



NO. 12

SEPTEMBER 1973

## IN THIS ISSUE

WORKERS, STUDENTS AND THE STRUGGLE  
IN TANZANIA

TANU YOUTH LEAGUE  
THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM







This issue of MAJIMAJI focuses attention on the workers and students of Tanzania. It cannot claim to be a comprehensive survey, and indeed, it does not do full justice to the issues it touches. But the absence of a thoroughgoing analysis and lack of all information cannot be an excuse for shunning the most topical issues of the day. In fact, it is precisely these shortcomings that spurred us to bring out this issue. For we feel that the central and strategic role of the workers and students in the struggle for socialism in Tanzania has not been given the serious attention it deserves.

Industrial disputes and unrest in educational establishments dominate the social scene in present-day Tanzania. Particularly since the Mwongozo came out, more and more workers have been "laying down tools" and numerous schools, training institutes and colleges have faced crises of one sort or another. Everywhere the story is basically the same: the authorities are being challenged, and workers or students are demanding a change. Having failed to resolve the dispute by other means, they resort to open confrontation. And in most cases they meet the same bureaucratic reply: more repression. What started off as a few isolated incidents, gradually became a tendency and has crystallized into an important trend. Social upheavals of such magnitude cannot either be ignored or be dismissed as outcomes of petty and unrelated causes. They are a reflection of certain basic contradictions in the Tanzanian society. The struggle for socialism entails correct identification, analysis and resolution of social contradictions. Hence the need for careful investigations and understanding of the question of workers and students.

The dominant social relations in Tanzania are the capitalist relations of production as historically determined by the position of the Tanzanian economy in the international capitalist system. These are the relations deriving from commodity production. The peasant and the worker produce for a market, chiefly the world market. Production is not planned to meet the social needs but is geared to maximizing the surplus accruing to the internal and external dominant classes. In other words the dominant social relations are the relations of exploitation, relations of dominance and subordination.

The economic relations of exploitation emanate from the development of the structures of underdevelopment, the principal features of which are the existence of a dependent economy dominated by foreign capital and strong external but weak internal linkages. Production is primarily of raw materials for export, and industrial development is mainly restricted to processing for export and so-called import substitution. All economic activities centre around the import - export syndrome.

With the evolution of the structures of underdevelopment, there has arisen a complementary class structure. This class structure represents the internalization of external economic relations, and in fact, it is the existence of this class-structure which ensures the reproduction of the system of underdevelopment.

The dominant social relations in Tanzania are the relations between the ruling class and the other classes; relations which are both exploitative and repressive in nature. These relations are a consequence of the exploitation of labour and are reflected in the hierarchical organization of all social institutions.



The contradictions associated with these relations are being sharpened at various levels in Tanzania.

All economic establishments and educational institutions are permeated by these relations of dominance and exploitation. It is the intensification of these relations which has made the workers and the lower sections of the petty-bourgeoisie (which includes the students) to be the most alienated elements in the society. The worker is exploited, made to submit to bureaucratic working methods, and deprived of initiative and freedom. The students, on the other hand are forced to submit to authority, left at the mercy of a disorganized education system which leaves many of them to face prospects of having their expectations frustrated due to diminishing opportunities for better jobs and decent living conditions.

Eversince the Arusha Declaration the ideological scene in Tanzania has been characterized by the struggle between capitalist and socialist ideas. This has led to increased political awareness amongst the various classes in society. More particularly since the Mwongozo, the downtrodden classes have taken up the call of liberation. Given their material conditions, the increased ideological consciousness cannot but lead to rebellion against the existing conditions. The sharpest and most militant response has come from the workers and the students. The peasants in the rural areas have also responded to this call.

Organised in factories, schools and offices the workers and students have refused to continue being humble and obedient servants of the existing system. They want to change it.

The general reaction of the authorities also reflects the existing social relations. Having the resources and powers of the state at their disposal, more and more repression has been their answer to the workers and the students. All sorts of labels have been pasted on them: "wreckers of the economy", "trouble makers", "undisciplined juveniles" and the like. But this has not deterred the workers and students in their struggles.

In our opinion, these struggles are progressive struggles. The energies, enthusiasm and militancy of the workers and students should be guided along the correct lines to build socialism. The peasantry and the progressive elements of the pettybourgeoisie are, of course, their natural allies.

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By : K. P. Hirji

INTRODUCTION

The education\* system in Tanzania, or to be more specific, the primary and the secondary schools have been the subjects of vigorous debate and discussion recently. Students, teachers, parents, journalists, politicians and members of the public - all have voiced their opinions through various channels. The debate goes on.

This debate is an outcome of generally widespread feeling that the schools are at present undergoing some sort of a crisis. Various ideas have been put forward to describe the nature of this crisis, explain its causes and suggest possible methods for resolving it. From these diverse ideas and proposals, two basic trends of thought emerge. Most of the participants can be classified as adhering to either one or the other of these two schools of thought, namely, apologetic idealism and vulgar realism.

For an idealist, the primary and determining feature is the idea. Movement from one stage to another is a process of realization of an ideal state or form. Thus those who view the school system from an idealist frame of reference put primary emphasis on the official aims and objectives of education in Tanzania, which emanate, in the main, from Mwalimu's document "Education for Self-Reliance". The fundamental objective is to strive for a social order based on three governing principles:

".....equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none."(1)

Hence, the education system needs to be transformed so that it serves:

"..... to foster the social goals of living together and working together, for the common good."(2)

For the idealist, the stresses and strains evident at present in the school system are but some transitional problems arising in the process of realization of their cherished ideals. Thus, we find N. Tegambwage asserting that:

"..... (t)hose who cannot follow the socialist tide, desperately shout that our educational standards are falling drastically."(3)

Further on he says:

"I believe we are still in the transitional period and what is happening now is quite inevitable."(4)

\* In this essay "education" is synonymous with formal education.

- (1) J. K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, Ministry of Information and Tourism, Dar es Salaam, 1967., p.6. (Hereafter referred to as E.S.R.)
- (2) Ibid., p.8
- (3) N. Tegambwage, Focus on Education : The Problem of falling standards, Daily News, 8th May, 1973
- (4) Ibid.



Needless to say, the idealist strategy is to bring about a change in people's attitudes and moral values, and to re-organise the school system and curricula so that they serve the social aspirations and objectives as conceived by them.(5) Wittingly or unwittingly, these idealists have tended to confuse the ideal with the actual, and hence, objectively, their ideas serve to provide an apologetic defense of the existing chaos in the education system.(6)

On the other hand, there are the realists who have not dared to go beyond reality as it immediately appears to them. Viewing the world through a superficial and fragmented looking glass, they have just picked on the various obvious shortcomings here and there, and have vigorously propounded the thesis that the education system is in shambles.(7) Of course, even these pragmatists have certain ideals at the back of their minds which comprise their evaluation standards. But unlike the egalitarian aspirations of the idealist, their aims do not go beyond the existing neo-colonial socio-economic reality. Hence they emphasize efficient organisation of the education system and maintenance of high academic standards.(8) These are to be achieved through administrative measures to ensure smooth functioning of the system, by increasing teachers' salaries to provide them with an incentive, by establishing proper discipline amongst the students etc. Their realism is vulgar in so far as it does not go beyond surface appearances. Their knowledge stops at the perceptual stage, so it just consists of a collection of isolated details. However, factual these details may be, they cannot be a substitute for an interconnected picture of the whole and provide a consistent explanation of the state of affairs of the education system.

The conflict between the two trends of thought noted above is but an aspect of the contradiction between utopian socialism and petty-bourgeois ideology which is the characteristic ideological conflict in Tanzania to-day. This conflict of ideas is moreover a reflection of real conflict between the bureaucratic bourgeoisie on the one hand and the middle and lower sections of the petty-bourgeoisie on the other.(9)

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- (5) Cf. J. H. Raza, Education : The case for curriculum review, Daily News, 3rd May, 1973
- (6) For a classic case of sycophancy see, A. A. Lema, 'I hate it' attitude is fast disappearing. Sunday News, 15th April, 1973. The author has the audacity to claim that the new policy of ESR "has resulted in the making of new attitudes and values among young Tanzanians in particular." Paradoxically, quite a different impression is gained from an article by the same author! See, A. A. Lema, Old Attitudes Die Hard, Studies in Curriculum Development, No. 3, Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1973
- (7) Cf. True Patriot, Ministry should look into rural schools, Daily News Letters, 29th January, 1973; A Correspondent. Frustrating our teachers, spoiling our education, Daily News, 19th April, 1973
- (8) Cf. C. Ndamagi, Language, root of school ills, Daily News Letters, 4th June, 1973
- (9) For elaboration of these issues see Shivji, I. G., Tanzania : The Class-Struggle Continues, (mimeo), 1973



we shall not delve further into this at the moment. But it suffices to mention that both the view-points, being representative of certain class interests, have been coloured and shaped by these interests. Moreover, they have employed unscientific methodologies, so it is not surprising that they have landed up with erroneous conclusions which do not take us much further than where they started from.

What is required however, is a concrete analysis of the prevailing conditions. Not only does the ideal need to be explained in terms of the actual real conditions but also the inter-relationship between the ideal and the real has to be analysed. More specifically, the analysis of concrete conditions should be done so as to identify and reveal the contradictions operating in the education system, to trace their socio-historic roots, and their relation with the general societal contradictions. For only such an analysis can take us beyond the surface appearance - the forms - to an understanding of the essence and its direction of motion - the substance.

This essay is a modest attempt to venture in that direction. We shall first briefly review the historical background before dealing with the present situation.

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

#### 1. Education under Colonialism(10)

The present day system of education in Tanzania(11) has its roots in the colonial period. Its foundations were laid by the activities of Christian Missionaries towards the end of the last century. The Missionaries were interested in propagating Christianity and training African Priests. So by the beginning of the present century there were more than 600 mission "schools" of one sort or another holding basic literacy and Bible study classes for about 50,000 pupils. As elsewhere in Africa, the Bible preceded the gun and set the stage for formal colonization. Subjectively, the Missionaries might have considered themselves as being on a "civilising mission on the dark continent". But objectively their role was to prepare the ideological groundwork for the subsequent imperialist penetration. It was missionary education which facilitated the separation of the African from his traditional society for absorption into the colonial socio-economic system.

"Educating" the African, needless to say, was not one of the basic aims of the colonialists. Far from it.

"When the Germans took over Tanganyika, education for Africans was furthest from their thoughts. Like all colonial powers their chief concern was the establishment of law and order and opening up of the country to trade and commerce ..... But because they had, if only for the sake of economy, to establish a junior and local civil service for their administrative machine, they were soon forced into creating an educational system to staff it."(12)

(10) For a more comprehensive analysis of education in colonial Africa see W. Rodney, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, T.P.H.; 1972, pp. 261 - 309.

(11) Here, as elsewhere in this essay, "Tanzania" refers to the mainland only.

(12) J. Cameron and W. A. Dodd, Society, Schools & Progress in Tanzania, Oxford : Pergamon Press, 1970, p.55.



Forced by objective necessity, the Germans set about in a methodical manner to achieve their aims. Alongside the missionary schools, a government school system was set up. According to an official circular, it had the following aims:

- "(a) To enable the native to be used in government administration.
- (b) To inculcate a liking for order, cleanliness, diligence, and dutifulness and a sound knowledge of German customs and patriotism." (13)

In other words to produce obedient slaves for the colonizers! One positive feature of the German schools was that the medium of instruction was Swahili. This was done so as to consolidate their political domination over the territory. To man the lower ranks of the political and administrative machine, and to establish their influence in the interior, the Germans mainly used the Swahili speaking personnel from the coast. Thus by the beginning of the first imperialist war, much of the official correspondence throughout the country was conducted in Swahili.

With the coming of the British, the educational set up underwent many changes. Swahili lost its prominent position and "knowledge of German customs and patriotism" was replaced by indoctrination of loyalty to the British Crown. More direct links with missionary education were established and gradually the "racial" pattern of education that Tanzania was confronted with at the time of independence evolved. However, the essential function of education remained unchanged i.e. to facilitate and reinforce the functioning of the colonial system. Thus its output comprised clerks, tax collectors, interpreters, primary school teachers, priests, artisans, etc.

Colonialism has had a profound impact on the social and economic structure of Tanzania. Apart from whatever military and strategic advantages that the possession of the colony offered to them, the colonialists were mainly interested in obtaining economic advantages. The natural resources of the colony were exploited using cheap local labour. Production of raw materials for industries in the metropole was encouraged and at the same time the colony became a protected market for the various manufactured goods produced by these industries. A transportation network was built in order to send the goods from the interior to the coast and vice-versa. The outcome of this process was the integration of the Tanzanian economy into the underdeveloped half of the world capitalist system.

Concomitant with the changes in the economic base, came the changes in the social structure. (14) Whatever communal or nascently-feudal societies that were in existence before were shattered by the establishment of commodity production for the world market. In fact, the present day stratification amongst the peasantry, and emergence of the working class in plantations and urban areas can be directly linked with the development of production and processing for export. The commercial bourgeoisie i.e. the Asians, formed the essential link between the peasant producer and the foreign capitalist in the process of generation of economic surplus by the former and its appropriation by the latter.

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(13) Ibid., p. 56

(14) For an analysis of class-structure under colonialism in Tanzania, see Shivji, I. G., op. cit. pp. 32-54.



As has been previously, this economic system could not function just by itself, without there being corresponding political and ideological mechanism to maintain the exploitative relations of production. This was the function of the colonial state apparatus including the education system.(15) The growth of the colonial political and administrative apparatus contributed significantly to class formation under colonialism. In as much as the class formation amongst the peasantry and the emergence of the working class can be ascribed to the changes in the economic base the growth of a petty-bourgeoisie is a result of the corresponding evolution of the colonial superstructure. The expansion of the state apparatus resulted in an expanding demand for local personnel. The only qualification required to become a clerk or a teacher was adequate education. Thus education became a major instrument in the formation of the petty-bourgeoisie.(16)

Paradoxically, it was this very petty-bourgeoisie, a product par excellence of colonial education, that was to spearhead the struggle against colonialism.(17) Colonial education imbued its recipient with ideas of subservience to the colonizer, injected a foreign culture in him, inculcated him with bourgeois individualism and worship of the cash-nexus. Yet it also offered sections of the petty-bourgeoisie opportunity to come into contact with liberal and progressive ideas; with notions of bourgeois democracy, freedom and even socialism. Colonial education put the petty-bourgeoisie in a somewhat better economic position than most of the indigenous population, yet the colonial system was incapable of satisfying the aspirations of this class which were the result of this very process of education. Being placed in the colonial state apparatus, the petty-bourgeoisie were, in a sense, nearest to the seats of political power but being under the direct domination of the colonizer, they became conscious of their powerlessness of their inability to do anything by and for themselves or in other words by this inability they acquired a consciousness of themselves as a class for itself much more readily than any other oppressed class in the society. Thus, given the global anti-colonial struggles and sharpening of the contradiction between the colonizer and the colonized, it is not surprising that the petty-bourgeoisie successfully led the struggle for independence.

#### The Early Post-Independence Period

The attainment of formal independence did not basically affect the position of the Tanzanian economy in the world capitalist system. If anything, the channels for siphoning off the economic surplus were increased through multilateralization of the links and dependency on foreign capital on foreign markets and technology increased.

"Inside Tanganyika, a map showing the major cotton and coffee areas virtually coincides with a map showing areas in which colonial education was available." W. Rodney, op. cit., pp. 266 - 267

The British, with their policy of indirect rule, used the traditional rulers and chiefs to entrench their political domination. In education, they gave preferential treatment to the children of chiefs by establishing special schools for them. But this in no way invalidates the thesis of education being a major instrument in class-formation since firstly, numerically, the children of the chiefs were a small proportion of those who joined the colonial administration and secondly, that even for them, education was a pre-requisite for joining the administration.

The early leaderships of TAA and TANU were mostly composed of educated Africans. See, J. Illife, Tanzania under German and British Rule, In Cliffe and Saul (Ed), Socialism in Tanzania, EAPH, 1972, Vol. I, p. 14.



Instead of British capital having a monopoly, now foreign capital from all sources was guaranteed the right of exploitation, together with various incentives such as tax concessions, and given the right to repatriate the profits. This was in line with the recommendations of the World Bank Mission to Tanganyika which emphasized:

"..... government expenditure on social and economic infrastructure, stimulation of accelerated and diversified agricultural production primarily for export, encouragement of private domestic and foreign investment throughout the economy and increasing Africanization of high level posts and skilled jobs in both the public and private sectors."(18)

Industrial development was to be restricted to export processing and import substitution. In sum, the development strategy adopted ensured further development of underdevelopment in Tanzania.

Undoubtedly, independence did entail considerable changes in the social set up. Political power was transferred in the hands of a new ruling class. Although imbued with militant nationalism, the reproduction of this class as a ruling class was inextricably linked with continuation and expansion of economic ties with foreign capital. In terms of its economic aspirations, this class considered the commercial bourgeoisie to be the major obstacle hindering their realization.(19)

What impact did all this have on the system of education? Firstly, certain immediate organizational changes were carried out. Colonialism had left a legacy of three-tiered system of schooling in which the children of the metropolitan bourgeoisie received the best facilities those of the commercial bourgeoisie followed next in order of preference and at the bottom were those of the indigenous people. For example, in the year 1961 the annual expenditure per pupil was Shs. 3,320/- and pupil : teacher ratio was 16 for the first group. The corresponding figures for the second group are Shs. 460/- and 28; and for the last group Shs. 200/- and 54 (20). This hierarchical system considerably restricted the growth of the petty-bourgeoisie as a class. One of the first steps taken by the government after independence was to abolish, in the name of racial equality, these restrictive fetters. In its place, a national system of education was set up with a Ministry of Education being responsible for overall co-ordination. Various measures to rationalize the administration of education, such as the establishment of Unified Teaching Service, were introduced. The contents of what was being taught in schools did not change much, except for infusion of nationalistic ideas and orientation in the curriculum and a greater emphasis on Swahili.

Shivji, in his pioneering analysis of the contemporary history of class struggles in Tanzania(21) does not lay the due stress on the role of education as one of the instruments of the petty-bourgeoisie firstly, in its struggle against the commercial bourgeoisie and secondly, to consolidate itself as a ruling class. The abolition of "racially" patterned education and of school fees in all government aided secondary schools removed a principal bottleneck restricting the reproduction, on an expanding scale, of this class, and undercut the various advantages accruing to the commercial bourgeoisie from the colonial system. Having the benefits of better educational facilities and higher economic status, the children of the commercial

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(18) A. Seidman, Comparative Development Strategies in East Africa, EAPH, 1972., p.64

(19) Shivji, Op.cit., pp. 60 - 73

(20) A. Van de Loo, Towards Manpower Development Strategy in Tanzania in Cliffe and Saul (Ed.), Op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 226..

(21) Shivji, Op. cit.



bourgeoisie could, relatively speaking, more easily join the middle and upper-echelons of the colonial civil service. Even the colonial political atmosphere accorded them relatively better opportunities to obtain such jobs. But the post independence measures set the trend to neutralize these advantages.

Further there was a vast expansion of education facilities in the post independence period. Numerous new primary and secondary schools were built, more teacher training colleges were built together with establishment of institutions of higher education such as the University College of Dar es Salaam.

"At independence, there were only 41 public and private secondary schools with a total enrolment of 12,000 and a teaching staff of about 760. By 1971, there were 114 public and private secondary schools and a total enrolment of 43,352 which is over 3 times that at independence, with a teaching force of 2,111."(22)

Foreign loans mainly from the World Bank were significant in assisting this expansion, especially of secondary level education.(23) But it was the internal subjective and objective factors which provided the major driving force. Firstly, there was the tremendous popular demand for education from the people. As has already been mentioned, education, right from the colonial days, was considered as a sure device for upward social mobility - a stepping stone for higher income and comfortable lifestyle. Such an attitude is not surprising, given the objective role of education in class formation. In fact even before independence TANU had sensed this popular demand and had been setting up and running primary schools through TAPA.

Secondly, related to this, there was the manpower problem. Qualified personnel were required to fill up the vacant and new posts in the state machine. Expanding bureaucracy and replacement of colonial personnel by locals all entailed increased output from the education system. As dictated by the top-sided economic development, high-level manpower meant white-collar and administrative personnel. Thus, it is not surprising that expansion of technical education lagged behind all others. Neither was it an accident that the first faculty in the newly set up University College was the Faculty of Law, and was followed by the establishment of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The Faculty of Engineering was started this year!

But the education system did achieve the objectives it was set-up for. For although reliance on expatriates, especially in many key jobs, continues to this day, the proportion of local personnel has gone up. Thus in 1962, out of a total of 4,723 senior and middle grade civil servants, 38.5 per cent were Tanzanians. In 1971, the total had gone up to 10,723 out of which local personnel constituted 90.5 per cent.(24)

#### Education, Class and State : Some Theoretical Reflections

In this section, we digress to clarify some general theoretical issues before turning to discuss the system of education in Tanzania at present.

- 2) The Economic Survey, 1971 - 72, Government Printers, Dar es Salaam, 1972, p. 131
- 3) Ibid., p. 131. This dependence on foreign loans continues to this day. See Daily News, 71m/- boost to education, 16th May, 1973.
- 4) The Economic Survey 1971 - 72, p. 133



It is generally accepted that education in any society is the process whereby the knowledge, skills and values are imparted from one generation to the next. This process may be both formal and informal and to a certain extent, the ratio of the former to the latter is an index of the complexity of the social organisation and of the level of technological development attained by that society. According to Mwalimu, the purpose of education in any society is:

"..... to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development." (25)

This statement of purpose of education suffers from one major drawback which makes it susceptible to idealist interpretation. It represents a generalization which is true for any society, whether it is a classless society or one strewn with fundamental class contradictions. The statement does not relate the role of education in a class society with the promotion or otherwise of interests of the various classes in that society. Because of this lack of explicit qualification for the case of a society divided into classes, the statement can be construed to mean that education is a sort of neutral process benefiting all members of that society. In any case, the final test of any theory is in practice, and as we shall try to show in the later sections, it is in practice that the policy of Education for Self-Reliance represents idealism par excellence.

Before examining the role of education in class societies, let us briefly state the basic propositions of the materialist (26) conception of history. According to this, any socio-economic formation consists of the economic base and the superstructure. The economic base comprises the productive forces and the relations of production. It is the development of productive forces which provides the primary motive force of all development. The superstructure, which not only complements the economic base but is also in contradiction with it, has interlocking political, legal and ideological aspects. The principal aspect of this contradiction, except in periods of transformation from one social formation to another, is the economic base, i.e. over an entire historical epoch the development of the superstructure derives from the development of the base.

In a society divided into antagonistic classes, the relations of production are the exploitative relations of production. These relations ensure the appropriation by the dominant class of the surplus generated by the labouring classes. The superstructure essentially serves to maintain these relations of exploitation. The agency which ensures this is the state.

Historically, the state evolved alongside with the inception of private property in the means of production and thus with the division of society into antagonistic classes. It arose primarily as the instrument of the dominant class, those exercising control over the means of production and exchange, for holding down the propertyless masses in their servitude and to perform the various public functions that the

(25) Nyerere, op. cit., p. 1

(26) The term "materialist" is used here in its philosophic sense and not the usual moralistic sense.



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creasing technological and organizational complexity of the society expanded. The propertied classes need political power to perpetuate and increase their economic wealth.

Hence the basic function of the state is to ensure the reproduction of the exploitative relations of production. This it does in two ways, which are inter-related and which reinforce each other. Firstly, it performs this function by violence i.e. by physical force. For this it has institutions like the army, the police, the judiciary and the prisons at its disposal. But the state does not function only through coercion and physical repression. Indeed, it is the very task of the state to minimize conflict, to hold class antagonisms in check. According to Engels,

"..... in order that these antagonisms, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in a fruitless struggle, it becomes necessary to have a power seemingly standing above society that would alleviate conflict, and keep it within bounds of "order"; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it is the state." (27)

As to maintain social stability and harmony, what in legal jargon is termed "law and order", the state also needs to function by using persuasive means i.e. by ideological force. Corresponding to these two means i.e. the coercive and persuasive, the state apparatus is composed of two different, but at the same time, overlapping in certain respects, components. These are the repressive state apparatus and the ideological state apparatus. What are these ideological state apparatuses? These comprise the various religious institutions, the educational establishment, the institution of the family, the system of laws, political parties, trade unions, the mass media and the cultural institutions. Some of these, like the legal system also belong to the repressive state apparatus. According to Althusser, the state apparatuses possess the following characteristics:

1. All the state Apparatuses function both by repression and by ideology, with the difference that the (Repressive) State Apparatus functions massively and predominantly by repression, whereas the Ideological State Apparatuses function massively and predominantly by ideology.
2. Whereas the (Repressive) State Apparatus constitutes an organized whole whose different parts are centralized beneath a commanding unity, that of the politics of class struggle applied by the political representatives of the ruling classes in possession of state power, the Ideological State Apparatuses are multiple, distinct, 'relatively autonomous' and capable of providing an objective field to contradictions which express, in forms which may be limited or extreme, the effects of the clashes between the capitalist class struggle and the proletarian class struggle, as well as their subordinate forms.
3. Whereas the unity of the (Repressive) State Apparatus is secured by its unified and centralized organization under the leadership of the representatives of the classes in power executing the politics of the class struggle of the classes in power, the unity of the



different Ideological State Apparatuses is secured, usually in contradictory forms, by the ruling ideology, the ideology of the ruling class," (28)

Our principal task is to investigate the role of education as an Ideological State Apparatus. Before we discuss this with respect to the Tanzanian situation, let us make some general remarks. Any ideological state apparatus functions to secure the reproduction of the existing relations of production. The education system is no exception to this. On top of this education also ensures the reproduction of the productive forces i.e. it enables the transmission and expansion of scientific knowledge and technical skills from generation to generation. Education is indispensable for the production of social wealth in so far as these skills and knowledge are necessary for the production of this wealth, and hence it contributes to the size of the social surplus appropriated by the ruling classes.

Education contributes to the maintenance of the existing relations of production by its role in the realm of consciousness. It promotes, refines and gives newer expression to the dominant ideology. It imparts this to the young minds, teaches them to accept and fit into the existing state of affairs, disciplines them, and imbues them with respect for authority i.e. for the dominant classes and their representatives. For example, under colonialism, missionary education legitimized the imperialist intrusion in Africa in religious terms, spread the spirit of meekness, humility and submission amongst the people, created agents for spreading the colonizers' ideology, etc.

However, the educational apparatus is a dynamic entity, changing together with the changes in the conditions of social existence. It should not be viewed as being static vis-a-vis both its social function as well as its internal structure. It partakes in the general societal contradictions, as well as itself being strewn with internal contradictions. It is the interplay of these contradictions which determine its changing nature.

In a period of social stability, when the political supremacy of the ruling class is unchallenged, the educational apparatus functions overwhelmingly in favour of the preservation of status quo. It is pre-occupied with the transmission of knowledge, skills and dominant values in the interest of the ruling class. But society progresses through development and resolution of contradictions. The maturation of general social contradictions accompanies the development of ideological contradictions in the educational apparatus. From being predominantly a justifier, rationalizer and promoter of the rule of the rulers, the educational apparatus becomes one of the battle-grounds of contending ideologies representing the interests of the contending classes. This is not surprising. For, the educational establishment, being a custodian of the accumulated intellectual wealth of the society, offers the possibility to individuals to acquire a scientific understanding of the social reality and see through the prevailing ideological mystification. The seeds of the struggle against the existing order are laid by the propagation of these revolutionary ideas. The conservative role of the educational "apparatus is challenged and from solely being a factory for the production of ruling ideology, it is split into factions, some of which become instruments for the dissemination of revolutionary ideology. W. Phillips put this in a nutshell: "Insurrection of thought always precedes insurrection of arms." Thus commences the period of class-struggle for state power.

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(28) L. Althusser, Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays, NLB, London, 1971., pp. 141-142.



## The Educational Apparatus in Tanzania

With the theoretical premises more or less clarified we now concentrate on the concrete situation in Tanzania. Our task will be to analyse the role of the school system as part of the Ideological State apparatus, to identify its internal and external (i.e. external vis-à-vis the society as a whole) contradictions. For it is by the identification and analysis of contradictions in any social phenomenon that one can obtain an understanding of its nature and development. Thus it is essential to uncover the contradictions operating in the school system and trace their social roots to understand its social function and direction of development.

We have seen the role played by education in class formation under colonial rule. The trend continued after independence. But now the educational pyramid had expanded vastly. This expansion brought with it a number of problems. At the base, the problem of primary-school leavers was becoming more acute. At the apex, the future members of the upper levels of the petty-bourgeoisie were overtly expressing dissatisfaction with the curtailment of their privileges due to the introduction of the compulsory National Service. Accompanying these problems of education were the problems of economic growth. The amount of foreign investments and loans had fallen below the expectations; the prices of basic export products had fallen sharply reducing revenue and increasing unemployment. Economic growth, even within the limits imposed by the neo-colonial framework, was retarded.

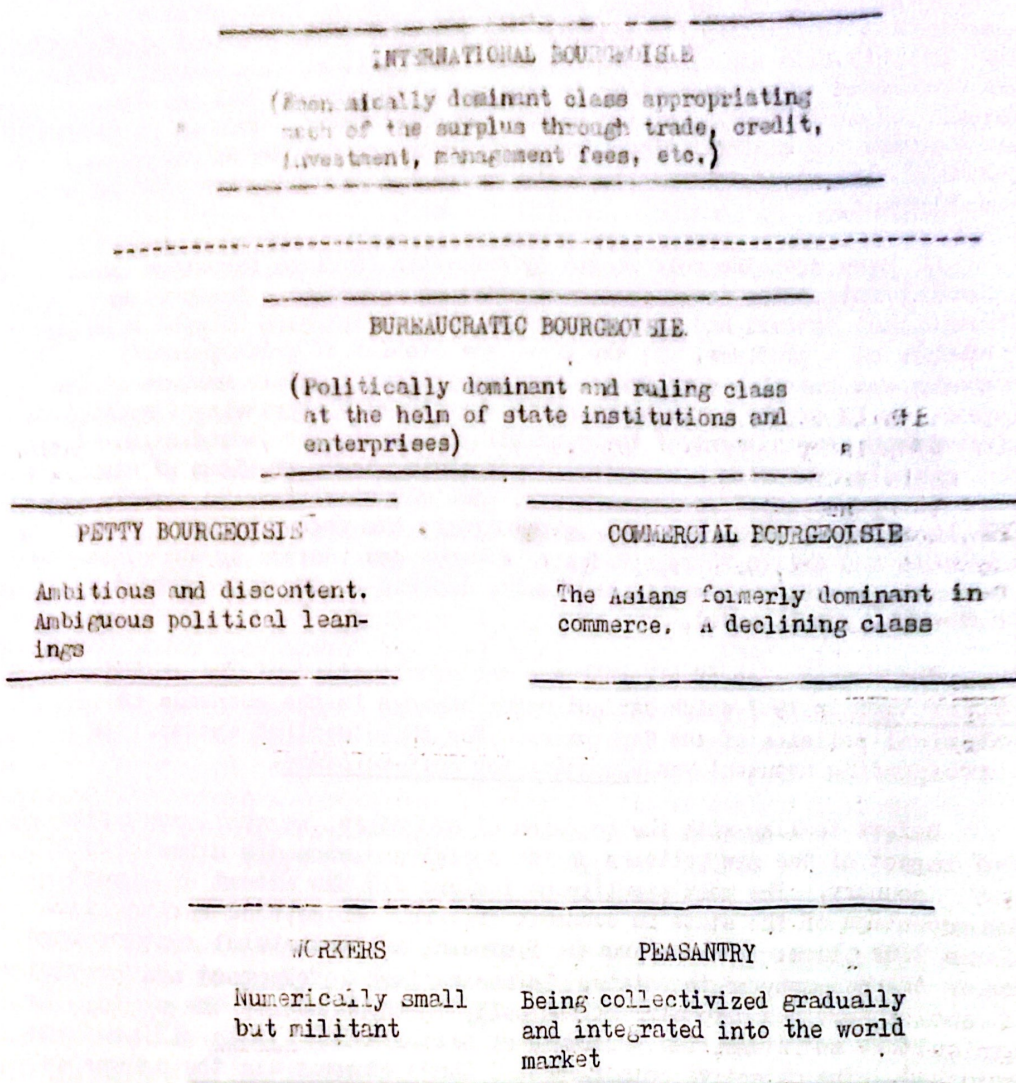
The consequence of all this was the proclamation of The Arusha Declaration in 1967 which set out major changes in the economic and political policies of the Government. For the education system, the corresponding document was Education for Self-Reliance.

Before dealing with the question of education, we shall summarize the impact of the new policies on the social and economic structures of the country. The most significant feature was the extent of direct intervention of the state in economic affairs. Widespread nationalizations took place. The commercial, financial and industrial sectors came under the hegemony of the state. Infrastructure development and provision of social services were already basically in the hands of the state. In agriculture an intensified programme of establishing Ujamaa villages was launched. The objective consequence of these changes was the change of the form of neo-colonial relationship of the Tanzanian economy with the capitalist metropolises. The middle men of the colonial era, the commercial bourgeoisie, were displaced by the state. British capital no longer held a dominant position, but rather, the new forms led, through various devices such as joint ventures, management agreements, credit arrangements, etc., increased links with foreign capital from other sources. The essence of economic policies remained the same. The emphasis remained on the production of primary commodities for export, and industrial development was restricted to export processing and import substitution. Ujamaa villages grouped together isolated peasants and further integrated them to the monetary economy by stressing production of cash crops. The basic import-export orientation of the economy was unaffected by the Arusha changes. Rather than leading to laying of the foundations of a nationally integrated economy through comprehensive planning and mobilization, these changes furthered the integration of the economy into the international capitalist system. (29)

(29) For details see Shivji, I. G., Tanzania: The Silent Class-Struggle, CHECHE Publication, University of Dar es Salaam, 1970; C.Y. Thomas, The Transition to Socialism, ERB, University of Dar es Salaam, 1972; Shivji, I. G., Capitalism Unlimited, University of Dar es Salaam, (mimeo), 1973.



The changes in the economic set-up correspondingly led to the consolidation of new social structures which had been emerging since independence. The following diagram sketches the present day class-structure of the country, (30) a structure which is both nascent and evolving.



Prior to the Arusha Declaration education in Tanzania was more or less under the direct control of the state. With the promulgation of Education for Self-Reliance, a new policy was set forth to change the contents, orientation and methods of what was being taught in the schools. We shall tackle the theory and practice of the major issues dealt with in this document.

E.S.R. tries to come to grips with the problem of primary school leavers. Because of the much smaller number of secondary schools as compared to primary schools, only between ten to fifteen per cent of the output of the latter manage to join secondary schools each year. For the rest, the future is uncertain. The seven years of education has neither provided them with any training or skills for any particular jobs. In fact, all these years they were being educated on the assumption that they would get further education after primary school! From a survey carried out in five regions in Tanzania, G. Hunter reached the following conclusions as to the fate of these primary school leavers:



urban children will stay in town and try to get work; their aim may certainly be a white collar job, or entry into a regular form of training. But since only a very small proportion will succeed, the rest will probably be prepared to take casual manual work - on a building site, in a small plantation, at a petrol pump, behind the bar in a hotel or cafe. This, at least at first is a stop gap measure, until the hoped-for job - perhaps as a messenger in a government office - comes along.

For the boys with rural homes, the main pattern is the same, but more difficult. They will, if they can, first stay with a relative in town and hunt for work. For those who went to a boarding upper primary school, the tie with home has already been weakened. If their first try fails, they may get a bus-fare from a relative and try the next town, or a big plantation which may need casual labour. They can earn a few shillings by any possible means which comes to hand. After this trial period, if they are getting desperate they may return to their home village for a while. If they earn a little money - working for a neighbouring farmer or in other ways - they may well set off on their travels again, once more take casual employment and again return home.(31)

Some recent studies indicate that the migration pattern between the rural and urban areas is more and more becoming a one way exodus from the former to the latter, contributing to increased congestion and unemployment in the towns.(32) One wouldn't be much off the mark in asserting that those who have received some education in the rural areas constitute a relatively greater proportion of the people migrating to the urban areas. And given the limited expansion of jobs in the towns, what has been called the 'revolution of rising expectations' induced through education rapidly becomes a reality of rising frustrations for the primary school leavers. The plight of the fifty per cent or so of the children who never obtain any schooling is another, and perhaps a grimmer, story altogether.

E.S.R. proposes to solve the primary school leavers problem by making the education more practical and relevant to life in the rural areas. It recommends the rising of the entry age into primary schools, and the reorganization of school structure and curriculum content. Schools must become self-reliant communities engaging in agricultural and other practical activities. The all pervasive attitudes of competition and individualism must give way to attitudes of co-operation and service to the community. In brief:

"(i) instead of primary school activities being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead.(33)

(31) G. Hunter, Manpower, Employment and Education in the Rural Economy of Tanzania, in Cliffe and Saul, op. cit., p. 251.

(32) See Freyhold, The Workers and the Nizers, (mimeo)

(33) Nyerere, op. cit., p. 17.



Let it be pointed out at this juncture that both the problem and the solutions proposed, minus some attitudinal aspects, are not new. Both are colonial in origin. The colonial Legislative Council proceedings for the year 1928 state clearly that:

"(i)n any vision of future development agriculture must occupy the foremost place. .... Everything, therefore, points to agriculture as the basis of our educational system in the elementary stages."(34)

The 1953 primary school syllabus is even more specific.

"In the teaching and education in school it would be wrong to consider the pupils and their individual progress done, we must consider also their responsibility in the community and the environment, so that their lessons may lead them to actions which will benefit their country .... It is obligatory that every primary school should have a sufficient farm .... The purpose of this farm is educational, that is to show the practice of good farming and to accustom them to follow these practices."(35)

Two years later, the new syllabus for middle schools reiterated similar points.

"The middle school course is designed to be complete in itself so that those who pass through it, whether they proceed further or not, will have received an education which will assist them to follow in a more intelligent and capable manner whatever pursuits they take up and, generally, to play a more useful part in the development of the locality to which they belong."(36)

Of course, one need not be taken in by the fine phrases used by the colonial educationists. For beneath the flowery words lay the real purpose, whether explicitly stated or not, of colonial education which was to promote the underdevelopment of the Tanzanian economy and to facilitate the exploitation of its people by foreign capital. Rodney correctly points out that under colonialism, genuine scientific, technical and agricultural education to promote the complementary development of industry and agriculture was ruled out.(37) Furthermore, the introduction of farming and other manual work was meant for African schools only. The children of the metropolitan bourgeoisie and the commercial bourgeoisie received an education which was modelled on that obtainable in Britain. Thus the colonial policy was based on the assumption that manual tasks in society are reserved for Africans. It served to perpetuate the colonial class structure in which the Africans were at the bottom, and it helped to maintain the exploitative relations of production.

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(34) Quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p.69.

(35) Muhtasari ya Mafundisho kwa Shule za Primary za Waafrika, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1953. Quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p.109.

(36) Muhtasari ya Mafundisho katika Middle Schools, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1955. Quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 109

(37) Rodney, op. cit., p. 276.



What is striking, however, is the similarity between the colonial policy statements quoted above and the reforms proposed in E.S.R. This similarity is neither accidental nor can it be attributed to plagiarism. It simply points to the continuity, despite all the changes, of an economic reality, the reality of underdevelopment. The colonial policy was designed to create and maintain this state of affairs. And E.S.R. assumes an indefinite perpetuation of these structures of underdevelopment.

"..... Tanzania will continue to have a predominantly rural economy for a long time to come."(38)

Implying that Tanzania will continue to be an exporter of primary products and importer of manufactured goods for a long time to come. Or in other words, it will remain in its present satellite, dependent position within the world capitalist system. In as much as the colonial policies were deliberately designed to create and maintain these exploitative production relations, E.S.R. represents an admission of the inability of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to transform these relations.(39) Thus E.S.R. proposes to fit education to the existing reality, rather than to revolutionize this reality and have a correspondingly revolutionary educational process. In its acceptance of the fundamental status quo lies the conservative bias of E.S.R. In its reliance on the changing of attitudes as a principal weapon to transform social inequality, or in other words, to make a revolution by education, lies its idealism. E.S.R. is caught up in the insoluble contradiction of wishing to eliminate the class structure of the Tanzanian society without any prospects for eradicating the structures of underdevelopment. It fails to perceive the fundamental interrelationship between these two structures. E.S.R. recognizes the role of education in class formation, but it hopes that this process can be reversed. It proposes to use education as the major means to destroy the existing class structure, in fact to recreate social forms similar to the egalitarian societies of the pre-colonial days. It is true, as the cultural revolution in China shows that education, as part of general ideological struggle, is an essential weapon in transition towards socialism. But one must not forget that the cultural revolution came long after the political revolution of 1949 which itself was the culmination of more than two decades of intense and violent class-struggles. One must not mix up the role of education in a pre-revolutionary society with its role in a post-revolutionary situation. Thus ESR ignores the historical truth that dominant classes in any society never give up their vested interests by persuasion but only by intense class-struggle and seizure of state power by the exploited classes. It ignores the powerful social and economic forces propelling the formation of classes in the Tanzanian society. Caught up in a maze of theoretical contradictions characteristic of utopian radicalism, it is not surprising to find the practice of E.S.R. in Tanzanian schools littered with corresponding contradictions. To these, we shall come back latter.

To return to the colonial situation, it is not surprising to note that the attempts to introduce a "practical and relevant" curriculum in African schools met with vigorous resistance from the people. The objective of the colonialists to keep the Africans at the bottom was clear to all. At the same time, academic education was identified as a passport to white collar employment with higher incomes. Thus there

(38) Nyerere, op. cit., p.7.

(39) Not only are the import/export relationships exploitative but the intensity of exploitation increases day by day. Thus "over 1967-72 while the money prices of Tanzania's exports remained about constant those of the imports rose about one third ..... The real loss from these shifts is now running at about \$ 80-90 m annually." African Development, Dec. 1972 p. T 11.



were widespread protests against "inferior" education which led to manual work and lower standards of education. These protests reflected the interests of the rising petty-bourgeoisie. As Cameron and Dodd put it, albeit in apologetic terms:

"When the schools began producing more than could be employed in the modern sector and the modern sector in turn required entrants with more than just a primary education, the educationists naturally redoubled their efforts to make agriculture an integral part of the syllabus in order to cater for the increasing number of pupils who after some education would now have to return to the land. Just as determinedly, the Africans resisted these efforts and demanded more post-primary education ..... Every family, every kinship group in the areas where Western education had taken root, aspired to get at least one of its members away from home into paid employment from which they would all benefit."(40)

Thus it was popular pressure, together with the role of education in class-formation and the pattern of demand for manpower which frustrated the aims of the colonialists. Today, we find a similar phenomenon recurring, albeit at a higher level, which hinders the implementation of E.S.R.

The history of the crisis of school-leavers is interesting to trace. This is related to the rate of expansion of educational system and the actual prospects for the absorption of its output in the economy. The logic of an underdeveloped economy is such that the former always runs ahead of the latter. In the early colonial days, 4 or 6 years of primary education were sufficient for some clerical job. By the 1950's,

"(t)he days when education upto Standard VI was the gateway to paid employment had ended. Indeed, in a very short time, the gateway open to those with 8 years' education was also to close."(41)

In the 1960's, the situation of those receiving full primary education progressively worsened. In 1964, 23 per cent of those completing primary school found places in secondary schools. By 1968, the output of schools had increased by nearly two and a half-times. Of this, only 13 per cent were absorbed into secondary schools. For the rest, it had become correspondingly difficult to find paid employment. In the past three years or so, the same problem is affecting those who have four years of secondary education. Increasingly larger numbers of Form IV leavers can neither get places in Form V, nor can they get opportunities for professional training, nor can they find direct employment. It is not unrealistic to state that soon we shall be confronted with Form VI leavers' problem and then even with graduate unemployment. Already, at the University of Dar es Salaam, the allocation of increasing numbers of science graduates not receiving teacher training is causing headaches to manpower planners! The spectre of unemployment is haunting the education system at all levels; a situation common throughout the satellite economies of Asia, Africa and Latin America and a basic cause underlying student unrest in the educational institutions of these countries. Thus we have identified one major contradiction which is an aspect of the contradiction between the education apparatus and the economic base. This is manifested in the rapidity with which the former expands and the inability of the latter to completely utilize its output. The subjective aspects of this contradiction are the high aspirations of the educated and the frustrations of unemployment. These frustrations find a natural outlet in the increasing crime rate which characterizes the urban areas.

(40) Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p.70

(41) Ibid., p. 103.



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Related to the problem of unemployment is the problem of under-employment or misemployment. It has been mentioned previously that one of the functions of education is to ensure the reproduction of the productive forces, to ensure the reproduction of labour power. In the particular situation of an underdeveloped economy, this statement has to be elaborated further. For in accordance with the top-sided nature of economic expansion, the demand for labour is basically composed of two components. On the one hand, workers are required for lowly paid jobs requiring little skill or education in farms, mines, in the transport and construction sector, and the few industries. Formal education contributes little to train productive workers for these sectors. Whatever skill that is required is acquired within the production process itself. On the other hand, there is the demand for white collar workers to man the comparatively large and unproductive administrative apparatus. The educational establishment is geared to meet this latter demand, to churn out clerks and managers, fit only to work with pen and paper. As such, the function of formal education is to ensure the reproduction of unproductive labour power and to ensure the throttling of productive forces.

This unproductive, white collar bias of education is recognised by U.S.R. It is also reflected in all the manpower planning exercises that have been carried out in Tanzania since Independence until present. These exercises have, without exception, assumed a continuation of existing patterns of employment, thus catering for only quantitative expansion of jobs similar to existing ones. The so-called high level manpower planning has not meant planning for jobs associated with rising production within the framework of a nationally integrated economy. Rather it has meant simple replacement of expatriate personnel and inflation of jobs similar to existing ones. Bienefeld put this in a nutshell:

"On balance manpower planning in Tanzania has been conscientiously and effectively implemented, but its orientation has tended to be technocratic and de facto conservative by making the future conform to the present."(42)

The contradiction of unemployment mentioned above is temporarily and partially resolved by transforming it into one of misemployment and underemployment. This is associated with the expanding "services" sector and with sprawling bureaucracy. In Tanzania, such a trend gathered momentum after the Arusha Declaration. State take over of economic activities has made it the largest employer. The public sector now accounts for more than 65% of the total wage employment. In this expansion the growth of administration and infrastructure has outpaced production. Development of communication links and construction of luxury offices for ministries and parastatals has absorbed a large slice of the investment funds. Even the expansion of production has been mainly in the export-import framework. As a result, there has been an increased demand for office workers; for typists, telephone operators, messengers, clerks, accountants, managers i.e. for type of manpower which the education system as constituted at present is most suited to supply. The growth of bureaucracy has occurred unevenly. In some places, there is a shortage of personnel whilst a number of places are overstaffed. Neither has the allocation of personnel been necessarily in accordance with type of training received. A graduate with a degree in Botany is more likely to find himself behind a desk shuffling files from corner to the next rather than in an agriculture research station. The problem of misemployment has been compounded by the problem of perpetual transfers which has hindered improvement of performance through accumulation of experience. The objective consequence has been the paradox of increasing work force and facilities with declining efficiency.

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(42) M. A. Bienefeld, Planning People, in Towards Socialist Planning, T.P.H., Dar es Salaam, 1972. p. 173.



It is this continued skewed pattern of demand for white collar workers, together with the high income and status accorded to them, especially to those at the upper level, that prevents the implementation of the recommendations of E.S.R. regarding the introduction of practical education in schools. For the education system serves the social system and not vice-versa. Rodney has pointed out that:

"(i)n many colonial schools, agriculture became an apology for a subject. It was part of the drudgery of the institution. The teachers received no agricultural education, and, therefore, they could not teach anything scientific. Children acquired nothing but distaste for the heavy labour of shamba work, and in fact, it was used as a form of punishment."(43)

Word for word, this is the story of self-reliance projects in many Tanzanian schools today!

Incessant expansion of bureaucracy is a necessary precondition for education to continue to be a major instrument of class formation in the neocolonial situation. But given the narrowness of the economic base such an expansion cannot continue indefinitely. The bureaucracy may be decentralized as has happened in Tanzania recently. But such stop-gap measures cannot resolve the major contradiction. In Tanzania, the ceiling hasn't been reached yet. Education continues to be a prime agent of class formation. For example, in 1971 the wage-group of people receiving more than Shs. 1,000/- a month experienced the highest growth rate (13%) to rise to a total of 13,012. And the main criteria for getting such a job is higher education. But what has happened is that the previously upper sections of the petty-bourgeoisie who are in the top positions of the state institutions have cut themselves off from their base and gradually been evolving into a ruling bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The cleavage between the lower and middle sections of the petty-bourgeoisie on the one hand and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie on the other has been widening recently. In this sense, we are witnessing a slow, but sure, saturation of the room at the top. This diminishing upward social mobility is a basic cause of the sharpening contradiction between these two groups.

In the educational sphere this contradiction is manifesting itself by the ideological conflict between the vulgar realists and apologetic idealists noted at the beginning of this essay. The former complain about declining standards of education as a result of E.S.R., the latter emphasize the notions of "relevance and practicality" in education - very much reminiscent of the complaints against inferior education in the colonial era.

E.S.R. recommends deemphasis on competitive examinations. Tanzania inherited the British system of heavy reliance on few hours of written examinations at the end of a given stage of education for selection of successful students to enter the next stage. The inadequacy of such a procedure which encourages rote learning and muzzles creativity is obvious. But the crux of the matter is that it remains by far the best chopping stick to eliminate the many and select a few to climb up the educational ladder. From the colonial days examinations have served as an efficient sieving device. When education is not, and in the present situation cannot be, integrated with industry and agriculture, when it is isolated from practice, when pure book learning is sufficient to get the coveted certificate which is regarded as a passport to higher incomes, when the availability of such jobs is much less than the number of aspirants, then it is but to be expected that strict competitive examination procedures will dominate the scene. This is the case in Tanzania today.



Instead of the former Cambridge Examinations, now there are National examinations held annually. School curricula, whether in science or arts subjects, remains primarily bookish and examination oriented. In a number of subjects, even the title "National" is inappropriate. For the syllabi are an exact copy, except for the title, of the Cambridge syllabi. Lack of clear policy guidelines on curriculum content has resulted in uncertainty in schools and unnecessarily complicated system of examination papers. For example, subjects such as physics, chemistry and mathematics have been torn by the false dichotomy between traditional and modern curriculum content and methods. Since their inception, the National Examinations have been beset by two major problems. One is the problem of administering these examinations and the second is the problem of progressively declining performance in these examinations.

The administration of the examinations is beset by problems right from the stage of setting the questions, through the stage at which the candidates actually sit for these examinations upto the stage of marking and announcement of the results. Only bureaucratic neglect can be blamed for things such as the delayed arrival of question papers at various centres, and the mix-ups of the papers, plight of private candidates, etc. The stage of marking faces the biggest bottlenecks. In some subjects less than half the number of markers, who mostly comprise teachers from secondary schools turn up for the exercise. The teachers claim that since they are not given extra pay, they have no incentive for turning up - a claim commonly heard these days from the lower and middle sections of the petty-bourgeoisie. Compounding this problem of absentee markers is the lack of planning and co-ordination by the Ministry of National Education unnecessarily complicating the whole exercise. In sum, in spite of Mwalimu's critique of the examination system in E.S.R., we are stuck with a rigid system of examinations which qualify the candidates mainly for white collar work. What is more, it is not, by any standards, an efficient system!

The other major problem of declining performance in the National examination is more connected with the actual standards of instruction in the class-room. In some subjects, the results are appalling. For example, last year more than 70% of the candidates who sat for the subject mathematics at O'Level got less than 30 marks out of 100. The national mean for this subject was around 20 marks, with about 1,200 candidates getting less than 4 marks! Lack of sufficient facilities, shortage of qualified teachers and textbooks, frequent disruptions in schools and frequent transfers of teachers from one school to another can all be blamed for the poor performance. But all these could be overcome given a committed cadre of teachers and ministry officials. That such cadres are only rarely encountered, in spite of the National Service and frequent political education campaigns, is another manifestation of the growing contradiction between the petty-bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

The role of teachers is most crucial in any education process. When the educators do not or cannot educate properly, then the entire process is bound to be seriously affected. From personal conversation and other sources, my assessment leads me to believe that the morale of the entire teaching profession is at a very low ebb at present. (44) This is a reflection of both their concrete conditions as well as of their class interests. The teachers claim themselves to be amongst the most overworked people; all their time being taken up by numerous extracurricular duties in and out of school, administrative and preparatory work as well as the normal class room teaching.

- 44) See, for example the following Daily News Letters: 19th January, 1973 G. K. Mbiru; 5th April, 1973, I. M. J. Shikoyoni; 16th April, 1973 AFFECTED; 18th April, 1973, M. J. Mtui; 2nd May, 1973, M. S. O. Mtaita Daily News Feature, Frustrating our teachers, spoiling our education by A Correspondent, 19th April, 1973. Sunday News Letters : 11th February, 1973, A. T. Kikubaty; 13th May, 1973, F. J. Kibwana.



At the same time, they bitterly complain about their salary scales. It is true that the primary school teachers do not earn much more than the official minimum wage in the country whilst the graduate secondary school teacher compares himself with fellow graduate in a parastatal organization who is better off in terms of salary, fringe benefits, opportunities for promotion etc. They complain about neglect and inefficiency on the part of the Ministry of National Education, about nepotism and frequency of transfers, about unco-operative pupils and parents etc. In brief, they have a feeling that no one is grateful to them in spite of their hard work.

However, true or false these may be, it is clear that only a few teachers consider their job as a "noble" calling. In the first place, quite a few become teachers only as a last resort, and the moment they qualify as teachers they are looking for better employment opportunities outside the teaching profession. In such an environment it is not surprising to find widespread unprofessional conduct in schools. It is common to find teachers frequently skipping classes, not concerned about completing the syllabus, not bothered about correcting homework etc. Let alone any nationalistic or socialistic commitment, even the commitment of a conscientious teacher towards his pupils is becoming a rarer phenomenon.

In such a situation, where the cash nexus predominates, it is futile to resort to exhortations to the teachers to become more devoted and serve the nation. Moral incentives cannot operate in a bourgeois environment in which individualism and lust for money reign supreme. To those aspiring to get to the top, these exhortations appear to be deceptive mockery especially when they emanate from the lips of those who exhibit little signs of believing their own words. At best, the teachers remain singularly apathetic towards the ideals expressed in E.S.R.

This is related to the general problem of political education in the country. In schools, the position of political education is precarious. In the first place, it has not been seriously realized that the political educators themselves need to be re-educated. Rather than political education being given to committed cadres well versed in scientific socialist theory, it is assumed that any Tanzanian teacher is qualified to teach it. This is to be expected given the absence of socialist cadres and the class interests which the education imparted serves. Correspondingly, the quality of political education suffers, encouraging the very opposite of what is advocated in E.S. R.:

"..... an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs....(45)

The contents are dominated sloganeering and sycophancy, the emphasis being on forms, appearances, declarations rather than scientific understanding of social reality. Theoretical studies are restricted to regurgitation of a few books and pamphlets at all levels.(46) In E.S.R. Mwalimu remarks that there is no political "holy book" for Tanzanians. But it is a fact that precisely his own works are being used to that effect. Thus the atmosphere in which political education is imparted becomes an artificial one in which pretense rather than genuine commitment prevails and where critical thought is unceremoniously

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(45) Nyerere, op. cit., p.9.

(46) For example, the book "Origins and Development of World Socialism" based on a series of broadcasts on Radio Tanzania by M. Holness is not being used in schools in spite of the fact that it was distributed to many secondary schools.



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However, true or false these may be, it is clear that only a few teachers consider their job as a "noble" calling. In the first place, quite a few become teachers only as a last resort, and the moment they qualify as teachers they are looking for better employment opportunities outside the teaching profession. In such an environment it is not surprising to find widespread unprofessional conduct in schools. It is common to find teachers frequently skipping classes, not concerned about completing the syllabus, not bothered about correcting homework etc. Let alone any nationalistic or socialistic commitment, even the commitment of a conscientious teacher towards his pupils is becoming a rarer phenomenon.

In such a situation, where the cash nexus predominates, it is futile to resort to exhortations to the teachers to become more devoted and serve the nation. Moral incentives cannot operate in a bourgeois environment in which individualism and lust for money reign supreme. To those aspiring to get to the top, these exhortations appear to be deceptive mockery especially when they emanate from the lips of those who exhibit little signs of believing their own words. At best, the teachers remain singularly apathetic towards the ideals expressed in E.S.R.

This is related to the general problem of political education in the country. In schools, the position of political education is precarious. In the first place, it has not been seriously realized that the political educators themselves need to be re-educated. Rather than political education being given to committed cadres well versed in scientific socialist theory, it is assumed that any Tanzanian teacher is qualified to teach it. This is to be expected given the absence of socialist cadres and the class interests which the education imparted serves. Correspondingly, the quality of political education suffers, encouraging the very opposite of what is advocated in E.S.R.:

"..... an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs....(45)

The contents are dominated sloganeering and sycophancy, the emphasis being on forms, appearances, declarations rather than scientific understanding of social reality. Theoretical studies are restricted to regurgitation of a few books and pamphlets at all levels.(46) In E.S.R. Mwalimu remarks that there is no political "holy book" for Tanzanians. But it is a fact that precisely his own works are being used to that effect. Thus the atmosphere in which political education is imparted becomes an artificial one in which pretense rather than genuine commitment prevails and where critical thought is unceremoniously

(45) Nyerere, op. cit., p.9.

(46) For example, the book "Origins and Development of World Socialism" based on a series of broadcasts on Radio Tanzania by M. Holness is not being used in schools in spite of the fact that it was distributed to many secondary schools.



This combination of progressive ideas and material frustrations produce the inevitable explosions resounding throughout Tanzanian schools. One day it is Pugu Secondary School(47), next day it is Mkwawa, then Rungwe and then Mzumbe and so on. Students are protesting, students are on strike, students are expelled; that is the typical story. Rather than try to come to terms with the students by discussions or persuasion, the authorities react with force. Harsher punishments are meted out. According to one student at Njombe Secondary School, in October last year, after some conflict with the teachers,

"..... pupils were ordered to have a shower while in school uniform then commanded to roll on gravel or clay soil, then forced to enter the class without changing clothes. The barbarity they also launched was to beat pupils with clubs on any parts of their bodies.(48)

In other cases when the school authorities either cannot or feel unable to control the situation, the forces of the state, in the form of the Field Force Unit are called in; as happened at Mzumbe Secondary School in June this year when 187 students were expelled for "refusing to obey the school rules". A classic case of the repressive state apparatus coming to the assistance of a crumbling education apparatus.

Thus we have identified another major contradiction of the education apparatus in Tanzania. This is the contradiction between progressive ideas and the authoritarian structures. The major contribution of U.S.R. is neither any profundity of analysis nor any spectacular successes in implementation but the fact that it has pioneered the injection of progressive ideas into the education system. It is these ideas which are inspiring the youth to assert themselves. What Chairman Mao calls the contradiction between the old and the new is the most dynamic feature of the education apparatus in Tanzania today. It is the correct handling and resolution of this contradiction which will assist in carrying the struggle for socialism in Tanzania to a higher level.

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(47) For an informative account of the crisis at Pugu School, see Crisis at Pugu Secondary School by A Sixth Former, MAJIMAJI No.4

(48) Daily News letter, Mwanafunzi Mfiahaki, 5th February, 1973



THE SOLUTION TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT  
MUST BE SOUGHT OUTSIDE THE  
BOURGEOIS SYSTEM - A SHORT COMMENT

by

Jackson L. Kyungse

The paper on education in Tanzania has exposed, analysed and put into proper historical perspective the root causes of the main problems besetting our education system and their relation to the overall neo-colonial socio-economic system. Such expositions are always necessary lest we should fall into the common error of undue self-congratulation due to our exaggeration of our efforts and the extent of our success.

What Hirji has observed about Tanzania is of course observable elsewhere in Africa and the rest of the so-called "Third World". We notice in all these neo-colonies the fact that at independence, the state and economic structures as well as the education systems erected by the respective colonial powers to serve their imperialist ends, were inherited virtually intact. Thereafter, these structures have been broadened and intensified.

The petty bourgeoisie which led the anti-colonial struggles in the respective countries both because of their ideological confusion about colonialism and imperialism and their very class position, were from the beginning unable to see the inter-connection between the fast development of the imperialist countries and the underdevelopment of the colonies. For the same reasons, they were also unable to see the role of the inherited structures in the process of underdevelopment. As a result, all the policies and attempts at economic development of the so-called newly independent countries have been conceived and carried out within the same framework that perpetuates underdevelopment and neo-colonialism.

At the level of political theory, almost all the petty bourgeois regimes and intellectuals have invariably tended to seek original and indigenous ideologies in their pre-colonial societies. In this way, the petty bourgeoisies in the various countries have been trying without much success, to assert their independence from the grand bourgeoisies of Western countries. Hence we have been presented with such backward-looking theories as "African socialism", "Bantu socialism", "Arab socialism" (including Gaddafi's "Third International Theory" based on the Quoran and alleged to be more revolutionary than scientific socialism!), "Pragmatic socialism", and so forth.

None of these "socialisms" shows any understanding of the whole question of development and underdevelopment and their dialectical relationship. On the contrary, they visualize economic development as a function of increased production of primary products for export mainly to the capitalist countries of the West,



assembly plants and loans from the Western controlled World Bank, individual Western states and multinational corporations. None of them questions the relevance of the inherited political and cultural institutions in the so-called struggle against imperialism. All this shows that these "socialisms" are devices for deceiving the masses into believing that the ruling cliques (the bureaucratic bourgeoisie) are seriously committed to the development and true independence of the countries in question; that they hold state power for the sole benefit of the toiling masses.

In other words, the petty bourgeoisie faced with the formidable problems of underdevelopment and the resultant demands of the masses for programmes and projects of socio-economic development which cannot be met within the existing system of production and distribution, has been forced to justify its continuing to be in power by expounding these pseudo-theories. Since in the present epoch the only system that can and does appeal to the toiling masses is "socialism", the petty bourgeoisie has couched its petty bourgeois socio-economic policies in populist socialist rhetoric.

The true political and economic liberation of the toiling masses can only come about through the destruction of the decadent colonial or neo-colonial state<sup>1</sup> and the restructuring of the lop-sided economy. In their place, there would have to be erected a people's democracy in which the workers and peasants would have effective political control. The economy would be comprehensively planned and transformed into a locally based, industrially-integrated, self-reliant and self-generating economy geared to the progressive satisfaction of the needs of the masses as opposed to the needs of international capital based in Western Europe and North America. And in particular, the education system would have to be changed accordingly.

All these and other related revolutionary changes, would require a protracted struggle against imperialism. And precisely because the petty bourgeoisie as a class has vested political and petty economic interests in the status quo which they wish to preserve and consolidate, this struggle would be necessarily against them. This would not be so only if, as Cabral rightly observed, they "commit suicide" as a petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie consciously or instinctively is aware of this. That is why the leading stratum, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and its intellectual wing (University professors and the like) find it absolutely necessary to refute the proletarian ideology which exposes the class nature of, and contradictions in, the existing system and advocates class struggle and scientific socialism.<sup>2</sup> Let us briefly examine some of these attempted refutations.

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1. Including the civil service, the army police force and prisons, the judiciary, and the colonial and neo-colonial laws.
  2. And that is precisely why they are intolerant to their true leftist critics whom they generally keep behind the prison gates. That is why the progressive petty

...ctd.



The very policies of indigenous "socialism" referred to earlier, are not only feeble and self-negating challenges against the imperialist ideology of world domination and exploitation backed by a strong global economic base, but also even feebleness challenges to scientific socialism. They are feeble and self-negating challenges against the imperialist system, precisely because they advocate a backward movement of the present societies to their pre-colonial capitalist stages. This is done in total ignorance of the fact that those societies and their ideologies have been suffering defeat after defeat at the hands of the Western Capitalist societies and ideologies especially from the slave trade era to the present day. And this is because the capitalist mode of production and its attendant ideology are superior to any pre-capitalist social formation - the former represent superior technology. Therefore, seeking political independence and economic development in indigenous "Socialisms", is like seeking shelter in a burnt hut.

The ideological fight against scientific socialism and its advocates, however, in spite of its theoretical importance, has nevertheless been more intense and ruthless than the so-called struggle against imperialism. Under the umbrella of "indigenous socialism" bourgeois ideology continues to thrive and spread under the neo-colonial education systems, the nationalised press and radio/television. Religious are given access to the state controlled press and radio/television as well as schools to spread myths and ideas of individualism which reinforce the process of underdevelopment and capitalism (of a neo-colonial type). "Indigenous socialism" declares that there are no classes and therefore, no class struggle, that all the citizens (in some cases excluding those of foreign origin) are brothers and sisters destined to live together under "God's" protection in peace and harmony. The principal contradiction between imperialism and the people is deliberately mystified. All the fire is turned on scientific socialism and its advocates.

Although Marxism is a secular or materialist world outlook that explains the historical and dynamic development of Mankind as dependent on the productive powers of Mankind itself under different but historically and dialectically linked modes of production, it is branded as 'a theology' and 'metaphysics'. Marxism, as a methodology of thought, research and analysis has given the most authentic and dynamic explanation and exposition of capitalism from its embryonic stages to its highest stage. It has not only exposed that the forces that will destroy capitalism were and continue to be born and lodged in capitalism itself, but also, it irrefutably demonstrates that proletarian or scientific socialism is its only feasible and true negation. It advocates

## 2. (Cont.)

bourgeois leaders (advocates of indigenous socialism) regard true leftist critics as more dangerous than rightists! Although they themselves, by retaining and serving in the colonial state and economic structures, objectively serve imperialism, they tend to accuse their leftist critics of aiding imperialism to fight them. This is like a



that every situation should be studied concretely within a dynamic and historical frame of reference so that the forces or substance underlying observable phenomena may be grasped. Only then should concrete and relevant remedial steps be taken accordingly. It demonstrates theoretically and concretely that true socialism is only feasible and reassured where the workers in alliance with peasants and other oppressed social strata, guided by a proletarian ideology, capture state power, which they should use to destroy the old politico-economic machine and construct their own in its place.

Such is the world outlook and methodology which the petty bourgeois socialists brand as a 'dogmatic' (i.e. undynamic) and 'foreign' ideology! Such is the ideology and system which is mystically presented as irrelevant and inapplicable to the conditions of underdeveloped countries which are faced with problems of production in contradistinction to advanced capitalist countries where the main problem is the bad system of distribution!

But if what is alleged was true, how could one explain the concrete historical experience of socialist construction in formerly colonial and semi-colonial countries? It is important to ask the following rhetorical questions. How can one explain the fact that although both India and the Peoples' Republic of China became politically independent almost at the same time (1947 and 1949, respectively) and had the same socio-economic problem of underdevelopment and overpopulation, their present positions are miles apart? Today, India's position is probably worse than it was in 1949. While China is a fast developing socialist nation, capable of exploding nuclear bombs, sending satellites singing "The East is Red" around the globe, and constructing the epoch-making Great Uhuru Railway. How can we explain the fact that North Korea, a relatively tiny country with a small population of about 13 million people; which was a poor, backward, underdeveloped country up to 1950, is today, in terms of heavy industry, almost comparable to West Germany? While the southern part, under

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3. The stereotyped retort to such a question is that Marxism is proved wrong anyway since Marx predicted that socialism would be built in nature capitalist countries. Anyone who has read Marx and Engels' views on the possibility of building socialism in underdeveloped Russia, should see the weakness of this argument. In any case, Marx emphasized that his theory was not dogma but a guide to action. Moreover, that view shows that those who put it forward display their shallow knowledge of Marxism which has been further elaborated by later Marxists who by using the Marxian methodology of historical and dialectical materialism and the class struggle have answered that question fully. Insubstance, the explanation is that capitalism at its monopoly stage has been able, through the exploitation and underdevelopment of the "Third World", to temporarily bribe



American monopoly capital can only boast of import substitution and of wigs as its main export. What of the Soviet Union which in the course of fifty years had sprang from a backward and mean position into the position of the second most powerful and economically advanced nation in the world? How can we explain the success of the revolutionary and heroic struggles in backward Indochina against mighty imperialism ideologically and physically led by the U.S.A.

Our failure to learn lessons profoundly from these and other glorious successes of Scientific Socialism cannot be attributed to our honest belief that it is irrelevant to our concrete situation. The reason is to be found in our petty bourgeois positions and interests which are epitomised in and well guarded by the status quo.

Only certain aspects of Marxism have been accepted not only by the modern utopian socialists in the Third World, but also by enlightened bourgeois scholars - particularly economists, sociologists and anthropologists in the imperialist countries. The Marxist political economy of capitalism and dialectical and historical materialism have struck deep impressions on those bourgeois and petty bourgeois intellectuals who have cared to study them carefully. This is because these theories are derived from concrete historical experience. The aspects which are unacceptable because their implications are feared, are mainly: materialism and the logical conclusion of the historical class struggle.

In the same way, only certain practices and policies of socialist countries like central planning, self-reliance, state frugality, people's militia, etc., have been appreciated and purportedly emulated only without much success.

In both cases what is not appreciated is firstly that Marxism is a comprehensive indivisible body of thought with a philosophical base in historical and dialectical materialism on which stand the pillars of political economy, and scientific socialism. Secondly, they fail to appreciate and refuse to accept the pains it takes a people guided by the proletarian ideology to fight and defeat imperialism, progressively attain self-reliance in almost every major field of life, and make monumental contributions to the general cause of human liberation from the yoke of world imperialism and neo-colonialism.

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### 3. (Cont.)

the European working class and mute the otherwise antagonistic class contradictions in the West. But precisely because the contradictions in global capitalism are sharpest in the Third World, that is where the anti-capitalist struggles are most natural and urgent. It is the politico-economic overthrow of imperialism and neo-colonialism in the Third World which will lead to the sharpening of the class contradictions in the imperialist countries.



We must realise that our attempts at achieving what the young socialist nations have achieved in only a short period of time will end in total failure and abyssical disappointment, unless we commit suicide as petty bourgeois intellectuals and leaders, adopt a truly scientific ideology that can guide our proper analysis anti-imperialist struggle and reorganisation of our society along truly democratic socialist lines. Otherwise, we are bound to continue seeking the solutions to capitalism and underdevelopment in the imperialist system. It is because of their trotting around the vicious circle of underdevelopment within the imperialist system that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie everywhere fail to reconcile the contradiction between their theoretically egalitarian policies and their concrete actions.

In fact, this contradiction has become quite apparent to the workers through their own bitter experience in the post-Mwongozo days in Tanzania - an experience which they never expected.

The lower echelons of the petty bourgeoisie - including school teachers, secondary school pupils, university students and new graduates who have just joined the bureaucracy, the lower ranking bureaucrats and clerks - have also begun to experience and note the contradiction. Many are complaining about non-participation in decision-making; about not being entrusted with enough responsibility so that they can apply their technocratic skills creatively and to the full; about lack of opportunities for promotions (not a necessarily progressive complaint, but a complaint nevertheless which stems from the expectations which the education system they passed through bears out for its products).

Many letters appearing in the press about bureaucratic malpractices, acts of negligence and inefficiency, come mainly from this stratum.<sup>4</sup> As Hirji predicts, we shall soon experience a deeper and deeper crisis as the bureaucracy's capacity to expand and absorb the ever-increasing numbers of school, college and university leavers, declines and finally closes up. This inevitability, which has befallen such countries as India, Nigeria and other neo-colonies, is quite in sight as the trend has actually begun to run its course.<sup>5</sup>

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4. See the 'Readers' Forums' of the Daily News, Sunday News, Mzalendo and Uhuru of the past three years from which this will become self-evident.

5. Notice the increased rate of crimes like robbery with violence (fire arms), house-breaking and burglary in which unemployed Std. VII school leavers have been mainly involved. Notice the high rate of school leavers flocking into towns for non-existent job opportunities, a state of affairs which forces them to take to crime and prostitution - and notice the "back-to-the land" calls by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, usually accompanied by forcible police action. Notice the employment of graduates in jobs for which they did not train at the university, etc.



The solution to these problems, we repeat, cannot be found in the manipulation and rationalisation of the existing neo-colonial socio-economic system, but outside it. It must be sought in the system that is both superior to, and the true negation of, international capitalism. It is important for the workers, peasants, socialists and patriots to understand that unsystematic strikes, agitations for higher wages and higher prices for agricultural produce and agitation for democratic rights, cannot yield substantial results outside the realm of a fundamentally transformed socio-economic system. This is what they should agitate and urge for, this is what they must struggle for until victory.

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"Anyone in the least acquainted with philosophical literature must know that scarcely a single contemporary Professor of Philosophy (or of Theology) can be found who is not directly or indirectly engaged in refuting materialism. They have declared materialism refuted a thousand times, yet are continuing to refute it for the thousand and first time ....."

V. I. Lenin, Materialism  
and Empirio-Criticism,  
pp. 10.



SOME OF MINDS

By

WILLIAM KENNEDY

We say,  
 Time has come,  
 When we brewers of bread,  
 In entirety for some,  
 Now possess a thread,  
 And needles,  
 Weaving for wholesome,  
 In quest for power.

Yes,  
 We have loved our fingers,  
 And maimed our hands,  
 In that Sea of Servitude,  
 And we are naked tailors,  
 Of no magnitude,  
 In the cloudy atmosphere,  
 Of encompassed fear,  
 Generated for your survival.

And now we say "BAST!"  
 For conscious we tame,  
 The paths of your wheels,  
 And the furnished bungalows,  
 Which shed lifelessness,  
 In our Shanties;  
 And we shall pour our red tears,  
 Out of palms and necks,  
 In quest for power now,  
 For a backbone we are,  
 In all your life spheres.

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# THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN TANZANIA

by

Henry Mapolu

By any standards the progress made by the working population in Tanzania in the last few years as far as political consciousness is concerned is astounding. To begin with, at no other time in the whole history of this country have strikes and industrial disputes generally been so much a day-to-day affair as has become since 1970. But more important, at no other time have such strikes and disputes been of such a political nature! Not even at the height of the nationalist agitation against colonial rule in 1958-60 was such a level ever reached.

It has indeed been a veritable revolution for the Tanzanian workers; within a period of three years they have moved from a state of docility, timidity, and above all disunity to one of tremendous bravery, initiative and class solidarity. The more one examines the issue the more one gets convinced that there is plenty of revolutionary potential in the Tanzanian working class still untapped.

In 1927 Mao Tse-tung conducted a class investigation in the Hunan province of/then "semi-feudal and semi-colonial" China. What he then said of the peasant movement that he found there is very much akin to what I feel the urge to say of the present workers' movement in Tanzania. Substitute "workers" for "peasants" and "Tanzania" for "China" in the following quote from Mao's report and you get what I have in mind:

...the present upsurge of the peasant movement is a colossal event. In a very short time, in China's central, southern and northern provinces, several hundred million peasants will rise like a mighty storm, like a hurricane, a force so swift and violent that no power, however great, will be able to hold it back. They will smash all the trammels that bind them and rush forward along the road to liberation. They will sweep all the imperialists, warlords, corrupt officials, local tyrants and evil gentry into their graves. Every revolutionary party and every revolutionary comrade will be put to the test, to be accepted or rejected as they decide. There are three alternatives. To march at their head and lead them? To trail behind them, gesticulating and criticizing? Or to stand in their way and oppose them? Every Chinese is free to choose, but events will force you to make the choice quickly.<sup>1</sup>

But of course it is not possible for me to make the same conclusive statements on the Tanzanian workers' movement. Chairman Mao made those statements after a thorough investigation of what was going on in his country; I have not yet carried out such

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1. "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan" in Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965) vol. 1, p. 23-24.



investigation at close range to be able to draw similar conclusions.

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For this reason, presently I am not concerned with analysing in depth the current workers' movement in Tanzania; rather I want simply to put on record the trends of this movement which seem to be very clear. In thus doing I hope I shall be able to chart out in very general terms the direction and momentum of the movement, and perhaps also I shall indicate some of the major points which research on this subject should be able/unravel. It hardly needs to be emphasised that such research is long overdue.

(b)

The incidents of mid-June 1973 - though admittedly very dramatic - were simply a culmination of events that have been unfolding since the late 1960s but more spectacularly since 1970. Nevertheless, the action of workers to seize factories and institutions owned by capitalists in June 1973 was indeed a landmark in the history of our country; it marked an unprecedented level in political consciousness on the part of the workers. There is no doubt that the decision emanated from the workers' realization at last that disputes and conflicts with managers and employers cannot end as long as the factories are privately owned; the only permanent cure, therefore, is for the working class to expropriate - forcibly if necessary - the capitalists.

The years 1970 and 1971 in Tanzania were marked by a strong wave of strikes. Day in day out, strikes recurred again and again, in some cases as many as four stoppages occurring in one factory within a year. I have surveyed these strikes and their reasons in another article,<sup>2</sup> and I do not intend to go over them here. But as I then noted, these strikes were generally not concerned with wages, they were directed mainly against the commandism and abuses of the managers and bureaucrats. The promulgation of Mwongozo in 1971 with a penchant clause on commandism armed the workers with a portent weapon with which to deal with the bureaucracy. For the first time in history, we had in Tanzania numerous strikes not concerned at all with wages and other remunerations. The age of docility and humbleness at the oppression and humiliation of the petty bourgeoisie had passed for the Tanzanian worker.

A second point which I noted as regards these strikes is the disciplined nature in which they were organised and staged. No damage was to be caused, everything was to be done according to plan, petitions were to be made in an orderly manner, political principles enunciated by the Party were to be closely adhered to, and where demands are met by the relevant authorities promptly extra hours of work are to be given by the workers in compensation for production lost while the strike was going on.

We should note however that tendencies towards repressing the workers have been considerable. Though generally the bureaucracy has been lenient in dealing with these cases - perhaps fearing worse repercussions in case repressive measures are adopted - attempts at high-handedness have been forthcoming consistently. It is such measures that seem to have produced higher consciousness on the part of the workers, thus carrying

2. See my "Crisis of Strikes" in Jenga No. 12 (1972)



(10)

the struggle so many steps ahead. New tactics and methods are resorted to as repression takes place.

For instance, this first phase of the workers' movement can be said to have come to a close sometime in August 1972 with the harsh measures taken against the workers of the Sungura textile mill. In a rather unprecedented manner, some thirty workers of the firm were chosen to be the scapegoats. Instead of the recalcitrant management of the firm, these were declared to be the cause of the frequent strikes at the factory. They were expelled from the factory by order of government.

Since the government statement then issued harped a great deal at the "losses" incurred at the factory as a result of the work stoppages, the workers in factories generally seem to have changed tactics from then on. In a very one-sided and subjective manner, the statement had merely recounted the metres of cloth lost as a result of the strikes at Sunguratex without ever considering the outcome of those strikes in terms of better management, political consciousness, and general involvement of the workers in all the affairs of the firm.

Nevertheless, from then on the tactic of strikes generally faded; in its place the lock-out technique came to the fore. Instead of striking because of the commandist or abusive practices of a boss, the workers would now simply lock out the boss in question until their grievances are solved satisfactorily. In this way, no one can come out with figures of losses since production would go on all the time the boss is refused permission to enter the firm's premises. At times the workers have made it a point to step up production during that period just to ward off any accusation from any quarters that they are causing damage to the "national economy".

This second phase in the workers' movement was also characterised by another significant point: the fact that the workers' grievances shifted from the question of humiliation and oppression on their persons by managements as was the case in the first phase to issues of general mismanagement and sabotage of the country's economy and its policies. Increasingly, the lock-outs stemmed from managers misusing public funds, squandering resources, failing to uphold national policies, and so forth. The clause in Mwongozo referred to often no longer became solely No. 15 which deals with commandism, but No. 33 which says, in part, "The Party must ensure that the parastatals do not spend money extravagantly on items which do not contribute to the development of the national economy as a whole".

Hence it is clear that this phase was much higher than the earlier one, the workers widened their sphere of interest in their struggle with bureaucracy from grievances concerning their own persons to those concerning the fate of the country as a whole even if they themselves are not touched directly. This phase also showed that the workers were now becoming aware of the problems of underdevelopment and the tasks and requirements of socialist construction - and the role of bureaucrats in sabotaging such efforts.

In mid-May 1973, for instance, the 900 workers of the British-America Tobacco factory in Dar es Salaam charged their personnel manager with four counts: misusing a company vehicle for a private trip to Bukoba resulting in an accident and hence



costs to the company amounting to some six thousand shillings, misusing some six thousand shillings for a private party, non-involvement in activities with other workers (e.g. not taking meals with the rest of the workers as all other staff do), and practicing tribalism in recruiting personnel. The manager was subsequently locked out as the charges were being studied by TANU, NUTA, and MDC (which has controlling shares in the firm), and at the time of writing (first week of July) the issue has not yet been solved and the manager is still out. (On May 23rd he somehow managed to slip through the gate, a fact which caused the 900 workers to stop work completely for eight hours until he was evicted),

This second phase has been most crucial as we have pointed out. In this the bureaucrats have in fact found it difficult to deal with the workers. It will be recalled that in the earlier phase apart from expulsions and arrests of striking workers, a frequent tone that was chanted exceedingly was that the workers were misinterpreting Mwongozo and that clause 15 should be "revised". Now that in the second phase the workers were referring to many other clauses the bureaucrats had no other alternative except asking for the banning of Mwongozo altogether - an idea which they definitely entertain but one which they cannot articulate publicly and loudly. Similarly, repressive measures in this phase became very difficult to mount and rationalize.

It was from this background that the third phase of the movement was finally reached in the middle of 1973 when for the first time workers resorted to seizing capitalist property. It was indeed the zenith of political initiative and bravery on their part. The consequences could not have been unclear to anyone. Perhaps in this light the harsh manner in which the bureaucracy reacted to this initiative of the workers is not at all surprising, for what such actions by workers could have been followed with was anybody's imagination.

Because of the importance of the action of the workers, and because of the far-reaching nature of the steps taken by the bureaucracy in response, I would like to recapitulate all the developments of May/June 1973 so that we may never forget them.

For this, I am relying completely on press reports. This should be borne in mind since in Tanzania the press has not demonstrated much liking towards the workers. It would have been more useful, of course, to investigate these developments at source; but since I was not in a position to do such investigation, I cannot but rely on the press.<sup>3</sup>

On May 25th the workers of Rubber Industries Limited locked out the firm's managing director, Mr. Ibrahim, and the assistant personnel officer, Mr. Kiangala. The manager who was also the main shareholder of the firm, was accused of using abusive language to the workers, while the personnel officer was accused of high-handedness. "The workers do not want Mr. Kiangala because in the seven months since he came to the firm he has already sacked ten workers and gave warning to more than half of the work-force. They claim he has also refused to reinstate three workers whose reinstatement has been ordered by the Permanent Labour Tribunal".<sup>4</sup>

3. Where reference is to Uhuru, the translation is mine.

4. Uhuru, May 26th



On May 30th the workers, while still looking up the two officials - decide to take complete control of the firm. "All the workers declared before the Regional Commissioner that they would never allow Mr. Ibrahim to enter the premises of the firm again and that they were capable of running the firm more efficiently than their former employer. Mr. Kisumu told them that if they were capable, their action would be historic in Tanzania. It would open a new chapter in the war against exploitation. They would be fostering the policy of socialism and respect for mankind".<sup>5</sup>

The following day the workers re-affirm their decision to control the firm as Mr. Ibrahim refuses to sign a cheque that would enable the workers to receive their wages - it being the end of the month. On June 1st, a weekly column in the Daily News by Jenerali Ulinwengu applauds the workers for their bold step; "...what the workers of Rubber Industries did on Wednesday - deciding to take over and run the firm - is a revolutionary act, and should be encouraged. Also, its implications in other slightly different establishments should be taken seriously".

Meanwhile, the government machinery also is all in favour of the workers' move, the area commissioner and the regional labour officer even take it upon themselves to ensure that Mr. Ibrahim is made to sign the cheque which he does on June 2nd.

But on the 1st the workers of the Night Watch Security Force (T) Limited "took over the responsibility for running the firm after the managing director Mr. Tommy Kanji had absconded from the country. Announcing the move yesterday the Workers' Committee said that the workers had decided to take over the firm because 'we feel that we are being exploited by a man who is not even in the country'. Among the workers' charges against the former Manager and owner is that before he left the country without informing them he had burnt all the accounts books of the firm, and did not pay the firm's 1969 and 1970 income tax. Kanji also had sold his two houses and two cars and got his money in Europe".<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently the night guards elected a ten-man committee to run the 500 strong force and draft a new constitution. "Earlier Mr. Kisumu accompanied by the area commissioner, Mr. Shungu, hailed the workers for their revolutionary action in fighting against exploiters in the country".<sup>7</sup>

The Party paper, in a front-page report, announces that "capitalism in Tanzania yesterday received another blow after some 500 workers of the Night Watch Security Force took over completely the management and running of the firm in a co-operative way yesterday". It also carries an editorial on the issue encouraging other workers to follow suit.<sup>8</sup>

On June 9th the columnist Chengwa Chenge - who is notorious for his anti-workers sentiments and who has frequently expressed neo-fascist views on the workers' movement in Tanzania<sup>+</sup> - surprises people by applauding this new step of the workers. Significantly titling his column "Workers take the Proletarian Line", he goes on:

Of late, we in Tanzania have been enjoying excellent revolutionary tidings. Workers have been seizing capitalist property and converting it into people's property. How good! How revolutionary! There is

5. Daily News, May 31st.

6. Daily News, June 2nd.

7. Daily News, June 7th.

8. Uhuru, June 7th.

+ Just a few weeks previously, for instance,



(Footnote with + continued)

he had launched a tirade against the Tanzanian workers claiming that they were in effect playing a counter-revolutionary role. Confusing various Marxist concepts, he concluded that "the leading force of the Tanzanian revolution" was the peasantry. Let us look at his main arguments:

He argued that leadership in the rural areas is in the hands of the most hardworking peasants:

What do we find in the factories and offices where the so-called leaders of the revolution work? We find that almost in all cases, those elected to the leadership of workers' committees and workers' councils are so elected because they are trouble-shooters. What workers would not know the difference between a chatter-box and an exemplary fellow worker? The situation is now that we face the danger of workers' committees and workers' councils being turned into instruments for perpetuating "majungu" instead of instruments for the implementation of socialist policies!

He argued that the peasants are very well-organised in ujamaa villages, stamping out exploitation and crime and defending the nation:

This is the leading power of the peasants in Tanzania today. The workers seem to be good only in organising demonstrations when the peasants accomplish such feats in defence of the motherland!!! And of course let us not forget. The workers also these days seem to be good only in misinterpreting TANU policies to suit non-productivity. Mwongozo is the greatest victim. Clause 15 and now 28 of Mwongozo are the most abused.

He argued that the workers are in fact exploiting the peasants;

And yet, it is the workers who benefit most from even the toil of the peasants. It is the workers who live relatively more comfortably in towns where there is electricity, ample clean free water, hospitals and dispensaries, good roads, national housing projects and kindergartens for their children. It is also these workers who enjoy pensions and N.P.F. benefits. Is it not the height of immaturity for them to indulge in anti-production gestures when they should be working day and night to compensate for the good things of life they are enjoying at the expense of the toiling peasants?

Writing at a time when, as we have seen, political consciousness among the workers was rising to ever higher and higher levels, through his way of reasoning he concluded:

Let's face it. There are tendencies towards apathy and anarchy among the workers in Tanzania today. The party must step in to give the workers much needed political education to raise their consciousness which at the moment is in disgraceful shape.

(Daily News, September 2nd. 1972).

Is this the same author who on June 9th was to write "enjoying excellent revolutionary tidings" among the Tanzanian workers? Yes, for all opportunists are double-



no need to justify the seizure of capitalist property by workers. The issue is as clear as day. In any case the time for justifying our actions to exploiters has long passed....History is reckoning with the poor of Tanzania and those who have for years fattened themselves on the sweat and blood of Tanzanian workers and peasants must now face the music. There is no mercy. Capitalists in Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa must tremble at what is taking place in Tanzania. They must gnaw their teeth and groan. The revolutionary wheel of history is closing steadily on them. As the old adage goes, a single spark can start a prairie fire.

Despite the eloquence and rhetoric, it was not to be long before the Daily News, in its usual opportunist manner, was to launch a tirade against workers seizing capitalist property. But we must not anticipate our story.

On June 12th the workers of the Aluminium Africa Company (Aluco) lock out the personnel officer, Mr. Masabala, and the production manager, Mr. Mayer, for expelling one worker without any reasonable cause. (The worker in question had on that fateful day driven a company vehicle in order to get to the house of a company mechanic after the vehicle's driver had said he did not know where the mechanic lived. For doing this, the worker - who had served the company for about ten years - was sacked forthwith.)

In the tug-of-war that ensued between the workers and the management as to whether the one worker should be reinstated or the two officials should be allowed to re-enter the company premises, the workers finally won and had their colleague reinstated. But then they decided to continue locking out the two officers until charges against them (10 against Mayer and 4 against Masabala) are investigated and the issue is solved once and for all.

On June 17th the workers of Mount Carmel Rubber Factory Limited decide to take over the firm from the owner, Mr. Yazdani, who is then locked out. The regional commissioner however vehemently opposes such move - although only a few days prior to this he had supported such move as far as Rubber Industries (which is next to Mount Carmel) was concerned.

Mr. Kisumo said that although the principle of nationalisation of firms is honoured by the Party, the whole question calls for a disciplined procedure in its implementation. He said the decision taken by the workers was not consistent with principles of TANU. The workers claimed their employer, Mr. M.R. Yazdani, was mistreating them and they had sent their complaints several times to higher Party officials without any action being taken. They claimed he was doing business mainly with capitalist firms and countries outside Tanzania while there were industries in our country which needed the products of the factory.

TO BE CONTINUED

Despite the refusal of the regional commissioner, however, the workers still insist on taking over the firm.

Their employer remained locked out of the firm while they continued work under the supervision of the TANU and workers' committees. The workers claim that their demands were very serious on labour grounds and politically and that they were not at any time



On 10/10/1964, the following information was received from the Bureau of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D.C. regarding the above captioned matter:

On June 19th the Regional Commissioner tries his best again at persuading the workers of Mount Carmel/ist their employer back to his property. To make his arguments stronger, this time he goes to the factory with a contingent of policemen. But the workers are not impressed:

So the regional commissioner leaves the premises, the workers resume work, and militia-men resume guarding the factory last Mr. Vardani should appear in the neighbourhood.

10. Daily News, June 19th.

12. Daily News, June 20th.

13. Umaru, June 20th.



...with the workers. For  
reason, the next day he does not go back to work. Instead,  
a labour officer accompanied by policemen and armed men  
factory at 11 a.m. while the workers are still busy working.

An official from the Ministry accompanied by a number  
of policemen called at the factory in Chakraborty and  
issued to all the workers what he called a Government  
Order. He said that those workers who were not ready  
to work under Mr. Yazdani should stay apart from those  
who accepted his leadership. All workers who refused  
to accept their employer's leadership were ordered to  
enter parked vehicles. Sixty-two were driven away to  
the Central Police Station leaving the industry with  
only 15 workers...At the central police station the  
held workers said that although they did not know their  
fate they still stood by their refusal to work under  
Mr. Yazdani, whom they described as an exploiter and  
an oppressor. "We are members of TANU and it would be  
a sin for us to work under this man, whose character  
contradicts TANU policies. If we agree to work under  
him, then we shall be offending Party policies, something  
which we shall never do as long as we are members of the  
Party".<sup>14</sup>

At 2 p.m. four workers of Mount Carmel who had been to hospital  
on the saga at the factory was taking place report for duty. Told  
what had happened, they decide to side with their colleagues;  
they therefore report also at the central police station and are  
promptly locked in with the others.

Meanwhile Yazdani is of course back at the factory. He tells  
the few workers left not to worry "because he started the firm with  
only one worker and he was optimistic that the firm would continue  
growing".<sup>15</sup> He praises the government action which he says was  
a very good exercise because the production of any factory depends  
on discipline from the workers.<sup>16</sup> He does not of course say  
anything about discipline from employers and managers!

At the police station the workers have their finger-prints  
and photographs taken - as one would do with hard core criminals.  
The government naturally issues a statement on Mount Carmel and  
he take-overs generally. It states that the decision to arraign  
the workers "because it could no longer tolerate such unruly  
behaviour on the part of the workers".<sup>18</sup> While just a few days  
previously take-overs had been hailed as "revolutionary and  
historic", now it is said that the fact that workers at two other  
firms were allowed to take over their firms "did not mean and  
shall not mean that TANU and the government have now permitted  
them the workers to invade industries or that it should now be the  
method of nationalising industries".<sup>17</sup>

The following morning one more worker who had reportedly not  
sided with his colleagues throughout the conflict with Yazdani  
decides he has to show solidarity with his colleagues. He reports  
at the central police station and asks to be arrested; the police  
open the cells and he re-unites with his mates.

Meanwhile the press which had been praising the take-overs  
now launches a tirade against the "unruly behaviour" of workers.  
The Daily News naturally editorializes praising the government

14. Daily News, June 21st.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Uhuru, June 21st.



action in arresting, packing and ordering the "repatriation" of the workers to the villages where they were respectively born. (In Africa, the place for the residence of the "native" is still the "reserve" even in the post-colonial era; thus when a "native" commits a sin in the towns - the master's residence - he must be "repatriated" to the "reserves"). The Daily News says all this was done for the benefit of socialism in Tanzania:

Socialism is coming. This no one can prevent... The action was not meant for the benefit of a capitalist or a group of capitalists. In the final analysis it was for the benefit of the workers of Tanzania themselves.<sup>18</sup>

Needless to say, complications develop as to how to "repatriate" the sacked workers and their families to their respective "homes" under police escort as ordered. Their request that they be sent where together they could start their own ujamaa villages falls on deaf ears. Hence they have to remain in the cells for days and days:

Yesterday was their third day in the cells. According to the police, delay in repatriating the workers was due to the failure of the warrant issuing officer to report early enough for duty at the station. However, police did not seem to be sure on how to conduct the repatriation.<sup>19</sup>

On June 26th the regional commissioner, Mr. P. Kisumo, is removed from the coast region. His place is taken by Rwegasira, general manager of the Friendship Textile Mill.

Now the workers will fare under the new commissioner remains to be seen. Now they have a manager himself as commissioner. But it should be remembered that before becoming factory manager, Mr. Rwegasira was a leading official of NUTA and is a long-time trade unionist.

And thus this brings us to the question of NUTA in all this. In the Jenga article I had pointed out that NUTA seems to have been completely separated from the workers' movement. None of the strikes of the 1970-71 was organised by NUTA; in many instances NUTA was as ignorant of what was happening in the midst of the workers as the managements were. In some cases it is NUTA which has been the organisation used to either clobber the workers or hoodwink them to accept compromises with capitalists and bureaucrats.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the workers have consistently been opposed to any intervention by NUTA in their conflicts. When the workers of Rubber Industries started the ball of take-overs rolling, they stated right from the start that they did not want their case to be handled by NUTA.

We do not want NUTA officials because the firm's director has told us time and again that the whole of the NUTA organisation is in his control and that therefore we would never be listened to by that organisation. We have also proved that his words are very true for we have been requesting the NUTA officials to come and deal with our problems since April 9th but all in vain. They have not even answered the three letters we wrote to them.<sup>20</sup>

18. Daily News, June 22nd.

19. Daily News, June 23rd.

20. Uhuru, May 26th.



Further, the workers' committee at the factory had claimed that "Most NUTA officials cannot confront the managing director of the firm, Mr. M. Ibrahim, because he helped them by employing their girl friends and relatives at the firm". For this reason, a NUTA official who arrived at the factory on the day of the problems "was not allowed even to alight from his car by the workers who were booing and calling him a hypocrite (mufiki)".<sup>21</sup> In their accusation against the assistant personnel officer of the firm, they said he had also threatened us that nothing could be done to him because he was brought to the firm by the Minister for Labour (who was also the NUTA General Secretary) and that since he had previously sided with NUTA, no one would listen to us".<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps it was therefore very surprising that NUTA came out against the arrest and "repatriation" of the Mount Carmel workers.

NUTA is to petition the Party and Government over the dismissal of 67 workers from the Mount Carmel Rubber factory, Dar es Salaam, the union's Director of Organisation and Publicity, Mr. D.B.S. Zimbihile, said yesterday. The union, he said, was satisfied that the Government action in dismissing the workers was "too rash and too harsh" and was given without sufficient and proper investigations being made. NUTA had been greatly shocked by this "severest action taken against workers in the whole history of our nation". Mr. Zimbihile charged that the dismissal of the workers was a direct result of lack of revolutionary wisdom on the part of those individuals who were charged with finding a solution to the issues the workers had raised.<sup>24</sup>

Coming from NUTA, this was indeed a paradox. It was so not only because of what is known about NUTA, but particularly since only a few days previously NUTA had expressed a total anti-worker stand on the question of take-overs, and the stand was made ironically by the same Mr. Zimbihile. When the workers of Rubber Industries decided to take over the firm, NUTA condemned them:

The Director of Organisation and Publicity of NUTA, Mr. D. Zimbihile, yesterday said that the workers were very wrong in their decision and that the consequences of their step might be grave for them. Mr. Zimbihile said the workers had broken a law by locking out their employer ("tajiri wao"), the law that prohibits strikes.<sup>25</sup>

(c)

It should be clear that there is something substantial in all that is going on in our factories. What the workers have been agitating for since the end of the 1960s has not yet been explained in clear terms; in fact the whole issue of the workers in post-independence (and particularly post-Mwongozo) Tanzania seems to have been swept under the carpet. The public authorities and various ideologues have dwelt on the peasantry - as if the workers just did not exist!

Is it any wonder that they have been anxious to attract attention whenever they felt an opportunity existed?

21. Uhuru, May 26th.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Daily News, June 23rd.

25. Uhuru, May 28th.



The most intriguing question in this whole issue, as I have pointed out in another article,<sup>26</sup> is the manner of organisation which has made possible the seemingly spontaneous actions of the workers. It will be recalled that - particularly in the first phase of the movement consisting of strikes - workers more often than not organised completely outside the established organisations. Neither the workers' committees nor the TANU branches were behind these strikes. How then was it possible for the workers to organise at such a scale without using the known platforms?

One school of thought has it that there are no genuine grievances in this whole movement of the workers, that in actual fact the tumult is all a result of troublesome elements in the midst of the workers.

The simplistic nature of this view is readily apparent. To begin with, it is impossible to explain how such a large mass of workers could have been mobilised into action time and again if there were no substantive grievances - since repression was often forthcoming anyway. Secondly, attempts to uproot "ringleaders" and such other "troublesome" elements do not seem to have succeeded in scoffing off the movement, if anything they have simply aggravated the situation. Look at the Dar es Salaam Motor Transport company: it was decided that all those who allegedly agitated for strike action should be held in custody; the bureaucrats got the shock when all the workers in unison went on strike two days later - "ringleaders" or no "ringleaders"!

It may be true that some of the grievances of the workers have not been articulated satisfactorily, and they may have appeared far-fetched to some. When it is demanded that an officer be ousted because of his "arrogance", people may not easily be convinced. They might tend to think that that is a very feeble excuse of workers wanting to get rid of a probably hardworking manager! Even if this was so, it would seem that it is a matter for really urgent investigation so as to unearth the fundamental factors for the present crisis.

But our view is that the expressed grievances of the workers are both genuine and substantive. The "arrogance" of the petty bourgeoisie should never be underestimated. All those who, like me, have been an industrial worker at one time or another and for an extended period, will realize the social and economic weight the worker shoulders in his relation with the manager and his army of overseers and supervisors. It is not only that he is socially and psychologically repressed, but his whole fate seems to be under the control of the manager and his staff. And it is well-known that managers utilise their power to "hire and fire" according to whims only. Listen to this:

Thirteen workers of the Tanzania Breweries Limited have been dismissed. It is believed that the sacked workers are alleged by their employers to be trouble-rousers and that their dismissal came under the umbrella of the labour unrest experienced at the firm on May 30th...It has been learned that some of the sacked workers were not involved in the (unrest), but since they were on the firm's "black list" alleged by their heads of department to be "stubborn" they had to be told to go. Brewery officials stated yesterday that all the workers who were involved in the May 30 work stoppage would not get that day's pay. But it is further said some of the workers who were not involved would also not receive the day's pay because they were somehow stubborn.<sup>27</sup>

26. Cf. "The Organisation and Participation of Workers in Tanzania", T.R.B. Paper 72/1.

27. Daily News, May 11th.



Such deliberate and flagrant provocation is the prelude for workers' searches for all sorts of alternatives. The decision arrived at after such searches may be to go on strike, to lock somebody out, or to seize the factory. When it is taken the grievances expressed may be crudely articulated as simply "arrogance" on the part of management. These people will naturally not understand. But for the workers involved, this has real meaning, in fact it may be a life and death matter - even if it is not so well-articulated. Otherwise you would not have workers risking the loss of income for their families, and even arrests and "repatriations".

One other factor is that of the "workers' committee". It seems to talk about these now, it seems everyone has seen that the exercise in workers' participation was a fiasco and has failed lamentably. The managers have refused to let loose the reins of power even for token purposes, on the other hand the workers have refused to be co-opted by the managers (even if this was practically possible). Rather than co-operation between the two sides, what we see since the idea of workers' participation was launched is struggle - and a bitter struggle at that!

All these are matters which should be examined carefully and at close range by all socialists in Tanzania.

But as I suggested at the beginning one thing which is clear is that the movement has imparted tremendous political awareness in the Tanzanian working people. In fact as we have seen the various phases of the movement have been a result of higher and higher understanding.

Coupled with the fact that the workers have largely lost their orthodox migrant characteristic, as von Freyhold has demonstrated through research,<sup>28</sup> they are rapidly becoming a politically conscious class. It is no wonder therefore that increasingly they have been conquering the various divisive barriers erected by the colonial situation. When the nearly one thousand workers of British America Tobacco accused their personnel manager of tribalism in his recruitment of staff, subsequent investigations found out that 86 per cent of the company's staff (apart from those coming from the district in which the firm is located) were of one tribe. This meant that the vast majority of those workers locking him out and who went on strike punctually when he somehow managed to enter the factory were of his own tribe! They were opposing a divisive practice even if they themselves were thus its temporary beneficiary.

On the other hand, we also know that what Shivji has called the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie" has crystallized and consolidated itself as a class - controlling not only the administrative apparatus but also the economic reins of the country as a result of the nationalizations and the disintegration of the Asian "commercial bourgeoisie".<sup>29</sup>

It is not at all surprising, therefore, that it is increasingly becoming apparent that the major and sharpest contradiction internally in Tanzania is that between the working class and the "bureaucratic bourgeoisie". I cannot arrogate to myself the right to forecast what this contradiction will give rise to in the near future. We shall let time tell us on this.

But one thing is definitely sure: "the struggle continues".

28. N. von Freyhold, "The Workers and the Mizers" mimeo.

29. "The Class Struggle Continues" - Institute of Development Studies, mimeo.



REVOLUTION AND CLASS ALLIANCES:A SHORT COMMENT

By

Nga Taliso

Henry Mapolu's article opens up the important question of the role of the working class as an agency of revolution in Africa. The high political consciousness of the Tanzanian workers that Mapolu describes, at the least, throws doubts on the various theories of "labour aristocracy", etc., bandied around not only by progressive petty bourgeois regimes but even by some who would describe themselves as Marxists. There is nothing wrong in questioning or reassessing the role of any class as the agency of revolution for science requires that a concrete analysis be made of each concrete situation. There are no general formulae on these issues. But then it is precisely the theorists of "labour aristocracy" in Africa who expound the general formula of peasants as opposed to workers being revolutionary. The level at which this debate is taking place is around the question of the role of the workers vis-a-vis the peasantry in the revolutions in Africa. It is at this general level therefore that the following few comments are being offered.

The fact that a number of African progressive petty bourgeois regimes should be vehemently anti-worker and expound the theory that the peasantry is the most exploited and therefore the most revolutionary should itself make a genuine revolutionary suspicious of the hypothesis. It is true that in a neo-colonial situation the peasant finds himself at the "exploited" end of the world capitalist system and lives in most miserable conditions. Therefore, in relation to imperialism the peasant and the worker are both exploited. But this does not justify making both the peasant and the worker as simply members of the same class - the all embracing 'working class'. For the purposes of a specific revolutionary strategy this is not only mistaken but dangerous. The role played by a particular class in the historically determined production process and its social and political relations with other classes in the system are crucial when it comes to determine the revolutionary potential of a particular class.

The peasant in Africa - (and probably it is truer to speak in terms of peasants - the small-landholder or the small-commodity producer - rather than a peasantry) - is essentially a small-property owner. His aspirations are those of a petty bourgeois. His social milieu is woven around his land - land is the be-all and the end-all of his life. In some countries like Tanzania where in large parts there is no land problem and the feudal system of land ownership is not widespread, there is not even a social consciousness of a peasantry as such. When one speaks of a 'peasantry' in such cases one is really referring to individual peasant households divided rather than united by their relation to land. For a unity of a class becomes potential only when there is another class standing in opposed relation to it with respect to the means of production. This is not the case with the small-landholder. Whereas the private ownership of the means of production of a capitalist unites him with other capitalists because all of them in common stand opposed to the workers as non-owners and vice-versa, the ownership of the small-commodity

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\* These theories take various forms from those who argue that in the African situations workers are 'privileged' elite and therefore not revolutionary to those who talk in terms of workers 'exploiting' peasants.



producer divides him from his fellow. When this is compounded with low technology and output the sheer question of immediate survival becomes overwhelming. If anything this arrests generating a common political consciousness in the peasantry - rather the consciousness begins and ends with nationalist feelings with politics and only secondarily with superstition dominates.

But the African peasant does not exist in isolation: his mode of production is integrated in the world capitalist system. The African peasant who has undergone colonialism and now is part of the world capitalist system is, therefore, different from the classical peasant, though at the same time sharing many characteristics with the latter because of his mode of production. The classical small-owner was the predecessor of the capitalist: his aspirations were to become a capitalist and therefore he found himself the ally of the bourgeoisie. In the African case, on the other hand, he is objectively exploited by the international bourgeoisie: this brings a limited solidarity among peasants. In so far as imperialism also exploits the workers, it is the common enemy of both the workers and the peasants. Therefore, the peasantry forms a reliable ally of the working class, albeit its mode of production does not allow it to seek for an alternative system based on radically opposite relations of production. This is what limits the revolutionary potential of the peasantry, whose most radical ideology cannot transcend the bounds of populism based on private ownership: ("land to the tiller!"). Hence, it cannot be a leading revolutionary force but only the main force in alliance with the working class, the only class which can fight for revolutionary goals.

In the African situation the working class cannot do this alone, however. The neo-colonial nature of the economy keeps the numbers of that class very small compared to the whole population. In a protracted guerrilla struggle - and this appears to be the most viable form that the actual armed struggle against the forces of imperialism is likely to take in many, if not all, African countries - the numbers, i.e., the physical force and the ability to keep a base area counts decisively.\*

Thus it follows that both, the objective interests of the peasantry against imperialism and its mass physical force, make it an indispensable ally of the working class. It is not surprising, therefore, that many an urban-based petty bourgeois regimes of Africa should want to drive a wedge between these potential allies by harping on workers as exploiting peasants. Nor it is surprising that they should consider the workers rather than the peasants as their long-term class enemy.

Finally, the success of such an alliance and the possibility of a genuine revolution can only be guaranteed under the leadership of the proletarian ideology. Consciously or unconsciously, the petty bourgeois regimes - being in power and having an instinctive knack for keeping it - realise this. Hence, their fanatic opposition to scientific socialism and the proletarian ideology. Ruthless suppression of the intellectuals and the lower sectors of the petty bourgeoisie - the potential carriers of revolutionary ideology to the masses - is no accident either.

This brings us to the question of the role of the lower sections of the petty bourgeoisie in Africa. These sections - like school and ex-school students; lower ranks of the administrative, economic and military personnel, etc., - are finding themselves increasingly closer to workers rather than the core of the petty bourgeoisie. Having had some education, their aspirations are

Again this does not mean that the urban-worker-guerrilla is ruled out: in some situations (Uruguay in Latin America, for instance) in fact he would be the leading fighting force as well. And in any case, in almost all situations, the economically strategic position occupied by the workers means that at one or other stage of the struggle the role of the workers as a fighting force would be decisive in winning individual battles along the path of the revolutionary war.



dominantly to "rise" and to join the higher bureaucratic positions like their forerunners. But the stagnant nature of the economy is incapable of absorbing the product of the expanding education resulting in frustrations and discontentment for these sections. And when discontentment takes the form of vocal opposition it elicits violent repression from the powers-that-be. Thus objectively these sections find themselves being oppressed by the same ruling class as that which oppresses the workers. Given their basically petty bourgeois aspirations, life style and work process, however their spontaneous ideological consciousness is essentially reactionary and therefore their loyalty is shifting and unreliable. They can play a progressive role only under the leadership and the discipline of the proletarian ideology. This condition fulfilled they can become a useful ally of the workers and the peasants because of their education, skills and their greater understanding of the world generally.

In conclusion, let it be emphasised that the generalised theories of "labour aristocracy" (in which is included the whole working class); or the workers being dumped together with the peasants in the same class; or an undifferentiated treatment of the petty bourgeoisie as a whole are dangerous and unscientific. What is required is a differentiated analysis of the concrete situations and a realisation that varied class alliances are possible depending on the stage of development and the identification of the long and short term goals.

In such an analysis, it is important to distinguish between a class as a revolutionary force whose objective aim is to smash the existing system and to institute an opposite one, and a class as a physical force whose objective interests are short-term and necessarily reformist. It is also important to realise that in the present 'third world' situation it is only an alliance between the two which is capable of achieving both the short-term and the long-term goals and that such an alliance, or a genuine revolution cannot succeed unless married with correct subjective conditions - the leadership of the proletarian ideology - in which individual members from the petty bourgeoisie are likely to play a central role as the carriers of revolutionary ideology to workers and peasants.

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"The peasant by himself, can never acquire a revolutionary consciousness: it is the militant from the towns who must patiently seek out the most gifted elements of the poor peasantry, educate them and organise them; and it is only after a long period of political work that one can mobilise the peasantry."

--- Nguyen Nghe



By

Pheroze Nowrojee

Once before  
In 1904  
We believed.  
And believed it was enough  
To believe.  
Believed in the water.  
Believed it was weapon enough.  
That it was shield and sword  
God and hongo.  
That anointment  
Made sterile the colonial infantryman  
And flying metal was impotence flourished.

And we died.  
And we failed.

Now again  
We believe.  
And again believe  
That it is enough  
To believe.  
Now we believe in Azimio.  
Believe again that it is weapon enough.  
That it is  
God and alchemy.  
That utterance alone  
Castrates the imperialist  
And base metal is impotence flourished.

Not so, not so.  
Do not die.  
Do not fail.

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