National Autonomous Development in the Thought of Edward Moringe Sokoine

by

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
Distinguished Guests,
Colleagues and Friends.

In a rare speech by a national leader to intellectuals on intellectuals, the late Edward Moringe Sokoine said:

According to development theories, a country cannot develop without generating debates on how that country can pave the way for its development. One of the main roles of intellectuals in Tanzania is to lead such debates ... ._

Mr. Vice-Chancellor and Distinguished Guests: I am greatly honoured to be called upon to make a modest contribution to `such debates' in a lecture dedicated to the memory of the author of those lines.

The theme of the lecture I have chosen follows Sokoine's injunction that one of the roles of Tanzanian intellectuals is to generate and lead the debates on the country's path of development.

Development was dear to Sokoine's heart. But, for Sokoine development was not simply a political rhetoric or an ideological slogan. For him it meant the survival of the nation as an independent entity. It meant the generation of a vibrant culture. It meant a decent living. In short, it meant a Dignified, Liberated People, walking tall and holding their heads high: standing, as he was fond of saying in Kiswahili, on their own feet - "kusimama kwa miguu yetu wenyewe".

Sokoine did not produce a coherent theoretical model or a practical blueprint on the possible path of development for our country. He did not live long enough to do it. Even if he had, he would have probably not done that for he was a man of action - a leader who was prepared to learn from practice and be guided by theory but a theory that was always provisional and approximate, a theory that needed to be tested along the way, continuously and constantly. Nonetheless, in a few of his speeches and actions, I want to suggest, there are a number of essential elements which recur constantly. The task I have given myself today is to identify these elements, explore them in some depth, investigate their inter-relatedness and, finally, piece them together to see if we can arrive at some coherent conception of a possible path of development for the country in Sokoine's thought.

I begin with the major elements and then identify sub-elements within each if these major elements. There are four major elements in Sokoine's thought related to development. These are: (1) National Independence (2) Food Self-sufficiency (3) National Market and (4) Investment in Agriculture and Pastoralism. The spatial and the organisational centre and focus - the point of departure and the point of return, so to speak - of these elements is the Village.

Now let me discuss each of these elements and their components or sub-elements.
National Independence

This element finds a fairly developed expression in Sokoine's thought as one sees him repeating and emphasising the centrality of national independence in development on various levels. He reserved some strong words for those who would sell their independence so as to exist but exist in slavery. "Na baya ni wale niliosema wanaweza wakathubutu hata kuuza uhuru wa nchi zao ili waendelee kuishi lakini ni kuishi kitumwa"._ ["And the worse are those who dare to sell their country's independence so as to survive but survive in slavery."]_

In his thought, one can identify at least four different sub-elements of national independence. These are: (a) culture and custom (b) patriotism (c) national self-reliance and (d) national expertise.

(a) Culture and Custom
On a few occasions Sokoine referred to the importance of nurturing people's custom or tradition and culture. He did not worship tradition for its own sake or in a static form but neither did he seem to advocate a rooting out of tradition by modernisation from above.

In an amazingly sober and comprehensive speech he made to the Second Conference of the CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi) in October, 1982 (to which I will be referring frequently in this lecture as the `October speech') he said:

Ndugu Mwenyekiti, jambo la tano ambalo ningependa nilitaje, hili nalo ni la msingi vile vile, ningewaomba Wajumbe tusitupilie mila zetu nzuri mbali. ... utamaduni wetu na mila zetu umeingiliwa mno na mila na tabia za kigeni za kuwa na tamaa ya vitu, hasa visivyosaidia katika maisha._

[Mr. Chairman, the fifth thing I would like to mention, and this too is a matter of principle, is to urge the delegates not to throw away our good traditions. ... our culture and our traditions have been interfered with a lot by foreign habits of love for commodities and things, even those which are of little use in life.]

In relation to the advancement of Maasai pastoralists, from whom he originated, he argued that custom and culture were rooted in their material and social lives and could not simply be discarded without a fundamental change in their social economy. He said:

Mimi napendelea sana kwamba mila zetu zichunguzwe kusudi zile mila zilizo mbaya tuweze kuzifutilia mbali na zile zilizo nzuri tuweze kuzitunza zaidi kwa sababu ya heshima yetu ya Kiafrika ... Nitaeleza jadi moja kidogo kusudi niweze kueleweka juu ya jambo hili ninaloeleza. Kwa jadi ya Kimasai kijana kama Morani ni haramu kwake kula chakula kingine kisichotokana na ng'ombe. Kwa mfano, ni lazima atumie maziwa, nyama na damu. Chakula kingine chochote kinakuwa ni haramu. Sasa yule mtu kama hapati chakula kile ni lazima akitafute kwa vyovyote. Ni lazima akitafute, na sisi inakuwa ni kazi yetu kuwaonyesha kwamba ile ni mila lakini si lazima kufuatwa kusudi waweze kufuata njia za kisasa, waweze kula kila

chakula ambacho wanakipata. Njia kama hiyo ni kuwafanya waweze kulima na kufuga wakati ule ule mmoja kusudi wasitegemee mifugo zaidi bila kuwa na njia nyingine. Na kwa njia hiyo wataweza kuachilia ile mila yao mbaya kwa sababu wamekwisha pata kitu kingine kilicho kizuri kuliko ile mila yao._

[I would like to see our traditions being researched into so that those which are outdated could be discarded while those which are good might be nurtured to enhance our respect as Africans. ... I would like to cite an example to clarify myself on this point. In Masaai tradition, it is sinful for a young Moran to eat anything other than a product from a cow. For instance, he must use milk, meat or blood. To partake of any other food is wrongful. So when he fails to get that food, he must look for it by all means. Now it behoves upon us to show that that may be a tradition but it isn't always wise to follow it in modern circumstances. They ought to be in a position to eat anything that is available. This will encourage them to cultivate simultaneously with pastoral activities and reduce exclusive dependence on cattle. This is the only way for a person to give up a bad tradition because he has now got a better alternative in place of the bad tradition.]

Although this sub-element is not quite developed in Sokoine's thought, my own extension of it would be to sum up by saying that he would probably have been happier with the formula `modernise tradition', rather than `displace tradition with modernisation'. But more important in his thought, it seems to me, is the context. His argument for maintaining and nurturing one's custom and culture was being made in the context of safeguarding one's national independence as a country and self-respect as a people as opposed to being swallowed up by, or subsumed under, foreign domination. That is consistent with his constant emphasis on patriotism.

(b) Patriotism

Sokoine repeatedly emphasised patriotism as a form of consciousness for the people and as a yardstick to measure the dedication of the leaders. "Kwa hivyo suala la uzalendo ... lazima tulitumie katika kuwafikiria viongozi wenye msimamo wanaotaka kuchaguliwa Kitaifa ili kulisaidia Taifa letu katika kipindi hiki kigumu"._ [So we ought to use patriotism as a yardstick when electing national leaders so as to assist our Nation in this critical period.] For him the litmus test of a patriotic leader was accountability and service to the people on the one hand, and integrity and honesty in managing public affairs and national resources, on the other.

Ole wake kiongozi mzembe na asiye na nidhamu nitakayemkuta: kiongozi wa siasa hana usalama wa aina yoyote. Usalama wake ni kudra ya mungu na wananchi peke yake. Viongozi wazembe na wabadhirifu wahesabu siku zao. Labda tusiwajue. Hatuna sababu ya kuwapa imani kuwa tutawalinda kama vitendo vyao ni viovu ... Twendeni tujihoji: hivi kweli miongoni mwetu hakuna kiongozi mzembe na mwenye upungufu wa nidhamu?_

[Beware lazy and indisciplined leaders: a political leader has no security of tenure whatever. His security is dependent on God's and people's goodwill. Lazy and corrupt leaders should count their days. Maybe if we don't discover them. There is no reason to give them false belief that they will be protected if their actions are rotten. ... Let's interrogate ourselves: is it really true that among us we don't have indisciplined and lazy leaders?]

Speaking to the District Commissioners, he likened service to the villagers with a holy struggle.

Nasikia baadhi ya viongozi huko mikoani wanagombania nyumba na magari. Mambo haya sio muhimu. Viongozi watafanya vizuri wakigombania juu ya maendeleo ya wanavijiji. Huo ni ugomvi mtakatifu, sawa na mwananchi anayeiba mbolea, na kutumia vizuri katika shamba lake._

[I understand some of our leaders in the regions fight over houses and cars. These things are not important. Leaders had rather fight over the development of villagers. That fight is a holy fight similar to that of a peasant who steals fertilizer so as to use it on his farm.]

At this stage, let us look at Sokoine's understanding of self-reliance.

(c) National Self-reliance

Since the policy of `Socialism and Self-reliance' (Ujamaa na Kujitegemea), self-reliance had become part of the political rhetoric. It was taken to such absurd lengths as every household, every district, every region etc. should be self-reliant while in practice the nation and the country continued to rely increasingly on foreign aid and loans. For Sokoine, self-reliance meant national self-reliance. For him self-reliance was central to the thesis of `standing on one's own feet' as opposed to being dependent on, and dominated by, imperial forces. This did not mean that every region etc. should be self-reliant. As a matter of fact, he advocated regional specialisation in such a way that there would be complimentary inter-dependence and integration between and among regions which in turn would give rise to the nation/country as a whole being independent.

It is in the same vein that he underscored food self-sufficiency. Not being self-reliant in food would mean shameful dependence on food `handouts' which would threaten our liberty and lower our dignity and self-respect. In his October speech, addressing the chairman, he put it thus:

Jana ulitumia maneno ya kusema, "mwalimu mmoja wa zamani aliwaambia wanafunzi wake kwamba ukweli utawakomboa." Nafikiri kwa hivyo ungeweza ukatuambia kwamba kujitosheleza kwa chakula kwa Watanzania, vile vile kutatukomboa na kulinda uhuru wetu._

[Yesterday you told us that "one old time teacher taught his pupils that truth would liberate them". In the same vein you could have as well told us that for Tanzanians self-sufficiency in food will similarly liberate us and safe-guard our independence.]

(d) National self-expertise

Another area where Sokoine underlined self-reliance was being reliant on national expertise. This meant not only training national experts and professionals but having faith in them. This is something unusual in our political leadership who, either voluntarily or because of external pressures, put far greater faith in expatriate experts and consultants than in their own professionals.

But, even more important, unlike the rest of the political leadership, Sokoine saw an important role for intellectuals, researchers, professionals and experts in the process of development and decision-making. He indirectly condemned inept major decisions made by politicians from the platform without prior research, investigation and expert opinion. This cost the country dearly. He cited the disbanding of the co-operatives and the local governments in the early seventies which were then returned within ten years. He went on to suggest a kind of permanent Institute which would constantly be involved in research and

investigation to establish the wisdom and feasibility or otherwise of proposed major changes before they were implemented._

The speech I cited at the beginning of this lecture demonstrates Sokoine's respect for, and preparedness to listen to, intellectuals. No other national leader, to my knowledge, has ever given that kind of recognition to our intellectuals and professionals. Our political leaders are used to either talk down to intellectuals or dismiss them as arm-chair theoreticians. Yet these same leaders would hang on to the lips of nincompoops who come as foreign experts and consultants wrapped up in `aid packages'. Sokoine's patriotism and modesty in this regard certainly set him apart from the rest of our political leadership.

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If we now thread together all the sub-elements of what constituted national independence for Sokoine, I would submit that his outlook in its essentials was, what I would call, anti-imperialist and anti-compradorial. His conceptualisation of our economy and society amounted to, what in the underdevelopment literature has been called, a dependent society or peripheral capitalism. He never used those terms but that is beside the point. His nationalism which he expressed in strong terms and his wrathful castigation of compradorial attitudes, whether in leaders or intellectuals, bear this out fully. He was not only himself an independent leader - about which I will say a word later - but wanted his country and nation as well to be independent in the world system.

In his October speech, he pointed out that the countries of the third world could adopt four ways of surviving the then crisis. Three good, one bad. First one was to be self-reliant, to be revolutionary and stand on one's own feet. The second one to reduce their economic problems was to co-operate among themselves through some kind of regional co-operation. The third was to co-operate with friendly, non-African countries. Among all these three, he saw the first one as the most important and reliable. As he put it, "kubwa katika hayo yote ninaloliona ni ile la mwanzo la kila nchi kuamua itafanya nini ili iweze kusimama kwa miguu yake yenyewe."_ [The most important in all these is the first one I mentioned i.e. for every country to determine independently its path so that it can stand on its own feet.]

The fourth option, the bad one, was for a country to sell itself into slavery or to sell the country's independence so as to get aid from developed countries. In his own words,

Sijui kama nitaeleweka vizuri, Ndugu Mwenyekiti, lakini mpaka sasa nchi zilizo nyingi za dunia ya tatu hasa katika Africa tulio na matatizo ya kiuchumi tuna uhuru wa bendera hatuna uhuru wa kiuchumi na ndio huu tunaopigania. Lakini baadhi yetu ni lazima niwataje wameanza kuuza uhuru wa nchi zao, kutoa maeneo ya Kijeshi kwa nchi zilizoendelea ili mradi wawe na hakika wanaendelea kupata misaada. Hilo ndilo nasema ni suala la kuuza uhuru wa nchi._

[I don't know if I would be understood correctly, Brother Chairman, but let me say that many of our countries in the third world, particularly those in Africa, who are suffering from economic crisis, have flag independence but no economic independence. It is the latter we are struggling for. But some among us - I must declare - have started selling their independence, giving military bases to developed countries so as to continue getting aid in return. This is what I regard as selling a country's independence.]

At the time he was talking, he did not include Tanzania in the group of countries which had started to sell their independence. Tanzania, he believed, was saved from this shame by its policy of `socialism and self-reliance'. One wonders whether he would say the same thing if he was alive today! But that is a matter which could form the subject-matter of another lecture.

To continue. In the same vein of consistent and fierce advocacy of national independence, dignity and pride of the African people, he castigated those developed countries who use technological and food aid as political weapons, as weapons of dominating the third world. "Chakula, kama madawa, ni mahitaji ya msingi ya kibinadamu. Ubinadamu unahitaji kwamba nchi zote ziache kutumia chakula kwa shabaha za kisiasa."_ [Food, like medicine, is a basic human necessity. Human decency requires that all countries abandon the practice of using food aid with ulterior political motives.]

Like some of his contemporary third world leaders, Sokoine realised the inequities of the international capitalist system, in particular the exploitation inherent in the so-called `international trade' between the South and the North. But unlike his contemporaries, he did not place much faith in the calls and preaching over change of hearts among the Northern leaders to reform the system so as to have a fair International Economic Order. As he put it:

... ingefaa Watanzania tusijidanganye. Kwamba mapambano haya ya kubadili mfumo wa dunia si suala linaloweza kubadilishwa kwa haraka na upesi na kwa hivyo, kurekebisha hali ya uchumi wa nchi zilivyo. Suala hili, Ndugu Mwenyekiti, linaweza kuchukua miaka 50 hata miaka 100 na lisitekelezwe. Ndugu Mwenyekiti, ni vizuri tuelewe kwamba hakuna nchi iliyoendelea itakayokubali kupunguza mkate na siagi ya watu wake kwa ajili ya kuwalisha watu maskini wa Afrika._

[Let us, Tanzanians, not deceive ourselves. This struggle to change the international economic order is not something that can happen soon. This issue, Brother Chairman, can take even 50 or 100 years without seeing any success. Brother. Chairman, it would be better for us to understand that there is no country in the world which will deny its people bread and butter so as to feed the poor of Africa.]

The other side of the nationalist coin was Sokoine's strong opposition to compradorial elements and leaders i.e. those who would sell the independence of the country so as just to exist, even if it was a slavish existence. Among the five qualities that the delegates should be guided by when electing the Party and national leadership, he mentioned (1) defence of national unity; (2) patriotism; (3) socialist and self-reliant stand; (4) respect for custom and culture and (5) defence of national independence.

Jambo la pili ... ambalo ningeomba lituongoze vile vile katika kuwachagua viongozi wetu wa Chama na Taifa, ni suala la kulinda Uhuru wa taifa letu. Lazima tuwakatae vibaraka ambao wanaweza wakatumiwa na Mataifa ya Nje au hata vibaraka wa ndani kwa lengo la kubadili siasa yetu au kuidhoofisha._

[The second quality ... that we should look for in electing party and national leaders is the readiness to defend our nation's autonomy. We must refuse puppets who would readily be used by foreign powers, or even internal compradors, with the aim of overturning our policy or even to weaken that policy.]

There couldn't be a more forceful condemnation of compradorial leadership!

All in all, National Independence in Sokoine's thought was integral to his anti-imperial and anti-compradorial stand. He envisaged some kind of autonomous and self-reliant development in which national integrity and the interests of the large majority of the oppressed would be safeguarded. What would be the basis, the source and the sustenance of such type of development? This is where the other elements in the matrix come in.

I now turn to discuss these.

Food Self-sufficiency

Sokoine was a great advocate of producing sufficient food for the country. In spite of the country being an agriculture one we all know that, on and off, we have continued to import food. Sokoine detested dependency on food imports for that meant not only lack of development but it posed a threat to our independence and reduced our self-esteem.

Constant emphasis on food self-sufficiency was linked with modernisation and development of agriculture and pastoralism. His vision of food self-sufficiency was national. He argued that, if necessary, a number of regions with suitable climates and soil, say, three or four, could be focussed on for food production. He believed that in this way it was quite feasible for the country to be able to produce sufficient food to feed itself.

Now it is true that many of his contemporary politicians also talked about the importance of food production. Nonetheless, I believe, in Sokoine, the focus on food self-sufficiency was linked with other elements in a fashion which took his understanding beyond that of his fellow leaders.

In practice, from colonial to post-independence governments, we know that what has been encouraged, and very often even forced, is production of cash crops for export at the expense of food crops. Food production has never been pursued in its own right and as a key-link in the strategy of development. For Sokoine food was such a key-link. It was the key-link in the development of agricultural and pastoral production; a key-link in creating and supplying the domestic national market; a key-link in the exports (i.e. export of surplus food where available); a key-link in liberating the oppressed peasantry and pastoralists from their existing conditions; a key-link in focusing on the village as the spatial and the organisational centre and a key-link in maintaining and sustaining national independence. In short, to borrow his own comparison, just as a teacher told his students that `truth will liberate them' so for Tanzanians, he said, `food will liberate them' - "kujitosheleza kwa chakula kwa Watanzania, ... kutatukomboa"._

The logical other side of the food self-sufficiency coin was the national market. That is another important element in Sokoine's thought.

National Market

To Sokoine the `export-to-earn-foreign-exchange' syndrome that comes naturally to our politicians, planners, economists and erstwhile advisers, was foreign. When Sokoine talked about food production, he meant production for national/domestic demands and needs. Hence the focus on food self-sufficiency. If and where there was surplus, indeed, it would be exported - that would not only be logical but a rational form of trade. But in the first place food surplus should be able to move from one region to another within the country. He immediately lifted irrational regional road blocks and reprimanded those who would harass peasants taking food from one region to another. He emphasised building of integrated infrastructure that linked regions within the country rather than all leading to ports - a heritage of the colonial economy.

In this, although in a rudimentary form, Sokoine conceptualised what the economists call backward and forward linkages. The increasing density of such linkages allows an economy to move from an export-oriented, dependent, to a nationally integrated autonomous, economy. Sokoine had a knack for translating such abstract notions into very practical examples and injunctions. Talking to Catholic Bishops on 23 July, 1983, he observed:

Makanisa tangu awali yalizingatia katika kutoa mchango wa maendeleo na ari ya kujitegemea katika Tanzania na yalikuwa vituo vya kujitegemea katika kilimo, ufugaji, ujenzi, maji umeme na viwanda vidogo. Lakini inasikitisha kuona kuwa tabia hiyo nzuri iliyoanza tangu enzi ya mkoloni sasa inafifia na kutoweka katika sehemu nyingi. Kwa mfano, zamani makanisa yalitumia vitu vinvyopatikana hapa nchini katika ujenzi wa makanisa kama vile matofali ya kuchoma, kuzeka vigae na kuweka sakafu za mawe. Hivi sasa makanisa yanajengwa kwa kutumia chuma, vioo na vitu vingine kutoka nje kama vile mashirika ya umma na serikali yanavyofanya._

[From old times, in Tanzania churches made their contribution to development through being self-reliant and they were indeed foci of self-reliant activities in agriculture, pastoralism, construction, supply of water and electricity and small scale manufacture. It is now sad to watch this good tradition which began from colonial times dying out in many places. For instance, during those days churches used local resources in the construction of church buildings such as burnt bricks, local tiles and stone. But now church buildings are being built using iron and steel, glass and other things imported from abroad just as is being done by parastatals and the Government.]

The irony in the last few words about "mashirika ya umma" is subtle yet says everything about the nature of our economy and the direction of development.

And that brings me to the final element - investment in agriculture and pastoralism or the issue of accumulation.

Investment in Agriculture and Pastoralism

This element was probably the least developed and articulated by Sokoine. He did emphasize such things as modernising agriculture and pastoralism; creating market for pastoral products; sending technology and experts to villages and even encouraging `people with money to invest in agriculture'._ But there is no coherent articulation as to the character and source of agrarian accumulation in his speeches. Here, I take his isolated remarks a step or two forward by submitting that it is possible to develop this element in the context and perspective of what is called accumulation from below.

Broadly, there are two forms of investments in agriculture that are identified in the literature on African agriculture. The dominant form is investment by merchant, state, bureaucratic or foreign capital from outside the village. This I call compradorial form of capital. The typical result of this form is to perpetuate the export-orientation of agriculture and its dependent character, or what one may describe as peripheral agrarian capitalism. This type of capital has the tendency to use local land, labour and resources to produce export-crops - from flowers to game meat - for the foreign market. Clearly, this form of accumulation, or accumulation from above, does not fit in the Sokoine scheme.

The second form of accumulation is to create an enabling environment - appropriate land tenure system, credit, extension services, market, appropriate organisational forms such as cooperatives etc. - for accumulation from below.

That is to say, to free the peasantry from the grips of merchant capital (whether state or private) and allow the development of certain level of differentiation within the peasantry and pastoralists leading to the emergence of, what in the literature are called, kulaks or rich peasants. Whether such form of accumulation can lead to an autonomous path of development of course depends on other factors - the configuration of social forces, the character of the state and the ruling bloc and the relative independence of the state from imperialism. I cannot go into that in this lecture. Suffice it to say that this path of development may be called national agrarian capitalism as opposed to compradorial capitalism. I would submit that the Sokoine scheme is more compatible with the former (i.e. national) form of accumulation and character of development.

As I said, on this issue the evidence from Sokoine's own thought is rather thin. But there are certain isolated remarks which support the proposition I have just put forward.

Firstly, although Sokoine often talked about Ujamaa and Kujitegemea, for him, this did not mean absence of private property, particularly peasant and pastoral private property. In the October speech, arguing against those who attributed "our" economic problems to the policy of socialism and self-reliance, he asked rhetorically: "Watuambie nani katika Tanzania amenyang'anywa ardhi yake, mifugo yake na kadhalika."_ [Let them show us who in Tanzania has lost his land, cattle etc. through confiscation by the state.]

Secondly, Sokoine had no qualms about capitalism per se or capitalists as a class. He seemed to make a distinction between `honest' capitalists involved in production and cheats i.e. "wahujumu" [economic saboteurs], "walanguzi" [cheats] etc. Let me illustrate by one or two quotes.

Chama na Serikali haviwachukii matajiri. Kinachotakiwa ni watu hao kutajirika kwa njia ya halali ya kuzalisha mali._ [emphasis mine]

[The Party and the Government do not detest the rich. What is needed is that these people enrich themselves by legal and legitimate channels of normal production.]

Tumewaruhusu walanguzi na wahujumu uchumi kuongoza nchi. Wananchi wamefikia mahali ambapo wanashindwa kutofautisha kati ya viongozi wa Chama na Serikali na walanguzi na wahujumu uchumi wa nchi._

[We have left the country to be led by economic saboteurs and cheats. Countrymen have arrived at a situation where they fail to distinguish between Party and State leaders and economic saboteurs and cheats.]

Walanguzi na wahujumu uchumi wote ni maadui wa taifa na ni lazima kuwapiga vita vya kuwatokomeza. Waelekezwe katika shughuli za kilimo ili waweze kuishi kwa jasho lao._

[Economic saboteurs and cheats are the enemies of the country and they should be condemned and destroyed. They should be directed into agricultural activities so that they live by their sweat.]

This later quote is interesting. Here we are not talking about "wazururaji" [vagabonds] or the unemployed. Here Sokoine has clearly in mind the rich who have made money in the process of circulation, whether official or parallel. For

him, the real capitalist - i.e. the clean, honest one - is one who is involved in agricultural production. Then `he lives by his sweat'!

Thirdly, Sokoine clearly had no time for merchant capital - whether state or private. He identified that form of capital with "walanguzi" [cheats], as I have already indicated. In an impromptu answer to a question, he said:

Nia ya Serikali na Chama ni kuwaondoa watu hao wa katikati ambao ndio walanguzi wakubwa. Wakulima wakutane na mlaji moja kwa moja hapo panaweza kuwa na uhalali. Tena kuondoa tatizo hilo ni kuongeza uzalishaji zaidi wa mazao ndipo watu wa katikati hawataweza kupata nafasi wazi ya kulangua._

[The aim of the Party and the Government is to get rid of these middle-men who are big cheats. Peasant producers should be able to meet directly with consumers, then we could have legitimate (trade). What is more, to be able to solve this problem we have to increase production so that these middle-men will have no opportunity to cheat.]

Interestingly, for Sokoine, unlike many of his contemporary bureaucrat and political `socialist leaders', the solution did not lie in replacing the private `middle-man' with a state organ as a `middle-man'. This is why I have argued that he decried, equally, state and private merchant capital. Making a point on the prices given to peasant producers by state crop authorities and boards, he frankly and forcefully laid bare the role of state-merchant capital as follows:

... mwenye kutoa bei ya mazao kwa sasa ni serikali lakini serikali hupata kwanza taarifa kutoka kwa Mashirika au Mamlaka yanayohusika na zao hilo. Sasa hapo pana mgongano wa maslahi. Mamlaka au Shirika litapenda lipate faida. Wamejijengea maofisi makubwa, wameongeza idadi kubwa ya wafanyakazi na mambo mengine mbali mbali na kwa hivyo kuumia kwa mkulima. Kwa bahati njema, Ndugu Mwenyekiti, sasa hivi kwa maelekeo ya Chama, serikali imekwisha agizwa irejeshe Vyama vya Ushirika. Matumaini yetu ni kwamba Vyama vya Ushirika vitafanya kazi ya kumhudumia mkulima na vitakuwa chini ya usimamizi wa mkulima mwenyewe. Na kwamba Mamlaka haya tuliyounda, ama yarejee yafanye kazi zao za biashara ya nje kama zamani ama yasaidie katika uzalishaji._

[It is the Government which sets the prices for farm products but the Government gets its original information from crop authorities in the first place. Here there is clearly a conflict of interest. These authorities and parastatals have built themselves big houses and offices, have employed large bureaucracies, etc. and therefore the ultimate person who carries the burden is the peasant producer. Fortunately, Brother Chairman, now the Government has already been directed to reinstate cooperatives. It is our hope that the cooperatives will provide services to the peasant and will be supervised and monitored by the peasants themselves. And these authorities/parastatals that we have established should return to their original purpose of involving themselves in foreign trade or participating in actual production.]

It seems to me that these quotations are sufficient evidence to suggest that Sokoine made a distinction between two forms of accumulation - merchant as opposed to agrarian - and two paths of development - compradorial as opposed to national.

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Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen: In this lecture so far I have tried to show the inter-relatedness of the four major elements in Sokoine's thought

and tried to identify the path of development for our country that Sokoine advocated. You will bear with me because I have to complete this picture by exploring the spatial, social and organisational focus of these elements. For, let it be said, the late Sokoine had a pretty clear conception as to where these elements found, or ought to find, their concentrated expression. And where else but the village.

`Mapinduzi Vijijini'

The eulogising of the village in the political rhetoric of our politicians and leaders is not new. It has been in currency since independence. In Tanzania, as we know, the village has been more than simply a political rhetoric. The village and villagisation have been part of the development strategy at various stages. What then is different in Sokoine's thought on the Village?

It is my submission that seen in the context of his path of development, the Village as a focus in Sokoine's conceptualisation differs fundamentally from the village as a part of various development strategies expounded in the country since independence. We have had at least three phases in the development of villages in Tanzania. In the immediate post-independence period, the village was seen simply as a human settlement. This is where farmers would be settled, trained, supplied with technology and managers and expected to produce more and more in return. It was an acknowledged failure. The people there did not see themselves as `villagers'. They only saw themselves as settlers.

Then came the Ujamaa villages. Ujamaa villages were seen as places where people lived and produced communally. That too was not quite a roaring success, as we know. Peasants neither lived communally and much less produced communally. Then came the erstwhile developmental village. The pace of villagisation was forced. Millions of people were moved into development villages where, as we now know, there has not been much development to speak of.

So in our post-independence rural development trajectory we have had, if I may sum up in short formulae, `Maendeleo Vijijini' [development in villages] and/or `Ujamaa Vijijini'[socialism in villages]. Sokoine's conception was neither. It was rather `Mapinduzi Vijijini' [revolution in villages] - a holistic conception of the village as the focus of a revolutionary life and living conditions. His four major elements find their spatial and organisational focus in the village and their social embodiment in peasants and herdsmen. That is where he saw national independence being exercised and defended; where self-reliance being practised and propagated; where food being produced and distributed and where integrated markets being developed.

Thus he talked about best of our experts living and working in the villages not simply to advise villagers but to turn villagers into experts.

Hatuna budi kukubali kuwa mapinduzi ni nadharia sahihi na vitendo sahihi. Ikiwa mwalimu hufundisha shuleni na daktari hutibu katika hospitali kwa nini bwana shamba, bwana mifugo, bwana miti, bwana samaki watoe utaalamu wao wakiwa ofisini?_

[There is no doubt that revolution implies correct theory married with correct practice. If a teacher teaches in school and the doctor practises in hospital, why should the extension worker, the veterinarian, the forester or the fishing expert exercise his expertise from an office room?]

And he declared,

Badala ya kuzalisha malaki ya wataalam tuwageuze wakulima na wafugaji wawe ndio wataalam wenyewe._

[Instead of producing hundreds of thousand of experts we should transform peasants and herdsmen themselves into experts.]

Sokoine advocated secondary schools to be built in villages so that village pupils could work and study in their own environment._ He had a radical conception of the type of education that should be made available to villagers.

Elimu inayohitajiwa vijijini kwanza kabisa ni kuimarisha na kuinua ustaarabu ili watu wasiridhike na maisha duni, elimu ya aina ya pili ni ufundi, na ya tatu ni elimu ya kuelewe mazingira ya kijamii ili watu waelewe nafasi yao katika jamii._

[The education that is called for in villages, first of all, should be of the kind that will uplift the civil life in the village so that people are not contented with leading lowly life. Secondly, it should involve technical or skill-building education and, thirdly, education should assist the people to understand their social environment so that they know their place/role in society.]

This is a far cry from the typically condescending view of education for villagers as `adult education' or literacy classes.

Sokoine linked the revolution at the village level inextricably with the gender question because as, Rene Dumont has observed, the real `proletarian' in Tanzania is the woman-peasant._

Finally, the central subject and object of revolutionising life in the village was the peasant and the herdsman; to uplift and liberate the peasant from his/her state of oppression._

Having analysed at some length major elements in Sokoine's thought, it is now time to sum up by raising the question: What did Sokoine stand for?

Sokoine's Stand

It should be clear from my discussion so far that the late Sokoine stood for a national autonomous path of development that may be described as national agrarian capitalism. Sokoine has been the only national leader in the country who could be described as an advocate of this path of development. In the development trajectory of the country since independence, dominant paths of development have essentially varied from state capitalism (often confused with socialism) to private capitalism, both being compradorial. In the industrial and commercial spheres, state capital expressed itself in the form of nationalisation (state property) while in relation to the peasant it took the form of merchant capital. When placed against those two `models', Sokoine's path of development expresses a distinctly third path which has not received much attention, debate or discussion.

Sokoine was the first national leader to make a distinction between national and compradorial capitalism not only at structural but also at social level. His greatest merit was that he recognised that distinction at the level where it matters most - in the agrarian sector. Even in Mwalimu's thought, in spite of his very articulate anti-imperialism, one does not find that distinction. To the best of my knowledge, the first time ever Mwalimu came close to making the distinction was after he stepped down from the Presidency. In a fascinating

extemporaneous speech that he gave to parastatal executives and private businessmen sometime in 1986, he articulated the distinction between compradorial and national forms of industrialisation in the context of a dependent economy as follows:

Ndugu Mengi mkipenda msipende mtatuuzia tu Coca-cola basi Coca-cola inauzwa tu. Sasa uchumi wetu basi ni uchumi tegemezi. ... Hili tatizo letu kubwa la msingi. ...

Kwa hiyo tunajivunia ule ugonjwa... tunajivunia ule ugonjwa wala hatuuonei haya ... unaparedi silaha za wakubwa, unaparedi madege ya wakubwa, unaparedi bidhaa za wakubwa, unaparedi Macoca cola ya wakubwa na unajivunia tu unasema sisi tumeendelea. Ukimwambia umeendelea kwanini, anakwambia njoo uone barabara yetu._

[Brother Mengi_, whether you like it or not, you'll continue selling coca-cola to us ... so coca-cola are being sold. Our economy is essentially a dependent economy. ... This is our prime problem ... .
So we take pride in this disease... we are proud of it rather than being ashamed ... We exhibit big people's armoury, we parade their 'planes, we parade their commodities, we parade coca-cola of the big people and we boast with pride `we're developing'. When asked how have you developed, you're told `come on, see our roads'.]

Even here the exposition is limited by (1) the structural context of the dependency framework (2) lacks awareness of the social agency which embodies dependent economic relation and (3) of course, does not relate it to the agrarian level which is the crucial surplus producing sector in the economy.

It seems to me that in our present circumstances where it is the private compradorial path which is railroading itself, Sokoine's scheme deserves to be brought back on the centre stage as a possible alternative path of development. At this stage, I will not go into its desirability or feasibility. I am only saying that it is a credible path of development which ought to be debated seriously.

I hope my lecture today has at least shown that there are elements, however embryonic, in Sokoine's thought which can be developed further to pose a serious alternative path of development. The Sokoine scheme is not complete. There are serious gaps which ought to be explored and debated and discussed. For example, I have not touched at all upon Sokoine's conception of politics - the character of the state, relation between the state and civil society, etc. There is, for example, a serious debate among development scholars on the issue of what political environment is most suitable for a national capitalist development. Examples from south east Asia - South Korea, Taiwan, Malaya, Singapore etc. - where there has been some endogenous capitalist development have all been examples of political authoritarianism and undemocratic regimes. Is this inevitable? Indeed, in Sokoine's own mode of politics, there are strong elements of authoritarianism, however benevolent. In short, I am saying, there are many other areas in Sokoine's thought and practices which I hope will be explored in the course of these series of memorial lectures.

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Mr Vice-Chancellor, Distinguished Guests and Friends: Once again, let me say that I feel greatly honoured to be given this opportunity to reflect on the thought of Edward Moringe Sokoine who undoubtedly was one of the most fascinating national leaders our people have produced. He was probably the only

one after Mwalimu to attain the stature of a popular leader on his own merits. And that is saying a lot. For he did not have the advantage of historical legitimacy: Sokoine was not part of the nationalist struggle. He did not have personal charisma nor could he be described as an orator. Yet his integrity and sincerity as a person and his systematic thought and exposition without slogans and rhetoric made him one of the clearest headed leaders we have seen.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Sokoine was an independent leader. His independence won him many admirers and no doubt a few enemies as well. It has been a great pleasure reflecting on the Thought of such a fine person.

Thank you very much. I am indebted to you for giving me a patient hearing.
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_ `The Role of Intellectual in Socialist Transformation' A Public Lecture delivered at the University of Dar es Salaam on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the Institute of Development Studies, 12 October 1983, published in TAAMULI, vol.13 (1983).

_ Speech made to the Second Conference of Chama cha Mapinduzi, 20 - 30 October, 1982 and reproduced in the published proceedings from pages 353 to 371, at p.358. Sokoine made this speech as a delegate from Arusha.

_ Translations from original Kiswahili mine.

_ Ibid.. pp.362-3.

_ Quoted in Yusuf Halimoja, Sokoine: Mtu wa Watu Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publications Limited, 1985, pp.38-9.

_ October speech, ibid. p.362.

_ Speech to Government and Parastatal Leaders, Dar es Salaam, March 26, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.93.

_ Speech to District Commissioners, Moshi, March 22, 1984, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.94.

_ October speech, ibid. p.366.

_ Ibid. p.370.

_ Ibid. p.356.

_ Ibid.

_ Speech on World Food Day, Dar es Salaam, October 16, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.99.

_ October speech, ibid. p.357.

_ Ibid. p.361.

_ Ibid. p.366.

_ Speech to Catholic Bishops, Dar es Salaam, July 21, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.101.

_ Halimoja, ibid. p.69.

_ October speech, ibid. p.361.

_ Speech in a Public Meeting to mark 22nd Independence Anniversary, Monduli, December 9, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.107.

_ Speech to a Public Meeting, Monduli, March 7, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid., p.105.

_ Prime Minister's Circular, March 19, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid., p.105.

_ Quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.115.

_ October speech, ibid. p.364.

_ Peasants Day Speech, July 7, 1980, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.98.

_ October speech, ibid., p.365.

_ Halimoja, ibid. p.114.

_ Bagamoyo, July 22, 1983, quoted in Halimoja, ibid. p.80.

_ Halimoja, pp.80-81.

_ Ibid. pp.76-7.

_ Reproduced in Mzalendo, date misplaced.

_ One of the leading, up and coming, Tanzanian `investors' who is often held out as a model of an indigenous, private developmentalist. In my opinion, Mengi's form of investment and even his political rhetoric are classical examples of an articulate, private compradorial class.