

## INTRODUCTION

What doctrines reign in the academic arena, it was pointed out in the Introduction of the first issue of Utafiti, is not a matter of purely academic concern. The reigning doctrines are the ideologies of the ruling classes, couched in academic language. Those who control the means of production also establish their control over the means of knowledge.

This control, however, is never total. Contradiction is a necessary law of development. Development in scientific theory occurs through the negation of the ruling ideologies by the more progressive ideologies of the oppressed classes. Before the ruling ideologies are finally driven out and banished into history, however, attempts are made to co-opt into the language of the ruling ideologies some of the concepts of the ideologies of the oppressed classes. In our day and age for instance, the World Bank, that bastion of imperialist finance capital, can be seen surreptitiously borrowing phrases from Marx and Engels to present to the oppressed peoples of the Third World a face of reform, a face of patriarchal concern for the marginalised third of the human race. The deception may not even be self-conscious. It is part of the very laws of the development of theory by which class struggles proceed in the realm of ideology. The progressive ideology at first nibbles at the reactionary ideology thus undermining its legitimacy, until the time comes for a total transformation of the social relations of production, when the dying reactionary ideology hides in the nooks and crannies of the new superstructure, attempting to emerge in new forms in order to resurrect itself nourished by the existing contradictions in society.

We, in East Africa, of course, have not reached that stage. The ruling capitalist ideology still rules in academic circles. But, as the contradictions between imperialism and the peoples of the oppressed nations deepen, the capitalist ideology is forced increasingly into a defensive corner from which it battles using conceptual stratagems and academic sophistry.

One of the conceptual stratagems was "African Socialism". It attempted to pass capitalism as socialism. As an ideology, however, it never took roots.

But ideologies which express some of the sentiments of the oppressed peoples, even if these are expressed unscientifically, have a chance of winning popular support: For example ideologies which have some basis in peasant societies, such as Narodism had in Russia towards the turn of the century, had a ready-made soil in which to take roots. Frantz Fanon's peasant ideology, borrowing heavily from Marx and with a powerful anti-colonial thrust, was such an ideology within the African context. It had a progressive function for the period of the anti-colonial struggle. Today, when we are

passing into the stage of anti-imperialist struggle, Fanonism has a mystifying function on the development of scientific theory.

Many versions of Fanon's type of populist ideologies abound in Africa, especially where the petty bourgeois ruling groups reflect the anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses. It is very easy for petty bourgeois intellectuals to adopt these populist ideologies and flaunt them as the weapon of struggle against imperialism.

In the Tanzanian context the struggle against such populist ideologies had taken one progressive step forward with the appearance in 1970 of Issa G. Shivji's The Silent Class Struggles. Although it did not in fact carry out a class analysis of the Tanzanian society, nonetheless, in showing that the Tanzanian economy was firmly embedded, despite the Arusha Declaration and the subsequent nationalisations, in the system of international capitalist accumulation, Shivji's thesis put to serious question the liberalist glorification of the "Tanzanian Experiment". Such glorification still persists today, but the theory that informs this glorification no longer reigns supreme.

With the appearance of the Class Struggles in Tanzania (Tanzania Publishing House and Heinemann, 1975), Shivji has now carried out a class analysis of the Tanzanian society which he had left out earlier. "The present work", the author explains, "is in no way a comprehensive history of class struggles. My aim has been simply to indicate the course of these struggles and hope that further historical research will fill in the many gaps that no doubt exist in the present work".

As one of the Reviewers in the present issue, Professor Goran Hyden, points out, Shivji's work has influenced thinking and analysis at the University of Dar es Salaam (and perhaps beyond) for several years now. For his own part, he would like to question its legitimacy and its correctness. Shivji's view, he argues, is a view from Olympian heights, and does not sufficiently take into account either the problems of the day or the worries of the administrator called upon to extricate Tanzania from the depths of its underdevelopment. But as Shivji pointed out in the preface to his book, his analysis was limited to an explanation of the past, not as a prescription for administrators, "for history cannot be remade, it can only be interpreted and explained".

However, once progressive attempt is made to present a scientific explanation of society, and indeed as an act of political struggle against the ruling populist ideology, there can be no turning back. One can only go forward along the same path to extricate such errors of facts and analysis as might have entered into Shivji's analysis and presentation of the material. The pursuit of science is by no means an easy task. Our second reviewer, Professor Dan Nabudere,

thus subjects Shivji's analysis to the rigour of the scientific discipline. He condemns Shivji for not being rigorous enough, and for allowing petty bourgeois notions to filter through the analysis.

The debate is an open debate. Science flourishes best when it is nourished in the open, with criticism and self-criticism, unless it is driven underground by political considerations, when its development takes a different form and its impact is then necessarily limited by the development of the thinking of petty bourgeois radicals. Utafiti would therefore welcome criticism that would advance the cause of scientific analysis.

This, then, forms one element in the present issue of Utafiti. The second is an examination of the current state of the East African Community.

Generally acknowledged throughout the world as a model of regional integration, the East African Community is fast turning into an anachronism. At least it is becoming evident that something new has to take its place. But the impending collapse of the Community cannot be laid at the door of the masses of East Africa. There is not, there has never been, nor likely to be, any lack of genuine, even passionate, support for unity among the people of East Africa, to the extent that even in the midst of the Community's demise, there are people who refuse to believe that this is what is happening to it.

Where do we then turn to look for an explanation of this? The community's Minister for Finance and Administration, Al-Noor Kassum, addressed students at the University of Dar es Salaam on the Community, but avoided, for obvious political reasons, the question of providing an explanation for the Community's impending demise. When a patient is dying it would hasten death to provide him with an accurate analysis of the fatal nature of his ailment.

Nonetheless, the question must be faced. To sum up the experience of the past and learn from it is to lay the basis for a sounder future. In Dr. A.P. Mahiga's paper an attempt is made to sum up this experience, and to give an analysis to solve the problems that have confronted the Community in the last few years.

The fundamental problem, we think, lies in the fact that the super-structure of the Community, created historically to serve one colonial master, began to get alienated from its socio-economic base when that base began to alter its colonial character. Two important aspects of this need a deeper analysis. One is external, namely, the replacement of the previous exclusive monopoly of one colonial master by a rivalry between several imperialist groups competing for economic and political gains in the three countries, severally and jointly. The second aspect is internal, namely, the

emergence of governments within these countries that have their own interests and respective ideologies.

The Community's superstructure could not cope with these changes, and its woodwork inevitably began to crack. But this does not mean the end of East African Unity. When the deeper waters have somewhat stilled, the surface will begin to show calm. In the meantime, the socio-economic base itself is widening, so that when unity is finally forged once again, it may be on a wider base, as Noor Kassum's article suggests, than the present confines of the three East African states. The workers and peasants of these countries have a common enemy in imperialism, and they can fight it better in unity than in division.

There is, in addition to the articles on the community and the critiques of Shivji's book a piece on the "Structure and Balance of Industrial Production in Tanzania" written jointly by a number of authors who were formerly members of the University and had carried out a survey of industries in Tanzania. Readers of Utafiti will recall Dr. G. Tschannerl's article in the first issue of the journal (1976) where the author had applied the Samir Amin four-sector model to analysing Tanzania's industrial sector. The article in the present issue advances the argument one step further, and, while confirming Tschannerl's conclusions, it has strengthened and somewhat modified these in detail by the weight of concrete evidence.

Finally, we would like to draw our readers' attention in this Introduction to Dr. Tiberondwa's article which should have appeared in the last issue of Utafiti on the general theme of education, but had to be transferred to the present issue for lack of space, and the Musoma Resolution which lays down the basis for a new educational superstructure to fit into the changing needs of present-day Tanzanian society.