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simultaneous shortages of labour and capital, by perhaps surprisingly extensive indigenous market exchanges, especially in West Africa, and by varying but often low levels of political centralisation.

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societies battled over whether development would proceed along free-market or state-directed lines. As Marxist Nigel Harris describes in *The End of the Third World*:

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to the African states in the areas of economy, social, religious, politics and many more. Thus,

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