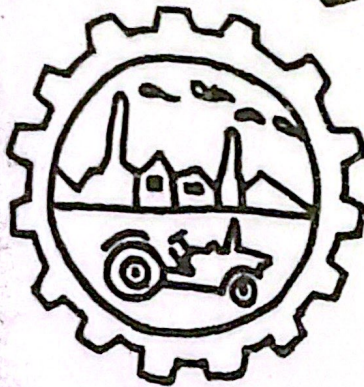
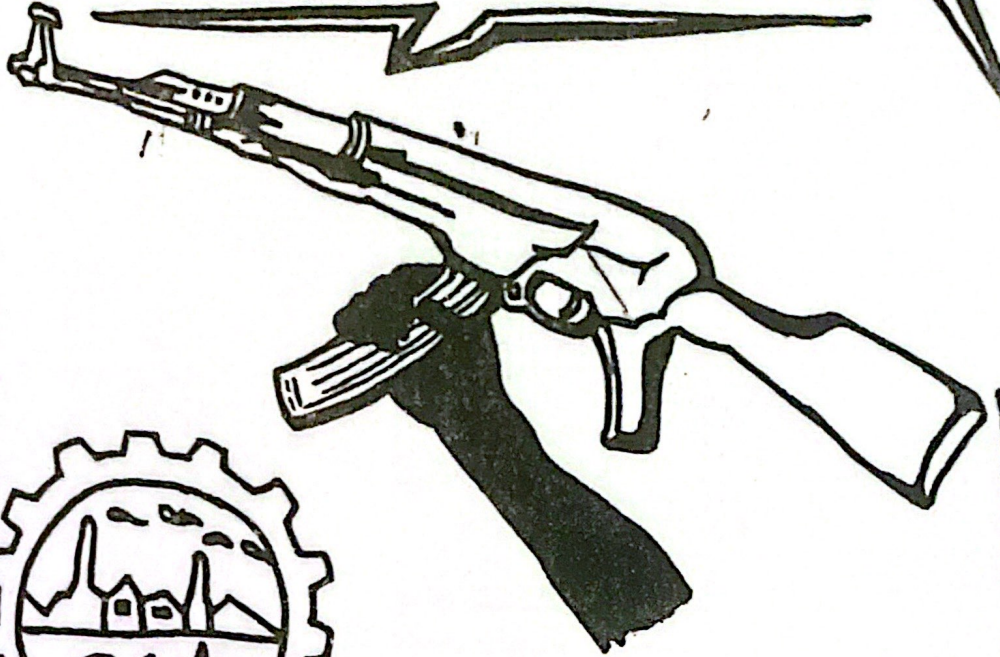


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JULY 1971

NO. 2

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TANU YOUTH LEAGUE

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EDITORIAL

At the beginning of the last year, on the 4th of January to be precise, Britain's notorious organ of monopoly capital, "THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH", carried an article which is very significant to all progressive people in the exploited world generally and in Africa particularly.

This article, entitled "Challenge of White Man's New Burden", sought to foretell the direction in which events in Africa would take in the Seventies. It was an incisive piece of journalism. The author first pointed out that the Sixties were years of "decolonisation" in Africa - in so far as the world saw numerous new faces at the United Nations from this continent. He then went on to argue that this "experiment" of independence had showed its futility by the end of the decade, the newly independent nations had demonstrated beyond reasonable doubt that they were completely incapable of governing themselves.

Thus he predicted that the Seventies would be years of yet another experiment. He made no bones about the fact that he was advocating complete recolonisation of Africa; in fact he specifically argued that this new process of recolonising Africa will not be a matter of Europe exerting influence and control here and there, but will have to be full-fledged, using the same methods that were used in the 19th century.

Let us quote some of his paragraphs:

"...the problems facing great areas of the underdeveloped world are proving fundamentally different from what we thought they were going to be, not so much growing pains as death agonies, not so much problems of economic growth requiring advice and assistance as basic problems of political cohesion requiring external intervention and control".

The past decade has shown that "it may be only a question of time before the truth dawns, as it did in the 19th century, that nothing short of direct political control, that is to say, nothing short of a return to colonialism, can prevent a renewed descent into barbarism".

Thus the Seventies will be characterised by the same scramble for Africa we saw in the 19th century, "the struggle will be intense and bitter, not only within the Communist world but also within the Western world, as well of course, as between the two. It is very difficult to imagine its being conducted through international organisations. Call it what one will, something very like the old 19th century scramble for empire could well repeat itself, for much the same mixture of motives".

There is, therefore, no use kidding ourselves that the age of colonialism is gone; "it will not be long before the finest spirits of the age, the flower of European idealism, who now believe that

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colonialism is the shame of the past, come to see it as the hope of the future".

"For a decade Britain has been looking for a new role. The 1970s may show that the old one, far from being finished, has scarcely yet begun".

All those who have been following closely the turn of events in Africa and the world generally cannot be surprised with these revelations; in fact the balance of forces in the world today lead to the conclusion that Africa once again is going to be the prey of a major onslaught by the forces of international capital.

Obviously, this onslaught is going to be all-embracing. Just look at the minute details which the American Army, for instance, takes care of in its preparation to "administer the economy of Tanzania should they be called into the country to help" (The preparations were unveiled by the Africa Research Group, published by the STANDARD, confirmed by U.S. Army authorities, and rejected by the Tanzanian government!) Studies concerning religions, customs, local languages, etc. of villagers in Africa have already been done - not to speak of vital military and economic strategies.

Within Africa herself, it is not difficult to see that the trends are of increasing reaction and subservience to imperialism. We are witnessing today a tremendous degeneration of even the loose democratic values that were once dangled in front of us, the reactionary forces are growing and regrouping themselves against the progressive ones. At the same time these so-called progressive governments continue to be toppled and replaced by regimes whose economic sell-out to imperialism is total and whose repression of progressive elements in society is horrifying.

We thus have in Africa today a rapid proliferation of regimes such as those of Mobutu and Haile Selassie, whose repression of students, trade unions, and other progressive groups has shocked even some of the imperialist agents stationed in Africa such as the peace corps members.

We have now gone through only a year and a half of this "crucial" decade of the "recolonisation" of Africa. It is difficult to say that the imperialists have started off badly; in fact the tide has certainly moved their way somewhat. One just has to examine the number of African countries which have turned into "bantustans" of various imperialist powers lately; many regimes are indeed no better than the "tribal chiefs" who headed the colonial "native administrations" earlier in the century during the "indirect rule" system. What is the difference, apart from the titles, between Jonathan, Bongo, Banda, Boigny, Tsiranana and the chiefs who sold Africans to European slave traders in the past centuries?

These "independent" governments are just as well colonial outposts as any 19th century establishment in Africa. Whether or not their godfathers in Western Europe and North America decide to replace them with white administrators is therefore immaterial to the African course. What will be more interesting is what happens in

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the so-called progressive countries. Until the Guinea invasion, the usual method to effect changes has been the coup d'etat. Guinea was to be the first victim of the Seventies, the imperialists miscalculated, but they immediately made good the errors by the successes they soon reaped in Uganda.

The coup will probably remain the major instrument for use in the "progressive" countries for a long time to come. And these "progressive" governments will continue to be its helpless victims mainly because they are incapable of learning from history. All of them maintain a militant rhetoric and an anti-imperialist foreign policy - that is all that makes them "progressive". Their economies are drenched in the web of international capitalism as are of the other countries. You thus have a contradiction between political militancy and economic neo-colonial subservience, a contradiction which more often than not ends in the devouring of the political militancy by the neo-colonial economy.

At a time when "THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH" was christening the Seventies the "years of recolonisation", Fidel Castro - a true leader of the exploited people of the world - extolled the Seventies as the "years of revolution" for the entire exploited world. Indeed, this development of repression and exploitation of the African people is bound to unleash their revolutionary upsurge. Now that the people of Africa are quickly casting away their illusions about "brief-case independence", soon the continent - along with Asia and Latin America - will be in flames.

It is these flames of revolutionary armed struggle that will first sweep off both the imperialists and the gorrilla regimes that are masquerading under various petty-bourgeois ideological sentiments, and secondly will produce the real socialist leadership that will lead the African people in reconstructing their continent.

EDITORIAL NOTES:

- (1) A number of readers have asked for permission to reproduce our materials. We have no "reserved rights", and anything contained in here can be reproduced only with due acknowledgment.
- (2) The last issue of THE ECHO" was qualitatively better than all the previous ones, and the Editors wrote that they wanted to improve the publication so that it aids MAJIMAJI in serious work. We welcome this turn, and we hope our cooperation will grow from now on.
- (3) Once again we request all readers to react to our issues. We hope particularly that students in secondary schools will also start contributing to MAJIMAJI.

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ON THE SO-CALLED NEW LEFT
IN KENYA
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by

N. KAMBO.

Leftist groups in parliamentary politics have not given us much hope for transforming a country into socialism. Everywhere they tend to lay their emphasis on parliamentary haggling while "democratically" make people vote them into parliament to form a majority to run the government. At times we have had "communist" parties which also happen to be imperialist-sponsored. The French Communist Party at one time opposed French withdrawal in Algeria. In other places where they did not go that far in supporting imperialism they have tended to be extremely mild in their opposition to it. They have also generally failed to get even that parliamentary majority they aim for before they can proceed with reforms.

To this we may put one exception: Chile. But before we hasten to conclude that Chile has attained a revolution through the ballot box we had better wait and see what imperialist trick may be on the hiding before the revolution is concluded. Even if it is a success, Chile needs some particular study to discover why a Marxist party succeeded there and not anywhere else in the world through the parliamentary path.

The farce of trying to achieve a revolution through bourgeois democracy is that all the parties start from a very unequal position. The parties that want a revolution have to act within the limits of the bourgeois state laws. This means that right away they are forced to limit themselves to bourgeois ways and methods of approaching the masses. The masses therefore see no difference between these parties and other bourgeois parties, except in verbiage. When the parties intend to break up the whole system, the bourgeois state machinery is quick in punishing them, and this discourages and demoralizes would-be supporters.

The mass media today are an instrument of the state probably as useful as the armed forces. In a bourgeois state they are controlled by the bourgeoisie. No revolutionary party can therefore use them unless it tones down what it intends to put to the people to something amounting to reformist or philanthropic appeals. The parties which may have started as truly revolutionary quite often tone down their ideas and theories beyond recognition in order to fit into the requirements of bourgeois papers. The result is that all that is contained in the whole of the mass media from news to opinions and theories is tilted in favour of the bourgeoisie. A newspaper may be termed "progressive", "liberal", or even "radical" but that does not change it from being a reactionary paper in that it propagates basically reactionary ideas and makes some mild suggestions for reform so as to "save the country from revolution".

Thus the parties intending to conduct a revolution through parliament start from a position where they control no mass medium at all. But then a parliamentary kind of battle assumes that all the contestants start from the same position of equality. Bourgeois politics is noted for its use of economic resources. Thus with limited funds, the leftist party can hardly find it

possible to compete against the well-established bourgeois machinery. Yet in bourgeois democracy fighting for elections is competition in almost those same terms we understand in business. The parties can hardly be expected to win a majority in parliament.

While that has tended to be the trend with very radically disposed parties, some difference has occurred in those countries of the dominated world where some progressive elements have been elected leaders through the bourgeois process but have been able to establish themselves as the only parties, thus controlling the mass media. Where we have such parties heading governments, we can only hope that through their characteristic "pragmatism" they will break the old state machinery before reactionaries can overthrow them. The best examples we have in mind are Tanzania and Guinea in the African continent.

Soon after getting her documentary independence, Tanzania appealed for foreign investors to come but that was all in vain. As a result she has moved a number of steps in learning that foreign investors are not even desirable. Thus TANU has adopted a strategy of development which is guided by the principles of socialism and self-reliance. The party, which controls all internal mass media, has now gone far in realising that socialism would not be realised by a co-existence of public and private control of the means of production. It is for the state to own all the major means of production, distribution and exchange, and to use these for socialist development. The recent Party Guidelines seem to point to another re-dedication for socialism.

Tanzania is of course not a typical case. She has never been exposed to capitalism in the way her neighbour Kenya has been, and as a result there was never a capitalist class of the vigour and solidity similar to Kenya's. This brought about a situation where if the leadership became progressive it could pass on measures without consolidated resistance. And if this leadership could learn from international developments then it had every opportunity to move gradually towards scientific socialism. Her revolution is far from being complete; in fact it is still extremely vulnerable. But the involvement of the masses in the party plus the political education implied in the TANU Guidelines and the realization of the international imperialist strategy may lead to consolidation of the revolution to an irreversible point. The question here is that the conditions that made Tanzania what she is now can hardly be found in many other places in Africa; and in fact we cannot make any conclusions as to the future consolidation of the revolution. Tanzania is at any rate no exception among the dislike by "progressive" African regimes of scientific socialism which she has constantly dubbed "foreign".

The left we have in Kenya operates in a condition where the state is already under the control of a vigorous commercial farmer class vehement in its support for international business. In the left's hope to win a parliamentary majority it has already failed conclusively. And even if it had come to power initially it would have been impossible for it to apply the same kind of tactics employed by TANU under Nyerere's leadership in fighting the local battle against imperialism's local supporters because as earlier said, they are far more consolidated as a class in Kenya than they are in Tanzania. The left in Kenya therefore, missed their tactics right from the start. We go ahead to examine Kenya's left in greater details.

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Towards the end of formal British rule in Kenya there were some two parties both not substantially different. One, the Kenya African National Union, had in it some elements of militant nationalists who had very actively participated in the struggle for Uhuru. Among these were Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kaggia, Achieng Oneko, Paul Ngei, J.D. Kali and even Jomo Kenyatta. Some of these people retained the same militancy they had in the earlier nationalist struggle. The kind of things they advocated exposed them more as militant nationalists than socialists. Paul Ngei, for example, got himself the nickname of Bwana Mashamba for advocating acquisition of land from European capitalist farmers without compensation. Odinga Odinga distrusted the Western countries culturally as well as in their economic system. But of course he is the man who thought that economic independence must precede political independence. Kaggia and Oneko tended to focus their attention to the squatter problem, and advocated expulsion of the settlers and distribution of the land to the landless. He attacked the demarcation of land done when some freedom fighters were in detention or in the forests and who therefore got no land at all.

Meanwhile some of the less militant KANU members seriously distrusted the militant ones. The nationalist revolution was looked at by the moderate ones as having been completed. The Kenya Highlands were to remain with the White settlers for fear of "distrupting" the economy and "turning" Kenya into another Congo. Failure to solve many major problems naturally made alignments start to form and polarize. Some of the militants started speaking for and advocating greater measures of socialism, some advocating nationalization of land. Bildad Kaggia in a paper circulated to the other members of parliament wrote:

Everyone in this country is very well aware of the land hunger that existed among Africans as a result of the robbery of their land by the British colonial imperialists. The logical method to solve the problems passed by this robbery would have been to nationalize all big estates owned by Europeans and make them either state farms, so as to alleviate unemployment, or hand them over to cooperatives formed by the landless Africans.

A few more voices came out in support but they remained an isolated minority who could easily be isolated and dubbed anything from puppets of foreign governments to cranks. The major area of attack was the land policy but occasionally they advocated nationalization of industries and banks that were foreign owned. There was talk about scientific socialism but very imperceptively.

Meanwhile the rightists were organizing themselves to constantly frustrate the leftists and to hinder them from ever getting to power. The rightists were conscious of themselves as a group and thus organised with this consciousness in mind, with the aim of retaining power. Thus we find Ngala, a former opponent of KANU during the initial stages of the struggle and one-time considered a puppet of the settlers comes out with the group opposed to the progressives within KANU. The rightists met to lay down their strategy for destroying the progressives in which Oginga Odinga who was Vice President was a member and was likely to use the office to popularise the progressive course. Finally the whole progressive faction in KANU was forced out to form the Kenya People's Union. And of course the story of the battle for parliamentary votes followed.

The reactionary group in KANU spared no effort in destroying KPU in what was meant to appear like a free election. Hooliganism, detentions, mass hysterical propaganda, and youth-wing terrorism were all used and in three years' time KPU was officially proscribed. That ended the story of the parliamentary KPU. And hopefully it ended the naivety with which progressive leaders thought of achieving power. They were just playing it "peacefully" while reactionaries used all necessary means available to them including division of the masses by appealing to tribalism and most dishonest atavism. The hard-core leadership is either in detention, languishing in colonial-day style prisons or camps or is being bribed with chairmanships and directorships of government corporations.

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With the first left-leaning group having been destroyed, the right has now remained without a serious challenge. And now to consolidate its position further the group has gone a long way to recruit intellectuals, civil servants and even students into its ranks. Of particular significance in this connection is further Africanization of commerce, without nationalization, increase of salaries for civil servants and members of parliament and attempts to make a show in solving the unemployment problem for school-leavers as in the Tripartite Agreement. Salary increases were first effected for members of parliament, and thus they were successfully silenced. Then followed the increase of salaries for civil servants through the Ndegwa Commission, thus the civil servants' loyalty was also successfully bought. The rightist group can now count on the full support of these various groups which it was so careful to give a stake to defend. The rightist group has also been careful in deflating some of the progressives' demands by making phoney shows of "nationalization".

Thus the "nationalization" of the former National and Grindlays Bank Ltd. and the East African Power and Lighting Company were such shows. What really happened to the Bank is that it was divided into two, the Grindlays International Ltd. to deal with all international transactions with the government owning forty per cent of the shares, and the Kenya Commercial Bank Ltd. with the government owning sixty per cent of the shares. This action was of great propaganda value and the regime received many congratulatory messages from trade unions and other groups.

All these actions have of course done nothing in solving the major questions of economic domination by imperialism, nor have they gone any far in solving the whole problem of unemployment. When people die of famine and others of cholera, not to mention the many that die yearly due to malnutrition, and when many go shelterless and unemployed, the right finds it most apt time to raise salaries of civil servants and members of parliament. The masses are now in a state of confusion and they need leadership. And where are they to get it from? The usual voices about socialism and nationalization in parliament are now dead - useful as they were in terms of progressive propaganda. Civil servants and other beneficiaries of the status quo have their loyalty in the present regime.

Thus the leadership of the masses will come, not from within the fine walls of Kenya's Bunge nor shall they base their activities in there. They will have to come from the few progressive and revolutionary intellectuals, and will have

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to be serious in their long term strategies so as to avoid the KPU style leadership and demise.

Some elements of nationalists still remain probably at present led by the millionaire Josiah Mwangi Kariuki. It is a bit surprising that a millionaire who once said that

... when I am with people like Lord Delamere and Sir Ferdinand and Sir Charles Markhan, I feel quite happy. We exchange ideas. And in fact I want to prove to them that there is no bitterness in me - or even in any other people who were detained. I like this, I enjoy this.

could make a perpendicular turn to say that settlers are still hanging around late at independence. He has also given a loose talk about nationalization "after the first ten years of independence". He and his small group of supporting MPs no longer make those noises they were making before. Those who say that he is sincere and not an opportunist have to remember that while sincerity is a great virtue, full understanding of what one is fighting for and the correct strategy to adopt are operationally better qualities. He is probably the person most widely known and liked by the masses today mainly due to his philanthropic gestures. In as much as he has talked about a "complete overhaul of the present system" he has shown that his areas of attack are the Kenya Highlands (Africanization) and industrial control by Africans - those same demands made by earlier nationalists. It is highly doubtful whether the general popularity he enjoys at present can succeed in taking him on the seat of power, let alone whether it is desirable. Nevertheless his attack against government has been useful propaganda material.

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We therefore consider that there is no organised left in Kenya today. The task of all progressives and revolutionaries in Kenya is to organise one, in the face of the most consolidated right. The objective conditions are there and the masses of the people are in a state of confusion, are landless and need some guiding theory. The release of the leader of the defunct KPU shows how little dangerous the left is considered to be at present, and there is no left building up on the former one. In fact failure of that first left should be a good example of the inherent weakness of parties that are not truly revolutionary - that stuck to the parliamentary politics while they should have taken other methods of struggle, parties that because of their class composition and mentality did not even intend to bring about full scientific socialism. The truth is, nonetheless, that a revolutionary and a progressive who in today's Kenya is persecuted has to be in alliance with the masses and fight it out.

MILITANCY AT THE HILL

by

Karim Hirji

The history of social struggles in general imparts one important lesson. For a successful achievement of the objectives of any social movement, a necessary - though not sufficient - condition is the fulfilment of the principle of reciprocal interaction between the centre and the periphery. In other words co-ordination and amalgamation of interests between the leadership and those it claims to lead is a fundamental prerequisite for victory. Lacking this, the movement is headed towards either ineffective petrification or collapse.

The non-realization of the above principle in some spheres, and its fulfilment in others is, I submit, one of the keys towards understanding the trends and events in the student community on the Hill during the last academic year. In brief the radicals were effectively de-radicalized by isolation, whilst their opponents managed to muster up general support. The radicals shouted in the name of workers and peasants, but no worker or peasant could hear their voice. Instead of mobilizing those whom they claimed to represent, they resorted to intrigues amongst the petty-bourgeoisie. The feasibility of this mobilization is debatable, but the question is, was it ever attempted? Because those who opposed them did mobilize those whom they claimed to represent succeeded. That this latter support was forthcoming even without an s.o.s. is a factor that must be taken into consideration.

However, it would be a folly if one were to proceed no further than admiration of this dialectic of cleavage and harmony at an abstract level. Armchair philosophers can afford that but not those who want to change the world. For us a more important task is to dive beneath the surface and attempt to dig out the causes and the consequences so as to be able to explain why the particular state of affairs actualised as it did. Also we have to learn from our past mistakes so as to improve future actions. As Debray puts it:

For a revolutionary, failure is a springboard.
As a source of theory, it is richer than victory:
it accumulates experience and knowledge.¹

This essay is a modest attempt in the direction charted out above. At the same time it can serve as a record of radical students' struggles during the last academic year.²

1. Debray, R. Revolution in the Revolution?
(Penguin: 1968), p. 24

2. My take-off point is where Y. Museveni left off, cf "My Three Years in Tanzania", in CHECHE No. 2. For analysis of the origin and growth of USARF & T.Y.L. radicalism see the above, and J. Saul, "Radicalism and the Hill" in E.A. Journal, Dec 1970. "Our Last Stand", the last public statement issued by USARF provides a good summary of its activities.

Which Student Organization?

The inception of August 1970 instilled installation of a top greeted with mixed feelings as "undeniable political". But socialists in general and necessary step towards institution to serve as we looked forward to the churning out of individuals further the African revolution the fact that a president appointed during the question of fitting the development needs.

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Which Student Organization?

The inception of a national university for Tanzania in August 1970 instilled high hopes in the minds of many. The installation of a top TANU cadre as its Vice-Chancellor³ was greeted with mixed feelings. There were some who deplored it as "unacceptable political interference in academic affairs", but socialists in general welcomed it. We considered it a first and necessary step towards eventual restructuring of this institution to serve socialism. Building castles in the air, we looked forward to the day when this university would be churning out individuals who were truly "red and expert" to further the African revolution. Our optimism was backed up by the fact that a presidential visitation committee had been appointed during the previous academic year to look into the question of fitting the university to national ethics and development needs.

The visitation committee had received numerous reports from and conducted interviews amongst members of staff and students alike. The T.Y.L. and U.S.A.R.F., at the Hill in conjunction with the TANU Study Group had presented a voluminous memorandum dealing with nearly all aspects of university affairs including curriculum reorganization, student organization, staff recruitment, etc. And we had from authoritative quarters that this document had been "fully" accepted by the visitation committee, especially the recommendations concerning a new set-up for the student organization. These last recommendations, in a nut-shell, proposed democratic representation for all students, and at the same time, assigned a central role for the youth wing of the nation's sole political party. Such a structure was considered essential for the infusion of socialist commitment and perspectives in student activities. In fact it was almost a foregone conclusion, judging from the national political trends, that T.Y.L. role would be enhanced to assert party supremacy and streamline the university in relation to all other educational establishments in the country where T.Y.L. was dominant - at least in theory if not in practice.

However, the struggles which ensued in the first term resulted in quite a different story. And it soon became abundantly clear that the initial optimism had been grossly misplaced. Illusions were shattered. Of course, changes did come, but mostly of titles and officials. But the essence remained - a neo-colonial elitist university. It must be realized that a call to revolutionize the university is simultaneously a call to revolutionize the society in which it maintains its existence and a break with imperialism which nurtures it. If the latter attempts are mainly half-hearted at times even apologetic and confused, then the magnitude of the former task cannot be underestimated.

To continue, we in the T.Y.L.⁴ had also devised a plan of action to create the subjective conditions for the anticipated changes. Our main hopes lay in the freshmen. Somewhat naively, disregarding other societal pressures, we reasoned that it was a matter of who "captured" the first. Also our

3. The Chancellor being the President of the Republic.

4. Until the banning of USARF, it is not possible to separate TYL and USARF activities. So when I talk of TYL it should be taken to include USARF and vice-versa.

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relations with a number of the second and third year students were already sour due to disputes arising out of ideological, and at times personal differences in the past. Moreover, the mutual distrust had been aggravated by some pungent pronouncements and counter-pronouncements issued during the previous academic year. Hence our emphasis on concentrating on the newcomers. Thus during their orientation week, the TYL Chairman was the first person to address them. Pamphlets describing the aims and activities of the Hill TYL Branch were distributed and appeals were made for membership. The second issue of the TYL/USARF joint journal CHECHE was reviewed in the Standard and the Nationalist. A limited campaign on personal level was initiated too. We employed some sabotage tactics as well. As for example, when the students union president was addressing the freshmen some TYL activists effectively challenged him from the floor and managed to carry the crowd out with them. In these efforts, we were reinforced by the speeches of the Minister for National Education and the Vice-Chancellor who emphasised the role of TYL. In the course of the first term, prominent speakers gave public lectures on TYL/USARF platforms. Filmshows and ideological classes were held. A demonstration in support of liberation movements was organized, and also a working visit to an ujamaa village.

As far as the immediate objectives were concerned, these efforts led to nowhere. In fact the amount of popularity gained by the progressives varied inversely as the amount of publicity they received. For instance, when the TYL Secretary General touched upon the question of student organization at the Hill in his talk given during the National Service exercise at Kunduchi, the reaction he encountered was one of hostility and resentment.

There were a number of factors which led to such a situation. In the first place, even in the TYL itself, the chasm between its Marxist leadership and amorphous membership was a big stumbling block. Communications and united actions were thus impaired. There was even a talk of "coup-ing" the "extremist" executive committee. Riddled with serious internal contradictions it was just utopian for TYL to aspire to win popular student support. And the simple fact remained that we did not represent students' interests as such, but those on the other side who clamoured for "constitutional sobriety" and "participatory democracy" did represent student interests as they conceived them. After being so vehemently vocal against KARADHA which aspirant car owners support, can one expect popularity?

Other technical factors such as having limited resources at our disposal (compared to what the students union could mobilize in terms of finance, syclostyling facilities, etc), organizational deficiencies combined with haphazard actions, insufficient propaganda and mass work, numerical inferiority, etc all tended to minimize our effectiveness. Moreover we grossly underestimated the nature and strength of the external factors. To have imagined that a group which had been so

outspoken on the national joint-ventures and foreign monopolies, etc could count upon complacent or even the nation's highest fostered the biggest

No doubt some ment were sympathetic what was considered and at worst "subver manifested in the of administration, which the powers involved scheming against us. transport to be pro demonstration in the received an instant don't you walk up to

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5. A subsidiary of the National Bank of Commerce empowered to give loans to civil servants to buy cars and other luxury items. Now it is officially discredited.

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outspoken on the national level about "tourism", economic joint-ventures and management consultancy agreements with foreign monopolies, restructuring the party, arming the people,⁶ etc could count upon the affected bureaucracy to remain complacent or even support it to gain a strong foothold in the nation's highest institution of learning was to have fostered the biggest of illusions.

No doubt some progressive elements in the party and government were sympathetic but the prevailing opinion was against what was considered at best a group of "professional critics" and at worst "subversive communists". This was clearly manifested in the opportunism displayed by the new university administration, which initially backed us but after scenting the powers involved, quickly turned its back and started scheming against us. For instance, once when we requested for transport to be provided so as to enable students to attend a demonstration in the city that was called by the party, we received an instantaneous reply: "If you are so militant why don't you walk up to town!"

The cumulative effect of the above factors was declining morale and prestige of the revolutionary activists. The turning point of the campaign was the occasion of a speech given by the Vice-Chancellor. He came with intention of announcing the dissolution of the previous student body, USUD. But he was forced by student pressure to leave the assembly hall for the gathering to constitute itself into a student baraza. And it was recommended by majority vote that USUD should continue as the representative student body on the Hill. Mob politics and demagoguery played an important role in influencing this decision. From this day the tide fully turned against us. Anti-TYL propaganda was in the air constantly. In one breath someone would depict us as "Korean puppets" and in the next as "Government spies". We were isolated from the student masses and that was the beginning of the end. The only course of action open to us was intrigues at various levels but here too we were outnumbered and outmaneuvered by imperial external forces pitted against us.

This situation of stalemate, which persisted for some time, was resolved by the formation of DUSO (Dar es Salaam University Students Organization). Of course, it was just a change of name. Nevertheless we all breathed a sigh of relief - the mist had been cleared. In the course of the struggle, it had become apparent that the objective situation could not have accepted anything else. This was followed up by elections of office bearers, a period in which anarchy reigned on the campus. In the midst of vigorous campaigning, bread-and-butter slogans coupled with pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric constituted the order of the day. This time the aftermath of the elections evoked nationalistic hysteria in some quarters. This was because a Kenyan student was elected as president. It was amazing to find precisely those elements who had argued vigorously against TYL becoming the student organization "because it would alienate the foreign students", now questioning the right of a non-Tanzanian to be elected through fair elections! This trend, however, did not become dominant.

6. A few of these have now been recognised by the party as imperative for socialist reconstruction.

Thou Shalt Not Promote Foreign Ideologies

The resolution of the student organization crisis carried us right into the second term. In the mean-time other changes had occurred too. Elections had been conducted both in the T.Y.L. and USARF. Apparently the new leaderships intended to carry on in the same traditions as those of the past ones. For some time past, USARF had assumed the role of a sleeping beauty in relation to T.Y.L. Now a new dynamic spirit was discernible. Thus the Yankee propaganda band, "Up With The People" was appropriately exposed, and given due treatment. Plans to establish a fortnightly magazine were nearly finalised. This honeymoon did not, however, last for long. What up to now had been a pious dream of reactionaries actually materialized. USARF, together with its journal CHECHE were banned.

The suddenness of the move caught everyone by surprise, the original intention being to silently put it out of existence. The leadership was called by the University administration one Monday evening and told to pack up. Commit suicide without any commotions - that was the order from the State House. Our ideas and activities were a political nuisance, so we were told. Pondering over this we refused to be intimidated into silent submission. In the first place, it might have been a stratagem emanating from the University administration, whose hatred of revolutionary ideas was well known, to remove a thorn in its path. Maybe by making the issue public we could mobilise enough support to pressurize it to reverse its decision. For in its years of existence USARF had built up a solid reputation amongst progressives both on the campus and outside. Secondly, if we were to be liquidated as an organization, we must let the world know what we stood for and why we were crushed. Call it narcissism if you may, but we believed that the existence of USARF was a historic landmark in the development of revolutionary consciousness on the Hill. If it had to die, it must die an honourable death, fighting to the end. So the issue was blown up. An incisive statement "OUR LAST STAND" analysing the history and achievements of USARF was issued. Not only did it create newspaper headlines causing considerable embarrassment to the authorities but also forced the party newspaper to write an editorial explaining that the move did not imply that Tanzania did not want its youth to be militant. The University administration falsely reported to the Standard that the decision was taken by the students themselves! Most of the students, even if they disagreed with what we stood for, were sympathetic, though there were some clowns who talked of "organizing a funeral procession on the conservative square". We were visited by pious emissaries from the State House to assure us that the move was taken to "rationalize" student activities on the Hill, and in fact, to strengthen T.Y.L. The subsequent events have only proved the naivety of such hopes. Far from invigorating and consolidating the student left, it has torn the soul away from it. Intensive militancy was replaced by lethargy and inactivity. Demoralization set in, and many up-and-coming leftists swung back into the apathetic camp.

Among the distinctive advantages possessed by USARF was that it was a tightly knit group of committed activists drawn

7. Popularly christened "Revolutionary Square" after the overthrow of "Rag Day" by USARF members in November 1968.

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from different countries. Having neither a bureaucracy nor a Bible to answer to it could afford to take a militant and independent socialist line. But one cannot play a vanguard role without a social base. That is why it was so easy to wipe it out just by a stroke of the pen. Credit also goes to USARF for inspiring and moulding revolutionary students. Revolutions are not the creations of revolutionaries, but they certainly require revolutionaries to carry them out. In this respect, I believe USARF had fulfilled its duty to send out annually those who had been bred by it to the front to promote the African revolution.

It was banned because of what it stood for. Its conception of socialism differed from what was officially promulgated. And the cumulative effect of its criticisms was what brought it down. The debate on the implementation of ujamaa policy in the press after the stay of student militants in Dodoma ujamaa villages last September had not been received favourably. "The Silent Class Struggle" was a pain in the neck for parastatal managers. All in all, the demise of USARF and CHECHE was a boost to the economic bureaucracy to peddle neo-colonial policies of sell-out to imperialism led by the United States.

The Aftermath:

The last proclamation by USARF contained the following words: "Organizations can be banned, individuals can be liquidated, but ideas live on. Revolutionary ideas never die."

True to this ideal the bright spark was never completely extinguished. Some continuity in change was maintained. This was especially the case as far as publication of a theoretical journal "MAJIMAJI" which has to date maintained CHECHE's high standards of scholarship combined with commitment. The debate sparked by the special publication on "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle" went on. Contributions from other comrades were published. Professor Szentes wrote a highly provocative commentary which came out in a special issue of MAJIMAJI. And all these were presented as papers at the University Social Science Conference held in Dar es Salaam in December, stimulating heated discussion, and in fact, dominating the conference. The debate still goes on.

Other than publication of a revolutionary journal, the TYL leadership however acquired a sort of reformist outlook. Even the number of activities declined. One got the impression that it was more interested in issuing membership cards than anything else. Ideological classes were stopped, and even public lectures became less frequent. Lack of ideological clarity and fragmentation in the leadership probably contributed to do-not-rock-the-boat mentality. Thus a panel discussion on the Uganda issue was not held because "it would not be appreciated by some Ugandan students". To some extent the inactivity was also because of hostile circumstances. For instance, the leadership had mobilized some TYL members to participate in the militia mobilization campaign during the long vacation. But this was sabotaged by the machinations of some reactionaries in the party who do not want such a thing to be effectively implemented. But at times it was also due to laziness and lack of audacity. During the Development Studies crisis it was DUSO which took the lead and TYL which reluctantly followed in exposing the schemings of the "Magnificent Seven" reactionary staff members. Nevertheless TYL was in

the forefront, together with DUSO, during the invasion of Guinea, the Uganda crisis, and the promulgation of TANU guidelines. In the DUSO leadership, on the other hand, a political reawakening was evident. Their pronouncements became sharper. The University ECHO acquired a new outlook and researches to look into the various sectors of socialist policies in Tanzania were initiated.

The general mass of students, however, remained same as ever before - apathetic, conservative and cynical about socialism; the appropriate mentality with which to join the ranks of the Tanzanian bureaucracy.

Hopes and Fears:

The student stratum in society can be compared to a tank in which water incessantly flows in and out. Being continuously in a flux, it does not possess the relative stability of other classes or strata. It is more subject to ups and downs to changes of moods and behaviour. Hence the difficulty of extrapolating from the last academic year's experiences. Nonetheless certain conclusions can be drawn:

(a) The nationalization of the university has not resulted in any basic changes. Conservatism at times couched in nationalistic jargon still dominates staff and student consciousness. The prestige-seeking administration's only significant achievement to date seems to be the introduction of new and more expensive academic gowns with Tanzanian colours. Reassessment and reorganization of curricula has not been seriously considered. The only possibility for such a change is if the initiative comes from the students.

(b) Ruling out miracles, one cannot expect much change from the hedonistic outlook of the majority of the students. The committed ones however must not throw up their hands in despair. Double efforts are necessary to win over as many as possible. This campus is one of the major fronts in the battle of ideas. And the progressives cannot allow bourgeois ideology to rule unchallenged. Constant struggle and harassment is essential. However the death of USARF has made revolutionary students more susceptible to bureaucratic control. Thus when TYL issued a statement during the last long vacation condemning the introduction of a reactionary syllabus for education students by the political science department, all sorts of strings were pulled to silence it. A leading party man was overheard commenting that the University TYL had "too much autonomy". The partial radicalization of DUSO is more of an accident if anything else. The whole venture rests on an insecure base. Given the unfavourable attitudes of many students, the big question is how long will it last? The TYL leadership must prove itself capable of sustaining the revolutionary traditions of the past. If it sinks into apathy and moderation, it has to be purged. Who will purge whom, that too is another question.

(c) In the final analysis, socialism in Tanzania can only succeed through the development of the consciousness of the exploited masses, and the intensification of class struggle. The people must fight for their own liberation, no decree or declaration is going to do it for them. Student revolutionaries on the Hill must keep this objective in mind, and adopt more outward looking policies.

If you want to fight for the masses, you must be prepared to fight with the masses. Otherwise you will end up as a dreamer and a clown.

The fundamentals through commitment Tanzanian revolutionary reconstruction and peasants of Tanzania. To serve the revolutionary energy must be exploitation already existing.

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THE T.Y.L. AND ITS PROBLEMS =====

by

Jonathan Kamala

The fundamental duty of a TANU youth is to understand through commitment the aims, purposes and strategy of the Tanzanian revolution, to actively participate in the national reconstruction and to defend the gains of the workers and peasants of Tanzania, the real creators of national wealth. To serve the revolution, youths' enthusiasm as well as their energy must be expressed through organization. Such an organization already exists, the TANU Youth League.

In 1955 at Tanga grew an organization by the name of TANU Volunteer Corps (T.V.C.) which a year latter became a fully-fledged youth wing of the party (TANU), that was then fighting for the political independence of the then Tanganyika. The principal contradiction was between the people on one side and the colonial masters on the other. There were also contradictions among the people, but those then were non-antagonistic.

T.Y.L. involved itself fully in mobilising the people to join TANU and backed up fully the party's activities on many fronts. Bands playing songs of hope and colourful parades of T.Y.L. almost on the level of the Salvation army were not very uncommon. Still the youths' activities then were mostly spontaneous. The problems that faced the party also were reflected in the T.Y.L., especially the banning of the party in provinces, by the colonial government. Yet the youths' vigilance was maintained to the finish and the battle for independence raged on. The very process of involvement in the struggle produced activists like Lawi Sijaona, Joseph Nyerere, Kundya, Mwanjisi as well as many others, who played a vital role at that stage of the struggle.

Their organizational skills, enthusiasm as well as their commitment, and the support of the entire youths made the T.Y.L. in pre-independence days a force to reckon with. It would be naive to think that T.Y.L. had a smooth ride throughout that period. There were hecklers here and there who thought T.Y.L. was for the verandah boys. In 1961, Uhuru was obtained, among the militants there was clarity maybe as to what Uhuru meant. But others thought Uhuru meant the replacing of a white provincial commissioner with a black one or getting big jobs. Such falseness affected the T.Y.L. also.

With the gaining of political independence, the first phase of TANU's programme was obtained. There was the period now of consolidating the political independence; T.Y.L. at this stage suffered a set-back organisation-wise. Most of its activists were absorbed in the government services. Rigours of readjustment from a youth wing for Uhuru to a youth wing of a governing party were thus made strong. The contradictions among the people that were non-antagonistic began their ascendancy to antagonistic proportions. Tendencies to get rich were manifested, and a petty bourgeois class, known as the "wabenzi" grew strong. Then came the army mutiny which led to the recruitment of a second group of T.Y.L. District activists into the army. What remained of T.Y.L. was demoralised through insults and a few incidents of squabbles between the police and the T.Y.L. were not uncommon.

Psychologically the youths were demoralised and some who were aiming at getting positions never again liked to be reminded of their T.Y.L. membership. One would safely say that the revolution had not begun, and most of the youths then were not revolutionaries, as their militancy was watered down and they never knew that a revolutionary youth wing consists of youths who together share a common ideology, pledging themselves to struggle against oppression to dispel the mystification of exploiters and bureaucrats, people who proclaim aloud, but mostly in deeds that the masses of the workers and peasants can only defend themselves and build a socialist society by taking their fate in their own hands, believing that their political maturity comes only from revolutionary struggle and direct action.

Yet this would be demanding too much from T.Y.L. as its parent TANU had not begun to think in those terms. Yet as youths, foresight would have been a guide and impatience to injustices would have led to advanced thinking on the national problems.

The period 1965-67 witnessed sharpening contradictions between the haves on one side and the peasants and workers on the other side. Inside T.Y.L. some thinking took place on how to integrate the youths in the national politics. Many branches were opened in secondary schools as well as TTC's, and the University. The youths were in the process of being ideologically committed and morally readjusted to the policies of the country, when the Arusha Declaration was born. The masses hailed it as a progressive step towards a total social revolution. T.Y.L. youths marched in support of the step, what T.Y.L. did to make its members defend the economic revolution is not very clear besides marches and youth festivals. Enthusiasm again without any organisational structure to translate it into action, was taken as a sign of the rebirth of T.Y.L.

In September, 1968 came the "operation kijana" that aimed at eliminating the aping tendencies that were growing at a faster rate in Tanzania. The cultural bats had to cease operation and apologists of bourgeois decadence were to be educated. But due to lack of preparation and timing as well as the failure on the part of the leadership to understand that culture is an ideological expression of the social values rampant in a society ridiculed the T.Y.L. Many accusations were hurled at the T.Y.L., mostly by the people who were neither ideologically socialists, nor active participants in building a socialist Tanzania. Thus the failure of the operation can be attributed to lack of ideological articulation of what the Tanzania culture should mean by the party, the time factor, and the sabotage by the bourgeois elements who watered it down by ridiculing it as a fight against thighs. This indeed cannot be an exhaustive review of the T.Y.L. as it is history in itself, but then a venture as to what organizational structure should be so as to make the T.Y.L. a force in the economic reconstruction is called for.

It is true that the T.Y.L. leadership's quality has dialectically improved and is a crucial factor for mobilizing the youths. Mobilization is about the people who guided by ideology must above all have an organizational structure that can be used to realise various activities; as the T.Y.L. is constituted today it can hardly function effectively.

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First it does not exist structurally at the village, divisional and regional levels, this hampers the involvement of youths, whose activities in schools cannot continue at the village level, or in most industries or institutions where they work. Thus there is a need for the T.Y.L. to be reorganised from the village level to the Headquarters, so as to ensure that the militancy does not end at the Headquarters and in seminars, but reflects the real strength of the youths in every corner of Tanzania. Secondly, there is a need for the T.Y.L. to have a strong research department that must cater for the interests of the workers and peasants, by exposing crucial anomalies in our socio-economic system, that may otherwise frustrate people's efforts. In line with that, it must have a journal that can cater as an organ of the youth-wing, by informing the youth in Tanzania on the efforts of building socialism and highlighting some problems like the one in South Africa so as to increase our solidarity with the youths the world over.

There is another crucial problem that the T.Y.L. must tackle. This is that up to now T.Y.L. is very strong in schools, but much as students are a very revolutionary stratum, they are transitory. Next day they will be workers or peasants sewing the revolution as such there is a need of extending and strengthening the T.Y.L. by ensuring that whenever there is a branch of TANU, there must be a branch of T.Y.L. This also means that the T.Y.L. has to carry on a strong political campaign so as to ensure that the youths who are the bastion of Tanzanian revolution do not run away from rural areas. They should be an example in ujamaa villages and do the productive work.

The Great Uhuru Railway that is employing youths from all-over the country, may also determine the strength of T.Y.L. As these youths are involved in a great project and as they may acquire technical skills, the T.Y.L. must ensure their ideological militancy and may be opening up branches of T.Y.L. whenever the railway passes, so as to make the youths within the proximity of the railway its defenders against sabotage.

The T.Y.L. must also think seriously on its election machinery, so as to involve its members more and more. The National Congress could nominate three names for the Secretary General's post and that of the Deputy, so as to ensure that the people's voice is heard in choosing their top leaders, and the President of TANU can choose among the names suggested by the National Conference. This may give the top leadership more legitimacy and avoid chess politics at the top. The National Council of the youths can then proceed to suggest or scrutinize the names of all assistant secretaries and all youth workers to ensure that the right type of leadership is instituted and that the workers of the youth organization know that much as their service depends on appointment, it is incomplete without the membership's sanction. This may make the workers of the youth-wing more militant, steadfast in their work and therefore advance efficiency.

There is also a need of political leadership seminars for the various cadres who have roles to play in T.Y.L. This will aim at ensuring that the leadership is abreast with changes that occur, intricacies of revolutionary organizations and methods of surmounting various problems. There is also a need for the change of heart of the part of the Party establishment not to regard the T.Y.L.'s role as being that of protocol only during festivals, etc. but that

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the crucial duty of T.Y.L. is the total involvement of all the youths in defending and consolidating the Tanzanian revolution and the party must accept the youth's challenge in good faith. To muzzle the youths is very un-revolutionary.

It is a fact that the T.Y.L. as presently constituted cannot control all youths' activities, cultural and educational. It cannot also abolish other youth organizations that sow confusion among the youths of Tanzania, much as this would have been ideal. But if the T.Y.L. moves again to all the youths through the changes that must be, then the T.Y.L. will manage to dominate the centre of the revolution. As the revolution is about people and for the people, decrees cannot abolish anomalies in a society however many they may be, but conscious involvement and commitment to change, and knowing why and how to transform society is the only way to the success of any youth movement.

The youths in Guinea have fully controlled their activities because they are thoroughly organized and their party has clearly defined what the national political culture should mean. The youths in Congo Brazzaville have controlled their destiny by consciously grasping the interests of the revolution. It follows that the youths of Tanzania with a clear guidance "The Mwongozo", must definitely think new ways and means of strengthening T.Y.L., so as to enable themselves to understand more the Tanzanian revolution by practice, to consolidate and to defend it. At this stage of our revolution, to be on the fence is to be a traitor.

ON THE COMMITMENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY TO THE
COUNTRY'S GOALS
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There was an interesting incident at the University immediately after the TANU Guidelines (Mwongozo) were promulgated which clearly illustrates to what extent the leaders of this University have commitment to and respect for national policies.

A very august body of the University was meeting just a few days after President Nyerere's very moving speech to introduce the Guidelines adopted by the Party. In the course of the meeting, some inspired member (reportedly an expatriate) suggested that some changes be instituted in the syllabus the meeting was discussing so as to reflect the country's new outlook towards imperialism, development paths, etc. He quoted the "Dar Declaration" to put his point across.

The following rejoinders were put in by two very high-ranking officials of the University. The first never tires reminding people that he was "brought here by TANU, I am a TANU Cadre". The Second is the Dean of a Faculty who also claims to be a staunch TANU activist:

"TANU Cadre": "No, there is no such thing as the Dar Declaration, those are just guidelines and they are not supposed to change anything at the University".

The Dean: "Yes, and you do not expect us to change a syllabus just because some politician downtown has made a political speech!"

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T W I G A
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by

Jack Mitchell

(Twiga (giraffe), lion,
eagle, and crane are
national symbols for,
respectively Tanzania,
Britain, U.S.A. and Uganda
- Editor).

My long-necked friend up there above me,
Twiggy-Twiga I do love thee.
You're like a certain man I know,
that gentle gentleman, Hulot.

My dappled, flecked, four-legged steeple
I do believe you like us people,
for sometimes out by lonely tents,
when crickets tune their instruments,
I've turned and caught you unawares,
your head thrust up like fireman's stairs
through an acacia tree and gazing,
eyes soft and brown, at these amazing
things called men.

At times I fear for you my friend.
What weapons have you to defend
yourself against the beasts of prey
that covet you by night and day?
Your Kicking-hoof's not of the strongest;
but then again - your neck's the longest.
So, being as you are, long-necked,
take care to carry it erect,
and from your watch-tower elevation
survey the bounds of Twiga-nation,
so that no slinking spotted pard
can sneak in underneath your guard,
for Twiga, once he bows his head,
will quickly find himself quite dead,
providing, free and gratis, dinners
for lions, eagles and like sinners.
(Remember how was lately slain
your closest friend, the crested crane).
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THE WORLD BANK
 THE WESTERN WORLD'S BANK
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(Continued from MAJIMAJI No. 1
 and taken from a report distributed by the International
 Information Centre, Denmark).

THE WORLD BANK AND ITS PARTNERS

The exploitation of the underdeveloped countries takes place in many different ways. The imperialist states use many devices in their efforts to "develop the third world". Among these devices there exist several organizations which cooperate with the IBRD.

In attempting to evaluate the political role of the World Bank it is therefore necessary to see with which organizations the IBRD cooperates, and to what the cooperation leads. The AID is the American government's special agency for aid to underdeveloped countries. Officially there is no connection between the AID and the World Bank. Both organizations however support the same type of projects and their lending policy is practically identical. From 1962 to 1964 when Brazil was governed by socially minded regimes who intended to support the national enterprise rather than the foreign ones, the AID "support" fell from 81 million dollars to 15 million dollars. The World Bank faithfully followed the same policy. When the military took over in 1965, the AID's loans rose to 122 million dollars. The IBRD followed suit again.

The condition for "support" from the AID and the World Bank are often set by a third partner: the International Monetary Fund, IMF. The condition for membership in the IBRD is membership in the IMF. Magdoff cites an AID man on the functioning of this cooperation: The Greek program of stabilization from the 1950s and the agreement with Brazil and Chile have been supported by the USA under the condition of the carrying out of "economic reforms" elaborated by the IMF. In 1967 help was given to Ceylon and Ghana on the same conditions. The IMF's suggestions for conditions under which aid may be given depend on the political and economic situation of the countries in question, but generally these conditions involve some of the following points:

- (1) Import and export control must be abolished. This means that foreign goods can be freely imported (no protective duty) and thus no chances of the national industry to develop.
- (2) Devaluation of the local currency in relation to the dollar. The frequent devaluation which the IMF has forced through, especially in Latin America, have not meant that the underdeveloped countries have obtained more for their export, since raw material prices have been decreasing. On the contrary, they have resulted in the import from the prosperous countries becoming an even heavier burden for the underdeveloped countries. For instance, the rise in the price of imported mechanical equipment has made it more difficult to build up an industry.
- (3) The establishment of full freedom of exchange which limits the possibility of controlling import and export of capital. Thus foreign investors have been given the

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possibility of untroubled export of their sky-high profits and thus the possibility of draining the country of its foreign (hard) currency. This results in a strengthening of the existing prices and commercial relations: the screw has been given an extra turn.

(4) Internal measures: (a) tough monetary policy in the country itself, (b) wage and price freeze, and (c) cuts in the budget. That is nearly the same old chestnut which Baunsgaard likes to throw at us!

In the underdeveloped countries these measures have never failing consequences. The rich grow richer and the poor poorer. Increased taxes or cuts in the budget lead to deterioration for the workers, peasants and unemployed. Unemployed increases, taxes increase, and wages decrease. The IMF does not demand that there should be a cut in the military and police expenditure; it is in the social benefits that there are cuts. Such conditions cannot be accepted by socially and nationally minded governments. Nevertheless the World Bank and the AID demand that these conditions be fulfilled in order to grant loans. Columbia is a good example of how the IBRD and the IMF cooperate in order that these conditions be fulfilled.

Because of decreasing prices Columbia had liquidity problems and had difficulty repaying the installments on previous granted loans. The IMF demanded as a condition for a short term loan that the country should devalue its currency. The liberal president Lleras refused and broke off the negotiations. Apparently the World Bank backed Lleras and undertook to mediate between the government and the IMF. The negotiations started and a compromise was reached. Instead of devaluating, Columbia would change to a floating rate of exchange (that is to say that the rate of exchange of Columbian currency would be determined by demand on the free monetary market). In spite of the fact that the compromise would in reality have the same results as a devaluation, Lleras accepted it, among other things because other possibilities of raising loans were excluded. The AID had suspended their loans because of duty restrictions on American goods. Private banks had refused to lend Columbia money, at the recommendation of the World Bank (for other examples, see Brazil and Venezuela).

The World Bank is often considered to be the good boy of the band of "aid organizations" because the IBRD stresses the establishment of local infrastructure. This assessment neglects the fact that roads, railroads, power works, etc. are a precondition for money making on the resources of the underdeveloped countries. Thus the assessment does not take into account the function of the World Bank in the entire process of exploitation. In other words: The function of the World Bank is a manifestation of the division of labour between the cooperating organizations. By means of this division of labour the IMF seeks to maintain an economic and political status quo which facilitates exploitation.

The IDA gives a push to those nations which are about to drop out of the entire process of exploitation because their burden of debt has become too great. The IFC is concerned with giving direct support to the private capitalist sector (often foreign) - in case of shortage of capital.

Where Does the World Bank Spend its Money?

Up to 31 March 1970, the World Bank (IBRD) and the IDA have lent a total of \$15,658,000,000 of which the World Bank's part constituted 85%. The loans were distributed in the following way:

	Millions of \$
Asia and the Middle East	6,590 (42%)
Latin America	4,130 (26%)
Europe	2,585 (17%)
Africa	2,351 (15%)

The first loans (500 million dollars) granted by the IBRD in 1947 were used for European postwar reconstruction. But the loans began to flow to underdeveloped countries the following year. During the first years it was particularly the Latin American countries which received "support". The next increase in grants went to Asia, and the last to Africa.

ASIA

About half of the IBRD and IDA Asian loans (3,187 million dollars) have gone to India and Pakistan. The other Asian countries which have received amounts exceeding 150 million dollars are as follows:

	Millions of \$
Japan	857
Australia	417
Thailand	358
Philippines	217
Malaysia	216
Taiwan (Formosa)	186

As seen from the table, IBRD and IDA have lent very large amounts to two of the richest Asian countries: Australia and Japan. All the other major recipients are countries ruled by reactionary regimes. A more complete picture of the loan policy of IBRD and IDA emerges when their "support" is seen in relation to the size of the population of the recipient countries. Singapore, which has been one of the financial centres of imperialism for years, is a clear leader in that it has received \$71 per inhabitant. After Singapore, the wealthy countries Australia and New Zealand are well taken care of. They have both received \$41 per inhabitant. Next follow Malaysia (\$27), Formosa (\$18), South Korea (\$14) and Thailand (\$13).

Among the countries which have received the least per inhabitant are Indonesia (\$0.7), Burma (\$1.5) and then India (\$5). IBRD's and IDA's policy in Indonesia will be treated later. But it should be noted that Indonesia received no loans while Sukarno's foreign policy was nationalist and anti-imperialist. It was first in 1968, after Suharto had taken power and carried out a mass murder of half a million "communists", that IBRD and IDA considered Indonesia as being ready for support. As far as Burma is concerned, it should merely be noted that it has a socialist government.

On the basis of the figures referred to, one must necessarily conclude that in their loan policy, IBRD and IDA clearly value the most reactionary Asian countries. The fact that these countries at the same time conduct the most

liberal policy strongly that the political interest was of central in Ceylon. The the World Bank, one should refuse to projects which interests.)

Middle East

Of the two 87% have been to (109 million dollars): Iran (8). The large reactionary country the Shah, a 3 m This sum is equivalent that year - aid richest and the region. The per inhabitant:

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liberal policy in relation to foreign capital indicates strongly that the organization safeguards the economic and political interests of the imperialist states. (This issue was of central importance in the recent election campaign in Ceylon. The departing government wanted more loans from the World Bank, while the election winners stressed that one should refuse more loans, as they were being granted to projects which particularly benefit foreign capital interests.)

Middle East

Of the two organizations' loans in the Middle East, 87% have been to Iran (405 million dollars) and Israel (109 million dollars). The remainder has gone to (in millions of dollars): Iraq (29), Lebanon (27), Jordan (10) and Syria (8). The largest recipient, Iran, is undoubtedly the most reactionary country in the Middle East (at the coronation of the Shah, a 3 million dollar jewelled crown was purchased. This sum is equal to Denmark's total foreign aid to Iran that year - aid for development!) Similarly, Israel is 'the richest and the most western-oriented country in that region. The following figures give the loans in dollars per inhabitant:

Israel	51
Iran	20
Lebanon	14
Iraq	4
Syria	22

The tendencies noted in IBRD's and IDA's Asian policies are even more strongly demonstrated in the Middle East.

Latin America

Nearly all Latin American countries have received loans from the World Bank and IDA. The largest loans have been allocated to (in millions of dollars): Mexico (956), Brazil (658), and Colombia (637). The loans to these three nations constitute 54% of the total loans to Latin America. If the loans are taken in relation to the sizes of the respective populations, the leaders are the three Lilliputian states (in dollars per inhabitant): Costa Rica (66), Panama (60), Trinidad and Tobago (55). Of the Latin American states of more than 2 million inhabitants, the three countries receiving the largest amounts are (dollars per inhabitant): Venezuela (43), Colombia and Uruguay (41 each). The recipients of the smallest amounts are (dollars per inhabitant): Haiti (0.5), Dominican Republic (8) and Brazil (9).

Haiti and the Dominican Republic are both poor agricultural countries with few natural resources. They offer few possibilities for profitable foreign investments. Brazil will be treated later in this issue. The policies of IBRD and IDA in Latin America are difficult to evaluate on the basis of the total loans during the 20 year period. This is mainly because of the political instability in this region. The countries which have been most strongly "supported" in Asia and the Middle East by the World Bank and IDA in the 20 year period have been relatively stably governed. There have been few government overthrows and the governing parties and dictators which have succeeded each other have not essentially changed the general foreign policy (pre-western, liberal in relation to foreign investment).

The political overturns in Latin America have been numerous and varied. Changes in the policies of the different countries have been large and frequent. Anti-imperialist policies have succeeded pro-American policies and vice versa. This means that in order to evaluate IBRD and IDA's policy in Latin America, it is necessary to study the different countries' political and economic development. There is a description of the loan policy in Brazil and Venezuela later in the issue. These more detailed analyses show clearly that the World Bank and IDA first and foremost "support" regimes which are very reactionary (often military dictatorships) and which are willing to open their economy to foreign capital, i.e., give the imperialist powers the possibility of exploiting the majority of the population.

Europe

The World Bank began its activities in Europe by granting loans to war-ravaged countries. However, the means of the bank were insufficient for the task of reconstruction the political aim of which more and more obviously became American economic and political dominance. In 1947 the Bank was succeeded in this task by more effective and direct American organizations such as the Marshall Plan and the Interim Aid Program. The Bank moved into the field with which it has since been occupied: loans to underdeveloped countries.

This means that the total loans over the 20 year period give a picture which is difficult to interpret. It is necessary to see when the loans were granted. In all, IBRD and IDA have lent \$2,585,000,000 to Europe. IDA accounts for \$92,000,000 (lent to Turkey). IDA's share is significantly smaller than its corresponding share in other parts of the world. This is because IDA lends only to underdeveloped countries. The three nations which have received the largest amounts are (in millions of dollars): Yugoslavia (453), Italy (398) and France (250). In relation to the size of their populations, the leading countries are (dollars per inhabitant): Iceland (139), Cyprus (68) and Finland (55). The countries which have received least are (dollars per inhabitant): Greece (1.4), France and Ireland (5 each). All of the loans granted to Italy except one are from the period from 1951 to 1959. The last loan of 100 million dollars was in 1965. The loans to France are from 1947. The remaining countries which have received strong support are characterised by the fact that they are and have been used as border states in the attempt by the Western powers and USA to contain Communism. Yugoslavia, which is the only "communist" member of IBRD, has played an important part in this policy. In recent years the major recipients of loans (apart from the actual border states: Yugoslavia, Turkey, Finland and Greece) have been fascist strongholds: Portugal and Spain. In the case of Greece it should finally be noted that first in 1968 did the country receive World Bank "support" - after the taking of power by a military junta.

Africa

The lending activities of IBRD and IDA began late in Africa. But in recent years the quantity of loans has been rapidly increasing. A total of \$2,351,000,000 has been lent to African countries. The states which have received most are (millions of dollars): Nigeria (251), South Africa (241) and Kenya (186). Together, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Morocco, Sudan, Ethiopia and Rhodesia have received about

half (51%) of the total. These states constitute regimes on the continent this club after the reaccount of the population countries are (dollar Tunisia (25) and Rhodesia to Zambia were made to colony. Among other loans for the construction copper districts through with racist Rhodesia. Zambia requested a loan to the coast, which in general it can be not activities have been which is entirely in in this fashion useful foreign corporations.

It is worth noting given to (in dollars Tanzania (6.5). Further 7.5 dollars per inhabitant three-fourths of this

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World Bank Support of

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half (51%) of the total loans of IBRD and IDA to Africa. These states constitute a collection of the most reactionary regimes on the continent (Sudan, however, has pulled out of this club after the revolution in 1968). Again, taking account of the population sizes, the most heavily supported countries are (dollars per inhabitant): Zambia (39), Tunisia (25) and Rhodesia and Kenya (23 each). Half the loans to Zambia were made before 1964 when it was still an English colony. Among other things, the World Bank has granted loans for the construction of a railway from the Zambian copper districts through Rhodesia to the coast. When relations with racist Rhodesia deteriorated after Zambian independence, Zambia requested a loan to build a railway through Tanzania to the coast, which was refused by the World Bank. In general it can be noted that the main part of IBRD and IDA's activities have been connected with copper production, which is entirely in foreign hands. "Support" for Zambia is in this fashion useful for safeguarding the interests of foreign corporations.

It is worth noting that the least "support" has been given to (in dollars per inhabitant) Egypt (2.2) and Tanzania (6.5). Furthermore Algeria, which has received 7.5 dollars per inhabitant in the whole period, received three-fourths of this before its liberation from France.

This rather heavy exposition of the allocation of IBRD and IDA's resources shows as clearly as one could desire that these organizations have primarily "supported" regimes which are among the most blatantly reactionary, which at the same time have been willing to open their respective countries to the imperialist states' hunt for profits. As has been pointed out on numerous occasions, to give free room for manoeuvres to foreign investors means a net transfer of capital from underdeveloped countries to the home countries of the investors. The victims of this exploitation will obviously not be the well-to-do classes, who support the reactionary forces, but the majority of the population of the underdeveloped countries.

World Bank Support of Apartheid

An often forgotten fact about the global effort of the World Bank is that South Africa is one of its largest loan receivers. South Africa is recognised by world opinion as one of the most vicious forms of society. Nobody can claim ignorance of the conditions in that country, where powerful foreign companies and the national Afrikaner capitalist class combined carry out a wholesale pillage of the African population. There are undoubtedly several who would be interested in hearing what the World Bank could contribute to this system. An all too intensive discussion of their engagement in South Africa, outside circles with direct profit interests, would make people ask embarrassing questions about the activity of the World Bank in general.

The fact is that over the years the World Bank has granted loans for building up South African mining industries, the electricity production and transportation systems for a total of \$242 million. South Africa receives the second largest amount of loans in Africa, following Nigeria. But loans have not only gone directly to the South African state. They have also assisted the imperialistic exploits of this regime in

the rest of Africa. An example of this is cited by Bergstrom: "IDA has financed a 108 mile highway cutting through Swaziland from South Africa's western border to the border with Mozambique in the east. This highway connects the large towns of the region with forest and iron-ore-producing areas". What on earth does this "assistance" to Swaziland have to do with development? In reality, the purpose of this assistance is to improve the communications of South Africa with the harbours of the Portuguese colonies. By 30 June 1969, Swaziland had received a total of \$9.8 million in loans from the World Bank. The remaining states in the South African empire, Botswana, Lesotho and Malawi, had by the same date received respectively \$3.6 million, \$4.1 million and \$27.5 m.

WORLD BANK PRESIDENTS

EUGENE MEYER (June 1946 - December 1946). A Yale graduate, he served on various U.S. finance boards under Presidents Wilson, Harding, Coolidge and FDR; he was a director of various corporations, rising to editor and publisher of the Washington Post; after serving as President of the World Bank he returned to the Post as Chairman of the Board.

JOHN J. McCLOY (March 1947 - June 1949). A graduate of the Harvard Law School, he served as Assistant Secretary of War (1941-45) and then became a member of the corporate law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope Hadley & McCloy (whose clients include several Rockefeller interests). After serving as President of the World Bank he went on to become the U.S. Military Governor and the High Commissioner for Germany (1949-52); he then moved over to Board Chairman of the Rockefeller-controlled Chase Manhattan Bank (1953-61). After leaving Chase he rejoined his law firm (Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy) and took over the chairmanship of the Ford Foundation. He currently is a director of such corporate giants as Allied Chemical, Westinghouse, American Telephone and Telegraph and the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. In addition, he is a trustee of John Hopkins University whose press publishes the World Bank's special reports.

EUGENE R. BLACK (July 1949 - December 1962). Another Rockefeller man, he worked as an executive for Chase Manhattan Bank (1933-47) before joining the World Bank. He then became a special financial consultant to the UN Secretary General and a member of the permanent advisory committee to evaluate U.S. Foreign aid programs (he headed a special aid mission to Southeast Asia for President Johnson and was instrumental in the founding of the Asian Development Bank). He currently sits on the board of American Express Co., the New York Times, International Telephone and Telegraph, Electric Bond and Share, Chase Manhattan Bank, Cummins Engine, F.W. Woolworth, Lazard Fund, Communications Satellite, Royal Dutch Shell, the Brookings Institution, the Population Council, John Hopkins University (where he joins McCloy), and the Ford Foundation. In his spare time he manages to serve as a special financial consultant to the Sheikh of Kuwait.

GEORGE D. WOODS (January 1963 - March 1968). The fourth President is a long-time friend and business associate of Eugene R. Black, who along with another international banker, C. Douglas Dillon, picked Woods for his World Bank job. Previously (from 1934 on) he headed a major underwriter of corporate securities, the First Boston Corporation, a Rockefeller-Mellon joint venture. It so happens First Boston

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handles more bonds of international financial organizations (including the World Bank) than any other firm. After retiring from the World Bank he rejoined First Boston and the Board of Kaiser Industries, the New York Times (where he meets Black) and the International Executive Service Corps. He recently demonstrated his life-long loyalty to the Rockefellers when he accompanied Nelson on his tumultuous tour of Latin America.

ROBERT S. McNAMARA (April 1968 - present). A Harvard graduate, he joined the Ford Motor Company in 1946 and rose to occupy the President's office. In 1961, he became President Kennedy's Secretary of Defense and instituted a counterinsurgency strategy for halting national liberation movements throughout the world. The logical conclusion of this strategy led to the invasion and destruction of Vietnam. It seems fitting that the leader of the world-wide U.S. military machine is now in charge of the "free world's" most important bank for structuring the global market for private gain. McNamara joined the board of trustees of the Ford Foundation in 1968 to strengthen his "humanitarian" concerns.

IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

(Prof. dos Santos)

Bourgeois ideology must comprise representation of bourgeois society as a basic group of individuals, who may differentiate into groupings but who always constitute the unit for analysis, since this form of representation is an exact expression of the essential interest of the bourgeoisie in concealing the class nature of their society and postulating their society as offering equal opportunities to all individuals. It is to the class interest of the bourgeoisie to conceive of itself not as a ruling class but, at most, as dominant individuals.

And bourgeois ideology has to be based on this falsehood. Yet, with reference to representation of its fundamental class interests, it is truthful. This is the source of the intricate character of mystification implied by these types of class consciousness. This is why it is impossible to set up a true bourgeois science (explication of reality, knowledge of reality and not of its immediate appearance), and why bourgeois science will always be a prisoner of its ideology, and therefore ideological.

To the extent that science begins to explain reality (and all ruling classes stand in need of knowledge, despite their need of not really knowing), it comes into contradiction with the ideology of the ruling class. This leads to the ideological need to falsify reality, which is expressed in the need of bourgeois theory to be pragmatic and empirical, to erect the immediate (i.e. bourgeois) relations among men, and between men and nature, into absolutes.

To confound ideology in this form with falsity is to make it impossible to demonstrate the determinate class character of that falsity. Likewise with the ideology of the proletariat. It is "true" by nature, in the sense that it can and must represent its class interests as class interests. This possibility converts into a theoretical need to outline the character of bourgeois society and the historically transitory nature of the proletarian society. The ideology will only be proletarian if it is based on a scientific (non-ideological) view of society. This eliminates the contradiction between science and ideology.

THE IDEOLOGY OF 'TRIBALISM'

by

Dr. A. Mafeje

No writer has been able to write on Africa, without making constant reference to 'tribes' or 'tribalism'. Could this be the distinguishing feature of the continent, or is it merely a reflection of the system of perceptions of those who write on Africa and their African 'converts'? Objective reality is very difficult to disentangle from subjective perception in the same way as concepts in the social sciences are hard to purify of all ideological connotations. Might not African history, written, not by Europeans, but by Africans themselves, have employed different concepts and told a different story? If so, what would have been the theoretical explanation? Are things what they are called, or do they have an existence which is independent of the nomenclature that attaches to them? When it comes to Africa, answers vary independently of whether the observer is a liberal idealist, a Marxist materialist, or an African 'convert'.

It is usually argued that social behaviour in Africa is so diverse, so inconsistent and so fluid that it is high impossible to classify or treat it with any amount of consistency. I am inclined to think that the problem in Africa is not one of empirically diversified behaviour but mainly one of ideology, viz., the ideology of 'tribalism'.

If tribalism is thought of as peculiarly African, then the ideology itself is particularly European in origin. In a recent publication Gulliver, perhaps feeling a little guilty about his continued use of the term 'tribe', explains: "We do not continue to use it in a spirit of deviance, let alone of derogation and disparagement. We use it simply because it continues to be widely used in East Africa when English is spoken ... among the citizens there" (Gulliver (ed.) 1969). The justification is repeated in at least three other places. But are things necessarily what they are called? Secondly, to what extent are social scientists bound by the terminology of the 'natives'? Is it not significant that the term occurs when English is spoken? In South Africa the indigenous population has no word for 'tribe'; only for 'nation', 'clan' and 'lineage' and, traditionally, people were identified by territory (whose land (chief's) do you come from?)

In many instances the things called 'tribes' were the work of the colonial administrations, which coincided with and was helped along by the anthropologists' pre-occupation with 'tribes'. This provided the material as well as the ideological base of what is now called 'tribalism'. Is it surprising then that the modern African, who is a product of colonialism, speaks the same language? If that is a great puzzle to the modern social scientist, it was not to Marx who in 1845 wrote:

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"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it" (Marx & Engels 1965).

The Anglo-Saxon anthropologists and sociologists in their usual mild manner call it 'pace-setters' or 'reference groups'.

For some time and despite the changes that were taking place, most British anthropologists maintained their interest in the study of 'pure' tribes, ignoring any twentieth century innovations in these societies. At the best they regarded these as intrusions, both undesirable and peripheral to the real life of the people. This was in harmony with the theories of Indirect Rule, as advocated by Lord Lugard and Sir Donald Cameron. As is acknowledged now, Indirect Rule was a myth economically and politically. The African societies were being drawn into a complex of extractive economic and political relations, the effect of which could not be ignored even by the most tribal-fixated anthropologist. In fact, the liberal sentiment of most anthropologists was touched and they all began to lament the ensuing 'disintegration' of traditional African societies, the loss of their pristine 'equilibrium and cohesion'; and viewed with horror and some concern the 'degradation of the African ethic'.

This was the turning point for most anthropologists; the situation was not as static as they had supposed. From 1945 onward a few anthropologists such as the Wilsons, Firth, Redfield, and Richards began to talk about 'social change'. By 1959 Gluckman could afford to denounce boldly what he called the 'tribalistic' tradition in anthropology: "The tradition of anthropology is still 'tribalistic', and with it goes a tendency to make the tribe and the tribesman the starting-point of analysis" (Southall 1959). However, as is shown by his later works, Gluckman himself has never abandoned that tradition.

However, the basis for the discussion on what are we to mean by 'tribe' or 'tribalism' had been provided in 1956. Mitchell came out with his "The Kelala Dance", which is now regarded as a classic among anthropologists. The Kelala Dance was, according to popular terminology, a tribal dance performed by tribesmen in the Copperbelt. Mitchell, undaunted, came to the startling conclusion that far from being an expression of tribalism, the Kelala Dance was an expression of social differentiation and prestige ranking in town and that 'tribalism' in town, unlike in the rural areas, was merely a 'category of interaction' (Mitchell 1956). This revelation had a dramatic effect on anthropologists and few of them would complete an urban study, without repeating the new formula: "Urban is different from rural tribalism" (Southall 1959). That continues to be the standard anthropological formula, as

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is shown by Gulliver's editorial comments and some of the articles in "Tradition and Transition in East Africa" (1969). Epstein (1958) was one of the very few writers at the time who dared to suggest that Africans in the urban areas could actually reject 'tribalism' as being irrelevant to their problems. In his study the African miners refused to accept 'tribal elders' as their representatives or leaders in the struggle against the mine management. At the same time the non-salaried staff among them were suspicious of the leaders from the salaried staff, who tended to use them for the benefit of the latter. This was another instance of class-formation among Africans.

Whatever the details and the inhibitions, analysis of social change made it possible for anthropologists to look at the transformation of tribal societies with less jaundiced eyes. 'Winds of change' had come to be accepted as a fact of life and 'independence', with all that it implied, was fast becoming a reality and no longer a vague idea in the distant future. This caught the attention of the political scientists, who began to move in one by one (e.g. Apter 1955 & 1961, Coleman 1958, East 1963, and a few others). The political scientists, sold on the idea of modern nation states, brought with them a new creed, 'modernization'. In the drama of 'independence' and under the fervour of this new creed, what was going to the anthropologists' attitude? The anthropologists, being older in the field, were not unduly worried. They remained faithful to the 'tribes'. But this time they were concerned to establish a new truth, namely, the 'persistence and resilience' of the tribal systems rather than their 'disintegration' or 'disequilibrium'.

There had already been warnings: Watson in 1958 published his book, "Tribal Cohesion in a Money Economy". This has been the theme for the greater part of the present decade. It is an interesting volte face on the part of the anthropologists and represents a shift (not change) in their ideological perspective. As is illustrated by their admiration for 'go-ahead' tribes such as the Baganda, the Kikuyu and the Ibo, anthropologists subscribe to the creed of 'modernization'. But, unlike the political scientists and African nationalists, they do not see it as necessarily incompatible with 'tribalism' or 'traditionalism'. All the same, the anthropologist betrays himself when he offers 'tribal institutions and values' as the explanation for the failure of the natives to embrace modernity. Here, the anthropologist proves to be a self-contradictory incrementalist and he cannot argue otherwise because his organicist conception of social structure and institutions commits him irrevocably.

While the anthropologist uses his tribal ideology to explain both successes and failures in modernization, political scientists of all persuasions use theirs to explain only failures. As a result they talk more consistently and conveniently than anthropologists about problems of 'integration', 'penetration' and 'mobilization'. However, conceptually they have greater problems than the anthropologists. First, despite their 'tribal' language, they know far less about tribes than anthropologists. Second, the same 'tribal' language makes it difficult for them to explain similar phenomena elsewhere in the modern

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world, without falling victims to the ethnocentric ideology mentioned in the introduction of this paper. The anthropologists can easily escape a similar fate because their professional preoccupation is, and has always been, the study of 'tribes' or 'primitive societies'. Of course, even that is not true any more.

So far I have merely stated and illustrated my case; I have not proved it. The real basic question is whether it is possible to have 'tribalism' without tribes. But how do we test for the existence of tribes or not? Classical anthropology depicted tribes as "self-contained, autonomous communities practising subsistence economy with no or limited external trade". But since the introduction of the distinction between 'centralised states' and 'stateless' or 'acephalous' societies by Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in 1940, anthropologists have had problems in deciding whether all African polities were tribes, or whether some of them qualified for the more respectable epithet, 'state'. Scale seemed to matter, but anthropologists were satisfied to refer to bigger 'multi-tribal units' such as the Luapula Kingdom of Kazembe in Central Africa, Tshaka's Zulu empire in South Africa and the Ashanti confederacy in West Africa as 'super-tribes'. In 1956 Schapera took it upon himself to clear up some of the confusion and to restate the anthropologist's position. He presented tribes as "separate 'political communities', each claiming exclusive rights to a given territory and managing its affairs independently of external control" (Schapera 1956).

All said and done, territoriality, primitive government through elders and chiefs, and primitive subsistence economy emerge as the primary features which distinguish a tribe from other forms of human organisation. 'Culture' was never mentioned as one of those until arrival of the 'modernization' crusaders in the form of political scientists and the work of pluralist sociologists such as Mitchell (1960) and Smith (1960). It is, therefore, very instructive to note that in 1969 Gulliver defines a tribe as "any group of people which is distinguished, by its members and by others on the basis of cultural - regional criteria". We thus see that 'tribe' is now a matter of subjective perception: "That is how the native see and describe it".

Although their reasons are suspect, anthropologists might have been right in insisting that traditional or pre-colonial African societies, large or small, were tribes. If we were to restrict the term 'tribe' to specific forms of economic, political and social organization that can be fixed in space and time, as I intend to, we would not be wallowing in such utter confusion and lamentable inconsistencies. A relatively undifferentiated society, practising a primitive subsistence economy and enjoying local autonomy can legitimately be designated as a tribe. When such a society strives to maintain its basic structure and local autonomy, even under changed economic and political conditions, perhaps it can be said to exhibit tribalism. But to impose the same concepts on societies that have been effectively penetrated by European colonialism, that have been successfully drawn into a capitalist money economy and a world market is a serious transgression. The new division of labour, the new modes of production and the system of distribution of

material goods and political power give modern African societies a fundamentally different material and social base (cf. Marx & Engels, op. cit.). It is apparent then that it is not a question of scale, but rather a question of qualitative aspects of social and economic organization.

This is not to deny the existence of tribal ideology and sentiment in Africa. The argument is that they have to be understood and conceptualized differently under the modern conditions. There is a real difference between the man, who on behalf of his tribe, strives to maintain its traditional integrity and autonomy and the man who invokes tribal ideology in order to maintain a power position, not in the tribal area, but in the modern capital city and whose ultimate aim is to undermine and exploit the supposed tribesmen. The fact that it works, as is often pointed out by tribal ideologists, is no proof that 'tribes' or 'tribalism' exists in any objective sense. If anything, it is a mark of false consciousness on the part of the supposed tribesmen who unwittingly respond to the call for their own exploitation and who subscribe to an ideology that is inconsistent with their material base. In the case of the new African elite it is a ploy or distortion they use to conceal their exploitative role. It is an ideology in the original Marxist sense and they share it with their European fellow-ideologists.

Aside from their particular ideology which has been cleverly exposed by John Argyle in an article entitled "European Nationalism and African Tribalism" (in Gulliver 1969) the anthropologists, sociologists and political scientists seem to suffer from a common disability viz., their failure to distinguish sufficiently and consistently between social theory and social action. While it is true that there is a relationship between social classification and social behaviour, it is not true that the two always correspond. Sociologically analysed, things are not necessarily what they are known as socially. The frequent statement by anthropologists who have done urban studies that "urban tribalism is different from rural tribalism" is an illustration of just how the same classificatory term is employed by both the social scientists and the actors to describe entirely different phenomena. Levi-Strauss has suggested that conscious models are poorer than unconscious ones, i.e. they tell us less about objective reality. Of course, being a member of the club himself, Levi-Strauss would not extend the same observation to his fellow social scientists.

It is also important to note that classificatory systems are less spacebound than action systems. That is why it is becoming increasingly difficult for the anthropologists to insist on territoriality as being the basis for 'tribalism'. According to their own observations, 'tribalism' has now extended to areas as far removed from the tribal homeland as the cities. Under the modern conditions the so-called tribesmen do not live in the same area, though they might still identify with one another in specific contexts. Secondly, even in the rural areas residence in regions which are known by tribal names is not confined to any particular tribe, but all the same the inhabitants might still identify very strongly with the region. Certainly, this was the case in the Transkei, South Africa, where I did field work in 1963. The same tendency was observable among the migrants in Cape Town (Wilson & Mafeje 1963). Under the modern

conditions this would be at the expense of tri

Closely associated with cultural identity was not one of the criteria to define 'tribes'. unbending structuralist cultural boundaries. In South Africa the shared a common culture divided up into a number of the fictitious 'tribes' in the paper, they manage to secure a more comfortable South African society. 'tribalism'? A typical affected unfavourable 'tribalism'. But despite its facilitation something entirely different number of writers, manage to overcome their own

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In the work circled. The reply ideology of tribalism and the emergent African very much. First, obscures the real relationship between Africans the world almost in the applied to Latin American national finance-capital accentuating and perhaps that part of the world highly suspect distortion of the world. Their impedes cross-cultural facilitated by the wider society, and instead of ideological insights already gained historical experience upon the African tribes for further analysis. To be able to contrast social scientists, explanatory power of

conditions this would emphasize the importance of regionalism at the expense of tribalism.

Closely associated with the above point is the question of cultural identity. Earlier on we observed that 'culture' was not one of the criteria used by British anthropologists to define 'tribes'. This is either because they were unbending structuralists or because they realised that cultural boundaries were more diffuse than political ones. In South Africa the Xhosa-speakers can be said to have shared a common culture over a very wide area, but were divided up into a number of autonomous political units. Like the fictitious 'tribes' that have been discussed elsewhere in the paper, they might use that cultural link in order to secure a more comfortable place in the modern industrial South African society. Would that still constitute 'tribalism'? A typical anthropologist, like the natives affected unfavourably by such a move, would accuse them of 'tribalism'. But their Xhosa-ness in the cultural sense, despite its facilitating effect, would be representative of something entirely different. This point has been made by a number of writers, most of whom however have not been able to overcome their own ideological predispositions.

It feels as if everybody is tethered to a chain and cannot move further. Apthorpe has remarked that "sociologically analysed, the only thing that is always prior is not the phenomenon of tribalism itself - whatever precisely that is - but the apparatus of concepts and ideas with which social scientists and others attempt to comprehend this" (Apthorpe 1968). To avoid what Marx once called 'idealistic humberg', Apthorpe might have added that the conditions to which the various 'tribalisms' were a response also existed prior to the phenomenon and were, in fact, a result of relative deprivation. (For actual examples, see Gulliver, op. cit., and the M.A. candidate at Makerere University College who said that 'tribalism' did not start in Kigezi until 1958!).

In the work cited above, Apthorpe asked if tribalism mattered. The reply is: if 'tribalism' does not matter, the ideology of tribalism, paddled by both expatriate theorists and the emergent African middle-class ideologists, mattered very much. First, it over-simplifies and mystifies, and obscures the real nature of economic and power relations between Africans themselves and between Africa and the capitalist world almost in the same way as the term 'feudalism', as applied to Latin America, camouflages the crucial role international finance-capital and imperialism has played in accentuating and perpetuating the existing social formation in that part of the world. Second, it draws an invidious and highly suspect distinction between Africans and other peoples of the world. Third, it is an anachronistic misnomer which impedes cross-cultural analysis. If regional particularism, facilitated by the existence of cultural sections within the wider society, and class-formation were identified as such, instead of ideologising about 'tribes' and 'tribalism', the insights already gained from European, Asian and American historical experience would be brought to bear more fruitfully upon the African transformation and with better prospects for further analysis of human societies all over the world. To be able to contribute to that kind of universalism, as social scientists, we need generalisable concepts with high explanatory power and 'tribalism' is not one of them.

WHY DO WE NEED SOCIOLOGISTS?

Review Article of

"Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology" by A.G. Frank.

by

Henry Mapolu

In Western Europe and North America, sociology students have often tended to be in the forefront of student militancy and radicalism. Their presence and even leadership in student clashes with the establishments have been felt in places as far apart as the U.S.A., Germany, Canada, and France. In the last named country, particularly, sociology students proved themselves instrumental in the "May Events" when in 1968 students brought France to the threshold of a revolution.

Perhaps it is because they are supposed to be studying the "science of society" that they have found it so easy to relate student problems with those of the society as a whole, and to thus tend to ask more fundamental questions about the socio-economic milieu within which universities operate. Thus in these countries sociology students have been quick to unmask the mediocrity of university teaching under capitalism and the role performed by universities in perpetuating and justifying social, economic and political ills.

The "May Events" in France were preceeded by the "March Events" when sociology students at Nanterre decided to boycott their examinations. I want to quote extensively a few extracts from the leaflet which was distributed at the time urging sociology students to boycott all lectures, and which was entitled "WHY DO WE NEED SOCIOLOGISTS?"

The transformation of academic sociology, a branch of philosophy, into an independent study with scientific pretensions, corresponds to the transformation of competitive capitalism into a state-controlled economy. From that point, the new social psychology has increasingly been used by the bourgeoisie to help rationalize society without jeopardizing either profits or stability.

...The practical organization of capitalism produces a host of contradictions, which various branches of sociology are expected to remove. Some are set to study juvenile delinquency, others racism, yet others slums. Each group seeks solutions of its particular problem and leaves it at that, thus adding its bit to the jig-saw puzzle of "sociological theories".

...Social psychologists are agreed on only one point: the need to develop technical methods of social adaptation and re-adaptation and of resolving social conflicts. Just look at the concepts which are

currently popular: social function, social function, social function. The "theorist" is local conflicts in which, alone, allegedly impartial and biased, whereas in fact the unemployment, del nature of the pre granted.

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The article in question has been printed in pamphlet form in many countries, and is also reproduced in the author's collection of essays: "Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution" (Monthly Review Press, 1969).

currently popular; hierarchy, ritual, adaptation, social function, social control, equilibrium, etc. The "theorist" is expected to explain the nature of local conflicts removed from their social context in which, alone, their cause can be understood. This allegedly impartial procedure is, in fact, thoroughly partial and biased; phenomena are studied in isolation whereas in fact they are inter-related (e.g. racism, unemployment, delinquency and slums), and the rational nature of the present economic system is taken for granted.

...It follows that the disquiet of sociology students cannot be understood without looking at the relationship between sociology and society. In our day, sociologists have chosen their side: that of management and the state. What, in this case, is the point of defending sociology, as some have recommended us to do?

If such embarrassing questions are asked in the metropolises, it seems to me that they ought to be asked even more pertinently in our countries, the peripheries of the international capitalist system. For if the system of intellectual mystification in the epicentres of capitalism has reached such sophistication, it is fair to assume that in the case of the peripheries whose social and economic domination is essentially external, such mystification is total. The system of international exploitation has always operated clad in a justificatory social consciousness that is enhanced by academic "sciences" - anthropology particularly during the colonial era, and sociology (among others) during this neo-colonial phase.

It is in this context that I view Frank's article as a tremendous demystifying force. In discussing the "Sociology of Development", he lays bare for all to see the relationship between what sociology teaches in and about the underdeveloped world, and the needs of imperialism to perpetuate its domination and exploitation of those countries.

The purpose of the article is to examine "the sociology of development currently being produced in the developed countries, especially the United States, for export to and use in the underdeveloped countries". This the author does by critically looking at the empirical validity, the theoretical adequacy and finally the policy-wise effectiveness of the major trends in this "sociology of development". Perhaps ironically, he finds that this "develop-ology" - as he has called it in another context - is not only empirically invalid, theoretically inadequate and policy-wise ineffective, but its inadequacy is also growing along with the development of underdevelopment. "Like the underdeveloped society to which it is applied, this sociology is becoming increasingly underdeveloped".

I shall just summarise briefly the major trends in this sociology of development. First is what is generally termed the "Index Approach". By this approach, "the general features of a developed economy are abstracted as an ideal type and then contrasted with equally ideal typical features of a poor economy and society. (Thus) development is viewed as the transformation of one type into the other". This is of course common even among political scientists and economists, who often simply abstract the "typical indices" of "underdevelopment" from those of "development"; the remainder is the development programme.

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As far as the sociologists are concerned, the people in underdeveloped countries are particularistic in outlook, their social, economic and political roles are distributed in terms of ascription, and further that such roles are functionally diffuse. These are the causal characteristics of their underdevelopment, and one just has to replace them with those of developed societies to acquire development. The "developed" characteristics are of course the opposites of the above: people in developed societies are universalistic in outlook, their roles are distributed in terms of achievement, and finally such roles are functionally specific.

It is not difficult to see the empirical falsity in this artificial polarization, for there is in fact a lot of particularism, ascription and functional diffusivity in many a role in developed societies. In fact the age of monopoly produces individuals who command numerous positions in the economic, political and social systems, such positions being more often ascribed than achieved, and whose outlook is narrowed to issues concerning only profit making. Similarly, there is a lot of universalism, achievement and diffusivity in underdeveloped societies. All in all, then, these are not characteristics of the phenomena under discussion - and they are even further from being the causes of development or underdevelopment.

Secondly, however, is the difficulty from the theoretical point of view of abstracting roles in society for the sake of comparison; which roles should one concentrate on, and how can one compare the nature of roles which in fact supersede societal boundaries and their effects influence one another intermittently? If the validity of the hypotheses and assumptions of a theoretical formulation are questionable it becomes clear that its conclusions, i.e. the prescriptions, are therefore both logically and practically incorrect. It is for this reason that both Weber's "ideal types" and Rostow's "stages of economic growth" are, to say the least, not of much use for the development of underdeveloped countries.

The second trend is the so-called "Diffusionist Approach", which holds that the way to develop is through the "diffusion" of capital, skills, norms, etc from the developed to the underdeveloped countries. This theory, like the last one, assumes underdevelopment and development as given, and does not seek to explore their origins. Perhaps now this does not even merit extensive discussion in so far as it is now agreed that the relationship between the capitalist and the underdeveloped world has always been one of exploitation and suppression and not of "diffusion" or "aid". In fact such exploitation and suppression of the underdeveloped world now seems to be growing in intensity, even by the conservative estimates of the United Nations, it is \$4.5 million that leave the underdeveloped world for the developed one hourly. This is also true of skills; while the increased relationship between metropolitan and peripheral economies has brought about some "education" to a small section of the underdeveloped people, whatever skills gained by these people have soon been refunnelled out to the metropolises under the orbit of the "brain-drain".

In other words, then, with the increase in the intensity of the relationship through increased foreign investments, "aid", etc. one gets an even greater movement of resources from the underdeveloped to the developed countries. So in fact the international relationship that has been engineered by the capitalist system is not only useless for the peripheral areas but is actually harmful for it is both the cause of underdevelopment as well as its perpetuator.

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To therefore formulate a theory of development which is based on diffusion of capital, skills, etc to underdeveloped countries is in fact to merely increase their underdevelopment. This is what the governments of African countries are doing at present, unfortunately; in search of "economic growth" they are colluding with their imperialist masters to facilitate the expatriation of Africa's resources.

Finally is the "Psychological Approach". This, in essence, is based on the assertion that development is a function of psychological factors the major one of which being "achievement orientation". Thus the cause for underdevelopment is that people in those countries have "a low need for achievement" and we need just raise this "need" if we are to bring about development for them.

This is not only idealism at its apex, but it is also crude racism and fascism. It is based on the same assumptions of the related theory of "elites", and the two have often been used to deny social revolution and were the philosophical justification of Mussolini's fascist movement in Italy. Now of course both these theories are couched in more academic gowns and are therefore dished out to appalled students of the "sociology of development" in the underdeveloped world - thus perpetuating fascist ideology.

Furthermore, this theory in particular discards all scientific methods of social investigation: it does not analyse structures holistically, but assumes a monocausal function of some "psychological factor" in the development of society.

These basically are the major trends of the sociology of development which imperialism is exporting to the underdeveloped world. And it is these that the University of Dar es Salaam inculcates voraciously in her students who are supposed to lead the "revolution" in Tanzania. The teaching of sociology at this University is based on the same assumptions of these theories: that societies are exclusive entities and their essence and characteristics can be understood in isolation, and above all the field of investigation for sociologists is the superstructure and not the economic bedrock of society.

We therefore teach our students about "tribes" and "tribalism", the role of "elites", and various "organizations" that are presumed fundamental in our societies. The students graduate without knowing exactly what they have learned, they cannot fit in their material in the society, and they cannot even use the hazard methods of investigation they learned to solve practical problems facing their own people. They are sociologists for their own sake - and their practical use is only in teaching others the same garbage.

Frequently, of course, we talk of "social change" - a central "sociological" term for every thing and nothing; it is the sociologist's equivalent of what the political scientist calls "modernization" and the economist "growth". All these describe essentially the growing impact of capitalism in the underdeveloped world which of course does not bring about development but underdevelopment. However the academics see "objectively" in this process "social change", "modernization" and "growth".

In saying all this, I am not at all oblivious of the tremendous efforts made by the present head of the department

of Sociology in this University to make the course more meaningful and relevant to the present world situation. Indeed, if one takes into account the context in which changes have been instituted, the strides made are really striking. Yet however such efforts are seriously handicapped on the one hand by the fragmentation of knowledge in the teaching processes of the University and by the ubiquitous yet false dichotomy between academic work and social commitment on the other.

Frank has appropriately termed the "social sciences" that are taught in underdeveloped countries as the "emperor's clothes". Indeed, the emperor - i.e. imperialist exploitation - these days is clad in a plethora of academic theories, sciences, principles, etc. which besides having little in common with the realities they pretend to explain, are in fact essential for mystifying and justifying the plunder of underdeveloped people by imperialism.

It is therefore no accident that imperialism today attaches great importance to universities and educational institutions generally in underdeveloped countries. The great inflow of "aid" and scholarships to various institutions by the several "foundations" which mastermind this scheme of indoctrination provides ample evidence for this. The control of the minds of people is essential if one wishes to subjugate them.

And sociology is one of the major disciplines through which this indoctrination takes place. Earlier on I noted that in Western Europe and North America sociology students tend to play a vanguard role in student militancy. Unfortunately it is not easy to say the same thing in the case of Dar es Salaam or many of the underdeveloped universities. Even though they have ample opportunity to see the mediocrity of their education, apparently students here just quietly swallow all that they are fed with.

But this is of course a harsh and misleading judgement; for it is not only sociology students who are not radical in this university and in similar ones. In fact in this kind of university a radical student is a precious rarity - so that it is impossible to explain the social myopia, intellectual impotence and political apathy by singling any one discipline. These are a product of the total system of education and of the kind of society that nurtures such educational system.

Thus this education, together with the "sociology of development" will have to be thrown overboard along with the kind of society which we now live under. Then the "theories of development" will emerge from that very act and these will be more relevant to the needs and aspirations of the people. "If the developed countries cannot diffuse development, development theory, or development policy to the underdeveloped countries, then the people of these countries will have to develop them by themselves. These three modes of approach are the emperor's clothes, which have served to hide his naked imperialism. Rather than fashioning the emperor a new suit, these people will have to dethrone him and clothe themselves".

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REACTIONARY ACADEMICS AT THE HILL

by

V.D. Amri

During the last vacation, the T.Y.L. Branch at the University issued a statement condemning the content of the political science syllabus for education students as being irrelevant to the ideological needs of Tanzania and totally subversive to her aims and aspirations as a nation. The statement succinctly pointed out the basic distinction between "political science" and "political education".

Since then a certain Dr. Mwansasu has chosen to go through mental acrobatics and not deal with the substance of the statement. He was followed by Mr. Mwingira and Dr. Kimambo who signed a document written by Dr. A. Rweyemamu (according to him). The document the two high-ranking officials of the University signed, similarly, deliberately ignored the crucial question of the debate, "political science" and "political education", and chose to just flirt with non-issues and trivialities which, even then, it did not treat sufficiently well. In fact this document - and the privacy with which it was distributed - vividly demonstrate what a rotten kind of educational institution this University is: sheer dishonesty being bandied about by the University authorities!

Right in the middle of all this debate, one of the lecturers at the University wrote on "What Is Wrong At The Hill" (SUNDAY NEWS, June 13th) focussing on the controversy concerning the Department of Political Science.

Mrs. Mbilinyi asserted that the T.Y.L. by attacking "just" the Department of Political Science, was therefore adopting "a Bourgeois tactic of isolating one course, labelled 'political science' and demanding that it be relevant to the country's ideology, while at the same time neglecting completely the question of the relevancy and possible elements of the University itself taken as an entity. Their attention is focussed on minor contradictions operating within one small portion of the whole University rather than focussing on the major contradictions operating within the whole University and between the whole University and the nation at large". Mrs. Mbilinyi provides the example of the Department of Education and asks critical questions about it.

This is basically what Mrs. Mbilinyi elaborates in the article. She calls on all those concerned not just to look at individual isolated occurrences but to examine the issues within the whole. "The investigation will have to focus on the whole educational system before it is through. It is probable, however, that the contradictions true of the educational system as a whole found in most visible form at the University. Although engaged in pointing out and removing contradictions, such an investigation need not arouse unreconcilable antagonisms. Those who in the name of socialism show their contempt and derision for their fellow men, ... " (emphasis supplied).

Mrs. Mbilinyi ends by calling upon Tanzanians to study carefully the following words of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung: "The contradictions between ourselves and our enemies are antagonistic ones. Within the ranks of the people, contradictions among the working people are non-antagonistic while those between the exploiters and the exploited classes have, apart from their antagonistic aspects, a non-antagonistic aspect. Contradictions among the people have always existed. But their content differ either in each period of the revolution and during the building of socialism. In our country, contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie is a contradiction among the people. The class struggle waged between the two is, by and large, a class struggle within the ranks of the people. This is because of the dual character of the national bourgeoisie in the country. In the year of the bourgeois democratic revolution there was a revolutionary side to their character; there was also a tendency to compromise with the enemy, this was the other side. In the period of the socialist revolution, exploitation of the working class to make profits is one side, while support of transformation is the other. The national bourgeoisie differs from the imperialists, the landlords and the bureaucratic capitalists. The contradiction between the exploiter and the exploited, which existed between the national bourgeoisie and the working class, is an antagonistic one. But, in the concrete conditions existing in China, such antagonism, if properly handled, can be transformed into a non-antagonistic one and resolved in a peaceful way".

And so we have been advised to implement our revolution in a gentlemanly manner! The University T.Y.L. has been accused by Mrs. Mbilinyi of using a bourgeois tactic of isolating one course only and leaving the rest of the University alone. Such an accusation is but to be expected. If anything it reveals that her ignorance is quite profound. She chooses to pick on only one of the many critical analyses and contributions made by the University TYL Branch and isolates them out of the whole context of the work done by the Branch. The question then is, who is isolating issues from the whole?

During its brief history, the TYL Branch (and the now defunct USARF) have consistently presented critical analyses and constructive suggestions on the University and the Tanzanian society as a whole. It has expressed militant solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world and has committed itself to the destruction of the capitalist system.

Now let us take each of these activities in turn. For the sake of brevity, only a few examples will be sighted. In conjunction with USARF and the TANU Study Circle, the TYL Branch presented a memorandum to the Presidential Visitation Committee in 1969. This memorandum was the most comprehensive received by the Committee, for it dealt extensively with all aspects of the University including problems of curriculum reorganisation, staff recruitment, administrative structures, student organisation, etc. How then can TYL be accused of isolating only one course?

Then the TYL and USARF launched a journal, CHECHE, which presented incisive analysis of all aspects of socialist development in Tanzania and the world at large. Yet the woman from America, Mrs. Mbilinyi, chooses to ignore that.

The TYL participated in fact drafted the guidelines of the Vigilance Committee of as far as security matters. CHECHE publication on "Socialism in Tanzania" not only was a study of socialism in Tanzania but also on implementing socialism. The publication of the paper on "Tanzania" was a blow which the bureaucracy was strangled down. The cumulative effect of the banning of both US

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The TYL participated actively in the "Law Crisis", and in fact drafted the guiding document presented by the Vigilance Committee of the Faculty thus showing its vigilance as far as security matters are concerned also. The special CHECHE publication on "Tanzania: The Silent Class Struggle" not only was a study of the socio-economic scene prevailing in Tanzania which shattered many illusions created about socialism in Tanzania, but also put forward concrete suggestions on implementing socialist policies in the country. The publication of the paper not only sparked a desperately needed discussion on "Tanzanian socialism", but also turned out to be a blow which the bureaucracy was not willing to take lying down. The cumulative effect of this and other activities was the banning of both USARF and CHECHE.

Also the TYL/USARF and the TANU Study Circle took up the challenge made by Mwalimu to begin serious discussion on our problems within the socialist framework. The activists at the Hill opened up with staccato bursts aimed against tourism through the medium of THE STANDARD. The reverberations from it are still shaking the proponents of tourism. In the pages of THE NATIONALIST, they offered constructive suggestions on reorganising the Party. The visit to Dodoma last September by TYL/USARF members sparked off yet another serious discussion on ujamaa villages. The Dodoma visit combined both practice and theory. The comrades pointed out how, in fact, the bureaucracy was strangling the lines of the villages' development along socialist principles.

The TYL/USARF activists have consistently carried the banner of the struggle of oppressed peoples throughout the world. These students, who have shown a high degree of commitment for building socialism in Tanzania, have on many occasions expressed their militant solidarity with the Indochinese people, the Latin Americans, The Black people in the U.S.A., the Palestinians, and above all the Freedom Fighters in Africa. They have given material assistance to the Liberation Movements and have worked tirelessly to at least bring an understanding of the African Revolution to the self-glorified "intellectual" slobes of the Hill.

One thread runs consistently through this brief recapitulation of the TYL/USARF activities. That is their understanding of how the vicious tentacle of imperialism have spread throughout the University and the country in general, and needless to say of how imperialism lives off the blood and sweat of the wretched of the earth. Could one be more holistic in outlook than this?

The T.Y.L. chose, as one of its many contributions, to expose the Department of Political Science's latest intrigues on behalf of that department's imperialist mentors and sustainers. The statement that the T.Y.L. issued not only exposed the Department in question but also briefly reminded the readers that "the University has for long been the headquarters of reaction in Tanzania". It exalted the readers to keep this point in mind because it was important. Now Mrs. Mbilinyi, true to her confusionist role in this country, has chosen to isolate this contribution from the sum total of all the contributions of the T.Y.L. as if this is the first time the T.Y.L. has chosen to address itself to the insidious nature of this University. In other words, she has isolated one contribution of the T.Y.L. from the whole. As she so well put it, that is a bourgeois tactic!!

Let us now deal with the advice that Mrs. Mbilinyi paternalistically offers at the end of her article. She calls upon the revolutionaries to stop showing contempt and derision for their fellow men. Nice sentiments! If she had only stopped there! But she chose not to, and she proceeded to vulgarise the writings of Chairman Mao. Let us first give her a lesson in theory. In Tanzania, the principal contradiction is between the imperialists and their local henchmen on the one side, and the working people on the other. This is an antagonistic contradiction in so far as economically Tanzania is still within the international capitalist system. No amount of pious wishing is going to transform that contradiction into a non-antagonistic one, and therefore perhaps resolvable in a peaceful way. Our bureaucratic petty bourgeoisie and their ideological cohorts at the Hill have their base in international capitalism. If such a contradiction could be resolved peacefully, then perhaps even the Vietnamese people would just as well be advised to pop a bottle of champagne!

Perhaps Mrs. Mbilinyi suffers from lapses of memory. China, which went through decades of bloody armed struggle against imperialism and its running dogs and now has been on the path of socialist reconstruction for about 15 years, still has had to have the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" to resolve the contradiction between the forces represented by China's Khrushchev, Liu Shao Chi and the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces. The Cultural Revolution was not exactly a tea party!!

It is necessary that people learn to investigate the concrete conditions obtaining in particular countries. Mrs. Mbilinyi's attempt to grossly distort Mao's brilliant contribution to Marxism is obscurantist at best and reactionary at worst since it seeks to spread confusion among the people. THE STANDARD, in an Editorial on March 15th, commented on a report submitted by certain women on the campus. "Women staff members tend to fall at the lower end of the status scale despite equal if not better qualifications". No doubt, one of the women involved was the unter in question, since for long she has been complaining of her promotion in the Education department (). The lower grade of women at the University and the country is of course a real problem - being a result of the capitalist system in which Tanzania is still languishing. But this should not be confused with Madame Mbilinyi's personal ambition.

Criticism of the revolutionary elements at the Hill is certainly welcome and ought to be encouraged, but dishonest machinations aimed at sowing seeds of confusion will always be resolutely denounced. The wilful distortion of TYL's activities and the calling for peaceful ways of resolving antagonistic contradictions is ideologically subversive and has to be relentlessly combated if Tanzania is to make her breakthrough. The self-styled moralists in effect imply that there are no contradictions to be resolved.

GIs in Vietnam:

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Murder Threats:

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News Leak:

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Vicious Circle:

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Royal Souvenir:

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HERE AND ABOUT

GIs in Vietnam:

A. de Segonzac, Washington correspondent of "France-Soir", writes that unwillingness to fight is spreading among American servicemen in South Vietnam. Not infrequently they warn their officers that they do not want to go into battle. Officers who ignore the warning are liable to find smoke grenades planted under their beds. And this can be followed up with tear-gas bombs and even with fragmentation grenades. One method that is being resorted to increasingly in the case of "over-zealous officers" is arrangement of "accidents". One day two officers were killed at one American base and when the commander announced it, the GIs applauded.

Murder Threats:

Every year the police are forced to investigate more than 100 murder threats against Edward, the last of the surviving Kennedy brothers. Elaborate measures - even more elaborate than in the case of perhaps any other prominent American politician - are taken every time he goes travelling or makes a public appearance.

News Leak:

The U.S. Command in South Vietnam imposed a news blackout on all reports relating to the preparations for the American-Saigon invasion of Laos. Saigon reporters nevertheless knew in advance about this new stage in the escalation of the U.S. war in Indochina. One of them got the information from an American serviceman and he heard about it from - guess whom? "I learned about it" he said, "from the Vietnamese woman who cleans my room."

Vicious Circle:

In one of its latest monthly reports, the Morgan banking house, U.S.A., complained that the war was exhausting the military budget, retarding research and thus making it hard to design new weapons for future wars.

They'll Believe Anything:

An ad recently appeared in a New York newspaper offering tame monkeys to help women with their housework. There were several hundred requests for them. And then it was found that it was all a hoax. The advertiser, Pat Finley, was a student of psychology. He was writing a paper on the subject of human gullibility and was collecting factual material for it.

Royal Souvenir:

Some time ago a sports car driven by a British princess crashed into a taxicab in London's Brompton Road. Fortunately no one was hurt and the only question was that of who should pay for the repairs to the taxi. The owner of the cab was advised by a policeman to write to Buckingham Palace. Not wishing to bother royalty, the man thought up another way out. He sold the twisted bumper to a rich American as a "royal souvenir".

Bad for the Tummy:

Professor Ludwig Deuling of the Erlangen University Clinic (West Germany) recently undertook the following experiment with twenty-three healthy young people. He had them listen to Mozart, Beethoven and the Beatles, and took specimens of their gastric juice every half hour. The analysis showed that secretion of gastric juice after classical music was normal. But pop music sharply reduced the amount secreted and that, in the Professor's opinion, is apt to cause ulcers.

Harem News:

Ex-King El Badr of the Yemen, now residing in London, was recently compelled to make drastic cuts in his harem. It has now been reduced to two. The reason: financial difficulties.

Shameful Statistics:

In the twelve months ending June 30, 1969, South African courts sentenced about 500,000 persons - 2.5 per cent of the country's population - to various terms of imprisonment. Last year, 81 persons were executed in this racist republic. That's half the world's total.

Legality in the Free World:

Six years ago the Portuguese police in Luanda (Angola) arrested postman João Batista for criticizing Lisbon's colonial war. For that "crime" this father of eight was sent to prison for two years. He is still there. For when his sentence expired, the chief warden scrawled on his dossier: "The man is a Negro, rude and uneducated." In the free world, of which Portugal is part, this seems to be enough to keep an innocent man behind bars.

Democracy in the Free World:

A recent poll revealed that one out of every five Italians did not know the name of the country's President. Only one in twenty knew that President Saragat's term of office would expire on December 28 of this year. More than a third of those polled had no idea how Italian presidents were elected.

Three Rats Per Capita:

American scientist Arthur Kildwell has established a certain connection between the militarization of the political regime in Brazil and the startling increase in her rat population. He has calculated that there are already at least 300 million rats in the Brazilian slums, or something like three per capita of the human population. In Rio de Janeiro, where plumbing facilities are to be found only in the well-to-do districts, the rats have grown to the size of average cats and are so bold that they attack dogs.

Hamlet v. 007:

The Boston "Christian Science Monitor" reports that a recent poll revealed that the best known author in Britain is not Shakespeare but Ian Fleming, author of the books about superspy James Bond. Shakespeare, the paper adds, is read only in schools.

Comrades,

In his "Pigskin" we should know how to propagate and then propaganda of the is accepting its claim oldest colony, is "a" "patriotic of the 1

Over a period of was laid waste by the decimated through emigration and the Irish feudalists, and elsewhere, soldiers patriots have created their heroes and the

That the nation the indigenous people country still under religious war, any wars or colonialism Christianity. In of economic territory is certainly not in English was troops at Irish Republican Army source of cheap labor materials as well.

The present fact appear that the main ethnic, religious and manoeuvre to divide need to expose the p

Dar es Salaam.

FROM OUR READERS

Comrades,

In his "Fighting Talk (HAJIMAJI No. 1) AGE states that we should know how to distinguish between objectivity and propaganda and then goes on to show just how pernicious the propaganda of the imperialist press can be by himself accepting its claim that the conflict in Ireland, England's oldest colony, is "motivated by religion" and not by the "patriotism of the indigenous people".

Over a period of 700 years, starting in 1100, Ireland was laid waste by the English wars of conquest, its population decimated through war, deliberately-created famine, forced emigration and the mass hanging of patriots. While the Irish feudalists, like their counterparts in South-East Asia and elsewhere, collaborated with the oppressors, the Irish patriots have continued to struggle up to this day. They have their heroes and their martyrs.

That the settlers happen to be English Protestants and the indigenous people Catholics in the Northern part of the country still under English rule does not make this a religious war, any more than the Crusades were really religious wars or colonialism motivated by the desire to spread Christianity. In each case, the motive has been the seizure of economic territory and the exploitation of the people. It is certainly not in defence of the Anglican Church that the English use troops and helicopters against the clandestine Irish Republican Army. Ireland today is still a depressed source of cheap labour for England and a source of such raw materials as wool.

The present tactic of imperialism is to seek to make it appear that the main contradictions in the world today are ethnic, religious and national in origin. This is a manoeuvre to divide the anti-imperialist forces. Hence the need to expose the propaganda lies systematically.

Marga Holmes.

Dar es Salaam.

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