their relations with the recipient countries.

The underdevelopment of the East Central Africa is caused to get the development aid or the assistance from the developed countries. At the same time, the donor countries have their own self-interest in supplying the aid. The multilateral organisations role in giving the loans and grants to East Central Africa is based only on commercial benefits.

East Central Africa is in various dimensions. The aid or the assistance is in the form of economical assistance, military assistance, technical assistance and agricultural equipment assistance etc. By getting the aid or the assistance from the donor countries, the East Central African nations may not improve its standard of living immediately. Since these are newly born soverengn countries, it takes time to develop with the utilization of foreign aid by removing the obstacles.

• • • • •

#### CHAPTER VI

#### MAJOR POWERS AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

The development aid programmes in the East Central Africa are mostly by the countries of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development only. The USA, UK, West Germany, Sweden and Japan are playing main role in this programme in East Central Africa. The development aid programmes activities of the countries cited above during the period from 1973 to 1982 are discussed here.

### <u>USA</u>

Basically the USA aid towards the less developed countries is covering the objective of sense of security and to prevent the attack of communist bloc. Therefore, any donor country thinks about its aid to any recipient country with a particular framework which is consisting of its main interest, then only it proceeds to forward to declare the aid.

# Background and Motivations

The USA aid is in various forms. The first major
US post-war assistance programme was intended as a temporary
answer to a temporary situation. The US accepted the
promotion of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Agency, which was established in 1943 on humanitarian grounds. The aim of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency is to repair the destruction of the Wdr in Europe and the formerly Japanese occupied territories of Asia. So, it is the USAS intention to implement the aim of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency.

The identification of the basic motivations and strategies of planned targets of the USA in the activities of the development aid programmes are not stopped. These activities are continued even after the post war period with the participation of the activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (The World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund. At this time, there was a deterioration condition in western economic situation. Due to this serious condition in western economy, the Secretary of State George Marshall has given a famous speech which proposed the programme for the recovery of the western economy. He stated that "the U.S. economic aid must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises developed, but must be based on a regional plan drawn up by the European countries themselves". This Marshall Plan known officially,

<sup>1</sup> H.J.P. Arnold, Aid for Development (A Political and Economic Study) (London: The Bodley Head, 1966), p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

as the European Recovery Programme, came into effect in 1948.

The US motive was an obvious one as George Marshall put it, without the return of normal economic health in the world, there can be no political stability and assured peace. After that the US aid activities are started with the slogan "their defence is our defence". It means, the aid will be given with mutual security agreement between the US and the recipient country. For this purpose the US made an Act in 1951 named as "The Mutual Security Act". According to this Act. the aid will be in the form of defence orientation which covers the provision of money for military, economic and technical assistance. The motive of US aid in this connection is the defence sense. The second point in this context is that its basic attitude was to prevent the less developed countries from going to communist and therefore. US has to reach its goal in this engagement.

# USA's Development Aid Activities

Its contention is that US dollars spent in maintaining national force in friendly countries acted as a better
deterrent to Communist bloc aggression than the same amount
of money spent on expanding US forces at home. The US
development aid activities have been started with these
motives and are continuing in Third World countries. With
the same motivations the US government is acting in the
East Central Africa.

In the East Central Africa, the US aid policy has been implemented through the "Super" aid agency viz. Agency for International Development which was established in 1960s. According to their (USA) objectives, their aid in the form of military assistance which is major instrument of their foreign policy, will make it possible for nations to survive and in their view, it is vital to their security. By making bilateral agreements in this connection with the East Central Africa, US can hold the position in fulfilling the obligations and also they can get the economic benefits.

The USA's development aid activities in the East Central Africa during 1973-1982 are mostly involved in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. Kenya has more agreements with the USA in connection with development aid, loan and various assistances. Kenya and the US have signed an agreement for \$ 3.5 million loan to help finance Kenya's five year development plan programmes in agriculture and rural development. The loan is repayable in dollars over 40 years including a grace period of 10 years. Interest will be at 2 per cent annually during the grace period

George Cunningham, The Management of Aid Agencies (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> John D. Montgomery, <u>Foreign Aid in International Politics</u> (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1967), p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Africa Research Bulletin (Economic, Finance and Technical series), vol. 10, no. 3, 30 April 1973, p. 2701A.

and 3 per cent thereafter.

The US development aid programmes are mainly through the channel of Agency for International Development. Therefore, the loans will be given through this agency. Kenya has been given a Shs. 107 m loan for the construction of 4,300 houses for low income families, as per the agreement between Kenya and the Federal Home Loan Bank of New York, which was signed on 3 June 1975 at Nairobi. It is repayable over 30 years, after a four year grace period. The USA is giving its assistance to Kenya in connection with the development of farmers. So it gave a low-interest loan to Kenya worth Shs. 110 m. In the same year, the US Agency for International Development has guaranted a Shs. 72.6 m for a major housing project to build 2,650 houses in the Nairobi city.

In 1977 an agreement was signed between Kenya and USA. According to this agreement, the loan and grant totalling \$ 9.1 m has been provided for the improvement of secondary and minor roads in the country. Repayment will be made over 40 years with a 10-year grace period. 9 This is a new agreement. And also an agreement providing a \$ 3.25 m

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3570A.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., no. 10, 30 November 1975, p. 3698B.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., no. 11, 31 December 1975, p. 3729C.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 7, 31 August 1977, p. 4385B.

loan to help livestock development in Kenya was signed on 20 July 1977. The loan channelled through the United States Agency for International Development and the loan will be used by the Ministry of Water Development to implement a maintenance programme for track roads, and for clearing silt from reservoirs in the North-Western province under the Government two livestock development programme. 10

In the East Central Africa, there is a problem of grain storage. These countries can solve this particular problem with the assistance of developed countries. In this connection, the US aid has extended up to \$ 15.79 m as new assistance to Kenya. And there were four agreements signed by US and Kenya to cover an on-farm grain storage project (\$ 7.8 m loan) technical assistance for the town shelter project (\$ 1.9 million grants), fertilizers imports (\$ 5.5 million grants) and food aid (\$ 2.3 million grants). These four agreements will be exerted through the Catholic Relief Service in Kenya.

In view of the development aid programme of USA there are some agreements to supply the commodities to Kenya. The US granted Kenya Shs. 266 m in aid under three agreements signed in Nairobi on 3 June 1982. 12 The first

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 6, 31 July 1981, p. 6092B.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 5, 30 June 1982, p. 6468A.

agreement covers Shs. 161 m. to enable Kenya to purchase 70,000 tonnes of wheat and 15,000 tonnes of rice between July and September of 1982. The second agreement covers Shs. 102 m. which will finance a new rural health project in Kitui District and the remaining amount of Shs. 3 m. will finance the expansion of port of Mombasa on the Indian Ocean.

The US aid in the form of defence equipment is also given to Kenya. So, Kenya has been granted 5 m dollars credit by the US to buy defence equipment. The agreement signed in June 1975 provided for the purchase of any US military hardware and for training. This was disclosed by the spokesman of US Embassy. 13 In terms of mutual co-operation in security between Kenya and US, it is interesting to note that President Daniel Arab Moi confirmed on 13 February 1980 that he had agreed to US military forces operating from his country in the event of emergency in the Gulf region. However, he emphasized "we are not offering military bases. It's just facility are offering. as many other countries do". 14 It shows the approach of the Kenyan government to get the assistance from the US and in term how it offers facilities to the US in this connection.

<sup>13.</sup>Africa Research Bulletin(Bolitical, Social and Cultural series)
Vol.12.No.8,15 September,1975 P.3744B

14 Ibid., vol. 17, no. 2, 15 March 1980, p. 5592B.

The US government has taken initiative to assist the Tranzanian government, through a special grants for drought relief. A total of US \$ 26.5 million in aid has been sent in 1975 to Tanzania for drought relief. 15

In addition to the grants given to Tanzania, the USA Government provided grants for various new programmes in rural areas in Tanzania. The US Ambassador Bevelorely Carter told newsmen that 30,000 tonnes of maize costing \$ 7.5 million will be given to Tanzania very soon as a grant from the US government. The American experts' numbers will rise from 49 to 70 in Tanzania in connection with rural development, agricultural manpower development, livestock marketing and seed multiplication. The US will provide 20,000 tonnes of maize worth Shs. 53.25 million to Tanzania under an agreement signed on 22 January 1975. This grant also will include the transport costs.

The US has also agreed to provide Tanzania with a loan of Shs. 84 million for agricultural projects aimed at increasing food production. The loan is to be repaid over 40 years with a 10 years grace period, the interest is

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 1, 28 February 1975, p. 3406B.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

2 per cent prior to the grace period and 3 per cent thereafter. <sup>17</sup> The US Agency for International Development has made a grant of Shs 4.2m to the Tanzania Rural Development Bank to help by fertilizers to be loaned to village farmers. <sup>18</sup> The US government has signed an agreement on 24 September 1982 with Tanzania for a Research Project in the field of agriculture. <sup>19</sup> This particular agreement's cost is \$ 3 million.

There was a gap of 7 years for bilateral relations between US and Uganda since 1973, when the US closed its Embassy in Kampala in protest against the policies of the Amin's regime. It is the first agreement and major accord between these countries was signed on 27 September 1980 after 1973. According to this agreement an amount of \$ 3 million grant was given for rehabilitation of small farm sector in Uganda.

The US has granted Uganda Shs. 405 million to assist in the rehabilitation of the country's agricultural sector and co-operative movements. 21 The development aid programme

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3569A.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 4, 31 March 1976, p. 38898.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, ĥo. 9, 31 October 1982, p. 6604A.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 12, 31 January 1980, p. 5382C.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 9, 31 October 1981, p. 61968.

of US in Rwanda is very less. The Association for International Development of US has given a credit to Rwanda worth \$ 3,800,000 and it will be used to finance a collective stock-rearing project in the North-West region of Mtara. 22 However, the development aid activities of the USA in the East Central Africa are calculative and good strategically.

### Britain: Its Identity and Motives

The development aid programmes of Britain had saga in the history of the world. Because the Britishers are the colonial powers of the East Africa, it did not discontinue its aid programmes in the East Central Africa till date. Its development aid programme was older than the USA, the Soviet bloc and the communist bloc. But in the development aid activities the emphasisation of objectives or motives of Britain was not pointing the cold war motives.

The British aid programme is managed by the Overseas Development Administration, a semi-autonomous unit within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. 23 The organizational structure for aid work in Britain changed several times during the 1960s. At the beginning of the decade there was no separate Department of State responsible for this work. The

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 10, 30 November 1973, p. 2925B.

<sup>23</sup> Cunningham, n. 3, p. 98.

Foreign Office handled aid to foreign countries, the Commonwealth Relations Office to independent Commonwealth countries and the colonial office aid to colonies.

## Structure of the Agency

The Minister for Overseas Development is assisted by the part time services of one of the parliamentary sectaries (the most junior ministeral rank) in the Foreign Office. The official head of Overseas Development Administration is a permanent secretary of the same grade as the official heads of most ministries. The basic unit of organisation is the "department" with an average of five officers in each. Departments are of three kinds: those concerned with geographical area (nine), those concerned with a specific type of aid wherever it is provided (eleven) and those concerned with multilateral aid and international institutions (four). There are two central management departments. Departments are grouped into seven divisions, each under an Assistant Under Secretary of State.

The Britain's objectives in development aid programme in the East Central Africa are to get close relationship with these countries by encouraging them to prepare the development programmes. Traditionally, the colonial governments have been expected to send the details and also the British government will see that the aid should

be utilised properly within the framework of aid. With this intention, the UK is assisting the East Central African nations under the programme of the foundation for mutual assistance in Africa South of the Sahara.

The Britain's main motivation in giving the aid is to intervene as much as possible in the affairs of these newly independent East Central Africa and at the same time it is also possible to get the benefits economically and politically. Now the overall aid programme is reduced in the East Central Africa and some changes in giving the financial aid to these countries has been appeared in 1970s. 24

The British aid in the East Central Africa is in various forms. Kenya and Britain have signed an agreement on 22 March 1974. According to this agreement, Kenya is to get loans and technical assistance from Britain, worth £ 30 million. <sup>25</sup> Another capital aid worth £ 17 million has been given to Kenya for the overall development. The interest rate for loan is 2 per cent per annum. The principal of the 25 year loan will be repaid over 17 years with a grace period of 5 years. At the time of oil crisis, the British government has given grant to Kenya worth £ 2.5 m.

D.J. Morgan, Changes in British Aid Policy: 1951-1970 (London: Macmillan ress Ltd., 1980), p. 225.

<sup>25</sup> Africa Research Bulletin (Economic, Finance and Technical series), vol. 11, no. 3, 30 April 1974, p. 3086A.

to meet balance of payments. Under the terms of the grant, the money will be used to finance the purchase of British goods needed by Kenyan Government departments. 26

The British government has announced on 2 April 1976 that an amount of £ 48 million grant has been given to Kenya. 21 Of this sum, £ 9.5 million will be used to complete the transfer of British-owned farmers to Kenyan-ownership. The rest will be used for a variety of projects with more than 10 million going towards the cost of the upper TANA The Kenyan government has to buy goods from Reservoir Plan. Britain worth £ 6.6 million. The British government has agreed to give £ 4 million for technical assistance. Britain has also agreed to provide a loan of £ 2,222,000 for the expansion of the Kenya Politechnic in Nairobi. The loan will be @ 2 per cent interest with a sevewyear grace period and The total aid of Britain's aid to Kenya 25 years maturity. from 1963 to 1976 is about £ 180 million. During the period 1977-79, the Minister for Overseas Development has approved the allocation of a grant up to £ 1.29 million for the construction of additional storage for the bag stacking of maize in Kenya. 28

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 8, 30 September 1975, p. 3633B.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 4, 31 March 1976, p. 3889A.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 6, 31 July 1977, p. 4347B.

The Kanyan government has urged the British government for financial assistance to develop the road and bridges in the sugar-growing areas of western Kenya. Hence, the Britain's Overseas Development Ministry has approved a £ 6.7 million capital aid grant to finance the same as required by the Kenyan government. 29 In case of Tanzania also. the British government has offered a soft loan of Shs 42 million to help Tanzania's balance of payments difficulties. Britain has given £ 1 million of grant recently to Tanzania for civilian rehabilitation in the Kagera area, where the recent hostilities have been developed with U ganda. 30 British government was not against Uganda in this connection and bilateral relations. It maintained a balanced relationship with Kenya. Tanzania and Uganda. Therefore, the British government has signed an agreement with Uganda for a grant of £ 4 million. According to this agreement, the grant of £ 2 million will go into rehabilitating the cotton industry and £ 1.6 million towards projects like reequipping road construction works and mobile relief control units. 31

# West Germany: Its Identity and Motives

West Germany is one of the larger western donor countries. Its main aid programme is to be discharged

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 7, 31 August 1977, p. 4385B.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 1, 28 February 1979, p. 5010C.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 4, 31 March 1980, p. 5525C.

established in 1961. 32 The Ministry for Economic Co-operation is directly and exclusively responsible for technical assistance. The capital aid is in practice and the responsibilities will be shared between three ministries. Having these channels, West Germany's activities of development aid programmes have the identity in the global society.

The West Germany is participating in the development aid programmes and achieving its objectives. West Germany is competing with UK in recent years. Its development aid programmes in the East Central Africa are increasing. The motives in the activities of development aid programmes are mainly three principles. One is that the attempt of the programme should systematise the aid effort as closed as possible in the East Central Africa. Second is that there was belief in private enterprise and free market economy and third point is that there was a genuine desire to 'interfere' with recipient governments as little as possible.

Therefore, by adopting these principles in the aid programmes, and implementing the doctrine of private enterprise, the West Germany is acting as one of the big donors in

<sup>32</sup> Cunningham, n. 3, p. 134.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 135.

the East Central Africa. Since it was colonial power of East Africa, it is continuing its relations with these countries by giving development aid. There are some agreements in connection with industrial development, commercial development co-operation and agricultural development activities etc. The development aid programme activities of West Germany in case of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda will be discussed.

The aid programmes of West Germany from 1973 to 1982 are more than the other donor countries in the East Central Africa. The Germany's economic aid and technical co-operation have been given to Kenya as per the loan agreement signed on 19 January 1973. 34 According to this agreement. there were two loans worth £ 880.000 and £ 625.000. The first loan was meant for the development of industrial and commercial development corporation and to finance the third phase of the Nairobi small scale industrial estate projects. The second loan will be advanced through the German Development company and is aimed at increasing the company's equity in the chemical sugar company. agreement between Kenya and West Germany was made on 28 February 1980. As per the agreement Kenya will be given financial aid worth £ 2.75 million for the development of Kenya's Finance Company. This loan will be repaid over

<sup>34</sup> Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 10, no. 1, 28 February 1973, p. 2635C.

20 years with eight to ten years of grace period at an annual interest rate of 2 per cent. 35 Since West Germany is interested in developing the industrial sector in Kenya, it has signed an agreement on 27 March 1973 to give financial assistance of £ 775,000 to develop the Mombasa Industrial Estate and also the technical assistance and equipment will be given on a grant loan. The loan will be repaid within 30 years with an interest rate of 2 per cent per annum.

equipment of industrial programmes in Nairobi, Mombasa and Nukuru, Kenya has appealed the West German government for soft-term loan of Shs 10.6 million and got it. 36 The loan is to be repaid within 30 years with 2 per cent rate of interest per annum. The Kenyan government is always trying to improve its industrial sector and agriculture sector for self-sufficient production. In this connection, it has to develop the concerned fields by the help of foreign assistance. So, to finance the Mombasa and coastal water supply projects, the Kenyan government has signed an agreement with West Germany on 14 November 1975 for financial aid of Shs. 115 m. 37 Out of Shs. 115 million, more than Shs. 650 million will be financed by the World Bank, West Germany and Kenyan

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., no. 2, 31 March 1973, p. 2669C.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, pp. 3570A and B.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., no. 11, 31 December 1975, p. 3729C.

governments. The loan is repayable over a period of 30 years and the interest is 2 per cent per annum.

The underdevelopment of agriculture, industry, irrigation, electricity, tourism and road construction of Kenya was responsible to go for financial aid. For the development of the sectors cited above. Kenya has signed an agrement with Germany for an aid worth Shs 742.02 million. In 1977, West Germany agreed to grant Kenya Shs. 28.7 m to finance construction of the upper Tana multipurpose reservoir. 38 In the same year the West Germany signed an agreement with Kenya to give financial aid to assist the Kenyan Railways corporation and co-operative Bank of Kenya. 39 The West Germany's assistance is not only in the form of cash but also in kind, which is useful for irrigation development. In this connection, the West Germany has donated dam construction equipment worth about Shs. 30 million to Kenya. 40 The assistance of West Germany especially for the development of industrial sector is very important. industrial development consisted of various aspects. including the railways. As per the requisition of Kenya, West Germany agreed to give a loan of Shs. 18 million to be used in the construction of Kenya's railways. 41

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 12, 31 January 1977, p. 4149B.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 2, 31 March 1977, p. 5041C.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1979, p. 5286B.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 3, 30 April 1980, p. 5488C.

The development aid programmes of West Germany in Kenya are very much in progress in industrial sector and its concerned elements. Its development aid was also extended to supply of commodity. In 1980 West Germany gave a loan worth Shs. 75 million for urban water supply development project and commodity aid. 42 Here. it should be noted that West Germany is also giving commodity aid. Most of the aid from West Germany is in the mode of loans only. It shows that every item of aid from West Germany is based on commercial Therefore, there is no hesitation from the view of West Germany in granting the loan of Shs. 13.4 million again to help the Kenya for the improvement of Kenya's railways corporation's telecommunication system. 43 Also in the same year West Germany signed an agreement for a laon of Shs. 84 million for irrigation project and granted a loan of \$\int\_5.6 \text{ million to build a wholesale horticulture market at port of Mombasa, and also signed two loan agreements on 21 July 1980, totalling Shs. 42 billions for the development of water supply. 44 In the year 1982, the West Germany gave Shs. 58 million aid to establish a workshop for the Ministry of Water Development of Kenya, 45

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., no. 7, 31 August 1980, p. 5632B.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1981, p. 5791C.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., pp. 5791B and C.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 9, 31 October 1982, p. 6603B.

Therefore, the development aid of West Germany to Kenya is meant for the development of industry and agriculture. The aid programme in Kenya has taken place every year from 1973 onwards. The agreements between West Germany and Kenya are mainly for the development of the industries. The activities of the development aid programmes of West Germany in Kenya are based on commercial motivations and the objectives are meant for economical benefits.

The activities of development aid programmes of West Germany are also involved in Tanzania. Uganda and Rwanda. The recipient countries are different, but the motivations of donor country in this regard are the same in the East Central Africa. The nature of the development aid of West Germany in the case of Tanzania is the same like Kenya. But the terms and conditions are different. The West Germany and Tanzania have signed an agreement for a loan of Shs. 13.6 million for the development of Rural Development Bank of Tanzania. According to this agreement, this loan will be repaid within 50 years including a grace period of ten years and carries interest at the rate of 0.75 per cent per year. 46 In the development aid programme of West Germany, there is provision of granting the capital aid. With the privilege of this provision. Tanzania has been granted the capital aid of Shs. 60 million for the expansion

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 7, 31 August 1973, p. 2829A.

of the public water supply for Dar-es. Salaam. This loan will be repayable over 50 years and would carry interest of 0.75 per cent per annum from 1983. 47 The developmental activities by West Germany are useful for Tanzania for its indigenous production various types of industrial production. With this main motivation, the West Germany government granted two loans under two agreements to Tanzania on 21 February The first agreement was for a commodity credit up to Shs. 30 million to be used for buying raw materials. semi-finished products, industrial and agricultural machinery. The second was a financial contribution of Shs. 6 million for a fertilizer programme under Tanzania's Rural Development The West Germany's aid in the form of capital and technical assistance has been given to Tanzania as per the agreement signed by both the governments in 1976. 49 The aid is nearly Shs. 4 million. The money is to be used for roads, agriculture and water supply and in the same year in the month of August. West Germany agreed to provide a financial assistance worth Shs. 198 million for the construction of second phase of the Kidatu hydro-electric project. 50 In the context of the economic aid and technical co-operation, the agreements between West Germany and Tanzania relating to

NO.9

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Not 12, 31 January 1974, p. 2989A.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 2, 31 March 1975, p. 3442C.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 4, 31 May 1976, pp. 3889B and C.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.  $\binom{\sqrt{0}^{L/3}}{10}$ . 8, 30 September 1976, p. 4015B.

financial aid have been signed. The agreements worth

Shs. 157.15 million. These agreements were signed at Dar-esSalaam on 28 October 1977. 51

According to these agreements, the money will finance the Dar-es-Salaam port access road, the Tabora water supply scheme and the Buguruni infrastructure in Das-es-Salaam. The loan will be repayable in 50 years with a ten year grace period. It carries no interest except for 0.75 per cent service charges.

Uganda, which is landlocked country, needs the development in every sector of its production. In this country, the main problem is transport and communication. Therefore, for the improvement of railways and its progress, Uganda has to request any developed country to get aid in this connection. In this context, the West Germany government has agreed to sign an agreement for financial co-operation with Uganda and granted Shs. 28 million for the purpose of spareparts of Uganda's railways corporation. The geographical condition of Rwanda also is the same like Uganda. It means, Rwanda is also landlocked country and moreover it is a small country. It is very poor among the East Central African nations in every production. Naturally it needs

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 12, 31 January 1978, p. 4554C.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 2, 31 March 1981, p. 5856A.

development aid for its development as a whole. So, the West Germany gave financial aid (capital aid) of £ 1.4 million to Rwanda in 1973.

The development aid programmes of West Germany in the East Central Africa mainly concentrated on commercial motives for economic benefit and the development of home industry as well. The impact of these programmes indicate the progress of industrial production in various countries at least for their local consumption for a minimum requirements.

### Swed en

Africa. It is a small country and had a limited political aspirations. Its development aid programmes in the East Central Africa are fair. There are no political reasons and motivations in supplying the aid. Its objectives in this connection are meant for the development of economic and social aspects in recipient countries. Its emphasization on its aid policy is the social and equality aspects, <sup>54</sup> on national and international development. With these broad views Sweden is supplying its aid to the East Central Africa.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 7, 31 August 1973, p. 2828C.

<sup>54</sup> Marian Radetzki, Aid and Development (A handbook for small nations) (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), p. 125.

Until 1970 Sweden appeared to be one of the donors which had gone farthest in placing its aid work in one autonomous institution, the Swedish International Development Authority. Sweden's first aid agency was the Agency for International Assistance, created in 1962 to handle only technical assistance, which then accounted for most of the bilateral programme. In 1965 Swedish International Development Authority was established to take over all bilateral aid and some multilateral contributions. The particular agency comes under the policy guidance of the Minister for Foreign Affairs but enjoys a large measure of autonomy.

With this structure of the Sweden's agency, it was executing its aid programmes in the developing countries. The Sweden's development aid has been giving to Kenya and Tanzania since the time of their independence. The Sweden's aid to Kenya was in the form of extension services to agricultural producers, help in improving co-operatives, marketing and animal husbandry, health and training activities, production credits to farmers and some development of the local road systems. There was also an agreement between Kenya and Sweden in 1970 for a credit for rural drinking water development. Among the development aid activities of Sweden, towards Kenya, the oldest and largest Swedish aid is the Kenya Science Teachers' College. Sweden is giving this type of aid to Kenya along with personnel, commodity and financial assistances

In the case of Tanzania, Sweden has extended its co-operation in giving aid to develop the education system (Kibaha Education Centre is very important), health centres, farmers training centres and various development programmes. Sweden's contribution through a credit, to finance the Tanzania's highway between Dar-es-Salaam and the copper belt in Zambia was very important for the development of the industrial sector. Sweden's development collaboration with Tanzania is being rapidly expanded.

The objectives in the development aid programmes of Sweden have already been discussed. The motivation of Sweden by signing the agreements with Kenya and Tanzania are also important. According to the two agreements, signed at Nairobi on 30 October 1974, Sweden has to provide aid totalling £8.88 million to Kenya, for water development during 1974-1978. This agreement between Kenya and Sweden can create a better life for Kenyans. Sweden is giving the aid to Kenya in the form of loans, personnel consultancy services, equipment and commodity. There were three development agreements worth a total of Shs. 236.36 million between Sweden and Kenya in this connection.

Under the first agreement, Sweden is to provide a Shs. 117 million grant to Kenya for personnel consultancy

<sup>55</sup> Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 11, no. 10, 30 November 1974, p. 3309B.

services, equipment and commodities. The second agreement covers a Swedish contribution of Shs. 110 million to a road-travelling programme and the third agreement was for Shs. 9.36 million for school equipment production unit. 56

Sometimes, the assistance from Sweden to Kenya was in the form of material or goods. In 1977. Sweden has given 28 Third class railway coaches to Kenya, valued Shs. 50.4 These coaches will be used on the Nairobi-Kisumu million. route. Kenya had also signed an agreement with Sweden on 7 July 1977. As per this agreement Sweden provides for a grant of Shs. 307 million over two years as capital and The activities of Sweden in development technical assistance. programmes in Kenya are basically welfare projects. During the period of 1970-1981, Sweden's development aid projects in Kenya were included the rural water supply, medical services, soil conservation, technical education, small scale industries and the promotion of women activities. the above projects, Sweden has given an additional aid worth Shs. 323 million to Kenya. <sup>57</sup> The motives of Sweden in these programmes are based on humanitarian grounds along with the cordial and friendly relationship. The development programmes in the East Central Africa are meant for welfare projects.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3570B.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 3, 30 April 1979, p. 5076C.

In the case of Tanzania. Sweden agreed to give the aid totalling Shs. 480 million towards the irrigation. education, health and industrial projects. The development aid activities of Sweden helped Tanzania to get funds for the construction of second phase of the Kidatu hydroelectric project. as per the agreement in August 1976. value of this fund was Shs. 160 million. The development aid from Sweden has been given to Tanzania, whenever Tanzania requested. Even Sweden has taken an appropriate step to give a relief assistance grants of Shs. 9.5 million to Tanzania. This particular contribution was meant for the purpose of displaced persons in the areas affected by the Uganda war. 58 To get development in rural areas, especially in the case of roads, Tanzania signed an aid agreement for Shs. 42 million with Sweden, which include the technical assistance to improve rural road networks in Kilombero and Ulanga districts. 59

# Japan: Its Identity and Motives

The Japanese development aid programmes have been started in early 1960s in Third World countries. Its motives in giving the development aid are the commercial. Despite its activities in this programmes are slow due to second

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., no. 5, 30 June 1979, p. 5150C.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 12, 31 January 1981, p. 5792C.

world war impact, now in 20th century Japan is quite active. The identity of Japan in this programme was with the technical assistance, 60 to the Third World countries and later extended to a number of reparation agreements with the developing countries. It discharges its aid programmes through the government branches which are responsible for their principles of aid policies.

Its precise objectives of aid and nature of relationships are to maintain foreign policy and in terms of economic tasks to promote the trade to secure the resources necessary for Japanese industrial growth and to develop markets for the industrial production. 61 It is, therefore, felt that Japanese development aid activities have been continuing since early sixties and its involvement in the East Central Africa is based on commercial motives and Japan has given the development aid in various forms to the East Central Africa during the period 1973-1982.

Kenya and Japan signed a loan agreement for £ 1.07 million on 27 April 1977 to build a new bridge at Mtwapa Coast province. 62 The activities of Japan in giving the necessary assistance to the developing countries are cordial. Having this confidence. Kenya has signed an

<sup>60</sup> Alan Rix, <u>Japan's Economic Aid - Policy Making and Politics</u> (London: Croom Helm, 1980), p. 14.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>62</sup> Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 14, no. 4, 31 May 1977, p. 42808.

agreement to formalize a Japanese grant of approximately Shs. 4 million. <sup>63</sup> The grant is offered to relieve the debt burden of the Kenyan government owed to the Japanese government in line with UNCTAD resolution regarding debt problem of developing countries.

Japan has joined with a group of countries to help Kenya's 1979-80 fertilizer requirements. In this connection. Japan has contributed its share of 8,152 tonnes of fertilizer. 64 Also Japan has extended a soft loan of Shs. 263 million to finance part of the five year development plan of the Kenya Post and Telecommunications Corporation. Japan government has made a Shs. 120 million grant for the Jono Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology at Juja near Nairobi. Japan's aid assistance to Kenya is caused to develop the agriculture sector with the agriculture college industry. The modern technology in agriculture is indispensable to improve the production of agriculture. Therefore, with the requisition of Kenyan government, Japan is extending its cooperation in technical training. Kenya has also received a total of Shs. 660 million as loan for the overseas economic cooperation fund of Japan. 65 To supply a good quality of fertilizer and rice, Japan has granted Kenya Shs. 24 million

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 3, 30 April 1979, p. 5076A.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1979, p. 5286B.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 6, 31 July 1980, p. 5595B.

to buy the same from Japan, 66

According to an agreement signed on 3 June 1981,
Japan has given a soft loan of Shs. 244 million and a grant
of Shs. 8 million to Kenya. The total amount of aid from
Japan to Kenya is Shs. 1,191 million so far. 67 The loan
is to carry 3 per cent per annum interest and is repayable
over 30 years with a grace period of 10 years. The development
aid activities of Japan towards Tanzania are also cordial.

Japan has extended its co-operation in giving the loan of
Shs. 71 million to Tanzania for the purpose of an oil tanker
and a passenger cargo vessel from Japan under the maritime
transportation reinforcement project of Zanzibar. 68

Since Japan is interested to help Tanzania, Japan has granted Shs. 20 million to be used in the consolidation of the national food programme. The money will be used to purchase fertilizer, agricultural machinery and spareparts of the agricultural machinery. <sup>69</sup> Japan pledged loans to Tanzania totalling ¥ 6,900 and also co-operation in Tanzania's efforts to solve problems. The pledged aid consists of ¥ 4,900 credit to finance a development project.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1981, p. 5791C.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 6, 31 July 1981, p. 6092B.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 3, 30 April 1979, p. 5077A.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 4, 31 March 1981, p. 6020A.

The development aid programmes of Japan in the East Central Africa are increasing year by year. Now Japan is very actively participating in these programmes more than the western donor countries.

### Conclusion

The developed countries of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development are playing main role in the programmes of development aid in the East Central Africa.

Their motivations are different from country to country in supplying the aid to the East Central Africa. There is a competition among the donor countries, especially in the case of the USA and the USSR in these programmes which are based on political reasons. But West Germany is leading in supplying the development aid to the East Central Africa among the OECD countries. Its motivation is dependent on economic benefits. Now Japan is participating very actively in the development aid programmes in the Third World countries.

. . . .

#### CHAPTER VII

#### OTHER PARTICIPATING NATIONS INCLUDING INDIA

The nations and agencies, involving in the development aid programmes are mainly from the western and communist bloc countries. The motivations of various participating countries in this programme depends on each country's or agency's ideology. The nations or the agencies, giving the development aid to the underdeveloped countries is not necessarily as useful to a particular underdeveloped sector. Because the donor country may not concentrate on the request of the donee country, due to the concept of development Therefore, the donor will see the which is so vast. relationship with the recipient country in terms of donor's main objective in giving the development aid. The concept of "development" covers the agriculture and industrial sectors, especially the rural extensions. The rural extensions will take place within a process of development and cannot be considered as an isolated activity. Extension programmes and projects and extension agents are part of the development of rural societies. It is, therefore, important to understand the development and to see how its interpretation can effect

<sup>1</sup> P. Oakley and C. Garforth, <u>Guide to Extension Training</u> (Rome: FAO Pub., 1985), p. 1.

the course of rural extension work.

The term "development" does not refer to one single phenomenon or activity nor does it mean a general process of social change. All societies, rural and urban are changing all the time. This change affects, for example the society's norms and values, its institutions, its methods of production, the attitudes of its people, customs and practices are never statistic but are continually evolving into new and different forms.

The societies are changing and rural extension attempts to develop certain aspects of society in order to influence the nature and speed of the change. With this change or development, the people can build up their future with self-sufficient products, provided the development should take place in urban industrialization and rural improvement.

Therefore, the donor country may not think the concept and the process of the development. The donor country knows that this development aid cannot solve the underdeveloped countries problems as a whole. So that the developed countries who are involved in the development aid activities will/concentrate the relationship with recipient country which is useful to the donor in the needful time. From the donor country's point of view, the instruments of development aid are still used in

different combinations according to the best current judgements of ambassadors, economists, field technicians, administrators in abroad. 2

So, the motivations and strategic plans of the donor countries in the development programmes are in various kinds and forms. The donor countries to the East Central Africa are the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development countries, which came into existence in 1960 -- Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (FR), Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway. Sweden. Switzerland, UK. USA and commission of the European community -- the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, countries -- Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, Hungry, Poland, Romania and USSR -- and the Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries. the donor countries are supplying the development aid to the East Cenral Africa. the donor governments will think about the nature of the aid. maturity period and the quantum of aid and quality of the aid. Even they will think that the reason, while giving the aid to the East Central Africa.

Basing on the availability of sources of aid, the donor country will give in the first year of loan agreement.

<sup>2</sup> John D. Montgomery, <u>Foreign Aid in International Politics</u> (Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1967), p. 27.

If the aid is goods or technical experts, it is possible for the donor country to give the aid in the first year of agreement, otherwise if it is related to a power project work, it may take ten years time. In this regard, estimating the requirements for assistance was the first step in the Marshall Plan. The problem of estimating the requirements for the less developed countries is much more difficult. It is not the question of supplying the goods to the required countries for the reconstruction of a previously existing establishment, but also of a wide variety of new economic and social structure. It may take even one decade.

Because any estimate of requirements must be related to some objective i.e. it must make assumption covering rates of domestic savings and investment as well as probable foreign exchange earnings. In this connection, it is difficult to diagnose or to determine the object and motivations of donor governments. For example, it is certain that the interest of France and that of Austria in less developed countries are by no means the same. Furthermore, in some cases there are virtually no official voices speaking the subjects, while in others, multitude often giving different reasons for their position. In the case of British government, it has said

Willard L. Thorp, The Reality of Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 202.

that the basis of its aid programme is a moral one, but at the same time it can be defined in political terms as an important part of international politics. <sup>5</sup>

The USA's aid towards the less developed countries is covering the objective of sense of security and to prevent the attack of communist bloc. In the same way the USSR and China are working out their aid programmes towards the underdeveloped countries with their self-interest motives. Therefore, the donor country will think about their aid to the East Central Africa with a particular framework which is consisting of their main interest, and can proceed to forward to declare their aid. The identification of the basic motivations and strategy planned targets of each donor country and agency in the case of East Central Africa will be discussed.

## USSR: Its Identity and Motives

The Soviet Union is another Super Power in the global society. Its competition with the USA is to lead to the atmosphere of cold war in the international relations. Though it is not colonial power to the East Central Africa, the Soviet Union is involving in the development aid programme in these countries, and the activities with self-interest

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 322.

are based on its desire to disrupt the political economic system established by the European countries in Africa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Soviet Union is trying to make the East Central Africa to trust their economic structure or system. economic and technical co-operation with the East Central Africa, the Soviet Union focuses its assistance on helping in the development of productive branches of the economy. first and foremost on the creation of industrial and power capacities, the development of agriculture, mineral prospecting and the training of local personnel. The Soviet's identity in supplying the aid in various forms to the East Central Africa is very familiar in the international scene. With these activities, the underdeveloped countries can trust in restructuring their economic system in the most efficient manner and tackle the most important problems and by solving their problems, they can raise their living standard in the international economic relations. Soviet Union is not only participating in the economic activities but also shows an increased willingness to commit military resources to African conflict situations in the few years. 8 Later the Soviet Union

<sup>6</sup> Richard E. Bissell, "Soviet Interest in Africa", in Warren Weinstein and Thomas H. Henriksen, ed., <u>Soviet</u> and <u>Chinese Aid to Africa</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980), p. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Valdmir Orlovsky, <u>The USSR and Developing Countries</u> (Economic Cooperation) (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1984), p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> Bissell, n. 6, p. 9.

declared the policy of "peaceful co-existence". In fact, the Soviet's aid had its evolution. The early post-war period, Moscow fully encouraged militants tactics by local communist parties. During the Stalin's time the less developed countries were regarded as dependents on capitalists powers and the Soviet relations with the less developed countries did not go beyond its normal diplomatic relations. In spite of these activities, Soviet Union was projected that it was a champion of the anti-colonialists.

After Stalin's death, there was radical change in its attitudes towards the aid programmes to the less developed countries, basing on the local communist parties negative movements and the newly independent states in Africa are caused to increase the anti-western views in Soviet Union. According to Lenin's teachings, there was atmosphere of downfall of capitalism in Third World countries with the strength of the communist doctrine to 'liberate' the colonies and that capitalism is well on its way to final collapse. After that Soviet activities in the development programmes are increasing to influence the people in the Third World countries as well as the East Central Africa. At present the situation of Soviet Union's future plans for the welfare of the world is progressive.

<sup>9</sup> H.J.P. Arnold, Aid for Development - A Political and Economic Study (London: The Bodley Head, 1966), p. 144.

During the period 1973-1982, the Soviet Union has given military assistance to Uganda mainly. According to the Harbour sources. the Soviet Union has sent sixteen medium tanks (Soviet T-54) to Uganda through Kenva. 10 informed on 27 February 1975 when the tanks were arrived at Mombasa. Another important arms supply incident is that the President Amin has taken delivery of 18 Soviet amphibian and ordinary tanks which were handed over officially by the Soviet ambassador in Kampala. 11 Along with these tanks. a party of Russian military experts has come who are training Ugandan soldiers in their use. The Soviet Union has the military assistance programme and it is giving assistance to Uganda during the regime of Amin. President Amin officially received a squandron of Soviet-built MIG-21 aircraft, which were handed over at a ceremony in Kampala on 17 September 1975 by Soviet Ambassador Zakharov. 12

# China

China's aid towards the Third World countries is only to maintain some diplomatic relations. It was noted that the Chinese leaders were not prepared to extend economic

<sup>10</sup> Africa Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural series), vol. 12, no. 2, 31 March 1975, p. 3545A.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., no. 3, 30 April 1975, p. 3577B.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1975, p. 3778C.

assistance to non-communist governments. In the early days of its programmes its economic assistance to the East African nations is at micro level. The motives for the bloc preference for credits is probably a mixture of psychology and good business sense. The basic goals of China's foreign policy have been "to engure the security of the state of China and to ensure the continued authority of the communist party within the state". 13 The Chinese emphasis on this statement, it gave the development aid in the form of military assistance or arms to the East Central Africa during the period of 1956-1976, especially to Tanzania. prominent place among Peking's aid recipients is explained as resulting from its socialistic leadership and philosophy of self-reliance. its demonstration value as a model of China's relationship with small impoverished states. And it emphasized the strategic location and commitment of China to support the liberation movements in Africa. 14 The Chinese aid programmes are continuing in Tanzania.

China's foreign aid in the form of arms transfer during the period 1967-1976 was worth \$ 1 million for Burundi.

<sup>13</sup> Alan Hutchison, China's African Revolution (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977), p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> T. Yu. George, China's African Policy: A Study of Tanzania (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975),

\$ 1 million for Rwanda and \$ 75 million for Tanzania, and the economic aid for the period 1956-1977 was worth \$ 20 million for Burundi, \$ 17 million for Kenya, \$ 22 million for Rwanda, \$ 362 million for Tanzania and \$ 15 million for Uganda have been given. <sup>15</sup> It is remarkable to note down in this aid programme that the railway line between Tanzania and Zambia was established with the help of Chinese aid.

#### France

France is one of the biggest donors. From the beginning, France was interested in the development aid programmes. Its value of aid in early 1960s and late 1960s was generally high. Because the people of France are in favour of development programmes in Third World countries and the report of this particular survey has already been discussed. Much of the official assistance to developing countries was voted annually through the French budget. The methods and purpose of aid will move in various types from year to year basing on the nature of the demand for aid. In this connection, the ministries have been involved in the administration of aid programmes particularly. In the case of the East Central Africa, the Ministry of Corporation of France is responsible

US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, World Military Expenditure and Arms Transfers, 1967-76, Publication 98 (Washington, D.C.: ACDA), July 1978, Table VII, pp. 158-9, and US Central Intelligence Agency, Communist Aid to Less Developed Countries of the Free World, 1977, ER 78-1078 (Washington, D.C., 1978).

to look after the aid programmes. In fact, the development aid programmes are in progress through five principal agencies which are responsible for different aid operations. <sup>16</sup> These are as follows:

- (1) The secretariat of State for Foreign Affairs Responsible for Co-operation (part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but administratively separate, and with its own budget):
- (2) The Directorate-General for Cultural, Scientific and Technical Relations (one of the normal sub-units of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs):
- (3) The Central Fund for Economic Co-operation (CCCE).

  (A public institution not forming part of any ministry but under the policy control of the Ministry of the Economy and Finance and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs);
- (4) The Ministry of Finance
- (5) The Ministry of State for the Overseas Departments and Territories.

The functions of the agencies are distinguished principally by the countries they cover. Therefore, the French government can take care of the aid programmes in such way through these agencies, the recipient countries can feel no

George Cunningham, The Management of Aid Agencies (London: Croom Helm, 1974), p. 170.

inconvenience in this regard. When the process is in a systematic way, the works or the functions will go smoothly with more production. This is the reason that France is going forward in this programme among the European countries in assisting the underdeveloped countries. The French government had constructive method in implementing the policies of its objectives. It restructured its plans in respect of financial problems. Tt decided to set right the financial strains in the country and involve in the development aid progress. So it restructured its plans more than four times to get more Gross National Product. 17 Unless it gets financial stability, the French could not supply or give the development aid to the East Central Africa and Third World countries. Its motivations in this regard are mainly to get economic benefit and some political influence. development aid from France has been given to Kenya and Uganda and other African nations. France has given a loan of \$ 5 million to Kenya for a new broadcasting station and other equipment. It is the first major French loan to an English speaking African country. TB France and Kenya have signed two agreements for French aid totalling Shs. 374 million.

Bepin Behari, The Facts of Foreign Aid (Bombay: Vora and Co. Publishers 'P' Ltd., 1968), p. 138.

<sup>18</sup> African Research Bulletin, vol. 13, no. 6, 31 July 1976, p. 3952A.

The money will be used to buy equipment for the Kenya Ports Authority, the Kenya Railways, the Meteorological Department and the Kenya Post and Telecommunication. 19 In case of Uganda also France has granted 3.8 million francs in supplementary aid to cover the cost of transporting equipment. 20 French government is participating in the development aid programmes actively in the East Central Africa.

#### Canada

The Canadian aid programme is managed by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), a semiautonomous agency under the secretary of state (Minister) for External Affairs. The functions of CIDA have been officially defined as to operate and administer Canada economic assistance programmes; to ensure co-ordination in the operation of other departments concerned with various aspects of these programmes, to consult and co-operate as appropriate with international organisation agencies and with Canadian voluntary agencies active in developing countries, and to co-operate Canadian efforts to provide emergency assistance. 21 Within the framework of its aim, the

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 5, 30 June 1981, p. 6055C.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., no. 7, 31 August 1981, p. 6128C.

<sup>21</sup> Cunningham, n. 16, p. 119.

Canadian government is exerting its development aid programmes. With the principles of aid agency, the CIDA is extending its co-operation to the East Central Africa. Its development aid worth £ 902,400 had been given to Kenya by signing an agreement on 12 November 1974 for the joint establishment of a unit within the Tourism Ministry to assist Kenya in developing its livestock, industry and national range land policies. The development assistance to Kenya is also extended by sending technical experts and specialized equipment. This particular aid has been given to Kenya by signing an agreement on 29 January 1976 with Kenya worth Shs. 400 million including the loan worth Shs. 8.8 million for mineral exploration.

According to this agreement, Canada is to give training to Kenyans in exploration techniques. Not only that, Canadian government has signed an agreement with Kenya to give the loan of £ 440,000 to assist the Kenya development mines and geology in carrying out an airborne geophysical survey which is a new agreement. The Canadian government has also agreed to give technical training to Kenyans in Canada as per the agreement signed on 3 September 1982.

<sup>22</sup> Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 11, no. 10, 30 November 1974, p. 3039B.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 2, 31 March 1976, p. 3826A.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 6, 31 July 1977, p. 4347B.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 8, 30 September 1982, p. 6572B.

Canada is one of the donors to Tanzania. It has made two agreements with Tanzania in the month of February 1974. 26 One agreement was signed on 15 February 1974 for which Canada will provide Shs. 154 million to construct electricity supply installations from the Kidatu power station to Dar-es-Salaam and another agreement was signed on 22 February 1974. According to this agreement Canada is to provide Tanzania with Shs. 10.952 million grant to help the mining industry. Canada has also extended its co-operation to Tanzania in giving loan for the development of Tanzania's Investment Bank. In this connection, an agreement was signed by these countries. Canada agreed to give Shs. 14 million to Tanzania for the development of Tanzania's Investment The loan will be repayable within 40 years of period with 10 years grace period. It carries no interest. 27 grant is worth Shs. 215 million which is available in rare occasions basing on the agreement which was signed on 11 August 1982. This grant is to assist in getting progress in oil exploration in Tanzania. 23

## <u>Netherlands</u>

The development aid programmes activities in Netherlands have been extended to Kenya and Tanzania. There

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, no. 2, March 1974, p. 3054A.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 2, 31 March 1975, pp. 3442B and C.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 9, 31 October 1982, p. 6604A

were 5 agreements with Kenya and 3 with Tanzania during the period 1973-1982. Netherlands' aid programme is managed by Directorate General for International Co-operation which forms part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs but enjoys a high degree of autonomy and has its own ministry.

Netherlands' agreements with Kenya in this connection have been made to grant loans, fertilizers and infrastructure equipment for the period 1975 to 1979. Netherlands was granted the loan of Shs. 123 million to help Kenya in The loan formed as financial and development projects. technical assistance, to be repayable over 30 years of period, after an eight years grace period at an interest rate of 2.5 per cent per annum. 29 The agreement between Netherlands and Kenya was signed with two-fold manner. According to the agreement, the amount was Shs. 165 million. Out of that amount, Shs. 122 million was a soft loan. repayable over 30 years with an eight years grace period. As per the conditions of this agreement, Kenya has to use this amount to purchase goods and services from the Netherlands or from any developed country. The remaining amount of Shs. 43 million has no strings attached. O Another agreement has been made in 1979 for Shs. 55 million to purchase 116 trucks and also in the same year there was an agreement by the Netherlands

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 2, 31 March 1972, p. 3441C.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 1, 28 February 1977, p. 4186C.

to provide 50,000 tonnes of fertilizer to Kenya. The Netherlands has agreed and allocated Shs. 4.8 million as initial capital aid for Kenya for the necessary development infrastructure in Lusi Git area in Kiambu district.

The Netherlands co-operation has been extended to provide long-term loan to Tanzania and an amount of Shs. 13.5 million has been given for the Tanzania Investment Bank. 32 The Netherlands has agreed to provide grants and loans for various development projects, to Tanzania worth Shs. 128 million for the period 1975-76. This amount is to be spent on the projects of agriculture, education, natural resources and water development. Since, the Netherlands was in willing to co-operate to develop the Tanzania's welfare projects, it has signed an agreement in Dar-es-Salaam on 25 April 1980 to grant a loan of 420,000 shillings for water, livestock, sugar and industrial development projects. 34 So. the development aid programmes of Netherlands in Tanzania are based on commercial motivations. By giving the aid to Kenya and Tanzania, one way the Netherland is making the East African countries to purchase the Netherlands technical

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 9, 31 October 1979, p. 5286B.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 7, 31 August 1973, pp 2829B.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., no. 2, 31 March 1975, p. 3442C.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 4, 31 May 1980, p. 5526A.

equipment in various sectors. Therefore, the Netherlands co-operation and assistance in these two countries in the development aid programmes are caused for economic benefits and at the same time, the Netherlands can improve its indigenous production more and more.

#### Finland

The Finland's participation in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa is also countable in the western donor activities. In this context, Finland has signed an agreement with Kenya to grant a credit of Shs. 14 million as a special assistance, on 30 May 1975. This particular aid has been made available as a result of an appeal by the UN Secretary General for emergency assistance to the developing countries, most affected by the energy and inflation crisis. This money will be used to buy Finnish equipment for rural electrification and allied projects in Kenya.

For the construction of 30 housing units at Masasant Peninsula, Dar-es-Salaam, an agreement was signed on 26 January 1973 between Tanzania and Finland. This agreement provides the grant of Shs. 3.5 million to Tanzania. Another agreement also has been signed between these two countries

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3570A.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 1, 28 February 1973, p. 2636B.

on 11 July 1975. As per this agreement the Finland government can provide a credit of Shs. 30 million and the interest rate is 0.75 per cent per annum. <sup>37</sup> Finland is giving co-operation to Tanzania better than Kenya. It has given assurance to Tanzania to the effect that it will provide the grant of Shs. 50.6 million in the form of financiao resources, commodity, personnel and consultancy services. The money will be used for the development of wood industry, health service, water resources, mineral resources and education purposes. <sup>38</sup>

#### Denmark

The Danish programmes are to be executed through the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). This is an integral part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and some of its staff are aid specialists. Most of the members in the Agency are members of diplomatic service, who did work for a tour of duty. To deal with the development aid activities in this country, there was a Ministry for International Development Co-operation till 1971. This Ministry is member of the cabinet along with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and technically in charge of aid activities. This particular office was abolished in 1971 and DANIDA directly came under the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3569A.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 11, 31 December 1976, p. 4111C.

The DANIDA covers all aid activities except the world food programme. The food programme is under the Ministry of Agriculture. The development aid programmes of Denmark are extended to Kenya and Tanzania during the period of 1973-82.

The Denmark signed an agreement with Kenya on 10 October 1973 to give a loan of Shs. 50 million for the use of agricultural, industrial and other sectors' development. According to this agreement. Kenya has to repay the amount in 35 years with a 10-year grace period. 39 In the context of economic and technical co-operation there was an agreement between Dermark and Kenya and Denmark has agreed to provide Shs. 25 million in aid to the Kenya Rural Development Fund for the period 1975-1977. Out of this amount, according to aid condition. Shs. 3 million is to be spent towards financing the village politechnics and Shs. 3.4 million for the purchase of equipment for the "Survey of Kenya". 40 To finance the administrative support unit for the Ministry of Health, in Kenya. Denmark signed an agreement with Kenya on 7 June 1977 to provide a grant of Shs. 1,365,000. For the rural development in Kenya, Dermark has given an amount of Shs. 6.8 million loan at the rate of 3.5 per cent interest. This

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 9, 31 October 1973, p. 2894A.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 3, 30 April 1975, p. 3474A.

amount will be lent by Kenya government to the co-operative Bank of Kenya to provide low-interest loans to small holders. 41

Kenya has received a grant worth Shs. 76 million from Denmark for the development of rural roads. Therefore, Denmark has participated in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa for the commercial benefits and some times keep the charitable motivations. In the case of Tanzania, Denmark has provided the development aid to it without any interest. Denmark has given an interest-free loan to Tanzania in 1975, worth Shs. 48 million to finance the irrigation project in two regions. This amount is to be repaid over 25 years with a ten years grace period. 42 Tanzania has received another grant of \$ 121.25 million from Denmark, to finance projects including rural water supply development, rural electrification. 43 So, Denmark's aid to Tanzania and Kenya is covered for the development of irrigation and rural areas.

# Norway

Norway is one of the Scandinavian aid countries to give assistance to Kenya and Tanzania. The origin of this aid programmes is that the Royal Commission has taken

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 8, 30 September 1977, p. 4417B.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 3, 30 April 1975, p. 3474B.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 12, 31 January 1981, p. 5792C.

initiative in the 1960s to rationalize the peacemeal administrative projects by different ministries. As a result the Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD) was established in 1962. Norwegian aid authorisation is by means of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs budget. Norwegian aid to Kenya was less than Tanzania's during the period 1973-1982. Norway has given its aid to Kenya in cash and kind. Kenya has received Shs. 24 million loan from Norway for rural development and itwas the fifth loan for Kenya since its independence. 44 To assist the irrigation project scheme of Kenya, Norway granted the aid to Kenya of Shs. 5.25 million under an agreement signed on 2 June 1976. In 1979, again, Norway provided a grant of Shs. 23 million for the development of road from Marich Pass in West Pokot district to Kolokol in Turrana district. In the same year Norway extended its co-operation to Kenya by providing 9,400 tonnes of fertilizer for the development of agriculture.

The Norwegian government can co-operated in giving aid to the East African nations viz. Kenya and Tanzania, with an objective of development of its international activities as well as the economical benefits. The Scandinavian countries have the same motivation in these activities within their framework of foreign policy.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 9, 31 October 1975, p. 3665C.

The Norwegian government does not have a separate desire or motivation towards the development aid programme in Tanzania. The Norwegian government has made two grants in 1974 to Tanzania. totalling Shs. 58 million for Tanzania Investment Bank, to finance the industrial projects and for the development of the Kilimanjaro National Park. 45 Also to help Tanzania, the Norwegian government has agreed to grant \$ 94.75 million over the next four years. This grant has been given to Tanzania in 1976. The amount of this grant is meant for the improvement of water resources. survey, secondary schools, fisheries development, dispensaries and projects carried out by Tanzania Investment Bank. 46 Tanzania signed an agreement with Norway in the month of August 1977 to get grants. Norway agreed and gave the grant totalling Shs. 7.16 million. 47 According to this agreement, an amount of Shs. 5.6 million is for the establishment of a forestry department at the university of Dar-es-Salaam and the remaining amount is meant for housing of Norwegian staff in Tanzania.

Since Tanzania is not self-sufficient in water supply programme, it requested the Norwegian government to help in developing the water supply. Accordingly Norway has

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 12, 31 January 1974, p. 2989A.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 4, 31 March 1976, p. 3889B.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 8, 30 September 1977, p. 4418A.

agreed and an agreement was signed by both the governments on 16 January 1981 to develop the phase of two water supply programmes for Kigoma and Rukwa regions. 48 In the same year. Norway extended two grants totalling Shs. 204 million balance of payment support will be given to finance inputs in agriculture. transport and industries during 1981-1982 fiscal year. 49 The second grant Shs. 4 million is to assist the university of Dar-es. Salaam in the fields of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering. So, Norwegian aid to the East African nations is indicative of the nature of the aid and its motivation. By giving the aid. Norway will have the good friendly relationship with Kenya and Tanzania. At the same time. these African nations can co-operate by sending necessary raw material for the industrial development in Norway. It is a mutual understanding between donor and recipient countries since most of the aid is in the form of grants.

# European Economic Community

The European Economic Community in the development aid programmes is playing an important role among the multilateral agencies in the East Central Africa. The aid from this community will also be given through various channels viz. regional banks or UN special fund. The EEC

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 2, 31 March 1981, p. 5855C.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1981, p. 6196B.

will give the development aid from the European Common Market and Development Fund. Now the role of EEC will be discussed. how it is co-operating with the East Central Africa, and how it is functioning. An anti-inflation grant has been granted to Kenya to help offset the effects of inflation. This grant worth · 2.1 million and the EEC has also contributed \$ 25.5 million to Kenya to the programme of which \$ 10.5 million will remain in the UN special fund. 50 This amount will be used to buy foodstuffs, chemical products, equipment and essential services from the European Economic Community. In the same year the EEC has given a loan of Shs. 300 million to Kenya for the development projects in the eastern province of Kenya. 51 The development aid worth \$ 3.3 million has been granted by the EEC as softloan for the construction of 8 veterinary centres and 135 cattle dips in the coast province of Kenya. The EEC's co-operation and needful help, for the development of Kenya are valuable which included the development of cattle and their hospitals.

For the development of irrigation and the construction of reservoir and power station, Kenya has been granted by the EEC a special loan of Shs. 246 million. This

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, no. 12, 31 January 1975, p. 3373A.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 11, 31 December 1975, p. 3728A.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 3, 30 April 1977, p. 4249B.

loan can be given from the European Development Fund which is repayable over 40 years at an interest of 1 per cent with a 10-year grace period. 53 In terms of financial aid to Kenya, the EEC has its options to provide any sort of aid. So the EEC has agreed to give Kenya Shs. 82.5 million to help in the field of exporting the coffee to various countries. 54

Kenya has to get improvement with modern technology in every sector of its fields. Even it could not improve its roads in western Kenya properly. In this connection, to construct the roads in western Kenya, it has been given an European Development Fund grant of \$ 1 million and a loan on special terms worth \$ 9 million. 55 The European Economic Community has given its co-operation by giving the loans to Kenya.

The EEC co-operation of also extended to Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. The EEC has its own commitments towards the international development activities and the self-interest of commercial motivations. Sometimes the EEC will act according to the UN's decision in the welfare of the developing countries basing on humanitarian grounds. To quote one example is that the EEC has offered Tanzania about

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 5, 30 June 1977, p. 4314A.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 1, 28 February 1982, p. 6356A.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., no. 7, 31 August 1982, p. 6536A.

Shs. 21 million in grant in-aid. The offer is in line with the UN's decision to assist the developing countries badly hit by the energy crisis. <sup>56</sup>

Tanzania has also received a loan of Shs. 23.3 million from the European Investment Bank, which is repayable in 11 years, at the rate of 5-7/8 per cent interest. There was a request from Tanzania to the EEC for special loan to develop the roads. The EEC agreed and gave a special loan of 5 million of ECU for the road construction. 57 Basing on these factors disclosed above, the EEC contribution in the development aid programmes is indicating that the objectives of EEC are to maintain a balanced international relations with these countries and achieve the goal of economic benefit.

The EEC's role in giving the aid to Uganda is also very important. The EEC's financial aid which is new loan of Shs. 80 million to Uganda is to compensate the loss of tea and cotton export earnings in 1978. This was given on 3 October 1979, <sup>58</sup> and also the EEC gave financial aid of Shs. 185 million to Uganda for development projects. For the development of technical schools, Uganda received the

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 5, 50 June 1975, p. 3537C.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 11, 31 December 1982, p. 6674A.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 9, 31 October 1979, p. 5285B.

EEC's aid worth Shs. 2 million to buy scholaristic materials. <sup>59</sup> The EEC and the Canada development association also agreed to co-finance Uganda's rehabilitation task with \$ 20 million and \$ 30 million respectively. These loans are repayable over 50 years with a 10 year grace period. The EEC granted aid to Uganda worth Shs. 20 million for the repairs of the Kampala Masak road. <sup>60</sup> The development aid or foreign assistance to Uganda is an upliftment for the peoples. In fact, the people of Uganda are in such a condition that they have to have any foreign assistance for their lives.

For the development of the people of Uganda, the EEC gave a grant of Shs. 5.1 million for the development of poultry and fishing production, which have been the other sources of livelihood. 61 So, the EEC is co-operating with Uganda for Uganda's indigenous production. If the underdeveloped countries are given help or upliftment by the developed countries, the developed countried need not to take this type of strain in future. If the underdeveloped countries are better in development, it is relief for the developed countries.

The EEC's aid for the African countries is seen for the development of the industrial sector in various

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 2, 31 March 1980, p. 5452C.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., no. 8, 30 September 1980, p. 5669C.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., no. 10, 30 November 1980, p. 5726C.

fields. Since the European Economic Community's main objective is to develop the industrial sectors, this community has helped Uganda by giving Shs. 855 million for the rehabilitation of the seeds industry. 62 If the seeds are in good quality, then the production will be of good quantity. This is basic factor for development in the agriculture sector.

The Central African countries, viz. Burundi and Twanda are small and poor countries in development. EEC's co-operation or help in development in these countries also have been in existence since 1973. For the development of tea cultivation and tea processing plant, the EEC has given a grant of Shs. 12,600,000 to Burundi in 1973.63 development of agriculture, the irrigation facility are very important to these countries. So, at the request of Burundi. the EEC has given a grant of \$ 1.2 million from the European Development Fund for irrigation project in Ruzuzi river valley in the north-west Burundi. 64 The tea is one of the main cash crops in Burundi. For the improvement of tea plantation. Burundi has been granted 336,000 in 1975 by the EEC. 65 In 1976 the EEC agreed to grant Burundi a nonrepayable loan of 197.000 units of account. for the enlargement of a tea factory in Burundi. 66 In the year 1977.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 10, 30 November 1982, p. 6637B.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 2, 31 March 1973, pp. 2668B and C.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, no. 9, 31 October 1974, pp. 3274A and B.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 10, 30 November 1975, p. 3697A.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 8, 30 September 1976, p. 4015A.

the EEC allocated the aid to Burundi for the development of tea plantation and shelter for the workers, working in the tea estate. For this expenditure the EEC gave Burundi 418,000 units of account and 862,000 u.a. in the months of February and April 1977 respectively. 67

In the case of Rwanda, the EEC agreed on 22 January 1973 to grant non-repayable loan from the European Development Fund for the following purposes. 68 The aid of 40 million Rwanda francs, for the construction of 19 kilometer of overhead power cables, destined principally to supply electricity to the tea factory at Gisakura. Another grant of 39 million Rwanda francs, as an additional grant has been given to Rwanda, towards the construction of the Gisakura factory. The Rwanda is landlocked country. Therefore, it has transport problem for its movements. Once it happened to close the Kenya-Uganda border temporarily. Due to this event, Rwanda had a problem. Therefore, to remove this type of obstacle. the EEC approved a grant of £ 3 million to Rwanda to meet the transport expenditure. 69 since Rwanda is small and landlocked country the border and transport problems common to it.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 1, 28 February 1977, p. 4185B.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 1, 28 February 1973, p. 2634B.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 9, 31 October 1976, p. 4049A.

The EEC has given the loan of 35 million Rwanda francs to Rwanda, through the European Investment Bank to finance the mining projects. particularly for the construction of a tin boundary near Kigali. 70 This loan is repayable over 15 years at the rate of 2 per cent interest for the first four years and thereafter 6 per cent interest per annum. In 1980, at the request of Rwanda, EEC gave a £ 3 million grant for the development of irrigation. The EEC's overall aid to the East Central Africa is based mainly for the trade development with commercial motivations. By giving the aid or loan to the East Central Africa. the European Economic Community will get more profit economically and can play its role in the third world countries as a big agency. From the beginning. the European communities are concentrating the trade development with the African countries as colonial masters and then big traders.

The economical assistance to the East Central African nations, indicates the intervention of the Europeans in these countries and their motivations. The influence of the development aid can lead to the situation of intervention of local affairs and thereafter the conflict situation.

## UN Special Agencies

The role of the UN's special agencies viz. World Bank, International Monetary Fund and United Nations

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 12, 31 January 1978, p. 4553B.

Development Programme etc. is vital in the development aid programmes in the post war period. In the case of East Central Africa, the World Bank's role is very active, especially in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, whereas the agencies are not. The World Bank's contribution to the East Central Africa is very precious.

## World Banks

The World Bank has granted Kenya a development loan of \$ 5.25 million. This loan is to rehabilitate 126 farmers by using the amount for on-farm investment in machinery and infrastructure and also for working capital as well as technical management services. The World Bank's assistance to Kenya is not only in agricultural sector, but also its assistance has been extended wherever it is essential. So, the World Bank has given an opportunity to Kenya to have an agreement with it. According to this agreement signed by Kenya, Kenya got help of \$ 30 million 12 to adjust its balance of payments as a result of inflation in Kenya. Therefore, the development aid from the World Bank to the East Central Africa can be seen in various forms in this region which is meant for the welfare of the people of the East Central Africa.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 2, 31 March 1975, p. 3440B.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., no. 5, 30 June 1975, p. 3538A.

According to the announcement of the World Bank, in July 1975, Kenya got financial help of \$ 63 million to finance the construction of the Gitaru hydro-electric power station on the upper Tana river. The loan agreement, this loan is repayable over 25 years at the rate of 8.5 per cent interest per annum and also in the same month the World Bank approved a loan of \$ 10 million to Kenya Industrial Development Bank to help finance part of its foreign exchange requirements up to the end of 1978. Despite the interest rate of World Bank is very high, Kenya is willing to take loan from the World Bank for its development. Therefore, the World Bank has given a loan of \$ 25 million to Kenya for the improvement of water supplies at Mombasa and nearby coastal areas. The supplies at Mombasa and nearby coastal areas.

The affiliated branch of the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation has given a credit of \$ 2 million to Kenya, for Kenyan enterprises 75 under a programme to be administered by the Kenyan Commercial Bank Ltd. It is well known that the wild life is very familiar in Kenya. Kenya is improving its tourism, which is playing a major role in foreign exchange. To develop this particular field, Kenya

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3568C.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., no. 10, 30 November 1975, p. 3697C.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 7, 31 August 1976, p. 3985C.

has to get the financial aid from any agency. Therefore, according to Kenya's appeal, the World Bank has granted a \$ 17 million loan for a \$ 36.4 million wild life tourism project. The World Bank is also providing a loan of \$ 34 million to Kenya to finance the Bura irrigation settlement project designed to benefit some 65,000 resettled Kenyans. The World Bank assistance towards the underdeveloped countries in the African continent is very useful. The World Bank has approved a loan of Shs. 240 million for the Nairobi-China water supply project, which is very essential to Kenyan people.

It is a fact that there is lack of facilities in the communication filed in the East Central Africa, and there are no telecommunication facilities in Burundi and Rwanda. In this aspect, as per the requisition of Kenya, the World Bank has given a loan of \$63.5 million to finance the telecommunication project which gives the basic facilities in rural areas. Unless the rural areas develop, the countries will not improve, which are mainly based on agriculture occupation. Therefore, Kenya has to go for foreign aid for its

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1976, p. 4049B.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 5, 30 June 1977, p. 4314C.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1978, p. 4553C.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 3, 30 April 1979, p. 5076A.

loan of \$ 46 million from the World Bank to develop the small holders of farms through the integrated agricultural development programme. 80 For the same sector's development, the World Bank and Kenya have signed a loan agreement for \$ 17 million to finance the agricultural development activities in 15 districts of Kenya. 81 The small-holder areas of Kenya under the integrated agricultural development programme are to be provided the assistance to improve the coffee production. For this purpose, Kenya has sought a loan of Shs. 420 million from the World Bank to finance the small-hold farmers in Kenya. 82 In this way the World Bank's role has become very important in Kenya.

The World Bank's development aid programmes in Tanzania also have some importance on the development of various sectors. The loans or credits from the World Bank have been given to Tanzania for more agricultural food and cash products. In 1974 the World Bank gave Shs. 150 million loan to Tanzania to finance a five-year cashewnut development programme. For the development of the sugar factory in Tanzania, the World Bank has provided a loan of \$ 9 million

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1980, p. 5380C.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 2, 31 March 1988, p. 5453A.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., no. 2, 31 March 1980, p. 5453B.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, no. 4, 31 May 1974, 3118B.

for self-sufficiency and full development in the factory. 84

Another loan from the World Bank worth Shs. 312 million has been received by Tanzania to finance the expansion of the Muanza Textile Mill. The loan is repayable in 22 years with five year moratorium and interest is @ 8.5 per cent per annum. 85

In August 1976 an agreement was signed by the World Bank, West Germany and Sweden to provide funds to Tanzania for the construction of second phase of Kidtu hydro-electric project. According to this agreement, the World Bank has offered a loan of \$50 million. 86 For the urban water supply project in Morogoro, the World Bank has approved a loan of \$15 million to Tanzania. This loan is repayable over 20 years including 42 years' grace period at an interest rate of 8.5 per cent per annum. 87

For the development of the domestic raw-material process, the World Bank has announced loan totalling \$ 23 million to set up an industrial complex in Tanzania. This loan was granted on World Bank's terms and conditions for a period of 20 years @ 8.5 per cent rate of interest. 88 The industrial sector has vital role for any country's development. The

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., no. 9, 31 October 1974, p. 3275C.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 5, 30 June 1975, p. 3538B.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 8, 30 September 1976, p. 4015B.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1977, p. 4148C.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 3, 30 April 1977, p. 4250B.

concerned department's authority is trying to convert their field into industrial sector. In the same way, the agricutural sector should also be converted into industrial sector. For the progress in agricultural sector, irrigation channel or water supply project is indispensable. Tanzania in this connection made a request for loan from the World Bank in 1977. The World Bank gave a loan of Shs. 124.5 million to finance Morogoro town water project. <sup>89</sup> The World Bank is also co-operated in regional integrated development programme by giving loan. In the case of Tanzania, the World Bank allocated Shs. 195.02 million to be spread over from 1977 to 1982 for the Tabora Regional Integrated Development Programme. <sup>90</sup> This programme is to cover agriculture, livestock development and development of roads etc.

The decentralization of loans from the World Bank is one of the procedures to all the development aids to various countries. With the discretion power, the World Bank has given a Shs. 25 million loan to Tanzania Investment Bank. 91 According to the terms and conditions of the loan agreement, it will be used for foreign exchange requirements and to invest in medium and larger scale industries, agro-processing and tourism development.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., no. 6, 31 July 1977, p. 4346C.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., no. 8, 30 September 1977, p. 4417A.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 7, 31 August 1979, p. 5220B.

African nations viz. Burundi and Rwanda is less. The World Bank's soft loan of \$ 15 million has been approved to finance a project to improve the diving conditions of low income urban families in Burundi. 92 The loan is repayable over 50 years including 10 years grace period. It carries no interest but bears service charge at the rate of 0.75 per cent per annum. In the case of Rwanda the World and International Development Association have announced a loan of \$ 8 million for the education project. 93

## International Monetary Fund

The US special agencies have their own principles and discretion power to assist the underdeveloped countries by giving loans to the deserving countries. The International Monetary Fund is also one of the UN special agencies. The assistance from this particular wing of UN has been given to the East Central Africa. In the case of Kenya, the IMF has co-operated by giving the necessary loan for economical benefit. The IMF announced on 20 January 1975 at Washington that Kenya has been authorized to purchase the special drawing rights up to 12 million (one special drawing right equals to US \$ 1.25) in foreign currency. The privilege of

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 6, 31 July 1980, p. 5594A.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 1, 28 February 1975, p. 3404C.

special drawing rights has been introduced by the UN (IMF) after the fall of the dollar value in the world market. So, the country which has the privilege of special drawing rights can utilize the equivalent money of special drawing rights value from the IMF. The IMF has announced its first mid term credit agreement under a system, set up in 1974 to ehlp the countries making structural adjustments to solve external payment problems. The first beneficiary is Kenya who got a credit of 67.2 million SDR for three years.

Since the International Monetary Fund has the privilege to give loans and grants to the underdeveloped countries, in 1980, the IMF has given a loan of Shs. 57.03 million to Kenya with an interest of 0.5 per cent and the loan can be repaid over 5 years. Henya has applied for short-term loan to the International Monetary Fund. Then the IMF has agreed to provide an amount of Shs. 730 million in short-term credit to finance the Kenya's budget deficit. The aid or the assistance in various forms is existing in the East Central Africa through the UN special agencies like World Bank, IMF, UNDP and FAO.

## International Development Association

The International Development Association has its own role in the East Central Africa and sometimes it will

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 4, 31 May 1980, p. 5523B.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., no. 10, 30 November 1980, p. 5727A.

join with the World Bank to give the loans or grants to the East Central Africa. It has granted a credit of \$ 4 million to Kenya for rural access roads' projects. The development aid programmes activities of the International Development Association are impressive in the East Central Africa. Sometimes it gives an interest free credit to these underdeveloped countries. To finance the Bura irrigation settlement project in Kenya, the International Development Association gave an interest free credit of \$ 6 million to Kenya in 1977. The activities of the IDA in the development aid programme are involved in training project of Kenya in 1981. For the purpose the IDA has given a credit of \$ 31.4 million to Kenya.

required in Tanzania. It appealed the International Development Association to grant loan in this context. The IDA has approved a \$ 18.5 million loan to Tanzania to finance the project which was mentioned in the requisition by Tanzania. 97 According to the loan agreement, the loan is repayable over 50 years. The loan is an interest-free but the service charges at the rate of 0.75 per cent per annum. With the privilege of flexible negotiations with International Development Association, Tanzania had its negotiations in

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 3, 30 April 1981, p. 5887C.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid., vol. 10, no. 4, 31 May 1973, p. 2732A.

1974 with IDA to get the financial assistance to seve-year project, which is meant for the promotion of cotton and maize products.

The assistance of the IDA in the East Central Africa is incentive programme. With this help, these countries can have the IDA's co-operation in agricultural and other sectors to get the self-sufficient production. IDA has provided \$ 9 million to Tanzania for the development of sugar industry. The development of agriculture and industrial sector of Tanzania are dependent on the co-operation in giving the aid or assistance of various developed countries and multilateral agencies. In the process of getting aid from the donor country or agency. Tanzania has to maintain certain principles. The movement of the recipient country with donor country is very important in this regard. Accordingly the recipient country is to be given the assistance. The understanding between the International Development Association and Tanzania are positive to get assistance. Tanzania got a loan of \$ 10 million for dairy development from the IDA. The loan was for 50 years including a 10-year grace period and it carries no interest with a service charge of 0.75 per cent.

Most of the financial assistance of the International Development Association does not carry the interest. In fact the Least Developed Countries can have this type of loans

only, and more over, the service charge is very less. It is the reason the Least Developed Countries want to get the loans or grants or any assistance as much as possible from the International Development Association. Tanzania's poor condition in technology has compelled the country to get the assistance in this field from the IDA. As required by Tanzania, the IDA has given a credit of \$ 6 million to help finance a technical assistance project in Tanzania. 98 According to this credit agreement, the amount is repayable over 50 years with a 10-year grace period. No interest is there, but the service charges of 0.75 per cent per annum is When Tanzania is facing the financial crisis, the IDA has given the immediate assistance with \$ 15 million with interest free credit. The IDA has also supported Tanzania during this time in the long-term development programme.

The assistance of IDA in the Central African countries viz. Burundi and Rwanda is also to be seen. The IDA has granted a credit of \$ 5 million to help finance for the project of road network. The production of food crops and cash crops are very poor in Burundi. To improve this production, Burundi needs modern technology or new methods in the agriculture sector. For this purpose, it required more

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 11, 31 December 1975, p. 3729B.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., vol. 11, no. 3, 30 April 1974, p. 3084C.

assistance from various multilateral agencies, specially from the IDA agency, which is giving the financial assistance without interest. The assistance from the IDA has been approved for Burundi in 1976 worth of \$ 5.2 million to improve coffee production in Burundi.

The concentration of Burundi in developing the agriculture sector is continued and also started to develop the fisheries development project, with the help of IDA by getting a credit of \$ 6 million for fisheries 101 project. Burundi has to improve the fish production with the help of foreign technical assistance, training and equipment. Burundi, the natural resources and its exploitation are very The process of exploitation of resources will incur more expenditure. So Burundi got \$ 4 million credit from the IDA to improve or develop the project to exploit the country's nickle resources. 102 Another small country viz. Rwanda also has got the IDA's two credits totalling \$ 5.8 million. 103 funds will help the Rwanda Development Bank and also finance the expanded production of Cinchona an ever green tree whose bark yields a febrifuge, a drug to reduce fever. The credit is repayable in 50 years and no interest is levied. grace period is 10 years and the service charge is 0.75 per cent per annum.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 2, 31 March 1976, p. 3824B.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., no. 6, 31 July 1976, p. 3950A.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 5, 30 June 1981, p. 6055B.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 7, 31 August 1976, p. 3986A.

## Food and Agricultural Organisation

The Food and Agricultural Organisation is one of the UN special agencies. It is also participating in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa. In 1980, the grant of FAO has been awarded to Kenya for the establishment of the International Centre for Insect Physiology and Ecology for research on crop bores. 104 special agency and World Food Programme have granted \$.11.37 million for a dairy development project in Tanzania. 105 The services and motives of the UN special agencies are meant for the development of the underdeveloped countries. But the agencies will not function at the cost of other member countries of the UN. The FAO will also extend its services or assistance immediately wherever the necessity is required. The assistance of Shs. 120.0 million from FAO has been given to the victims of the Uganda Tanzania war in Kagera is salient, 106 The assistance is in the form of agricultural inputs. The assistance of this special agency is to be given to various underdeveloped countries particularly in the case of agricultural development activities.

## United Nations Development Programme

Among the UN special agencies, United Nations

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 6, 31 July 1980, p. 5593C.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 6, 31 July 1976, p. 3951B.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 8, 30 September 1979, p. 5254B.

Development Programme is one of them. This agency is meant for the development programme in Third World countries. The programmes of this agency are very much familiar in the world society, especially in Third World countries. This agency activities in the East Central Africa are less than the activities of the International Development Association. The UNDP's grant worth \$ 14.5 million has been given to Kenya for the expansion of rural programmes over the period 1975-77. 107 The importance of the UNDP's programmes is that Tanzania has been granted Shs. 16.7 million from the three UN organizations towards the cost of its new capital building at Dodoma. agreement was signed by UNDP and Tanzania on 16 August 1975. <sup>108</sup>

# Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)

The Organisation for Petroleum Exporting Countries is also participating in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa. Its activities in this programme are few, but covered all these five countries, viz. Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. The aid programmes of this organisation are based on commercial modivations. The loans sometimes from this organisation will carry the interest and sometimes not. In 1977, the Commonwealth Development Corporation has granted Kenyan Tea Development

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 6, 31 July 1975, p. 3568C.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., no. 8, September 1975, p. 3633A.

Authority (KDTA) a Shs. 10 million loan for the purchase of fertilizer under an agreement on 24 January 1977. carries an interest rate of 6 per cent and will be repaid in 10 years after a two-year grace period. In the same year. the governing body of OPEC special fund decided to provide new assistance to Kenya worth US \$ 5.500 million for Nairobi water supply project No. II. 109 This decision has been taken on 17 November 1977 in the sixth session held in Kuwait. Despite the loan of OPEC is carrying more interest (6 per cent per annum). Kenya is coming forward to take this type of loan for its development projects. Kenya was granted a loan worth \$ 4 million to finance the development project. 110 The loan is repayable over 15 years, after a 5-year grace period. In the same year with different condition, a loan was given to Tanzania worth \$ 5 million. 111 Tanzania has to repay the loan over 15 years with 4 years grace period.

The OPEC has given the loan to Uganda worth \$ 5 million to finance development projects. Hence, the OPEC has fixed the same maturity period to Uganda like Kenya. The loan is repayable over 15 years with a 5-year grace period. The Burundi government has got the loan without interest from the OPEC. As per the agreement between OPEC and

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 11, 31 December 1877, pp. 4521B and C.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 4, 31 May 1988, p. 5524C.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

Burundi, for a water drainage project, the loan of \$ 3 million has been sanctioned. 112 It carries no interest. The loan can be repaid over 20 years with a 0.75 per cent service charge. Rwanda has also been given loan worth \$ 2810 million in 1971 for hydro-electric project.

# Third World Countries' Participation in Development Aid Programmes, especially India's Role

The participation of Third World countries in the development aid programmes is very less in general, as these countries are developing countries. Despite the standard of these countries is in such a condition, some countries like India, Kuwait, Iraq etc. are participating in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa.

## India

India has been participating in the development aid programmes to maintain the relations in such a way with other underdeveloped countries that it has to achieve the ends of the foreign policy based on national objectives. Its participation in development aid programmes has been started just after three years of its independence in 1947. It has started the development aid programmes with technical

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 11, 31 December 1977, pp. 4521B and C.

assistance and economic co-operation within the Third World countries. The activities of India in development aid programmes with the Third World countries are bilateral aid programmes. In terms of mutual help and co-operation through sharing of experience, within Third World, India is playing a major role. India's co-operation for collective self-reliance has been exerted through agencies, such as the UNCTAD, non-aligned countries, the Group of 77 and various other regional and global forums.

The other multilateral aid programmes in which
India has participated are the Commonwealth Fund for
Technical Co-operation (CFTC) the United Nations Development
Programme (UNDP), the Asian Development Bank, the Economic
Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP - formerly
ECAFE: Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East) and
the World Bank's Technical Assistance Special Fund (TASF). 113

India has started the process of technical and economic co-operation programmes in 1964 with the launching of the Indian Technical and Economic Co-operation Programme (ITEC). In addition to this, India has already offered the co-operation to various countries of Asia, Africa under the Colombo Plan since 1950 and Special Commonwealth African Assistance Plan since 1960, which are multilateral programmes.

Dewan C. Vohara, <u>India's Aid Diplomacy in the Third World</u> (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House 'P' Ltd., 1980), p. 72.

Among the Third World countries. India is participating actively in the development aid programmes. With this spirit and service motive. India has given a credit of Shs. 100 million to Kenya for Kenya's industrial development. 114 India's activities of development aid programmes in the East African nations -- Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda -- are increasing. In the year 1983. Kenya and India have signed an agreement for a credit of \$ 6 million (Rs. 50 million) for Kenya's development in general. 115 Being a developing country, India is taking interest in giving credits or loans for the development activities in East Africa. Having knowledge in science and technology, India is contributing by sending technical experts to Tanzania and has agreed to give its co-operation in the Economic. Technical and Scientific fields. particularly in fisheries. oil and mineral exploration and training of technical personnel. 116 The relations between Tanzania and India has been improved. The relations have made Tanzania to receive an advance of soft loan worth Shs. 37.5 million from India. 177 This loan is meant for setting up of 52 small scale industries in Tanzania. Another two agreements had also been signed at Bombay on 6 September 1976 for two loans to manufacturing the industrial goods.

<sup>114</sup> Africa Research Bulletin, vol. 18, no. 9, 31 October 1981, p. 6195C.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid., vol. 19, no. 12, 31 January 1983, p. 6710A.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., vol. 12, no. 1, 28 February 1975, p. 3406B.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., vol. 13, no. 8, 30 September 1976, p. 6017A.

India's co-operation even in the payment of Indian experts at Tanzania is considerable. India gave Tanzania a credit of Shs. 4 million to assist in the payment of Indian experts engaged in gas and oil exploration at Songo Songo island coast region in Tanzania. 118 In the case of Uganda, India granted a credit of \$ 6 million (Rs. 50 million) under an agreement signed on 26 September 1979. This credit is to finance Uganda imports from India of machinery and equipment. It is repayable in 12 years including an initial grace period of two-and-a-half years. 119

### Kuwait

In the development aid programmes, the Third World countries contribution is less comparatively with the OECD countries. Kuwait is one of the contributors among the Third World countries. It has given a loan of Shs. 213 million to Uganda as per the agreement. The loan is for a term of 21 years with a 4-year grace period and the interest is 2 per cent per annum. Kuwait's agreement with the landlocked countries in the East Central Africa viz. Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda are there during the period 1973-1982. Kuwait has given Burundi a loan of 6 million for a road project under an agreement signed on 7 November 1977. The Kuwait fund for Arab Economic Development has granted Rwanda

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., vol. 16, no. 7, 31 August 1979, p. 5221B.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., no. 12, 31 January 1980, p. 5382C.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., vol. 14, no. 10, 30 November 1977, p. 4490B.

\$ 4.24 million to finance the Kigali-Kanombe International Airport Project. The loan is at the rate of 2 per cent. The loan is repayable over 24 years with a four year grace period. 121

## Iraq

Iraq is also giving assistance to Tanzania. Iraq has agreed to give a low-interest loan of \$ 30 million and to supply 50 per cent of its crude oil. 122 Tanzanian President Nyerere paid a three-day state visit to Iraq from December 18 to 20 in 1979 during which two agreements were signed for co-operation in Banking and technical and youth and sports affairs.

The development aid programme activities of the Third World countries are useful to some extent for the development of certain sectors of East Central Africa. Of course these countries (Third World countries) activities are not comparable with the OECD countries and other multilateral agencies and organisations. Third World countries have to get development. Despite they are developing countries, their contributions to the East Central Africa are appreciable especially in the case of India. Geographically and demographically India is a big country among the Third World countries. Even though it has some development problems.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., vol. 18, no. 12, 31 January 1982, p. 6291B.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., vol. 17, no. 6, 31 July 1988, p. 5596A.

it is co-operating with the East Central Africa.

The participation of nations and agencies in the development aid programmes and their nature of aid to the East Central Africa has been discussed. The organisation of economic co-operation and development countries has mainly participated in this programme. The role of the special agencies of United Nations is important in the development aid programmes. The other organisation of petroleum exporting countries is also actively participated in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa. Soviet bloc and communist bloc have participated in these programmes to maintain their status in the world society. Lastly, the role of Third World countries in giving cooperation or assistance to the East Central Africa is also noticeable.

The total agreements of East Central Africa with various countries, agencies and organisations, during the period 1973-1982 in various types, have been furnished in the following table.

Table (Next Page)

Table 7-1

Total Agreement for Development Aid During the Period

1973-1982

S. No	. Country	Total Agree- ments	Multila- teral agencies	Bilateral agreements from OECD	Bilateral agreements from OPEC	Asia
1	Kenya	1 <b>1</b> 8	<i>3</i> 8	73	5	2
2	Tanzan <b>i</b> a	79	29	46	2	2
3	U ganda	15	. 5	5 ·	4	1
4	Burundi	15	13	-	2	1
5	Rwanda	15	9	5	1	-
					,	

Source: Africa Research Bulletins from 1973-1982 (Economic, Finance and Technical series)

The development aid or foreign assistance from various countries and agencies have been given to East Central Africa during 1973-1982. The same has been furnished by indicating the channels of multilateral and bilateral sources.

Table 7-2

Development Aid Through Bilateral and Multilateral Sources: 1973-1982

(million of US dollars)

Country	Type of Source	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
**	77.471 1. 7		07.0	447 5	400 0	A10 A	Alia A	010 0	705 0	70.57.0	~~~
Kenya	Bilateral	78.4	95.8	115.7	122.2	148.1	148.1	249.0	207.8	207.8	333.33
	Multilateral	16, 2	19.0	21.7	29.5	41.1	41.1	135.3	137.8	137.8	221.4
Tanzania	Bilateral	92.6	155.1	195.7	234.7	267.2	267.2	437.6	488.4	488.4	483.7
	Multilateral	9.8	24.6	48,4	64.8	73,9	73.9	136.9	163.1	163.1	194.9
Uganda	Bilateral	12.4	6,8	6.9	5.9	6.8	6,8	21.9	45.7	45 <b>.7</b>	150.1
	Multilateral	5.8	7.3	11.6	12.9	11.1	11.8	36.8	54.0	54.0	92.5
Burundi	Bilateral	16.9	20.1	23.7	27.0	31.1	31.2	47.4	56.2	56, 2	75.2
	Multilateral	11.4	15.0	19.4	21.6	23.2	23.2	45.7	52.7	52.7	46, 2
Rwanda	Bilateral	27.0	37.1	47.3	57.2	65.6	55.6	87.9	95.9	95.9	99.0
	Multilateral	11.0	17.8	<b>2</b> 2. 1	25.7	32.0	32.0	54.1	55.8	55.8	52.9

Source: From cols. 1 to 6, Statistical Year Books, 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978, pp. 829, 823, 876 and 890 respectively.

Cols. 5 and 6, Statistical Year Book, 1979-80, p. 401.

Col. 7, Statistical Year Book 1981, p. 467,

Col. 8 and 9, Statistical Year Book, 1982, p. 481

Col. 10, Statistical Year Book, 1983-84, p. 487.

#### CONCLUSION:

After receiving the development aid from the developed countries, multilateral agencies and individual countries of Third World, the people of East Central Africa are still struggling for their better life. The East Central African countries need the technical know-how in industrial and agricultural sectors for better and more production. Even though the human resource is available in these countries, the technical or professional manpower is inadequate in the sectors cited above.

In respect of agriculture sector, the best quality of seeds and fertilizers are inadequate. There are not much irrigation facilities to cultivate the arable land which is available in small quantity. Due to these development problems, they could not reach to have at least self-sufficient production. The development aid is not receiving in the form of essential and sufficient equipment for the development of the agriculture and industry. The East Central African governments are still struggling for the construction of transport facilities from town to town and important market centres. The condition of communication facilities are not good. Even though there is assistance from abroad recordedly, the improvement of certain sectors is not there.

They could not develop the agriculture sector to convert into industrial sector. For the development of

industrial sector, they received assistance from West Germany. But they could not reach to that extent, they can stand themselves for better production in this particular sector. They do not have sufficient capacity in power supply division. The thermal power stations are very very less.

The training for technological development in the industrial sector is not sufficient despite some persons having been trained in foreign countries. Kenyan and Tanzanian governments have sent their personnel to various places for training in this connection. a little knowledge, they are trying to develop their industrial sector. The East Central African nations are getting this type of assistance through bilateral relations. Also, these countries are receiving loans and grants from their concerned donor countries to utilize the knowledge of trainees for the development of the industrial sectors. To develop the agriculture and industrial sectors, the East Central African countries are receiving aid. loans and grants from individual countries and multilateral agencies.

The underdeveloped countries naturally need the assistance from the developed countries. This is universal common phenomenon. At the same time, the situation of inability of the underdeveloped countries will be caused to face some problems to get the assistance.

Unless the developed country feels some benefit, the donor country will not give any type of aid to donee country.

One side, the East Central African nations are facing development problems in agriculture and industrial sectors, and another side by getting aid or loan from the developed countries and multilateral agencies like World Bank and IMF, the East Central African nations certainly will face the financial crisis. When they are not in a position of getting up from the natural phenomenon of natural calamities like floods, droughts, and diseases, and the underdevelopment of agriculture and industrial sectors, how will they come out from the debts' clutches. which can lead to the financial crisis? This development aid impact will be effected in other sectors of social life in the East Central Africa. If the East Central African nation states are receiving more and more financial aid, the debts burden will be increased and they may not come out from the jeopardize circle of poverty.

To avoid this situation, they have to get the technical assistance more and more. These countries need technical education essentially. The technical personnel is indispensable in agriculture and industrial sectors. If they reach the improvement or development point in the sectors cited above, they can lead a better quality of life in future.

are not able to utilize it in proper way. Certain donor countries are also not bothering about the performance of the East Central African governments. The terms and conditions in the agreement for the aid or loans are such. For example, the donor country will stick on to the point of interest of the aid or loan. It shows that the donor country is interested to get the economical benefits only.

Therefore, one cannot say that due to financial aid, the East Central African people can improve their standard of living. Unless they have indigenous production more in agriculture and industrial sectors, with the help of technological assistance or knowledge, they cannot develop their standard of living.

#### CONCLUSION

The East Central African nations, viz. Kenya,
Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda, are essentially underdeveloped countries. The colonial powers viz. Portugal,
France, Britain, Germany, Belgium and Italy had entered the
East Central African nations after 1800 A.D. on trade bases.
The tradition of self-styled rule of local chiefs was
responsible to fight with each other for local power. The
European powers have taken this opportunity of native
chiefs disunity and interfered in the local administrative
affairs. The colonial powers imposed their imperialism in
the East Central Africa and ruled these countries from 1800
A.D. to 1960 A.D.

During the regime of colonial powers, the socioeconomic environment of the East Central Africa was a typical
product of imperialism. Therefore, the nature of the
colonial rule made the natives to aspire for independence.
The domestic atmosphere of the East Central Africa changed
to have militant spirit in support of nationalism. The
movement for nationalism has faced so many obstacles and
struggle to reach the goal. In this struggle, Kenya was
under the state of emergency due to "Mau Mau" movement
against British rule. Same happened almost identical in

other countries of the East Central Africa for nationalism. With national movement and independence the colonial regime was over in 1960s.

The impact of the colonial rule in East Central Africa is still strong with so many development problems, especially in the case of food, agriculture, transport, communication and border disputes. The legacy of colonial rule resulted in several regional issues and conflict situations in the region, and at the same time also the East Central African nations have the border disputes with their neighbouring countries.

Basically, the people of East Central Africa had faced the blow of the underdevelopment and moreover these border disputes which were included even to share the water from natural lakes and rivers have made them to face more problems. In fact, the people of East Central Africa had been deprived socially, exploited economically and suppressed politically during colonial domination.

The East Central African people have started to establish their own framework to develop their countries after independence. They had limited resources except manpower. They do not have knowledge in modern technology to develop agriculture and industries. Most of the population is engaged in agricultural sector only. Even then, they

do not have self-sufficient production in food crops in these countries. Some sections of people are dependent on livestock and pasture. They could not convert the agriculture sector into industrial sector or develop them simultaneously.

The production and income from the industrial sector are very low. The natural resources are also very The average annual GNP is below US \$ 300. Because they are not able to invest more capital in agriculture and industry, the participation in the world market business is minimal. This particular backwardness is due to lack of transport and communication facilities. Except the coastal East African nations viz. Kenya and Tanzania, the other three countries. Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda are land-These countries even do not have locked countries. communication facilities. And moreover these three countries are nearly 1800 kilometers far away to main ports from their principal towns, which is shortest distance for trade purpose, In these circumstances, how these countries will develop and join with other developing countries in the Third World? Because of these problems or obstacles of development, the people of East Central Africa could not reach at least to the point of self-sufficient production. Added to these problems, the natural calamities viz. floods, drought and famine will take these people to the level of worst

economic situation.

Therefore, the people of East Central Africa need the assistance from the developed countries to come out from the clutches of poverty, ill-health etc. evil elements. The self production of East Central Africa cannot solve the above problems. Hence, they have to get the development aid or foreign assistance from various developed countries. The objective of East Central Africa to get development aid is to develop their economy and the standard of living. It shows that they want to develop agriculture, industry, education, medical care and other services. So, the governments of East Central Africa are seeking aid or assistance from the colonial powers and the Super Powers.

The donor countries can make the recipient countries to agree the terms and conditions of aid agreements. Consequently the necessity of the underdeveloped countries can be exploited by the developed countries. If the recipient countries need industrial equipment, the donor countries can ask them to agree to purchase the same equipment from the donor countries or the recipient countries can be asked to pay more interest on the assistance or aid. If the recipient countries agree to purchase the equipment from the donor countries agree to purchase the equipment from the donor countries, the donor countries will be benefited

economically, and at the same time, their markets will be improved. In terms of political aspects, the donor countries can seek the base facility in the recipient countries by giving the development aid.

The USA expresses its views that the aid or assistance is to be given to the underdeveloped countries in accordance with their national security. It shows the activities of development aid programmes are based on political motivations. At the same time, the USSR is also acting in a manner that it should not lose its status in competition with its main rival. Therefore, the activities of these two Super Powers have created an atmosphere of rivalry which led to the situation of cold war. European countries are also participating in these development aid programmes, but these activities are not much political objectives as the main emphasis is on economic benefits. With these motives, the OECD countries are playing main role in the East Central Africa. Among the CMEA countries the USSR is actively participating in the development aid programme in the East Central Africa. OPEC is also participating in this programme basing on commercial motivations. The other agencies like the IDA and special agencies of the United Nations are actively participating in the development aid programmes in East Central Africa.

The bilateral channel indicates the transaction between the two countries or governments. These bilateral aid agreements will be made between the two countries. The multilateral agencies are playing a vital role in the development aid programmes in Third World countries. The multilateral channels like the World Bank and the IMF have been playing the key role in the East Central Africa. The individual developed countries are contributing their share to these channels. Therefore, the individual developed countries are part and parcel of the multilateral agencies.

The aid or the assistance from various developed countries to the East Central African nations is not necessarily to be in the form of financial assistance. It can be in the form of technical assistance, assistance in education by sponsoring the teachers, medical experts, by supplying the foodgrains, infrastructure of industrial and agricultural sectors.

Sometimes the donor countries give grants to East
Central Africa which does not carry the interest or
sometimes the recipient country need not to repay it.
Loans carry the interest. It is different from donor to
donor and from donee to donee basing on mutual understanding.
The donor countries usually give aid or assistance on some

conditions or string attached and the recipient country
has to agree with it. Sometimes the donor country gives
the aid for a specific project to the recipient country.
It is called project aid. All these types of aid programmes
are in existence in East Central Africa.

By getting development aid. certainly there will be a change in East Central Africa. The change depends on the governments of the concerned countries' activities after receiving the aid or assistance from the donor The attitudes of donor countries can also be responsible for the change of atmosphere in the administration of East Central Africa. The motivations of the Super Powers and their alliances in these development aid programmes have various strategies in Third World countries as a whole. This particular impact will certainly be difused on East Central Africa. This situation shows that there is a competition among the donor countries in supplying the aid to East Central Africa. The other European countries, Petroleum Exporting Countries. Communist bloc and Third World countries. are participating in the development aid programmes in the East Central Africa. Their motivations are based on commercial, humanitarian grounds to maintain good bilateral relations. These countries' activities are different from the Super Powers.

During the period 1973-1982 the development aid activities of West Germany are more than any other country. The USSR's activities in this regard, it can be stated, for most of the aid, is military aid only. The US aid is economic and military in nature. The Japanese aid is essentially economic in nature. The United Kingdom and France are not completely commercial in nature but differ from the Super Powers. The other OECD countries like Canada, Denmark, Finland, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden are mainly giving the aid to the East Central Africa, for the economic benefits.

During the period 1973-1982, the total aid agreements of donor countries with the East Central Africa are 242. But of these agreements, Kenya had 118 agreements, Tanzania 79 and 15 with each of Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. Out of these total aid agreements, the East Central Africa had more bilateral agreements with the OECD countries. But the foreign aid by the USA is declining and Japan is reaching the top position in Third World countries. Japan now contributes foreign aid worth \$ 10 billion, whereas the United States is giving barely \$ 5.2 billion. This was

<sup>1 &</sup>lt;u>Times of India</u> (New Delhi), "Foreign Aid by USA on Decline", 25 April 1989.

informed by the Paris-based 24 Nation Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development.

#### Impact of the Development Aid

The impact of the development aid in the East Central Africa is not satisfactory in agriculture and industrial sectors. Because the East Central African nation-states are receiving more aid in terms of financial assistance, there is much to be developed in technical fields like construction of transport facilities, communication, industrial sector including the power plants. In fact, the aid or loan or grants should be related to these fields. Then only, the States of East Central Africa viz. Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda can develop to that extent that they can get at least self-sufficient production.

Most of the population of the East Central Africa is engaged in agriculture sector. But this particular sector could not develop for more production due to lack of technical know how and proper guidelines. These countries are not participating actively in the world market transactions, because there is a big obstacle in the transport facilities to marketise the goods. To improve these facilities, the East Central African nation states are getting the development

aid from various developed countries and trying their level best to improve the condition.

lateral agencies and certain individual donors, they have to pay more interest. The East Central African governments are not in a position to invest more capital for production and in turn they cannot get more income. At the same time they have to repay the interest or the principal amount in stipulated period. Meanwhile the natural calamities also join with the financial problems. At this stage, one can understand the situation of the people of the East Central Africa.

Therefore, the impact of the development aid in the East Central Africa have not been able to remove the atmosphere of new colonialism.

### Appendix I

## Border Disputes in the East Central Africa

S. No.	Disputes between the countries	Border Dispute and Involved Area
Internal		
1.	Tanzania-U ganda	The Island namely Busungwe is between the Kagera river and Lake Victoria. Tanzania and Uganda are claiming the area Busungwe from each side.
<u>External</u>		
2.	Kenya-Somalia	Recognition of the area of Northern Frontier District of Kenya as a Somalia land.
3 <b>.</b>	Tanzania-Malawi	To share water from the Lake Nyasa
4.	Kenya_Ethiopia	Ethiopia's area adjacent to the Sudan tripoint has not been demarcated. Sudan's tripoint was not determined for demarcation. This situation led to the dispute between Kenya and Ethiopia.
5.	U ganda-Zaire	The north south division of Uganda to the Sudan tripoint, there was an unsurveyed sector of the boundary. This particular area follows the Congo-Nile watershed. In fact there is no dispute on this issue. But Uganda wants demarcation of the waters in Lakes Albert and Edward. Otherwise there is no dispute.

Source:

Ian Brownlie, African Boundaries (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1979), pp.

823 and 965.

Alan J. Day, Border and Territorial Disputes (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1982), p. 131. John Lonsdale, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications, 1988), p. 987.

#### Summarisation of Border Disputes

#### Tanzania-Uganda

From 1890 until the First World War Tanganyika had part of German East Africa, bounded on the north by the East Africa protectorate and the Uganda protectorate. The frontier between Tanzania and Uganda stems from the Anglo-German delimitation of spheres of influence in 1886 and 1890 with modification agreements after 1900.

In 1922 Tanganyika territory became a Mandate under British administration, comprising the former German East Africa, shorn of Urundi and Rwanda and land south of the Rovuma River. After being a trusteeship, Tanganyika became independent on 9 December 1961. On 27 April 1964, Tanganyika and Zanzibar (the latter had become independent on 10 December 1963) formed a United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, subsequently renamed the United Republic of Tanzania on October 29, 1964.

The boundary between River Kagera and Lake Victoria was demarcated by means of pillars by the Anglo-German Boundary Commission in the year 1902-1904. So the artificial line of parallel of 1° south latitudes involves two anomalies in relation to the River Kagera. A small part of Uganda (15 sq. miles plus Busungwe Island) was left

south of the Kagera but not of the parallel (the Kagera triangle) near Lake Victoria, and north of the Kagera but south of the parallel (further west, between the two points where the Kagera crosses the parallel) there is a large area of some 600 sq. miles belonging to Tanzania (the Kagera salient).

However, the general point is that in terms of historical and tribal associations, these areas are wrongly The point has some substance and the parallel is a palbably artificial boundary. Nonetheless, there are other considerations. One is that the whole region had a pattern of association with Buganda and Ankola in the nineteenth century and before. Secondly. "ethic" or traditional may provide only increase bases for attribution. Thirdly, the policy of the Organisation for African Unity is against revision of the boundaries as at independence. It appears that in 1972 President Amin of Uganda laid claim to the Kagera Salient on historic grounds. However in the settlement following the invasion of Uganda by followers of ex-President Obote, and Ugandan attacks on Tanzania areas, no reference was made to any issue concerning the boundary. On 1 November 1978 Uganda radio announced the annexation of the area south of the parallel and up to the Kagera River.

In his expert and well-informed study of this boundary, Mc Ewen points out that there was a certain minor discrepancy between pillars placed in 1902-1904 and the actual parallel of latitude. In principle, as the learned author suggests, the boundary should follow the line of the pillars. Legal and other considerations dictate a principle of finality and stability, the actual alignment acquiesced in by the states concerned should prevail.

Lastly, it would appear that the boundary may in part require redemarcation since some of the original pillars are either missing or difficult to identify. During the border tension of 1972 and similar occasions which may arise in the future, the technical problems noted above create a basis for more or less accidental border incursions by military patrols and consequent threats to peace.

• • • •

# Kenya Somalia

Kenya became independent on 12 December 1963. Somalia became independent, as a Union of British Somaliland and the Trust Territory, formerly the colony of Italian Somaliland, on July 1, 1960.

The origin of the Kenya-Somalia boundary, some 424 miles long, is as follows. The original delimitation between the East Africa protectorate, later Kenya colony, and Italian Somaliland, was based upon the Anglo-Italian agreement on spheres of influence of March 24, 1891. Later there were two treaties in 1915 and 1924 in preventing the border problems. Since independence, Kenya has not raised any issue concerning the boundary alignment. However, Somalia had claimed the reunification of the Somali-peopled area of north-eastern Kenya with Somali State.

The treaty of 1924 provided the demarcation of the boundary by a mixed commission. Since this process involved an accurate survey and since the commission was empowered to allocate water holes in the boundary zone, the demarcation in fact involved issues of allocation and principle.

Consequently, further agreements were concluded to ratify certain dispositions made during the work of the Commission. The frontier was demarcated in accordance with the Treaty of

1924 and the line was marked by the Anglo-Italian Commission was formally accepted in the 1933 Exchange notes. In 1957-58 the administration of Kenya and former Italian Somaliland collaborated in clearing and redemarcating the boundary with new pillars. The frontier is composed of series of straight-line segments.

The issue of principle raised by Somalia in relation to her frontier both with Ethiopia and Kenya, the Union Somali peoples remains unresolved. Since the Kenyatta-Egal talks on February 21, 1969 a policy of reconciliation had prevailed. On the issue of self-determination raised by Somalia, the President Kenyatta of Kenya was reported as having said that Somalia should renounce its claims on territory in North-East Kenya.

#### Tanzania-Malawi

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Nyasa region was the subject of competition between British and Portuguese diplomacy.

On May 14, 1891 a British protectorate was notified in respect of the Nyasaland district. On February 22, 1893, the territory was styled as the British Central Africa protectorate. By an order in council of July 6, 1907, the name was changed to the Nyasaland protectorate. In the period August 1, 1953 to December 31, 1963 Nyasaland was included in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Nyasaland attained independence as Malawi on July 6, 1964 and became a Republic on July 6, 1966.

The development of German interest in East Africa began in 1884 and a German protectorate over certain territories was established in 1885. This expansion was at the expense of the Sultan of Zanzibar. The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 recognized that the region later to be called Tanganyika was within the German sphere of influence. In 1922 Tanganyika territory became a League of Nations Mandate under British administration, comprising German East Africa, shorn of Urundi and Rwanda and land south of Rovuma River. After being subject to a United Nations Trusteeship Tanganyika became independent on December 9, 1961.

On April 27, 1964 Tanganyika and Zanzibar formed a United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, renamed the United Republic of Tanzania on October 29, 1964.

In principle, the frontier was that created by the Anglo-German Agreements of 1890 and 1901 but since independence Malawi and Tanzania had been in dispute over the boundary in the Lake Nyasa sector. In 1967 Lake Nyasa was renamed Malawi in Malawi legislation. The strait-line sector (approximately three and a half miles) adjacent to the Zambia tripoint lies between pillar 1 and 2 of the 1898 demarcation. No modern demarcation had occurred.

On the assumption that the lake sector should consist of the eastern shoreline, this principle presents difficulties in the conditions prevailing. The volume of water in the Lake changes considerably and sudden flooding may occur. No doubt the rule was that of the normal or average shoreline but the need for actual physical marking might arise.

The dispute over the Lake boundary had not been settled but had lain domant since 1967. The point at which the dispute finally crystallized is not easy to establish, but was probably during 1967.

....

#### Kenya-Ethiopia

In the years 1898 to 1907 France, Great Britain and Italy recognised Ethiopian sovereignty and made agreements containing delimitations of boundaries.

In the period commencing in 1886 the zone north ward of German East Africa was recognised as a British sphere of influence. In 1896 various territories previously placed under British protection were consolidated as the East Africa protectorate. The East African protectorate was annexed and became the Kenya colony, certain territories of the Sultan of Zanzibar retaining a status as protectorate. The entire Kenya became independent on December 12, 1963.

The alignment between Ethiopia and British Africa Kenya was a matter of dispute from 1891 until 1970, although from 1907 onward its general features were clear. A definitive alignment carefully defined and demarcated was founded upon the Treaty between Kenya and Ethiopia of June 9, 1970. The original line of 1907 was the southern limit of Ethiopian penetration of Galla Country in the years up to 1902. However no joint demarcation of the line described in the 1907 Agreement took place and certain aspect of the alignment remained in dispute.

The demarcation recorded and approved by the 1970
Agreement, consists of the work done by the joint commission

in the period 1951 to 1955 together with three agreed adjust ment made by the 1963-64 Kenya-Ethiopia Boundary Commission. In one area demarcation had been postponed. In this region the precise location of the sudden tripoint remains to be determined. The greater part of the boundary was governed by the well-grounded provisions of the Treaty of 1970. longstanding issue of access to wells at Gaddaduma was dealt with means of a protocol relating to trans-frontier watering and grazing rights. The boundary has had an interesting history from which some practical lessons may be learned. It had often been described as disputed. Indeed there was a dispute but its quality and dimensions were such that since 1907 the discrepancies between red line (the 1907 agreement) and the Gwynn line (the line maintained by the British administration de facto and accepted by the Ethiopian government on a "without prejudice" basis) have been rather limited.

The principle problem was the absence of agreed demarcation complicated by British desire to qualify the 1907 alignment in certain respects, for example, in the area of Gaddaduma with its water supply. The issue resolved in 1970 was an example of a situation in which the distinction between delimitation and demarcation, if not lacking altogether, was of no great significance.

. . . .

#### <u>Uganda-Zaire</u>

The parcel of territory bearing the name of the Uganda protectorate varied considerably in extent from its establishment in Bugunda in 1894 until 1926. When the Uganda order in council, 1902 was enacted the frontiers of the protectorate were by no means defined. Uganda became independent on 9 October 1962.

The Belgian Congo became independent on 30 June 1960 as the Republic of the Congo. On 1 August 1964, the name was changed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Its present name established on 21 October 1971 is the Republic of Zaire.

The territorial settlement in the region of the plateaux adjacent to Lakes Edward and Albert resulted from spheres of influence arrangements involving Great Britain, Germany and King Leopold II (for the Congo Free State). The limits of the Congo Free State had been set in general terms in 1885, but Great Britain and Germany were not committed to acceptance of any precise eastern boundary. By the Anglo-German agreement of July 1, 1890, the north-south division of spheres of influence in East Africa was fixed, west of Lake Victoria, principally as the first parallel of south latitude. The two spheres were coterminous with the eastern limit of the Congo Free State (which was not defined).

In 1910 Belgium and Germany established an alignment south of the tripoint on Mount Sabinio. On May 12, 1894 the United Kingdom and King Leopold, representing the Congo-Free State, made an agreement, delimiting their spheres of influence to the north of the German sphere in East Africa. The delimitation was to be modified in agreements of 1910 and 1915.

For a period the arrangements were complicated by the creation of leases, by Great Britain in favour of the Congo Free State and by Congo Free State in favour of Great Britain. The latest lease in favour of Congo Free State was terminated on 16 June 1910.

From Boundary pillar No. 26 northwards to the Sudan tripoint there is an unsurveyed sector of the boundary which follows the Congo-Nile watershed for some 90 miles and which at least until recently, had remained undemarcated. This sector, in practice, has given no problems. However, certain other undemarcated sections exist and Uganda desires demarcation of the waters in Lake Albert off the Semliki delta, and in Lake Edward off the mount of the Ishasha River.

. . . .

#### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### Primary Sources

- Africa Review (England: World of Information, 1985).
- African Statistical Year Book, 1984 (Addis Ababa), Part 3, UN Publication, 1988.
- African Statistical Year Book, 1984 (Addis Ababa), Part 4, UN Publication, 1988.
- Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications, 1989).
- Annual Report, 1988-89 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, 1989).
- Defence Programme and Analysis Division, World Military
  Expenditure and Arms Transfers (New York:
  US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1985).
- Demography Year Book, 1983 (New York: UN Publications, 1985).
- 1986 Energy Statistical Year Book (New York: UNO Publications, 1988).
- Europa Year Book, 1987, vol. II, (London: Europa Publishing Ltd., 1988).
- Europa Year Book. 1978 (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1978).
- Food and Agricultural Organisation, <u>World Food Report</u>, (Rome: FAO UN Publications, 1983).
- Handbook of the Nations, 7th edn. (New York: Directorate of Intelligence, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 1987).
- International Economic Department, Socio-Economic Data Division, World Tables, 1987 (Washington: The World Bank and International Finance Corporation, 1988).

- National Resources and Human Environment for Food and

  Agriculture in Africa (FAO Environment and
  Energy Paper Serial No. 6) (Rome: FAO & UN
  Publications, 1986).
- Oakley, P. and Garforth C., <u>Guide to Extension Training</u> (Rome: FAO of UN Pub., 1985).
- Statistical Year Book. 1975 (New York: UN Publications, 1976).
- Statistical Year Book, 1976 (New York: UN Publications, 1977).
- Statistical Year Book, 1977 (New York: UN Publications, 1978).
- Statistical Year Book, 1978 (New York: UN Publications, 1979).
- Statistical Year Book, 1979/1980 (New York: UN Publications, 1981).
- Statistical Year Book, 1981 (New York: UN Publications, 1983).
- Statistical Year Book, 1983/84 (New York: UN Publications, 1986).
- Survey of Economics and Social Conditions in Africa.

  1985-86 (New York: UN Pub., 1988).
- The Least Developed Countries, 1984 Report (New York: UN Publications, 1985).
- The Least Developed Countries, 1986 Report (New York: UN Publications, 1987).
- The Least Developed Countries, 1987 Report (New York: UN Publication, 1988).
- The State of Food and Agriculture, 1983 (FAO Serial No. 16) (Rome: FAO of UN Publications, 1984).
- The World Bank Atlas, 1987 (up to date inside) (Washington: UN Pub., 1988).

- The World Population Situation in 1983 (Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Population Studies Serial No. 85) (New York: UN Pub., 1984).
- World Bank, Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa (An Agenda for Action) (Washington: UN Pub., 1981).
- UNDP, World Development Annual Report (Creating better Climate for Private enterprise) (New York: UN Publications, 1987).
- World Food Report 1987 (FAO) (Rome: UN: 'FAO! Pub:, 1987).
- World Bank, World Tables (Third Edition), vol. I, Economic Data (London: The John Hopkins University Press. 1983).
- World Debt Tables, (External debt of Developing Countries, 1988-89 edn., vol. II, Counter Tables)
  (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1988).
- World Food and Agriculture Report (Rome: FAO and UN Publications, 1983).
- World Mark, Encyclopedia of the Nations: Africa (New York: World Mark Press Ltd., John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1984).
- 1983 Year Book of Forests Products (Rome: FAO and UN Publications, 1985).
- Year Book. 1987 (Countries of the World and its leaders, vol. 2) (USA: Gale Research Company 1988).

#### Secondary Sources

# (i) Books

- Adedeji, Adebayo, <u>Development of Socio-Economic Progress</u>
  Conference on Africa's Current Economic
  Crisis and the Prospects for 1985.
- Alan, Mutchison, China's African Revolution (Boulder: West View Press, 1976).

- Arnold, H.J.P., Aid for Development (London: The Bodley Head, 1966).
- Asher, Robert E., Grants, Loans and Local Currencies Role in Foreign Aid (Washington: Brookings Institute, 1961).
- Auko, Olajide, Foreign Policy of African States (London: Hoddar and Stoughton, 1977).
- Baidya, Bhuchandra. P.R., Foreign Aid and the Economic Development (Bhubaneswar: Konarak Publishing House, 1984).
- Baldwin, David Allen, Foreign aid and American Foreign Policy (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966).
- Bairoch, Paul, The Economic Development of the Third World Since 1900 (Barkeley University Press, 1975).
- Behari, Bepin, The Facts of Foreign Aid (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers 'P' Ltd., 1968).
- Benerjee, Brojendranath, India's Aid to its Neighbouring Countries (New Delhi: Select Books, 1982).
- Bissell, Richard, "Soviet Interest in Africa", in Warren Weinstein and Thomas H. Henrikren, ed., Soviet and Chinese Aid to Africa (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980).
- Blij, Harm de and Martin Esmond, African Perspectives (New York: Methuen, 1981).
- Block, Lloyd D., The Strategy of Foreign Aid (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1968).
- Bolling, Landrum and Smith, Craig, <u>Private Foreign Aid</u>
  (US Philanthropy for Relief and Development)
  (Westview Press, Boulder, 1982).
- Boserupe, E. and Sachs, I., Foreign Aid to Newly Independent Countries (The Hague: Mouton, 1971).
- Brandt Commission, Selected Background Papers for the Independent Commission on International Development Issues. 1978-79 (Geneva: Ibichi, 1981).

- Brownlie, Ian and Burns, Ian R., African Boundaries (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1979).
- Calvin, W. Stillman, Africa in the Modern World (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955).
- Canninghan, George, The Management of Aid Agencies (London: Croom Helm, 1974).
- Carter, James Richard, The Net Cost of the Soviet
  Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers,
  1969).
- Certey, Wilfred and Martin Kilson, The Africa Reader:
  The Colonial Africa (New York: Random House,
  1970).
- Cracken, John Me, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publication, 1988).
- Crawford, Young, <u>Ideology and Development in Africa</u>
  (New Haven and Lord Yale University Press, 1982).
- David, Little Ian, Aid to Africa (An Appraisal of United Kingdom Policy for Aid to Africa South of the Sahara) (McMillan, New York, 1967).
- Davidson, Basil, The Growth of African Civilization:

  East and Central Africa to the late 19th century

  (Nairobi: Longmans, 1967).
- Day, Alan J., Border and Territorial Disputes (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1982).
- Day, Douglas C., Foreign Aid. War and Economic Development (USA: Cambridge University Press. 1986).
- Desai, P.M., <u>Development Issues in Africa</u> (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1982).
- Dharamda Sani, Muralidhar, Political Economy of Foreign
  Aid in the Third World (Varanasi: Shalimar
  Publication, 1984).
- Defence Program and Analysis Division, <u>World Military</u>
  Expenditure and Arms Transfers (Washington:
  US Arms Control and Disarmament Division
  Agency, 1985).

- Director, US, CIA, <u>Handbook of the Nations</u> (New York: Directorate of Intelligence, 1987).
- Dunstan, M. Wai, <u>Interdependence in a World of Unequal</u> (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982).
- Faaland, Just, Aid and Influence (Bergen: The Ohr. Michelson Institute, 1981).
- Feis, Herbert, Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy (London: Macmillan, 1964).
- Frank, Charless Jr., <u>Debt and Terms of Aid</u> (Washington, D.C.: Oversees Development Control, 1970).
- George, T. Yu, China's African Policy A Study of Tanzania (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975).
- Ghoshe, African Development (New York: Random House, 1970).
- Ghoshe, Pradeep K., Population, Environment and Resources and Third World Development (London: Greenwood Press, 1984).
- Foreign Aid and Third World Development (London: Greenwood Press, 1984).
- Ginzberg, Eli, The Development Human Resources (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).
- Goldman, M.I., Soviet Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967).
- Haran, De Blit and Martin, Esmond, African Perspective The Economic Geography of Nine African States
  (New York: Mathum Inc., 1981).
- Hatch, John, Africa Today and Tomorrow (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1960).
- Hawkins, E.K., Principles of Development Aid (London: Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970).
- Healey, J.M., Economics of Aid (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971).
- Hensman, C.R., Rich Against Poor The Reality of Aid (London: Penguin Press, 1971).

- Hovey, Harold A., U.S. Military Assistance A Study of Practices and Policies (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1965).
- Istvan, Dobozi and Peter, Mandi, Emerging Development
  Patterns: European Contributors (Budapest:
  Institute for World Economy of the Hungarian
  Academy of Science, 1983).
- Jacob, J. Kaplan, <u>The Challenge of Foreign Aid</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967).
- James, Richard Carter, The Net Cost of Soviet Foreign Aid (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969).
- Jagadish, Bhagavathi and Richard, S. Eckaus, <u>Foreign Aid</u> (London: Penguin, 1970).
- James, W. Wiggins and Helmut, Schoeck, Foreign Aid Reexamined - A Critical Approach (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1958).
- Jha, L.K., North South Debate (New Delhi: Chanakya Pub., 1982).
- John, Mc Cracken, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications). 1988.
- John, Ravenhill, Africa in Economic Crisis (Mcmillan Press, England, 1986).
- Johnson, Harry G., Economic Policies towards Less

  Developed Countries (Washington, D.C.:
  Brookings Institution, 1967).
- Judith, Tendler, <u>Inside Foreign Aid</u> (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975).
- Kanappert, Jan, <u>East Africa Kenya</u>, <u>Tanzania and Uganda</u> (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1987).
- Kaplan, Jacob J., <u>The Challenges of Foreign Aid</u> (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967).
- Kenneth, Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1958).
- Knusel, Jack L., <u>West German Aid to Developing Nations</u> (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1968).

- Kreinin, Mordechai E., <u>Israel in Africa: A Study in Technical Co-operation</u> (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1964).
- Kwame, Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom (London: Pamat, 1962).
- Lemarchand, Rene, Rwanda and Burundi (USA: Praeger Publishers, 1970).
- Levitan, Sar A., <u>Program in Aid for the Poor for 1970s</u>
  (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973).
- Lewis, I.M., Africa: South of Sahara + Recent History of Somalia (London: Europa Publications, 1988).
- Livingston and H.W. Ord, <u>Economics for Eastern Africa</u> (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1980).
- Logum, Colin and Others, Africa in the 1980s (New York: Graw Hill Book Company, 1979).
- Lonsdale, John, Africa: South of Sahara (London: Europa Publications, 1988).
- Luckham, Robon, Africa: South of Sahara Recent History of Uganda (London: Europa Publication, 1988).
- Martin, Edwin M., <u>Development Assistance</u> (Paris: OECD Publications, 1970).
- Memon, P.A., "Kenya", in Blij, Haran de and Martin Esmond, ed., <u>African Perspectives</u> (New York: Methuen, 1981).
- Mertz, Robert A., and Mertz, Pamula MecDonall, Arab Aid to Sub-Saharan Africa (Kaiser: Grunewald, 1983).
- Mazrui, Ali A., The African Condition (Nairobi: Heinemann Ibadan, 1980).
- Mezerik, A.G., Economic Development Aids for Underdeveloped Countries, UN Sources, National and International Agencies, Financial and Technical Assistance (New York, 1961).
- Michael, P. Gehlen, <u>The Politics of Co-existence</u>, <u>Soviet Methods and Motives</u> (London: Indian University Press, 1967).

- Midesell, Raymond F., The Economics of Foreign Aid and Self-Sustaining Development (Chicago: Aldine, 1968).
- Moomaw, I.W., What Future of Foreign Aid (New York: Friendship Press, 1966).
- Montgomery, John D., <u>Foreign Aid in International Politics</u> (Bombay: Allied Publishers 'P' Ltd., 1967).
- Morgan, D.J., Changes in British Aid Policy, 1951-1970 (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1980).
- Mountjoy, Alan B. and Embleton Clifford, Africa: A New Geographical Survey (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966).
- Mountjoy, Alan B. and Hilling David, Africa: Geography and Development (USA, New Jersey: Barnes & Noble Books, 1988).
- Nanjira, Daniel D.C., Don, <u>The Status of Alliance in East Africa</u> (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1976).
- Nelson, John M., <u>Did Influence in Foreign Policy</u> (New York: Magmillan, 1968).
- Nkrumah, Kwami, <u>Towards Colonial Freedom</u> (London: Pamat, 1962).
- Oak, P. and Garforth, C., Guide to Extension in Training (Rome: FAO, 1985).
- OECD, Technical Assistance and the Needs of the Developing Countries (Paris, 1968).
- Ohlin, Goran, Aid and Indebtendess (Paris: OECD, 1966).
- Orlovsky, Valdmir, The USSR and Developing Countries:

  Economic Co-operation (Moscow: Progress
  Publishers, 1984).
- Paul, G. Clark, American Aid for Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).
- Philip, Ndegwa, The Common Market and Development in East Africa (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968).
- Pradip, K. Ghosh, <u>Development Co-operation and Third World Development</u> (London: Greenwood Press, 1984).

- Pradip, K. Chosh, Foreign Aid and Third World Development (London: Greenwood Press, 1984).
- Princus, John, How much aid for Underdeveloped Countries (Santa Monica: The Rand Corporation, California, 1967).
- Probson and Lury, D.A., The Economics of Africa East African Economics (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1969).
- Radetzki, Marian, Aid and Development (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973).
- Rake, Alan, Africa: South of the Sahara Recent History of Burundi (London: Europa Publications, 1988).
- Ranger, T.O., Emerging Themes of African History (Dar-es-Salaam: East African Publishing House, 1965).
- Raymond, F. Mikesell in association with Robert, A.

  Kilmarx and Arvin M. Kramish, The Economics
  of Foreign Aid and Self-Sustaining Development
  (Boulder: West Velw Press, 1983).
- Research and Information System for the Non-Aligned and
  Other Developing Countries, Low Income Countries

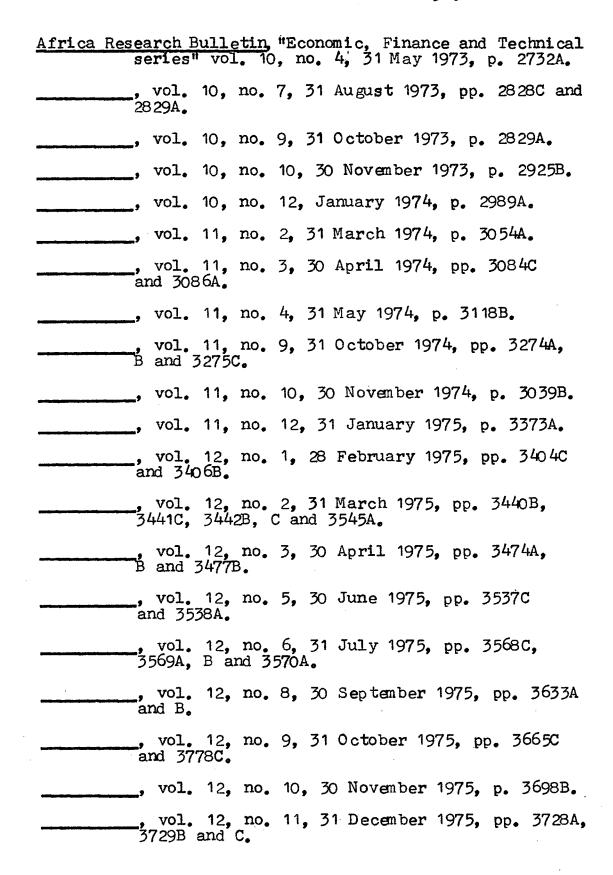
  Problems and Prospects (New Delhi: Radiant
  Publishers, 1987).
- Revenhill, John, Africa in Economic Crisis (London: Macmillan Press, 1986).
- Richard, Harris, The Political Economy of Africa (New York: Schenkman Publishing Co. Inc., 1975).
- Rix, Alan, <u>Japan's Economic Aid Palicy Making and Politics</u> (London: Croomhelm, 1980).
- Robert, E. Asher, Grants, Loans and Local Currencies Role in Foreign Aid (Washington: Brookings Institute, 1961).
- Robert, H. Bates, Essays on the Political Economy of Rural Africa (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983).
- Sadiq Ali, Santi and Gupta, A., Africa: Dimension of the Economic Crisis (New Delhi: Sterling Pub., 1987).

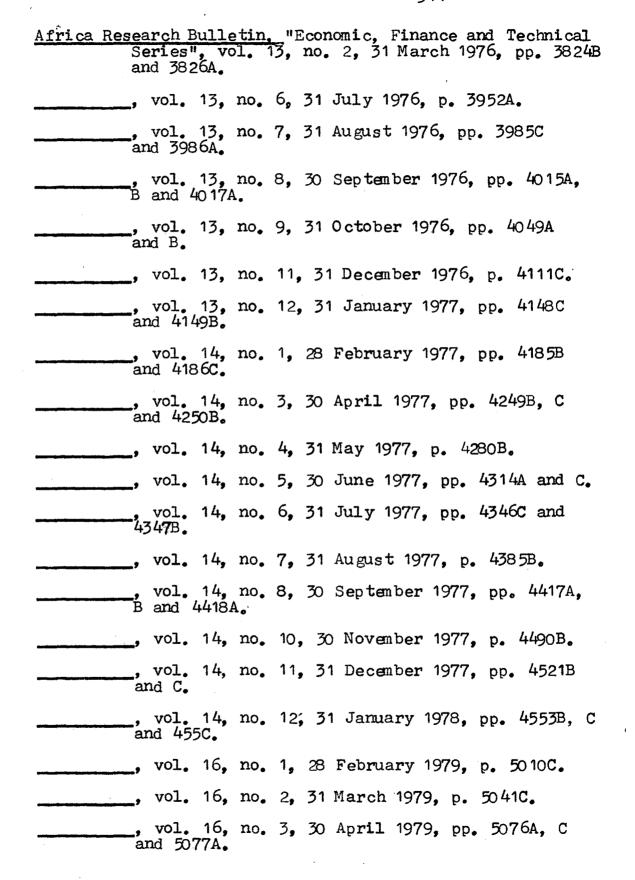
- Sharma, R.K., Foreign Aid to India (New Delhi: Marwah Publications, 1977).
- Stockwell, Edward Grant and Laidlaw, Karen Anne, Third World Development Problems and Prospects (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1981).
- Sweezy, Philip M., <u>Imperialism and Social Classes</u> (New York: Augustus Kellying, 1951).
- Tendler, Judith, <u>Inside Foreign Aid</u> (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975).
- Teresa, Hayter, French Aid (London: Overseas Development Institute, 1966).
- The Atlantic Council Working Group on the U.S. and to
  Developing Countries: Edwin M. Martin, Chairman
  and Rapporteur, The US and the Developing Countries
  (Boulder: Westview Press, 1977).
- Theodore, Geiger and Leo, Solmon, Motivation and Methods in Development and Foreign Aid (Washington: Society for International Development, 1964).
- Thorp, Willard L., Reality of Foreign Aid (New York:
  Praeger for the Council on Foreign Relations,
  1971).
- Uppal, J.S. and Louis, R.S., Africa Problems in Economic Development (New York: The Free Press, 1972).
- USSR Academy of Institute for African Studies, Africa in Soviet Studies (Moscow: Nauka Publishers, 1985).
- Valdimir, Ordlovsky, The USSR and Developing Countries Economic Cooperation (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1985).
- Van, R.M.A. and Anne, King, An Economic History of Kenya Uganda (London: Macmillan Press, 1975).
- Vanzwanenberg, R.M.A. with Anne, King, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1975).
- Vassil, Vassilev, Policy in the Soviet Bloc on Aid to <u>Developing Countries</u> (Paris: OECD Publications, 1970).

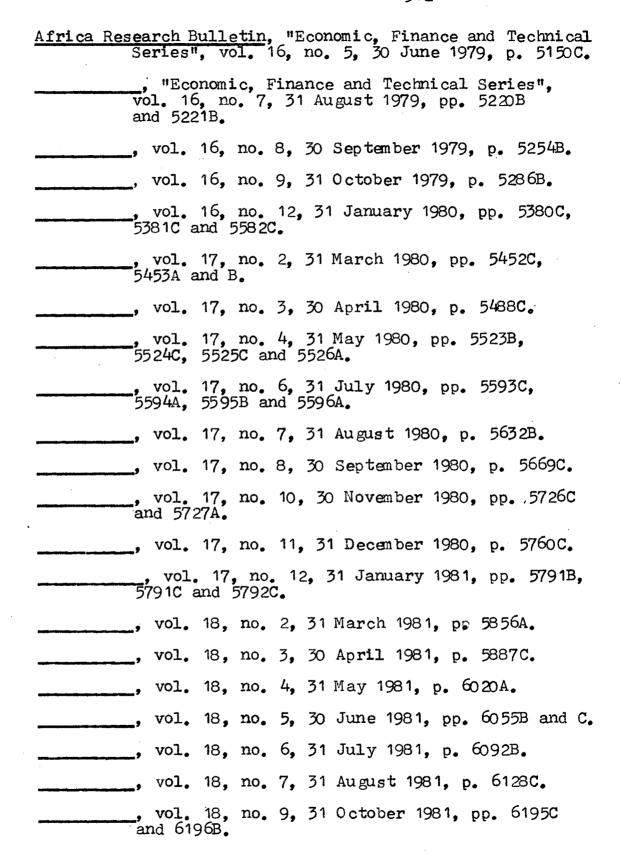
- Vohara, Dewan C., <u>India's Aid Diplomacy</u> (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980).
- Volra, Dewan C., <u>India Aid Diplomacy in Third World</u>
  (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1980).
- Wai, Dunstan M., <u>Interdependence in a World of Unequals</u>
  (Boulder: Westview Press, 1982).
- Walker, Richard, South of Sahara: Recent History of Kenya (London: Europa Publications, 1988).
- Wall, David, The Charity of the Nations: The Political and Economy of Foreign Aid (London: Macmillan, 1973).
- Ward, Barbara and Bauer, P.T., Two Views on Aid to <u>Developing Countries</u> (Bombay: Vora & Co. Publishers, 1968).
- Waren, Weinsten, and Thomas H. Henriksen, Soviet and Chinese Aid to African Nations (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980).
- Wiley, John, World Mark Encyclopedia of the Nations: Africa (New York: World Mark Press, 1984).
- William, R. Keylor, The Twentieth Century World An International History (Oxford University Press, 1984.

# (ii) Articles

- Adedeji, Adebayo, "Foreign Debt and Prospects for Growth in Africa during the 1980s", <u>Journal of Modern African Study</u>, vol. 23, no. 1, March 1985, pp. 53-74.
- Africa Research Bulletin "Economic, Finance and Technical Series", vol. 10, no. 1, 28 February 1873, pp. 2634B, 2635C and 2636B.
- \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 10, no. 2, 31 March 1973, pp. 2668B, C and 2669C.
- \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 10, no. 3, 30 April 1973, p. 2701A.







- Africa Research Bulletin, "Economic, Finance and Technical Series", vol. 18, no. 12, 31 January 1982, p. 6291B. \_\_\_, vol. 19, no. 1, 28 February 1982, p. 6356A. vol. 19, no. 5, 30 June 1982, p. 6468A. \_\_\_\_, vol. 19, no. 7, 31 August 1982, p. 6536A. \_\_\_, vol. 19, no. 8, 30 September 1982, p. 6572B. vol. 19. no. 9. 31 October 1982, pp. 6603B and 6604A. \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 19, no. 10, 30 November 1982, p. 6637B. \_, vol. 19, no. 11, 31 December 1982, p. 6674A. \_, vol. 19, no. 12, 31 January 1983, p. 6710A. A frica Research Bulletin (Political, Social and Cultural series) Vol.12, No. 2, 31 March 1975, P. 3545A , vol. 12, no. 3, 30 April 1975, p. 3577B. \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 12, no. 8, 30 September 1975, p. 3744B. \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 12, no. 9, 31 October 1975, p. 3778C. \_\_\_\_\_, vol. 16, no. 12, 31 January 1980, p. 5521C. \_\_\_\_, vol. 17, no. 2, 31 March 1980, p. 5592B. Aksjuk, L.N. and Walter, H.U., "Rational Utilization of Mineral Resources and Regional Co-operations in Africa", <u>Development and Socio-Economic</u>
  Progress, vol. 9, no. 32, October-December 1985, pp. 111-26.
  - Anacleti, Odhiambo, "Cultural Emancipation as a Means of Economic Development in East and Central Africa", Cultures, vol. 9, no. 1, 1983, pp. 26-46.
  - Anne, Bigsten, "Welfare and Economic Growth in Kenya, 1914-1976", World Development, vol. 14, no. 9, September 1986, pp. 1154-60.
  - Asher, R.E., "Foreign Aid The Post War Record and Targets for the 1970s", Monthly Labour Review, vol. 92, no. 11, November 1969, pp. 23-30.

- Baldwin, David Allen, "Foreign Intervention and Influence", World Politics, vol. 21, no. 3, April 1969, pp. 425-47.
- Bein, David, "The Communist Block and the Foreign Aid Game", Western Political Science Quarterly vol. 17, no. 4, December 1964, pp. 784-800.
- Bell, David E., "The Quality of Aid", Foreign Affairs, vol. 44, no. 4, July 1966, pp. 601-7.
- Berg, Robert J., "Not the Devil, but not the Angel Foreign Aid in Africa", <u>Development</u>, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 14-16.
- Berthelemy, J.C. and Morrison, C., "Manufactured Goods Supply and Cash Crops in Sub-Saharan Africa", World Development, vol. 15, no. 10/11, October-November 1987, pp. 1353-68.
- Binguwa, Mutharika, "Special Assistance Needs for Africa with Special reference to Sub-Saharan Africa", Development, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 28-35.
- Blooh, Jonathan, "Israel's New Openings in Africa", Strategic Studies, vol. 8, no. 3, Spring 1985, pp. 89-93.
- Boserup, Ester, "Economic and Demographic Interrelationships in Sub-Saharan Africa", Population and Development Review, vol. 11, no. 3, September 1985, pp. 383-98.
- Bradshan, York W., "Over Urbanization and Underdevelopment in Sub-Saharan Africa A Cross National Study", Studies in Comparative International Development, vol. 20, no. 3, fall 1985, pp. 74-101.
- Browne, Robert S., "Africa's Economic Future Development or Disintegration"? World Policy Journal, no. 4, Summer 1984, pp. 793-812.
- Bunker, S.G., "Dependency, Inequality and Development Policy A Case from Bugisu Uganda", British Journal of Sociology, vol. 34, no. 2, June 1983, pp. 183-229.
- Charless, C. Lift, "Aid Co-ordination: Are there any Lessons to be learnt from Kenya", <u>Development Policy Review</u>, vol. 6, no. 2, June 1988, pp. 115-37.

- Che-Mponda, A.H., "Focus on Foreign Aid: The Case Select Norwegian aided Projects in Tanzania", African Study Monographs, vol. 5, 1984, pp. 57-89.
- Clark, W., "What is Aid?" Africa Report, vol. 12, no. 3, March 1967. pp. 18-19.
- Cook, Philip R., "Sub-Saharan Africa and the U.S.",
  Part I, <u>Department of State Bulletin</u>,
  April 1986, pp. 1-17.
- Dompierre, Michael B., "Role of Unions in African Economic Development", <u>Developing Economic</u>, vol. 24, no. 1, March 1986, pp. 71-85.
- Ergas, Zeki, "In Search of Development Some Directionsfor Future Investigation", <u>Journal of Modern</u> <u>Asian Studies</u>, vol. 24, no. 1, June 1986, pp. 303-33.
- Fair, D., "Kenya: Pressure on the Land", Africa Insight, vol. 15, no. 1, 1985, pp. 22-25 and 47.
- Fraser, Donald M., "New Directions in Foreign Aid", World Affairs, vol. 129, no. 4, January 1967, pp. 244-50.
- Frederick, W. Stokeld, "Africa and Foreign Aid", Orbis vol. 25, no. 4, winter 1982, pp. 993-1010.
- Freeman, Donald B., "Development Strategies in Dual Economies: A Kenya Example", African Studies Review, vol. 18, no. 2, September 1975, pp. 17-34.
- Gaud, William S., "Foreign Aid: What it is? How it Works? Why Provide it?" vol. 59, no. 1537, 9 December 1968, pp. 603-6.U.S.department of StateBullet
- Galbraith, V.L., "What European Foreign Aid", Current History, vol. 51, no. 300, August 1966, pp. 88-95.
- Goldman, M.I., "Communist Foreign Aid Success in Shortcomings", Current History, vol. 51, no. 300, August 1966, pp. 84-86.
- Goliber, Thomas J., "Sub-Saharan Africa: Population Pressures on Development", Population Bulletin, vol. 40, no. 1, February 1985, pp. 3-47.

- Goncharov, V., "Economic Problems of African Countries", <u>International Affairs</u>, no. 8, August 1986, pp. 48-56.
  - Gray, Bonbardier, "Foreign Aid and Domestic Politics:

    Reagan, Congress and the Crisis of Consensus",

    Africa Report, vol. 31, no. 4, July-August

    1986, pp. 21-25.
- Gupta, V., "Economic Crisis in Africa", <u>Indian Quarterly</u> vol. 41, no. 2, April-June 1985, pp. 236-50.
- Gurtov, M., "Communist China's Foreign Aid Program",

  <u>Current History</u>, vol. 49, no. 289, September 1965,

  pp. 150-54.
- Gutteridge, W.F., "Political Role of African Armed Forces The Impact of Military Assistance", African Affairs, 66, no. 263, April 1967, pp. 93-103.
- Gsanger, Han, "Agricultural Policy as a Source of Increasing Food Insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa", Economics, no. 35, 1987, pp. 42-66.
- Graebner, Norman A., "The Limits of Military Aid", Current History, vol. 50, no. 298, June 1966, pp. 353-7.
- Green, Reginald Herbold, "Tanzania Sparing with the IMF", Africa Report, vol. 29, no. 5, September-October 1984, pp. 71-74.
- Grey, Robert D., "Soviet Presence in Africa An Analysis of Goals", <u>Journal of Modern African Studies</u>, vol. 22, no. 3, September 1984, pp. 511-27.
- Hamalengwa, Munyonzwe, "Political Economy of Human Rights in Africa: Historical and Contemporary Prospectives", Philosophy and Social Action. vol. 9, no. 3, July-August-September 1983, pp. 15-26.
- Harman, Nicholas, "East Africa: On the Road to Somewhere A Survey", The Economist, vol. 33, no. 7503, 20 June 1987, pp. 3-6 and 9-18.
- Haski, Pierre, "France-Africa Business as Usual",

  Africa Report, vol. 31, no. 4, July-August
  1986, pp. 17-20.

- Havnevik, Kjell and Skarstein, Rune, "Agricultural Backwardness and Foreign Aid in Tanzania", Journal of Social Studies, no. 22, October 1983, pp. 57-68.
- Helleiner, G.K., "Economic Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa The International Dimension", International Journal, vol. 41, no. 4, Autumn 1986, pp. 748-67.
- Journal of Africa in the 1980s", Canadian

  Journal of African Studies, vol. 17, no. 1,

  1983, pp. 17-33.
- Henry, F. Jackson, "The African Crisis Drought and Debt", Foreign Affairs, vol. 63, no. 5, Summer 1985, pp. 1081-94.
- Heymann, Hanns Jr., "Soviet Foreign Aid as a Problem of U.S. Policy", World Politics, vol. 12, no. 4, July 1960, pp. 525-40.
- Hofmeier, Rolf, "Aid from the FRG to Africa", <u>Journal of Modern African Studies</u>, vol. 24, no. 4, December 1986, pp. 577-601.
- Hoge, Richard, "Development in Kenya Drought,
  Desertification and Food Scarcity", African
  Affairs, vol. 86, no. 342, January 1987,
  pp. 47-58.
- Hicks, A.M., "Norweign Aid to Underdeveloped Areas", World Today, vol. 20, no. 3, March 1964, pp. 100-103.
- Hinderink, J. and Sterkenburg, J.J., "Agricultural Policy and Production in Africa": The Aims and Methods, and the Means", Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1983, pp. 1-23.
- Hoagland, J.H., "Arms in the Developing World", Orbis vol. 12, no. 1, Spring 1968, pp. 167-84.
- John, W. Forje, "Misuse, Distribution and Exhaustion of Natural Resources in Africa", Alternatives, vol. 10, no. 4, 1985, pp. 565-80.
- Katzenhach, Nicholas De B., "U.S. Arms for the Developing World", The Third World Today, vol. 22, no. 9, September 1966, pp. 386-95.

- Kiss, Judis, "Why is Africa Starving", <u>Development and Socio-Economic Progress</u>, vol. 9, no. 1-2, January-June 1985, pp. 5-16.
- Kleemeier, L., "Domestic Policies Versus Poverty Oriented Foreign Assistance in Tanzania",

  <u>Journal of Development Studies</u>, vol. 20, no. 2,

  January 1984, pp. 171-201.
- Koshelev, Pyotr, "Soviet-African Economic and Technical Co-operation in the 1980s", International Affairs, no. 10, October 1986, pp. 46-56.
- Lancaster, Carol, "Africa's Development Challenges", <u>Current History</u>, no. 501, April 1985, pp. 145-9.
- no. 52, fall 1983, pp. 149-66.
- ""U.S. Aid, Diplomacy and African Development", Africa Report, vol. 29, no. 4, July-August 1984, pp. 62-66.
- Lee, M. Talbot, "Demographic Factors in Resources
  Depletion and Environmental Degradation in
  East-African Range Land", Population and
  Development Review, vol. 12, no. 3, September
  1986, pp. 441-52.
- Lofchine, Michael F., "The Roots of Economic Crisis in Tanzania", Current History, vol. 84, no. 501, April 1985, pp. 159-63 and 184.
- Mansour Ali, Vuai, "East African Economic Co-operation", Review of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 628, 5 June 1976, pp. 12, 21-23.
- Marrow, Lane, "Africa", Time, no. 8, 23 February 1987, pp. 34-43.
- Martin, Guy, "Historical, Economic and Political Bases of France's African Policy", <u>Journal of Modern African Studies</u>, vol. 23, no. 2, June 1985, pp. 189-208.
- Mathew, M.J., "Indo-African Trade: 1970-82", Foreign Trade Review, vol. 18, no. 3, October-December 1983, pp. 327-44.
- McKown, R.E. and Zirker, D.G., "Regional Development and the Interaction of Authoritarianism, Dependency and Public Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa", Indian Political Science Review, vol. 19, nos. 1-2, January-December 1984, pp. 105-24.

- Michael, Hood, "Africa, The I.M.F. and World Bank",

  African Affairs, vol. 86, no. 344, July
  1987, pp. 331-42.
- Miles, C., "British Aid", World Today, vol. 23, no. 4, April 1967, pp. 160-66.
- Mitei, E.I.M., "Africa and the IMF: An Evolving Relationship", Africa Report, no. 29, no. 5, September-October 1984, pp. 19-21.
- Montgomery, John D., "The Evolution of U.S. Foreign Aid", Current History, vol. 50, no. 298, June 1966, pp. 332-27 and 362-3.
- Morgenthau, Hans, "A Political Theory of Foreign Aid", The American Political Science Review, vol. 56, no. 2, June 1962, pp. 301-39.
- Namara, Mc., "Plan for African Crisis", <u>Democratic World</u>, December 1985, pp. 13-15.
- Ndegwa, P. and Others, "Development Options for Africa in the 1980s and Beyond", <u>Development</u>, no. 2, 1983, pp. 68-75.
- Nicholas, Harman, "East Africa: On the Round to Somewhere: A Survey", The Economist, vol. 33, no. 7503, no. 20, June 1987, pp. 3-6, 9-18.
- Nossiter, B., "Does Foreign Aid Really Aid?" Atlantic vol. 225, no. 8, February 1970, pp. 61-63.
- Nyerere, Julius K., "Africa and the Debt Crisis",

  <u>African Affairs</u>, vol. 84, no. 337, October
  1985, p. 490.
- Okolo, Amechi, "Dependency in Africa: Stages of African Political Economy", Alternatives, vol. 9, no. 2, June 1983, pp. 247-66.
- Overton, John, "War and Economic Development Settlers in Kenya, 1914-18", <u>Journal of Afrrican</u> <u>History</u>, vol. 22, no. 1986, pp. 79-103.
- Owomero, Basilo., "Crimerates and Development in Africa Emperical Analysis of Data from Nigeria, Kenya, and Tanzania", Indian Journal of Criminology", vol. 15, no. 2, July 1987, pp. 107-20.
- Palmer, N.D., "Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy", Orbis, vol. 13, no. 3, fall 1969, pp. 763-82.

- Passman, O.E., "Why I am Opposed to Foreign Aid", New York
  Times Magazine, 7 July 1963, pp. 16-17.
- Paul, Mosley, "Politics of Economic Liberation: U.S. Aid and the World Bank in Kenya 1980-1984", African Affairs, vol. 85, no. 338, January 1986, pp. 107-20.
- Payer, Cheryl, "Tanzania and the World Bank", Third World Quarterly, vol. 5, no. 4, October 1985, pp. 741-813.
- Pearson, James D., "International Financial Institutions and Economic Policy reform in Sub-Saharan Africa", Journal of Modern African Studies vol. 26, no. 1, March 1988, pp. 113-37.
- Phil, O'Keefe and Paul Raskin, "Fuel Wood in Kenya Crisis and Opportunity", Ambio, vol. 14, no. 4, 1985, p. 220.
- Randall, Darrell, "U.S. Aid to Africa", <u>Current History</u>, vol. 51, no. 299, July 1966, pp. 20-27.
- Robson, Peter, "Regional Integration and the Crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa", Journal of Modern

  African Studies, vol. 23, no. 4, December 1985, pp. 605-22.
- Schatz, Sayre P., "Funding the African Development
  Multiplier", Journal of Modern African Studies,
  vol. 26, no. 1, March 1988, pp. 139-50.
- Schonokel, W.W., "German Aid to Africa", <u>Current History</u>, vol. 44, no. 260, April 1963, pp. 219-225.
- Sen, R., "Growth and Exhaustible Resources: The Case of Developing Countries A Review", Asian Studies, vol. 3, nos. 1-2, January-April 1985, pp. 24-30.
- Sharpley, Junnifer, "External Versus Internal Factors in Tanzania's Macro Economic Crisis, 1973-1983", Eastern African Economic Review, vol. 1, no. 1, December 1985, pp. 71-86.
- Shivaji, Issa G., "Reorganisation of the State and the Working People in Tanzania", Socialism in the World, no. 45, 1984, pp. 156-78.
- Singh, Ajit, "Tanzania and the IMF The Analytics of Alternative Adjustment Programmes", <u>Development</u> and <u>Change</u>, vol. 17, no. 3, July 1986, pp. 425-54.

- Smith, L.D., "Africa's Crisis", <u>Journal of Development Studies</u>, vol. 24, no. 2, January 1988, pp. 250-7.
- Sreedhar, "The Poor are Exploited", World Focus, vol. 5, no. 5, May 1984, pp. 27-28.
- Starr, Harvey, "Contagion and Border Effects on Contemporary African Conflict", Comparative Political Studies, April 1983. pp. 92-117.
- Talbot, Lee M., "Demographic Factors in Resource
  Depletion and Environmental Degradation in
  East African Range Land", Population and
  Development Review, vol. 12, no. 3, September
  1986, pp. 441-52.
- Tony, Barnet, "Small-Scale Irrigations in Sub-Saharan
  Africa: Sparse Lessons, Big Problems, any
  Solutions"? Public Administration and Development
  vol. 4, no. 1, January-March 1984, pp. 21-48.
- Vandemoortele, Jan, "Causes of Economic Instability in Kenya Theory and Evidence", Eastern Africa Economic Review, vol. 1, no. 1, December 1985, pp. 85-96.
- Vuai, Mansour Ali, "East African Economic Co-operation", Review of International Affairs, vol. 27, no. 628, 5 June 1976, pp. 12, 21-23.
- Wad, Atul, "Science, Technology and Industrialization in Africa", Third World Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 2, April 1984, pp. 327-50.
- Walker, Brian W., "African Environment and the Aid Process",

  International Journal, vol. 41, no. 4,

  Autumn 1986, pp. 734-47.
- Wangwe, S.W., "Sub-Saharan Africa Which Economic Strategy",

  The World Quarterly, vol. 6, no. 4, October

  1984, pp. 1033-60.
- Wassermann, Ursula, "Economic Situation in Africa",

  Journal of World Trade Law, vol. 18, no. 6,

  November-December 1984, pp. 555-62.
- Wheeler, David, "Sources of Stagnation in Sub-Saharan Africa", World Development, vol. 12, no. 1, January 1984, pp. 1-27.

- White Head, John C., "African Economic Crisis", <u>Department of State Bulletin</u>, vol. 86, no. 2106, January 1986, pp. 33-35.
- Williams, Maurice J., "African Debt and Economic Recovery Required Adjustments by the IMF and Donor Governments", <u>Development</u>, no. 2/3, 1987, pp. 6-10.
- Wolfson, Margaret, "Population and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa", Habitat International, vol. 9, no. 314, 1985, pp. 201-8.
- Yuri, Osipov and Yuri, Cherkason, "Africa's Difficulty Path to Progress", Social Sciences, vol. 18, no. 1, 1987, pp. 183-95.