

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF MUTAPA STATE Manual

Economic activities of Mutapa State

The Mutapa State, also known as the Kingdom of Mutapa or Mwene Mutapa, was a prominent and influential empire that thrived in what is now modern Zimbabwe and parts of Mozambique from the late 15th century until the 17th century. Its economy was diverse, dynamic, and heavily reliant on a range of agricultural, mining, and trade activities that sustained its people and expanded its influence across the region. Understanding the economic activities of the Mutapa State provides valuable insights into the socio-political structure, technological advancements, and cultural interactions of the time. This article explores the various facets of the Mutapa economy, including agriculture, mining, trade, craft production, and taxation, illustrating how these activities interconnected to form a resilient economic system.

Agricultural Activities of the Mutapa State

Agriculture formed the backbone of the Mutapa economy, providing sustenance for the population and surplus for trade and taxation. The Mutapa rulers placed significant emphasis on cultivating staple crops and managing land resources effectively.

Types of Crops Cultivated

The Mutapa people cultivated a variety of crops suitable for the region's climatic conditions, including:

- Maize (corn) ? the primary staple food
- Sorghum ? used for both food and brewing
- Millet ? another important cereal crop
- Sweet potatoes and yams ? supplementing carbohydrate intake
- Legumes such as beans and groundnuts ? providing protein
- Fruits like bananas, guavas, and melons ? for nutrition and trade

Farming Techniques

The Mutapa farmers employed various methods to ensure high yields, including:

- Shifting cultivation ? rotating fields to maintain soil fertility
- Irrigation ? utilizing river waters and small dams
- Use of hoes and digging sticks ? basic tools for land preparation
- Crop rotation ? preventing soil exhaustion and pests

Livestock Rearing

In addition to crop farming, cattle herding was a vital economic activity, particularly involving cattle, goats, and sheep. Livestock served multiple purposes:

- Source of meat, milk, and hides
- Medium of wealth and social status
- Used in traditional ceremonies and rituals

Mining and Metalworking

Mining was a cornerstone of the Mutapa economy, with the extraction of valuable minerals fueling both local industries and export trade.

Key Minerals Extracted

The Mutapa State was renowned for its rich mineral resources, including:

- Gold ? the most prized mineral, central to the kingdom?s wealth
- Copper ? used in crafting tools and ornaments
- Iron ore ? for making weapons, tools, and implements
- Silver and other semi-precious stones ? used in trade and adornment

Mining Techniques and Tools

The inhabitants developed sophisticated methods for mining and processing minerals, such as:

- Surface mining and open-pit methods for gold and copper
- Use of rudimentary tools like hammers, chisels, and fire-setting techniques
- Crushing, panning, and smelting to extract pure metals

Metalworking and Craft Production

Once minerals were mined, skilled artisans engaged in metalworking to produce:

- Jewelry and ornaments for the elite
- Tools and weapons such as spears, arrows, and hoes
- Currency in the form of gold and copper objects

Trade and Commerce

Trade was a vital component of the Mutapa economy, facilitating the exchange of goods within the kingdom and with neighboring regions.

Internal Trade

The Mutapa State had a well-organized internal trade system, involving:

- Marketplaces where farmers, artisans, and traders gathered
- Bartering of agricultural produce, livestock, and craft goods
- Local exchange of tools, clothing, and other essentials

Long-Distance Trade

The kingdom's strategic location enabled it to engage in extensive trade networks, including:

- Trade routes connecting the interior to the Swahili coast and Indian Ocean
- Export of gold, ivory, and slaves to Arab and Swahili traders
- Import of textiles, beads, glassware, and other luxury goods from Asia and the Middle East

Trade Goods and Commodities

The main exports and imports included:

- Exports: Gold, ivory, copper, slaves, and animal skins
- Imports: Cloth, ceramics, beads, spices, and firearms

Craft Production and Artisanal Activities

The Mutapa economy also depended on various craft industries that supported both local needs and

trade.

Types of Artisanal Work

Artisans specialized in:

- Pottery ? for storage, cooking, and ceremonial purposes
- Weaving ? producing cloth from plant fibers and animal wool
- Carving ? wood and ivory carvings for decorative and ritual purposes
- Leatherwork ? crafting shields, shoes, and belts

Role of Craft Production

Craft activities served multiple roles:

- Supporting everyday life and cultural practices
- Generating income through trade
- Enhancing the social status of artisans and their patrons

Taxation and State Control of Economic Activities

The Mutapa State maintained a centralized economy with the rulers controlling key economic activities through taxation and tribute.

Taxation Systems

The state employed various methods to extract wealth, including:

- Tribute from local chiefs and farmers in the form of crops, livestock, or minerals
- Tax on trade goods passing through the kingdom
- Labor taxes, where subjects contributed work for state projects like mining or construction

Control and Regulation

The Mutapa rulers exercised authority over:

- Mining operations ? overseeing mineral extraction and distribution

- Trade routes and marketplaces ? ensuring the collection of taxes and tariffs
- Craft industries ? regulating production and quality standards

Conclusion

The economic activities of the Mutapa State were multifaceted and interconnected, forming a resilient and prosperous empire. Agriculture provided sustenance and surplus for trade; mining and metalworking generated wealth and facilitated craft industries; trade networks expanded the reach of Mutapa goods and influence; and taxation ensured centralized control and resource mobilization. The kingdom's strategic position, rich mineral resources, and organized economic systems contributed significantly to its historical prominence in southeastern Africa. Understanding these activities sheds light not only on the economic sophistication of the Mutapa State but also on its cultural and political vitality, which left a lasting legacy in the region's history.

Economic activities of Mutapa State

The Mutapa State, an influential empire in southeastern Africa, particularly in what is now modern Zimbabwe and parts of Mozambique, stands out historically not only for its political and military prowess but also for its vibrant and diverse economic activities. Understanding the economic foundation of the Mutapa State offers insights into how its society prospered, how it maintained trade networks, and how its economy influenced regional interactions. This article explores the multifaceted economic activities of the Mutapa State, providing a comprehensive analysis rooted in historical evidence and scholarly interpretations.

Historical Context of the Mutapa State's Economy

The Mutapa State, also known as the Kingdom of Mutapa, emerged around the 15th century, reaching its zenith between the 15th and 17th centuries. Its strategic location along trade routes connecting the interior of Africa to the Indian Ocean coast facilitated a flourishing economy based on agriculture, mining, trade, and craftsmanship. The economy was deeply intertwined with the state's political authority, with wealth generated from internal production and external trade.

The state's economy was characterized by a combination of subsistence farming, resource extraction, and active participation in regional and international trade networks. The Mutapa rulers harnessed their control over mineral resources, especially gold, to enhance their power and influence, which in turn shaped the economic landscape of the region.

Key Economic Activities of the Mutapa State

1. Agriculture: The Backbone of Subsistence and Economy

Agriculture formed the foundation of the Mutapa economy, providing food for the population and surplus for trade. The fertile lands along the Zambezi River and its tributaries supported diverse crops.

Main Crops Cultivated:

- Maize (Corn): A staple food crop vital for sustenance.
- Sorghum and Millet: Drought-resistant grains important in dry seasons.
- Bananas and Yams: Supplementary crops that contributed to dietary diversity.
- Beans and Groundnuts: Protein sources essential for nutrition.

Agricultural Techniques:

The Mutapa people employed slash-and-burn (swidden) farming and irrigation methods to maximize productivity. Terracing on hilly terrains helped prevent soil erosion, and they practiced crop rotation to maintain soil fertility.

Impact on Economy:

Excess agricultural produce supported local markets and enabled traders to exchange surplus for other goods, facilitating internal and external trade.

2. Mining and Resource Extraction

Mining was arguably the most significant economic activity, particularly the extraction of gold, iron, copper, and other minerals. The Mutapa State was renowned for its extensive gold deposits, which attracted traders and neighboring states.

Gold Mining:

- Gold was mined both from surface deposits and underground shafts.
- The state established organized mining operations, with skilled labor and mining tools such as axes, hammers, and rudimentary crushers.
- Gold was used domestically for ornamentation and ceremonial purposes, but most was exported.

Other Minerals:

- Iron ore was processed into tools and weapons, supporting agriculture and warfare.
- Copper was mined and fashioned into jewelry, utensils, and trade goods.

Economic Significance:

Gold and other minerals became the empire's currency and a major source of wealth, facilitating trade with Swahili city-states, Arab merchants, and Portuguese traders.

3. Craftsmanship and Manufacturing

The Mutapa artisans excelled in metallurgy, pottery, and bead-making, which played a crucial role in both domestic life and trade.

Metallurgy:

- Skilled smiths produced weapons, tools, and decorative items.
- Techniques included smelting and alloying, with gold, copper, and iron being primary materials.

Pottery and Bead-making:

- Pottery was used for storage, cooking, and ceremonial purposes.
- Beads made from glass, shell, and semi-precious stones were highly valued in trade and social status.

Trade Goods:

Crafted items such as ornaments, weapons, and utensils were traded internally and externally, serving as a form of currency and social prestige.

4. Trade Networks and Commerce

Trade was the lifeblood of the Mutapa economy, linking inland resources with coastal markets across the Indian Ocean. The empire engaged in both regional and long-distance trade, exchanging gold, ivory, slaves, and other commodities.

Internal Trade:

- Markets within the empire facilitated the exchange of agricultural produce, crafts, and raw

materials.

- Local trading hubs emerged along major routes, connecting rural areas with the capital.

Regional and International Trade:

- The Mutapa State traded with Swahili city-states like Kilwa and Mombasa, exchanging gold for Arab, Persian, and Indian textiles, ceramics, and beads.
- Slaves, both for domestic use and export, were a significant commodity.
- Ivory and animal skins were also exported to Arab and Asian traders.

Trade Infrastructure:

- The empire developed caravan routes and trading posts, with some controlled directly by the state.
- The use of currency, notably gold dust and beads, facilitated transactions.

5. Taxation and State Economy

The Mutapa rulers levied taxes on trade, agriculture, and craft production, which financed state activities and military campaigns.

Tax Collection Methods:

- Tribute in gold, livestock, and crafted goods from local chiefs and traders.
- Tolls and tariffs on trade routes and marketplaces.

State Control:

- The government controlled key resources such as gold mines and trade centers.
- Officials maintained records of production and trade, ensuring revenue collection.

Implications:

Taxation reinforced the central authority of the Mutapa state and ensured economic stability, allowing for continued expansion and military strength.

Economic Challenges and External Influences

Despite its prosperity, the Mutapa State faced economic challenges stemming from internal conflicts, Portuguese interference, and shifting trade dynamics.

- Portuguese Impact: The arrival of Portuguese traders and explorers in the late 15th century disrupted established trade routes, introduced new goods, and led to conflicts over control of trade centers.
- Internal Conflicts: Succession disputes and rebellions hindered economic stability, impacting resource extraction and trade.
- Environmental Factors: Droughts and climate variability affected agricultural productivity and resource availability.

However, the Mutapa State's resilience and strategic adaptation helped sustain its economic activities over centuries.

Conclusion: The Legacy of Mutapa's Economy

The economic activities of the Mutapa State exemplify a sophisticated and dynamic system rooted in resource exploitation, agriculture, craftsmanship, and trade. Its gold-driven economy not only facilitated regional dominance but also integrated the interior of Africa into broader Indian Ocean trade networks. The empire's ability to harness natural resources, develop specialized crafts, and engage in extensive trade underscores its role as a major economic power in pre-colonial Africa.

Today, the legacy of Mutapa's economic activities continues to influence regional development, cultural traditions, and historical understanding. Its history offers valuable lessons on the importance of resource management, trade integration, and the resilience of indigenous economies in the face of external pressures. As contemporary economies in Zimbabwe and neighboring regions evolve, revisiting the economic foundations laid by the Mutapa State provides historical perspective and inspiration for sustainable development.

Question What were the primary economic activities of the Mutapa State? The Mutapa State primarily engaged in gold mining, salt production, agriculture, and trade, especially in gold and ivory with neighboring regions. How did the Mutapa State's economy influence regional trade networks? The Mutapa State's control of gold and salt resources made it a central hub in regional trade routes, fostering economic exchanges with Arab, Swahili, and other East African traders. What role did agriculture play in the Mutapa economy? Agriculture was vital, with crops like millet, sorghum, and bananas cultivated to support the population and sustain labor for mining and trade activities. How did the Mutapa State manage its mineral resources economically? The Mutapa State organized large-scale gold mining operations, taxed traders, and maintained control over mineral resources, which contributed significantly to its wealth and political power. In what ways did the Mutapa State engage in international trade? The Mutapa State traded gold, ivory, and salt with Arab

merchants and other coastal traders, establishing a prosperous trade network that extended across the Indian Ocean. What impact did economic activities have on the decline of the Mutapa State? Over-reliance on gold and trade, internal conflicts, and external invasions disrupted economic stability, contributing to the decline of the Mutapa State in the 17th century.

Related keywords: Mutapa Empire, Southeast Africa, gold trade, agriculture, metallurgy, trade routes, political structure, resource management, social organization, economic development

REASON FOR THE DECLINE MUTAPA STATE

reason for the decline mutapa state has been a subject of extensive historical analysis, as scholars and historians seek to understand the complex factors that led to the weakening and eventual collapse of this once-powerful empire. The Mutapa State, also known as the Kingdom of Mutapa, was a prominent empire in southeastern Africa, flourishing from the 15th to the 17th century. It played a vital role in regional trade, cultural development, and political influence. However, a combination of internal weaknesses and external pressures gradually eroded its power, resulting in its decline. This article explores the key reasons behind the decline of the Mutapa State, examining political, economic, social, and external influences that contributed to its downfall.

Political Instability and Leadership Challenges

One of the primary reasons for the decline of the Mutapa State was persistent political instability. The empire often suffered from succession disputes, where rival factions or claimants to the throne fought for power. These disputes weakened centralized authority and led to internal chaos. The absence of a clear and stable line of succession undermined the unity of the state and created opportunities for external enemies to exploit.

External powers, especially the Portuguese, played a significant role in destabilizing Mutapa's political structure. The Portuguese sought to control the region's lucrative gold trade and often interfered in succession matters, supporting rival factions or installing puppet rulers. This external meddling eroded the authority of traditional rulers and further fragmented the political landscape.

Economic Factors and Trade Disruptions

The economy of the Mutapa State heavily depended on controlling and taxing trade routes, especially those involving gold, ivory, and other valuable commodities. Over time, the decline in gold production or shifts in trade routes diminished the empire's economic strength. As gold became less accessible or less in demand, the empire's revenue streams dwindled, weakening its capacity

to sustain its military and administrative functions.

The arrival of Portuguese traders and colonizers in the 16th century drastically altered regional trade dynamics. The Portuguese established their own trading posts and sought to monopolize trade routes, often bypassing Mutapa-controlled routes. This undermined the empire's economic base and reduced its influence over regional commerce.

Social and Cultural Factors

As external influences increased, traditional social and cultural structures faced challenges. The imposition of foreign religions, such as Christianity introduced by the Portuguese, led to cultural shifts that undermined indigenous authority and social cohesion. The decline of traditional beliefs and practices contributed to weakened social unity, which was vital for maintaining political stability.

Wars, slave raids, and internal conflict led to significant population decline in parts of the empire. These demographic changes reduced the workforce necessary for agriculture, trade, and military defense. The resulting social disruption further compromised the empire's ability to sustain itself.

External Factors and Colonial Encroachment

The Portuguese were relentless in their efforts to control the region. They launched military campaigns against Mutapa, capturing key fortresses and establishing a foothold in the area. Their military pressure drained Mutapa's resources and exposed its vulnerabilities. The empire was increasingly dependent on Portuguese support for defense, which eroded its sovereignty.

As Mutapa declined, neighboring states such as the Rozwi Empire gained prominence. These states often challenged Mutapa's authority and expanded their territories at its expense. The shifting regional power dynamics contributed to the empire's decline and fragmentation.

Environmental and Geographic Challenges

Environmental factors, including droughts and changing climate patterns, adversely affected agriculture—the backbone of Mutapa's economy. Reduced crop yields led to food shortages, social unrest, and weakened military capacity. Such environmental stressors compounded existing internal and external problems.

The geographic location of the Mutapa State, while advantageous in some respects, also posed logistical challenges. Difficult terrain and limited access to certain trade routes hampered economic expansion and military movements, making it harder to defend against invasions or maintain control over distant territories.

Summary of Key Reasons for the Decline of Mutapa State

The decline of the Mutapa State was multifaceted, involving a combination of internal weaknesses and external pressures:

- Internal political instability, succession disputes, and leadership challenges
- External interference by Portuguese colonizers and traders
- Economic decline due to trade disruptions and resource depletion
- Social upheaval caused by cultural shifts and demographic decline
- Military pressures from Portuguese invasions and neighboring states
- Environmental challenges such as droughts and climate change
- Geographical limitations impacting trade and defense

Conclusion

Understanding the reason for the decline of the Mutapa State requires a comprehensive examination of its internal dynamics and external interactions. The empire's decline was not caused by a single factor but resulted from a complex interplay of political instability, economic hardship, external invasion, social upheaval, and environmental challenges. The Portuguese's arrival and colonization efforts played a pivotal role in accelerating the empire's disintegration, which was already vulnerable due to internal conflicts and resource limitations. Today, the history of Mutapa offers valuable lessons on the importance of stable governance, economic resilience, and strategic diplomacy in maintaining a powerful and enduring state.

Reason for the Decline of the Mutapa State: An In-Depth Examination

The Mutapa State, also known as the Kingdom of Mutapa or the Munhumutapa Empire, was a powerful and influential empire that thrived in southeastern Africa from the late 15th century until the 17th century. Its rise was marked by impressive economic prosperity, political stability, and extensive territorial control. However, by the late 17th century, the empire experienced a significant decline, leading to its disintegration and the eventual absorption into other regional entities. Understanding the reasons behind the decline of the Mutapa State requires a comprehensive analysis of internal vulnerabilities, external pressures, and shifting regional dynamics. This detailed exploration aims to shed light on these contributing factors.

Internal Factors Contributing to the Decline of the Mutapa State

1. Political Instability and Succession Disputes

One of the primary internal challenges faced by the Mutapa State was recurrent political instability,

particularly related to succession disputes. The leadership was often challenged by rival factions or ambitious nobles seeking control, which undermined centralized authority.

- Weakening of Central Authority: Frequent disputes over succession led to fragmentation of power, with regional leaders asserting greater independence.
- Usurpation and Civil Wars: Power struggles sometimes resulted in violent civil wars, weakening the state's cohesion.
- Impact on Governance: Political chaos disrupted administrative functions, undermined military effectiveness, and eroded confidence among the populace and external allies.

2. Economic Decline and Resource Depletion

The Mutapa economy was heavily reliant on the control of mineral resources, notably gold and copper, as well as trade routes connecting interior Africa to the Indian Ocean.

- Overexploitation of Resources: Intensive mining and trade led to depletion of gold and copper deposits over time, reducing economic output.
- Disruption of Trade Routes: Internal conflicts and external pressures disrupted trade networks, decreasing revenue.
- Decline in Agricultural Productivity: Soil exhaustion and possible overuse of land contributed to food shortages, further weakening the economy.

3. Administrative Challenges and Corruption

Effective governance was crucial for the stability of the Mutapa State, but internal administrative issues hampered its functioning.

- Corruption and Nepotism: Officials and nobles often prioritized personal gain over state interests.
- Decentralization of Power: As regional leaders gained autonomy, the central authority's control diminished.
- Inadequate Administrative Structures: Over time, the administrative framework failed to adapt to changing circumstances, leading to inefficiencies.

4. Social Strife and Decline of Unity

Internal social dynamics also played a role in the decline.

- Ethnic and Clan Divisions: Different groups within the empire sometimes had conflicting interests, leading to factionalism.
- Loss of Loyalty to the Central Authority: As regional leaders gained independence, loyalty waned, weakening the state's unity.

External Factors Accelerating the Decline

1. Portuguese Encroachment and Influence

The arrival of Portuguese explorers and traders in the late 15th century dramatically impacted the Mutapa State.

- Military Interference: The Portuguese sought to control trade and extract wealth, often supporting rival factions against the Mutapa rulers.
- Trade Monopoly and Disruption: Portuguese efforts to monopolize trade routes undermined the economic foundation of Mutapa.
- Diplomatic Manipulation: The Portuguese often played regional factions against each other, exploiting internal divisions.

2. Military Confrontations and Loss of Sovereignty

Repeated conflicts with external enemies drained resources and diminished territorial control.

- Wars with Portuguese and Their Allies: Numerous military engagements weakened the state's military capacity.
- Loss of Territories: Encroachments by Portuguese and allied tribes caused territorial shrinkage.
- Decline of Military Power: Over time, the Mutapa military became less effective, unable to repel external invasions.

3. Regional and Cultural Shifts

External influences also introduced new cultural dynamics that affected internal cohesion.

- Spread of Christianity: Portuguese missionaries and traders promoted Christianity, which sometimes conflicted with traditional beliefs.
- Introduction of New Technologies and Goods: External trade introduced new technologies and commodities, which altered traditional economic and social structures.

Environmental and Geographical Factors

1. Climate Change and Environmental Stress

Environmental factors can significantly impact agricultural societies like Mutapa.

- Droughts and Climate Variability: Periodic droughts reduced crop yields and water availability.
- Deforestation and Land Degradation: Overuse of land for agriculture and mining contributed to environmental degradation.
- Impact on Food Security: Environmental stress led to food shortages, increasing vulnerability to external threats.

2. Geographic Challenges

The geographic location of Mutapa both facilitated its rise and posed challenges.

- Dependence on Trade Routes: Control over trade routes was vital; disruptions had severe economic consequences.
- Isolation from Other Powers: Despite its wealth, geographic isolation limited alliances and military support.

Socio-Political Transformations and the Aftermath

1. Transition to Smaller States and Fragmentation

As central authority waned, the Mutapa State fragmented into smaller polities, each vying for dominance.

- Rise of Local Chiefs and Clans: Local leaders assumed greater autonomy.
- Loss of Imperial Unity: The once-unified empire disintegrated into smaller autonomous regions.

2. Integration into Colonial Structures

European colonization further cemented the decline.

- Colonial Conquest: Portuguese and later British colonial powers absorbed the remnants of Mutapa authority.

- Impact on Traditional Governance: Colonial administrations dismantled indigenous political structures, ending the Mutapa era.

Conclusion: Interwoven Causes of Decline

The decline of the Mutapa State was a complex process driven by a confluence of internal vulnerabilities and external pressures. Internally, political instability, economic decline, administrative inefficiencies, and social disunity eroded the empire's cohesion. Externally, Portuguese interference, military conflicts, and regional shifts accelerated its downfall. Environmental challenges further compounded these issues, leading to resource scarcity and societal stress.

In essence, the Mutapa State's decline was not attributable to a single cause but rather to an intricate web of internal weaknesses and external threats that, over time, rendered its once-powerful empire unsustainable. Its fall exemplifies how a combination of internal fragility and external manipulation can dramatically transform the course of a civilization, leaving a lasting legacy in the history of southeastern Africa.

Final Reflection

Understanding the reasons behind the decline of the Mutapa State offers valuable insights into the importance of strong internal governance, strategic diplomacy, sustainable resource management, and adaptability to external influences. The Mutapa experience underscores the delicate balance required for maintaining a powerful empire and the devastating consequences when that balance is disturbed. Today, the history of Mutapa remains a testament to resilience and the complex interplay of factors that shape the rise and fall of civilizations.

Question What were the primary internal factors that led to the decline of the Mutapa State? Internal factors such as political instability, succession disputes, and economic decline contributed significantly to the weakening of the Mutapa State. How did Portuguese interference influence the decline of the Mutapa Empire? Portuguese interference through military conquest, political manipulation, and control of trade routes destabilized the Mutapa State and accelerated its decline. What role did external trade disruptions play in the decline of the Mutapa State? Disruptions in regional trade due to Portuguese dominance and shifting trade routes reduced the state's economic strength and influence. In what ways did internal rebellions impact the stability of the Mutapa State? Rebellions within the empire, often fueled by dissatisfaction with leadership or external influence, undermined authority and led to fragmentation. How did environmental factors contribute to the decline of the Mutapa State? Environmental challenges such as droughts and soil depletion affected agriculture, leading to food shortages and economic decline. Did the decline of the Mutapa State result from external military threats? Yes, invasions and military pressures from neighboring states and Portuguese forces weakened the state's defenses and territorial integrity. How did the decline of the Mutapa State impact regional politics in Southern Africa? The decline led

to political fragmentation and power shifts among successor states, influencing regional stability and trade networks. What lasting legacies did the Mutapa State leave despite its decline? The Mutapa State's legacy includes contributions to regional culture, trade networks, and the historical understanding of pre-colonial Southern Africa.

Related keywords: Mutapa Empire, decline causes, Portuguese invasion, internal conflict, economic decline, political instability, Portuguese colonization, decline factors, civil war, external pressures

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