

Agricultural Change: Compulsion in the Implementation of Agricultural Policies: A Case Study from Iringa.

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Background

The purpose of this study is to examine agricultural change through the use of coercion. Tanzania party ideology accepts the desirability of an egalitarian society with public control of productive resources and also with a national programme of education and community service. The point however is that compulsory villagization has been developed in haste directed by bureaucratic authoritarianism unresponsive to adverse economic effects and unimaginative in regard to local conditions. The paper analyses the direction of change and costs of administrative error in a specific area, the Iringa district, historically Tanzania's bread basket.¹

In order to clarify the content of the tragic case discussed in this paper, background sections on selected characteristics of the district are given. The paper discusses the evolution of farming systems in Ismani Division- Iringa District, and the considerable development of social stratification. There were progressive innovators - including those who owned lorries, individual farmers using mechanised equipment, farmers employing labour etc. on one side and traditional peasants and traditional peasants and herders on the other side.²

When the villagization programme was introduced in the area, at first, the policy was voluntary, stressing that the peasants themselves should initiate, control and run their villages. In the 1970s the "Frontal approach" resulted in administrative coercion and compulsory villagization. The implementation of the villagization programme culminated in the arrest of many farmers hostile to the programme, after assassination of the Iringa Regional Commissioner by Abdallah Mwamwindi, a very proud, self-made man who was insulted at his ancestors' grave yard at Mkungugu village.³

The setting

The development of Iringa District is closely related to the changing 'attitudes' of the largest ethnic group within the areas, the Hehe. Although not united until the 1950's, this group had achieved sufficient military coordination to repel the first European incursion into its territory. However, the strong adherence to tradition that has always been exhibited by the Hehe also kept them aloof from the economic changes taking place in East Africa. Rather than work for someone else, the individual Hehe preferred to obtain cash, clothes, foodstuffs, or taxes from the sale of a few cows or surplus maize.⁴

Plans were initiated for a more rapid modernization of Iringa District in the early 1950's when Adam Sapi became the Hehe leader. Local subsistence cultivators were encouraged to take advantage of educational opportunities in the area, to engage in wage labour on a more sustained basis and to cultivate larger acreages of maize. They were also advised to emulate the more mobile migrant workers (i.e. King and Bena) whom they had always held in low regard.⁵

The impetus for development was hindered at this point by the limited number of known cash crops available to African growers. Often the only way of earning income directly from agriculture was by increasing production of the basic food crop, maize. There was a definite need for information that would fit an appropriate crop to each of the three major ecological zones in the district:⁶

1. the highlands of Dabaga over 600 feet
2. the areas of intermediate elevation 4500 to 6000 feet around Iringa town and
3. the lowlands of Pawaga and Idodi.

By 1960 there were several experiments in progress which promised to provide these alternatives to the farmers of Iringa District. Crops had been

selected for specific areas on the basis of local physical, social and economic factors.⁷

Maize

The expansion of maize as a cash crop in Iringa District has had two distinct phases. Initially, maize was grown as a subsistence crop and only occasionally were small surpluses sold at the market. Then, in the early 1950's a sparsely inhabited area north of Iringa town, Ismani, began to be occupied by commercial maize farmers on a seasonal basis. At first, small land holdings were obtained from the local chiefs of the District council; later entrepreneurs began to accumulate large acreages which were subsequently rented to tenants. A typical maize farmer would lease ten acres and hire labourers to help in planting, weeding and picking the crop. Most cultivators would spend only half the year at Ismani, returning to their home areas for the rest of the year because of the lack of a dry season moisture supply.⁸

Sunflower, beans, groundnuts and tobacco are grown but maize is the food staple, accounting for over 80 per cent of all farm economic activity in Ismani.⁹ The expansion of maize production occurred during the colonial period in all parts of the district which had access to markets, resulting in a land shortage in some parts and decline in soil fertility. It was at this time that Ismani was "discovered" by African entrepreneurs seeking to create new farms and expand existing production after the second world war.¹⁰ Ismani was transformed into the single most important (25 per cent) source of marketed maize in the country by African capitalist farmers.¹¹

News of the success of the Ismani farmers spread quickly, drivers, passing along the road north of Iringa would observe the activity and then make a report upon reaching their destination. By 1965 there were 4,000 cultivators of maize occupying 80,000 to 100,000 acres. Many of these farmers (representing over thirty ethnic groups)

had been attracted by the possibility of acquiring an immediate cash return within just one growing season. Some even moved back and forth regularly between their home areas and their maize holdings to supervise the hired labourers who did most of the field work.¹²

The rapid expansion of commercial maize cultivation had several unfortunate consequences. Because farmers worked on their holdings only on a seasonal basis, they took little interest in maintaining the soil structure and fertility. As a result, soil erosion began to spread and average yields of maize declined from fifteen to five bags per acre. Between 1955 and 1965 the government finally proposed steps to control landlordism, retard erosion, and introduce crop rotation as well as to provide a permanent water supply, but destructive land use was still much more common than were conservation practices.¹³

The decline in yields of maize at Ismani caused a commensurate decrease in profits, a decrease that was accentuated by a market decline in the price of maize. A typical farmer cultivating ten acres of maize in 1966 could expect to harvest approximately fifty bags which had a market value of twenty seven shillings each. From a gross income of 1350 shillings he would then have to deduct tractor costs and the relatively high cost of labour, or 1120 shillings in all, leaving him with a net profit of 230 shillings. A farmer who utilized artificial fertilizer at 100 shillings per acre would increase his yields to ten bags per acre and his profit to 580 shillings. Both the average and the scientific farmer, would be earning profits far below the profit levels of the first Ismani farmers.¹⁴

Farming Systems: Changes in production techniques

1945-1975.

It is impossible to discuss the question of maize production systems in Iringa Region without giving major emphasis to Ismani Division, for, during the past 30 years, this area has experienced no less than three

different systems of maize production.

The first system emerged in the early fifties when rapid migration into the area, coupled with large-scale bush clearing and burning, resulted in an extensive but profitable system. Not themselves living in the areas, farmers hired local migrant labour to burn the bush and broadcast maize seed on the land without any attempt at cultivation. The method of farming used was relatively simple, as may be appreciated from the description by the Agricultural Assistant, Mr. E. Edward:

Let us first examine the farmer's method of cultivation. In the first place he cuts the existing forest to within 4 to 5 feet of the ground, clears and burns all undergrowth leaving a layer of ash on the surface of the soil. No further preparation of the soil is made. When he is ready to sow his seed he merely chops a hole with his jembe (hoe), sows from 4-6 seeds per hole in the case of maize, and so the whole shamba (farm) is sown in usual native fashion. In the two remaining seasons no proper cultivation preparatory to sowing is done, other than to clean the shamba of any weed growth that might have appeared.¹⁵

However, germination was good, as the land had benefited from many years of growth and decay of grass and leaves, and potash from wood helped to improved further the fertility of the top soil. The same practice was carried out in the following agricultural cycle: maize stalks were burned and seeds again broadcast without any pretence at cultivation. In the fourth year in most cases, as the top soil began to harden, it became more difficult to broadcast seeds without any pretence at cultivation. In the fourth year in most cases, as the top soil began to harden, it became more difficult to broadcast seeds without cultivation. At this point, as tree stumps and roots which had been left began to make cultivation difficult, the land was usually abandoned and new areas were cleared for farming.

This method of shifting cultivation began to make land scarce because those who moved in to farms in new areas considered such new areas to be theirs, whilst it was accepted that nobody could claim

the areas they had temporarily abandoned. It is important to note that the above method of cultivation was preferred because it yielded the best results, for example, one acre produced about 15 bags of maize. This was profitable because the expenditure on cultivation was negligible and the farmers weeded only once, not twice or three times as became necessary in the years that followed.¹⁶

The second farming system developed in a less dramatic fashion than the first as a result of the closing of the Ismani "frontier". When most of the available land had been claimed, mechanized production using oxen and tractors began to expand rapidly, causing the distinction between a landed and a labouring class to become more obvious and important.¹⁷

An essential feature of production during this period was declining fertility due to mining of the soil under maize monoculture without replacement of soil nutrients. An additional feature was that the crop production season in Ismani was complimentary to that in the colder highlands of the region, so that the extended use of capital and labour, producing two maize crops per annum, became possible by moving the two factors of production between the two areas; i.e. a transhumance system. This system was still viable even when yields were falling due to an inadequate fallow period and no manuring or fertilizer use.

Two factors make the case interesting, the labour utilized by the large farmers was generally migrant labour and the accumulation of land and wealth was exclusively in the hands of Africans. The use of hired labour for farming was a growing phenomenon in Tanzania. In Ismani, however, the labour force came primarily from some distance, on a seasonal basis, and this was rare. Overcrowded highlands forced agriculturalists to look for cash income elsewhere, while continuing the cultivation of their own land, on which they harvested their crops two months after the maize was harvested in Ismani. The farmers who cultivated the Ismani area in the first instance opened large tracts of land for themselves which they were able to cultivate by using migrant labour. The technique applied was labour and land intensive, with few technological improvements, such as chemical fertilizers and insecticides. A peculiar relationship thus began to develop between the

migrant workers and the landowner. The landowners had made the transition from smallholder agriculture to rural capitalism, utilizing a labour force that was not landless. Rather this was a labour which was ready and willing to work its own land exclusively and was provided with opportunities by either the availability of more land or technological improvements.

There were indications in several areas of the region that an African "yeomen farmer" class was emerging. Many farmers expanded their farms, using ox-drawn or tractor drawn equipment, enclosing their fields and generally moving away from the traditional cultivation of a small holding sufficient only for subsistence. In the rural areas there were progressive innovators - who owned lorries, small transport companies, individual farmers using mechanised equipment, farmers employing labour on one hand and traditional peasants and herders on the other. The farmer group was found in concentration in some parts of the country where the bulk of certain cash crops were grown, such as around Mr. Kilimanjaro (coffee), in Sukumaland (cotton) and in Ismani (maize). Privilege was a major consequence of the differentiation that had arisen because in some cases rich farmers were able to use government cooperative tractors without paying for them or obtain their services at optimal times.¹⁸

Mr. Griffiths, Provincial Commissioner for the region, described the process:

General indications throughout the province show a tendency among Africans towards a steady, slow increase in crop production and the departure from subsistence agriculture. The use of mechanical and other agricultural implements is becoming more popular and in one or two areas Africans are buying their own tractors. It is of more than passing interest that it is estimated that there are over 11,000 ox-drawn ploughs in the province. The emergence of a yeomen farmer class is being encouraged and there are several farmers, both in Ismani-Iringa, and Njombe, who cultivate between 200 and 300 acres each. It is interesting to note that one or two of these are interested in taking out rights of occupancy.¹⁹

The third system came into operation in 1971 and this change was the most dramatic of all. The private ownerships of large holdings was prohibited and much of the land previously farmed privately turned over to ujamaa villages. The complementary double maize crop system based on transhumance was abolished. Though the total areas under maize in Ismani

declined, there was a pronounced rise in the use of improved inputs, particularly seed, fertilizer and insecticide, and a corresponding increase in multiple tractor operations on large communal plots. All the inputs were government supplied, but their provision failed to have any significant impact on productivity and marketed output dropped sharply accounting for the low marketing of 1971-72.²⁰

Moreover, the villagization programme created an urgent demand for more intensive methods and techniques of agricultural cultivation. When the rural people became concentrated in nuclear village patterns, land close to the village became very scarce. Cultivation pressure was greatest near the newly created villages and the problem of how to maintain the soil fertility of the already exhausted soils under long periods of continuous farming was expected to become very important in a few years to come. With the concentrated land-use pattern under the villagization programme, the quality and structure of the soil near the villages and its water retaining capacity declined and failed to meet both human and animal needs thus reducing the availability of proteins and other foodstuffs.

Ujamaa Villages in Iringa Region

Development of ujamaa villages in Iringa region prior to 1975 varied a great deal from areas to area. In the sparsely populated Ismani area many large scale privately owned farms had been established. Most of the settled population had become labourers on these farms owned by Tanzanians from Iringa town and Njombe and Greek settlers. As can be expected, there was strong opposition to the establishment of ujamaa communities by both peasants and land owners. Considerable political force was therefore applied in an "operation" to turn the bread basket of Tanzania into a series of ujamaa villages.

Elsewhere in the region, there was much less resistance and especially in Njombe many villages were started "voluntarily" in response to the party's call and the offer of various government-controlled rewards. Asked why they had joined most peasants, except those in Ismani area, said they had

joined voluntarily in order to obtain water or tractors. Some also gave the impression that they had joined as sort of an insurance policy against possible future harassment.

Ujamaa policy

The ujamaa system was established in part to overcome the weakness in the agricultural system inherited from the colonial era some of which had been accentuated in the early years of independence. These included the existence of dualism, growing economic differentiation among smallholders and regions, low productivity and low level of labour utilisation in the smallholder sector and the pattern of rural settlement with preponderance of isolated homesteads spread over a vast country. In addition to surmounting economic problems, the ujamaa system was designed to create the institutional framework for political democracy and for a socialist, self-reliant pattern of rural development. Thus the main objectives of Tanzania's rural development policies and programmes may be summarized as follows:-

The creation of a framework that would facilitate both the mobilisation of the rural population and the diffusion of technological and organisational innovations to diversity and increase agricultural and non-agricultural production, the encouragement of collective and co-operative forms of production; distribution of goods and marketing - with a view towards transforming the rural sector into a socialist structure capable of promoting rural development without excessive differentiation in wealth, income and power; improvement of the basic social and economic infrastructure, with particular emphasis on meeting the basic needs of the masses and the promotion of inter-regional equity.²¹

The guiding ideology stressed that responsibility for achieving these rural development objectives must lie primarily with the peasants themselves, who would be supported morally, organisationally, and materially by the Party and the Government working mainly through their district and a variety of rural institutions.

According to President Nyerere, socialism in Tanzania will be achieved step by step, depending on how people understand it for their own development. Mkungugu Ujamaa village in Ismani division was officially inaugurated on 1st November, 1971. Accounts of how the programme was

introduced to Mkungugu village have varied. According to Martin Kalolo, who later became the Chairman of the village, Kleruu told the inhabitants of Mkungugu at a meeting that there would no longer be individual farming, but people should work on the communal farm together.²² On the first occasion, Kalolo denounced the proposal. In October 1971 Klerruu called the inhabitants again, and at this meeting, after detailed discussions, villagers were told that any person who refused to be a member of an ujamaa village had to leave the village; and all those who remained must become members of the ujamaa village. Some people left, most of them rich peasants, and others remained. Martin Kalolo had no choice. He decided to remain and to be a member of the ujamaa village.

Nobert Nyenze, who became the Vice-Chairman of the village, said that Mduda, visited Mkungugu village and informed the people there about the ujamaa philosophy. The villagers rejected the idea. When land was officially expropriated in May 1971, Igula village was among the first to accept the policy and become ujamaa village. Senior government officials visited Mkungugu village again, and addressed the peasants at great length about the policy. Nyenze, with his experience in a co-operative society, took the initiative and held talks with the ten-cell leaders in the village, and they agreed to summon another meeting to discuss the possibilities of forming an ujamaa village.²³ Forty-four agreed to form an ujamaa village and requested the Divisional Staff to pass their ideas on to the government officials in Iringa town. The Divisional Staff asked the villagers why they had rejected the idea at the first meeting. They told the official that they had changed their position, and now accepted the policy's demands.

The issue here is, what made the villagers "change their minds"? It seems there was a lot of pressure from the government to get people into "planned villages" in order to establish and maintain an effective control over government.

over agricultural activities.

The Divisional Secretary then suggested to the Mkungugu villagers that they form a committee and when this was done, Martin Kalolo was elected Chairman and Nobert Nyenze became the Vice-Chairman. Mkungugu ujamaa village was officially opened. The Iringa Area Commissioner sent axes, hoes, and tractor, and the villagers proceeded to work.²⁴

According to Nyenze, Klerruu had instructed that, if the Mkungugu people were not ready to form an ujamaa village, he was prepared to split the village and merge one-half with Kisinga ujamaa village and the other half with Ndolela ujamaa village. Those who did not agree to these policy instructions would lose their shamba (farm) and would have to leave the area.²⁵

Professor James has recalled that President Nyerere once welcomed the principle of compensation, in his essay on National Property:

When I use my energy and talent to clear a piece of ground for my use it is clear that I am trying to transform this basic gift of God, so that it can satisfy a human need.... By clearing that ground, I have actually added to its value and have enabled it to be used to satisfy a human need. Whoever then takes this piece of ground must pay me for adding value to it through clearing it by my own labour.²⁶

The same source, on the other hand, quotes the Ex-chief Justice as also saying that:

Since Tanzania believes in ujamaa, the interests of many people in land cases should override those of some individuals. The Judiciary cannot be used as a tool to oppose ujamaa.²⁷

The above contradictory views created a dilemma for the people who are supposed to implement the policy and resolving disputes according to the Law, especially since Nyerere also said: "The Rule of Law is part of Socialism. Until this prevails Socialism does not prevail".²⁸

After the ujamaa policy was implemented in Ismani towards the end of 1970, the mobilization of the larger farmers hostile to the programme grew rapidly. It culminated into the arrest of over twenty large scale Ismani farmers after the assassination of Iringa Regional Commissioner,

Dr. Wilbert Klerruu, by Abdallaha Mwamwindi at Mkungugu village. These influential farmers had raised Tshs.30,000 (US \$ 2500) for the defence fund of the assassin.²⁹

Mwamwindi had been the owner of 160 acre shamba which included his residential premises consisting of two main houses and his family grave-yard. He had started with 3 acres in 1955 when he was a lorry driver. Later he had given up the driving job and started farming, expanding the farm to about 160 acres before the ujamaa programme started. Mwamwindi and others had hoped that it would be possible to implement a project for opening up virgin lands and using them for the communal farms. It turned out, however, that individual holdings were required to be included in the programme and partly because of this, according to Mwamwindi, the project had been rejected. He felt his shamba had been stolen. The Mkungugu ujamaa plan dealt with the big areas that had become ujamaa land. The programme did not forbid individual holdings as such. The Iringa-Dodoma road runs through Mkungugu village and the villagers chose to reserve the land on the left side of the Great North Road, facing Dodoma, for their collective farms.³⁰ Three acres of land for each on the other side were reserved for allotments for individual farming.

It was possible for a member to own two pieces of land, one on each side of the road. Mwamwindi had been one such person. Mwamwindi, his brother, his siter and wives had been allotted about twenty acres as individual plots. How did Mwamwindi's former holding stand in relation to the Ujamaa programme and in relation to his new holdings? The fresh allocations of individual shambas were cut out of his former holding in the area. The rest of the land was allotted to other members.³¹ The temporary individual plots allotted to Mwamwindi in the area reserved for communal activities were again taken out of his former holding. This area was some 350 feet from his premises and about 80 feet from his family grave-yard. It was on this shamba that Mwamwindi was ploughing with his tractor when Klerruu met him on the afternoon of December 25, 1971.

At this juncture it is important to show the role and importance of the grave yard amongst the Hehe and their beliefs and close connection with their ancestors and spirits. One of the customs of the Hehe people is the care and reverence with which their hereditary chiefs were buried and their graves maintained. The grave of the chief did play an important part in the ancestor worship of the Hehe.³² Rituals attached to them are an important part of the Hehe tradition. When any pressing difficulty such as the severe illness of a child, or some complex internal conflict had seemingly no solution with supernatural aid the members of the family concerned would go and place a container of local beer at the grave yard in the hope that the spirit of their ancestor would succour them in their troubles.

The next morning, after sunrise the container was inspected and if the level of the beer had dropped there was much rejoicing for the spirit of their ancestor was deemed to have heard their prayers and by drinking expressed his willingness to help them solve their difficulties. The above description demonstrates that old beliefs and rituals are important in the Hehe tradition and sacrifices are usually made at the family grave yard.

To appreciate what happened, it is crucial to examine the events of the previous day, 24th December, 1971, as recorded in the transcript of Mwamwindi's trial. These events enable us to see exactly how the policy of villagization was put into practice. The best period for maize planting is between early November and late December and maize planted after this period is unlikely to yield a good harvest. Klerruu was keen to help the ujamaa villagers plough their communal farms and plant their maize seeds before the end of planting seasons. He spared no effort but went from one village to another encouraging the people and personally helping the peasants in different activities on their communal plots.

Klerruu arrived at Tarafani ujamaa village on the morning of 24th December, 1971 to supervise the tractors ploughing the communal

plots.³³ From there Klerruu and the agricultural official accompanying him left together for Igula village to check on the progress of the communal activities. From Igula they proceeded to Ndolela ujamaa village. Work on the communal farm was interrupted by rain when they arrived there at about 5 p.m. Klerruu called a meeting of the villagers and asked if the members were prepared to work the following day. The ujamaa members agreed and Klerruu promised to return to help them in their work.

The following day, Klerruu turned up as he had promised. There were two tractors on the farm and a team of 90 members of the Ndolela ujamaa village. The villagers and Klerruu spent their Christmas Day ploughing and planting maize seeds. They had no lunch on that day; by around 5.30 p.m. the villagers were exhausted, hungry and so they stopped for the day with Klerruu. By then, sixty acres had been ploughed and planted with maize. The tired Regional Commissioner then left the village drove alone and unescorted in his government car towards Iringa Town.

Klerruu stopped at Mkungugu village and parked his car close to Mwamwindi's house. According to the evidence of the accused himself: Dr. Wilbert Klerruu said to Mwamwindi:

What are you doing? To this Mwamwindi said: Sir... I am cultivating this place which has been given to me by my fellow villagers. I do not know what annoyed him (the accused's testimony continues) he started to abuse me.... Then Mwamwindi said to Klerruu: Sir, why and what did I do? Mwamwindi goes on: He replied to me. Be quiet, shut your mouth, what hii, hii hii? And he was abusing in English.³⁴

According to the evidence produced in court, Klerruu asked Mwamwindi to climb down from the tractor. According to Mwamwindi's story Klerruu held a stick in his hand with which he was pushing him. Mwamwindi Said: "I thought to snatch the stick (sic) from him, but I thought that he might have a pistol". Mwamwindi insists that Klerruu also abused him in English but he was only about to catch the phrase "Bloody fool". When Mwamwindi asked Klerruu why he was abusing him, Klerruu retorted: "Tanzania ninwaambia lakini hamsikii" (Look, I tell you but you would not listen).

Mwamwindi then went into his house, collected a gun and returned. Klerruu was shot and fell down dead. A boy was called by Mwamwindi to help him to put Klerruu's dead body in the RC's car. Then Mwamwindi drove to Iringa Town. He first went to his resident at Mlandege and then finally reported at the Iringa police station. Later, the jury found Mwamwindi guilty of the murder of Klerruu and on 2 October 1972 he was sentenced to death.

The following points need to be considered if the significance of the assassination is to be grasped. Firstly, immediately after the incident twenty rich farmers including some leaders of Mkungugu village were arrested. As mentioned earlier, wealthy farmers in the district contributed money for the defence of Mwamwindi. Second, there was a split among the jury-assessors in court as to whether Mwamwindi was guilty or not. Third, there were rumours that earlier there had been plans to eliminate the R.C. at the Welfare Center in Iringa town. Klerruu had been tipped about this, so he never turned up and saved his life. Fourth, after Klerruu's death, Iringa town attracted national attention. The Party held a meeting in Iringa in 1972 and published Siasa ni Kilimo (Politics in Agriculture). This policy statement stressed a technocratic approach towards agriculture which meant softening the policy.

After Klerruu's death, local politicians were reluctant to use ideas of socialism to persuade farmers to form ujamaa villages. The 1972 Party statement on agricultural policy, Siasa ni Kilimo,³⁵ was notable for its lack of emphasis on ujamaa as a means of raising production. Instead it emphasized technocratic methods, like applications of manure, oxen and so on.

Conclusion and Interpretations

Since it was clear that self initiative of villages in Ismani could be a slow process, and since the chosen mode of implementation was administrative, there had to be specific kinds of incentives to get peasants to join the ujamaa village programme. One incentive could

have been careful planning and political education to show peasants how they could develop themselves through co-operation. This strategy, however, requires knowledge and patience which were not available and interestingly enough, quite a number of bureaucratic were themselves doubtful whether it could work.

Implementation measures should not, however, be regarded as being merely administrative or technical. Like ideologies and policies, they must be understood in the context of the different economic and political forces operating in the society. At that level decisions about implementation, i.e. the facts of policy implementation - also reflect the existing pattern of social forces - their relative power, their interests, their conflict and their alliances.³⁶

In this paper it has been shown that the villagization programme was developed in haste directed by bureaucratic authoritarianism unresponsive to adverse socio-economic effects and unimaginative in regard to local conditions and problems. This rush for villagization short-circuited technical planning which might have avoided the serious problems faced now in form of villages located far away from water sources, overcrowding and, most serious, lack of motivation. Even to build a common understanding about what villagization can produce takes considerable time. How do you motivate people to produce, innovate, lead, when you deprive them of status, property and dignity? Whether the opinions of scholars vary, the consensus seems to be that the experiment in village socialism has been extremely limited in its accomplishments.³⁷

Footnotes

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28. Ibid.
29. "Nyerere stresses rule of Law" in Daily News March 16, 1984, p.1.
30. Criminal Case No.37 op. cit. p.7.
31. Ibid., p.8.
32. Ibid., p.9
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