

26. Interview with Mr. J. Lwali, Personnel Manager, Amboni Ltd., Tanga, 19 May 1986.
27. It is interesting to note that the Government (through the Registrar of Societies) has been prompt in registering commercial associations, e.g. taxi drivers' associations, builders associations, bus and daladala (private owned buses operating in the city of Dar es Salaam) owners' associations. But autonomous associations formed by peasants or workers have been either outrightly refused registration (e.g. traditional religious associations) or have been thwarted by a myriad of technical hurdles (e.g. tenants associations).

IN TANZANIA

*J.P. Msangi**

Introduction

It is useful to elaborate on the three key words in this topic before detailing what is happening in Tanzania with regard to resource planning and management.

It is not easy to find one definition which describes the word resource because the definition changes over time and space. It is dependent on the society, its needs and wants, the society's ability to interpret the environment, its ability to utilise the physical environment which, in its turn, all depends on the time and requirements of that society. Therefore, a definition of a resource is a culturally defined abstract concept which hinges upon man's perception of the means of attaining certain socially valued goals by manipulating selected elements of the biophysical environment. This manipulation varies depending on the biophysical nature, the scientific and technological capacity and the inventiveness of the group in question, the social pressures to achieve desired aims, society's assessment of economic feasibility and the nature of the laws and administrative – institutional arrangement into which the managing group is organised to guide policy and to focus action. Using the above explanation, a possible definition could be: "a resource is an attribute of the environment appraised by man to be of value over time within constraints imposed by his social, political, economic and institutional framework".

Planning, on the other hand, can be defined as attempts to arrange a sequence of doing something (i.e. using resources) ahead of time. History has shown that man generally uses resources to satisfy his immediate needs. First he uses those resources which are required by the metabolism of his body; secondly, depending on his culture and technology, he uses some non-renewable resources like minerals and wood; and finally, he uses some resources which he leaves unaltered like viewing scenery or using water for recreation.

Because culture plays a very strong role in resource utilisation, it is worthwhile to consider the process through which decisions affecting resource utilisation are made. The first stage is that of perception, that is the ability to recognise the existence of resources and their potentials. The second stage is that of transformation of the perception of the source material into cognition of resource, the ability to understand or appreciate the value of resources and, hence, determine possible uses. Here resources become potentially useful and here cultural appraisal takes place. Even in the most sophisticated societies, resources cognition is never complete. There are many constraints involved, such as the cost of research to obtain additional information, lack of sufficient technical knowledge and human fallibility. So man chooses to utilise those parts of the resources which he has recognised and appreciated. The last stage is the implementation of the decision to use the resource, which is mainly governed by the technology available as compared to the nature of laws and administrative machinery established by the society.

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During the last stage, the need arises to properly manage the resources so that man's future is not threatened. So, then, what is resource management? Resource management has been defined by Monkhouse and Small as responsible and efficient management of both environmental and cultural resources, implying a close and integrated relationship between the ecological basis and the operative socio-economic system involved. It can be applied specifically to primary resource management, involving on the one hand factual surveys of geology, geomorphology, hydrology, climatology, soil and vegetation, and on the other the most efficient usage of this physical environment in the light of its land-use capability. This may range from rapid exploitation to controlled and regulated use, protection, preservation and even sterilisation. For example, in respect of a forest, from clear felling, selective logging and replanting, to maintenance as a recreation resource or as a wilderness.

Any meaningful resource planning must take into account the problems of long-term comprehensive planning. These are problems connected with the belief that to plan is to anticipate and guide change, to co-ordinate and to choose. Planning for resource utilisation requires that present-day actions take into account future consequences of such actions. It is, thus, necessary to choose a period length of the plan and a planning unit area. In doing so, it becomes necessary to project the needs and wants into the future and at the same time provide flexibility in dealing with unforeseen changes. Furthermore, the planning should be co-ordinated so that the chosen planning units can be put together to provide a regional or national plan. The planning procedure should take into account the society's economic and social goals of development. The plan should also allow for flexibility in choice of alternatives which will best meet the defined national perspectives. Needless to say, the best choice is that which considers peoples' desires and that which allows mass participation during the planning phase.

During the planning process, available data needs and resources are appraised, analysed and used in preparation for change. The compiled plans spell out, on long-term basis, goals and targets with timetables, implementation strategies as well as broad estimates of capital and recurrent costs. Plans are carried out through specific investment and supporting programmes constituted by sets of projects and activities deemed most appropriate and practical in a particular country.

Resource Planning in Tanzania

Planning Process and Strategy

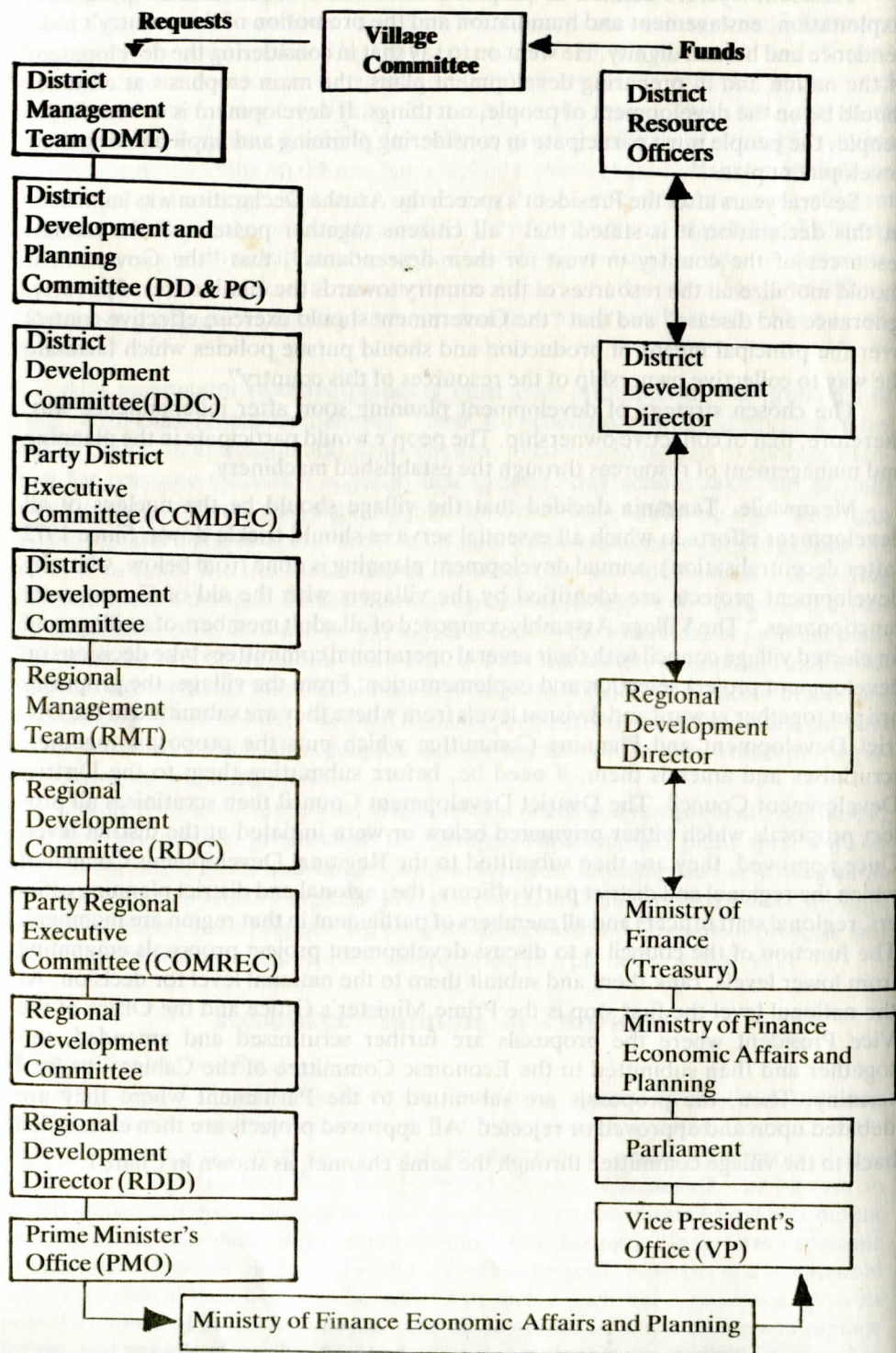
Planning in Tanzania is based on administrative regions. This regional planning focuses on both economic development and resource management. Resource management in Tanzania aims at increasing productivity in all sectors of the national economy so that high levels of living for the broad masses are achieved. The focus is on simultaneous expansion of demand and supply so as to contribute to the attainment of a balanced, nationally integrated economy. For Tanzania, long term economic development depends on the successful use of the natural resources in a sustainable way; agricultural land needs to be utilised in such a way that it produces up to its potential now and in the foreseeable future. Attempts are made to use and replace forests and woodlands so that fuel and other raw materials are available now and in future. Similarly, plans have been worked out to use and manage surface and groundwater resources.

President Nyerere defined development as both the elimination of oppression, exploitation, enslavement and humiliation and the promotion of the country's independence and human dignity. He went on to say that in considering the development of the nation and in preparing development plans, the main emphasis at all times should be on the development of people, not things. If development is to benefit the people, the people must participate in considering planning and implementing their development plans.

Several years after the President's speech the Arusha Declaration was launched. In this declaration it is stated that "all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants", that "the Government should mobilize all the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease" and that "the Government should exercise effective control over the principal means of production and should pursue policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country".

The chosen strategy of development planning soon after independence was, therefore, that of collective ownership. The people would participate in the planning and management of resources through the established machinery.

Meanwhile, Tanzania decided that the village should be the nucleus of all development efforts to which all essential services should trickle down. Since 1972 (after decentralisation), annual development planning is done from below, whereby development projects are identified by the villagers with the aid of Government functionaries.² The Village Assembly composed of all adult members of a village and an elected village council with their several operational committees take decisions on development project selection and implementation. From the village, the proposals are put together at ward and division levels from where they are submitted to the District Development and Planning Committee which puts the proposals together, scrutinises and amends them, if need be, before submitting them to the District Development Council. The District Development Council then scrutinises all project proposals which either originated below or were initiated at the district level. Once approved, they are then submitted to the Regional Development Council of which the regional and district party officers, the regional and district planning officers, regional staff officers and all members of parliament in that region are members. The function of the council is to discuss development project proposals emanating from lower levels, rank them and submit them to the national level for decision. At the national level the first stop is the Prime Minister's Office and the Office of the Vice President where the proposals are further scrutinised and amended, put together and then submitted to the Economic Committee of the Cabinet for final scrutiny. Then, the proposals are submitted to the Parliament where they are debated upon and approved or rejected. All approved projects are then channelled back to the village committee through the same channel, as shown in Chart 1.



Source: Anderson, R., "Planning Guidelines and Criteria", in Lium, T. and Skofte-land, E. (1983), Water Master Planning in Developing Countries. Norway.

However, apart from this democratic planning process, part of the planning is carried out by consulting teams. These teams produce comprehensive plans at regional level, like the Rural Integrated Development Plans and Regional Water Master Plans. There are also comprehensive plans on specific projects which are either located in the district or regions. The Government ministries are charged with writing up planning guidelines for all the planning bodies. The ministries are also charged with the responsibility of seeing that the various approved development projects are properly implemented. The office of the Prime Minister formulates the rural development policy and makes sure that all regions prepare plans to meet agreed objectives. The same office also checks on the implementation of projects. The Prime Minister's Office is assisted by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Development Planning which has the responsibility of ensuring that all ministerial plans are directed towards the achievement of common objectives, and of monitoring the performance of all agreed-upon programmes. The Economic Committee of the Cabinet assists the Ministry by making a regular appraisal of development by reviewing all plans and modifying them where this is found to be necessary.

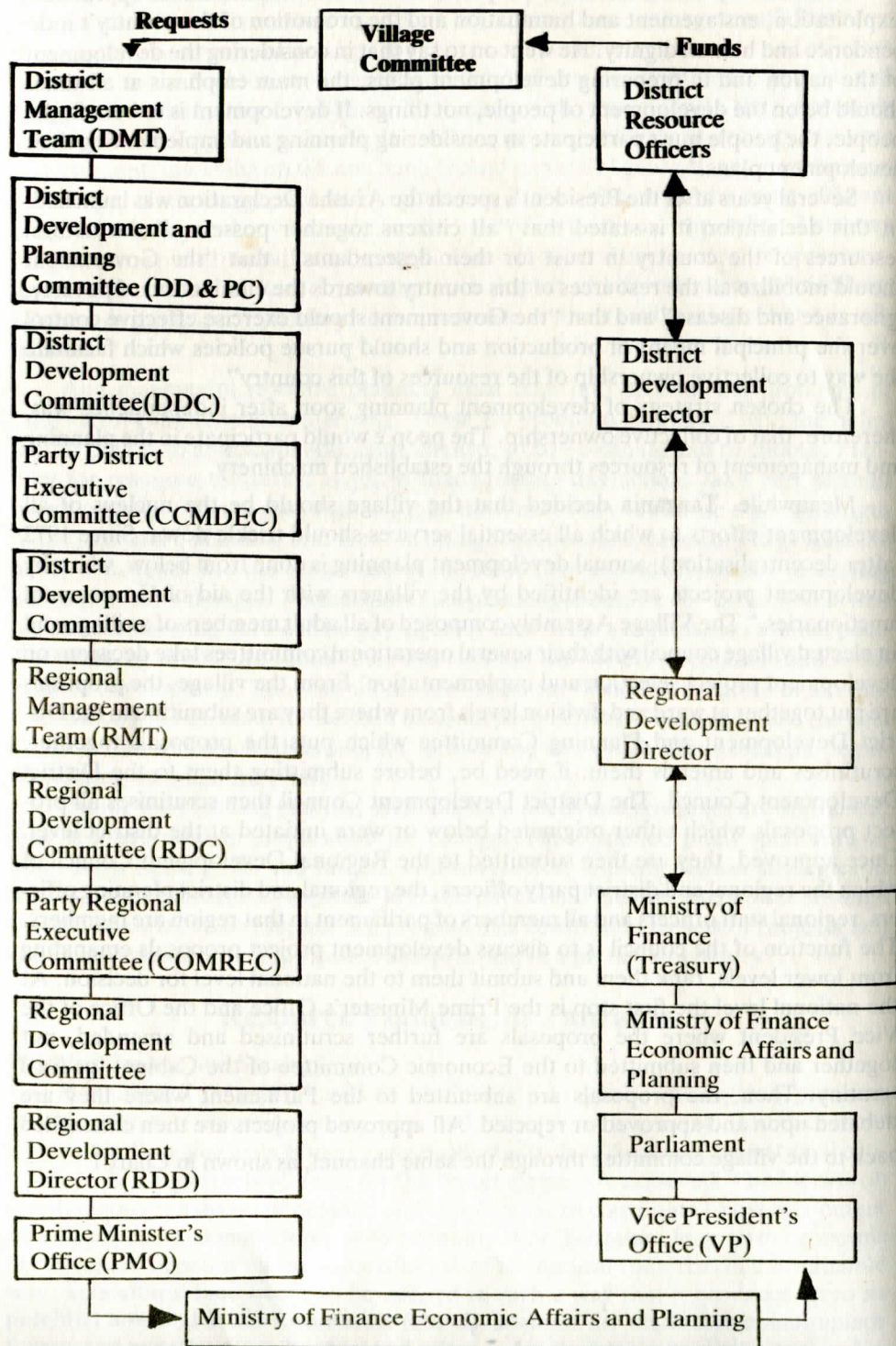
Although the system looks good, problems are experienced at the lower levels, that is at district and village levels. As a result, the Government recently took a series of measures to establish rural local governments (district councils). According to Mutahaba³, this measure is seen as a step towards increasing democracy by giving financial power to the district councils and giving the people the mandate of electing their councillors instead of having government-appointed officials. Apparently, was realised that the district government-appointed officials tended to overshadow and overrule the other members of the District Development Council. The new measures will give the councillors power to elect their chairman. The council will make all decisions which relate to finance. Technocrats and bureaucrats can advise the councils and their committees but are not supposed to take part in the decision process. It is hoped that this measure will go a long way to restore initiative at the local level which was progressively dying out.

At this point it becomes obvious that, since independence, the Tanzanian society had evolved through the three stages necessary in resource utilisation. Tanzanians had perceived, appreciated and attempted to put into use the various resources of their country. They have gone as far as choosing which resources to utilise and choosing the strategy of resource management. Thus, soon after independence the Tanzanian Government went ahead and compiled the first development plan (1964-1969). This was followed by the second (1969-1974) and third (1976-1981) plan. All three plans set out to achieve the long-term plan of mobilising rural population and available land resources to transform agriculture so as to increase the per capita income, improve the standard of living, increase the average life expectancy to 50 years and, finally, achieve a Gross Domestic Product growth rate of 6.7%.⁴

Land and Population Resources

Tanzania has a large land area: 937,062km². At the time of independence, most of Tanzania's population lived in scattered homesteads. Due to the large land area and scattered population, it was deemed necessary to concentrate the people into clusters of a given size in order to achieve the desired development. Resources were mobilised with this assumption in mind. At first it was planned to use resources to meet the two adopted strategies of development, that is the improvement approach and the transformation approach. While the improvement approach was intended to

CHART 1: DECISION CYCLE - VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT



Source: Anderson, R., "Planning Guidelines and Criteria", in Lium, T. and Skotte-

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bring about gradual improvement in farming methods and, thereby, raise productivity in the small-holder sector, the transformation approach aimed at rapid transformation of agriculture through the development of village settlement schemes. These schemes were designed to comprise selected farmers who would be removed from their traditional setting and settled in planned settlements where, using mechanised farming methods, they would produce new priority cash crops under close Government supervision and assistance. The objectives were never fulfilled, the schemes were abandoned in 1966.

After the Arusha Declaration in 1967, the socialist ideology (ujamaa) was used to mobilise resources to transform the national economy. The Ujamaa villagisation as a vehicle for people and land development was founded on the belief that peasants could be persuaded to increase their productivity by voluntarily living together and engaging in communal production through the ujamaa principles of equality, common ownership of all assets and the sharing of proceeds. Very few villages of this nature were established so that during the early 1970s this approach was also abandoned in favour of villagisation.

In 1972, the villagisation programme was launched. The programme established large villages with little or no commitment to communal work. These were started during Government or Party operations to meet natural hazards like floods (e.g. Rufiji) and droughts (e.g. Dodoma villages). One thousand nine hundred and fifty six such villages had been established by 1976 so that, by then, almost all the population in scattered homesteads had been moved into villages. By the end of the 1970s approx. 8,000 villages had been established, an average village having 1,700 – 1,800 inhabitants.⁶ According to the enrolling law of villages and Ujamaa Villages of 1975, each village should have at least 250 families and not more than 600 families (approx. 3,000 people).

Water Resources

Throughout the 1960s, only land and population resources received great attention in the planning process. In 1971, it was thought necessary to plan very closely for the utilisation of other resources, especially water, so as to overcome the increase in demand for different purposes. The National Rural Water Supply and the Water Master Planning programmes were launched, in 1971 and 1972 respectively. The objective of the policy on water development is to supply the whole country and its urban and rural population with adequate water.

In planning for Tanzania's water resources, there is a discrepancy between planning theory and practice. Theoretically, the villagers are supposed to take part in the planning process, but it has increasingly become evident that the villagers' priorities often are ignored by the district and regional authorities. The bureaucrats at district level often hold different views from those of the villagers, especially on issues concerning required inputs and requirements. While the Government officials emphasise quality and quantity, the villagers emphasise accessibility, reliability and taste. Hence, the conflict between priorities. Plans for the villages were generally formulated at district and regional levels. When such plans were handed down to villages for implementation, they very often proved to be unrealistic and were, thus, ignored by the villagers.

This denied opportunity for villagers to participate in planning for their own situation was pointed out by the Prime Minister's office as a cause of failure of development plans when it promoted the Local Government Acts of 1982.⁷ It was

stated that "many of the projects proposed by villages never materialized in the final analysis. Central Government bureaucrats usurped the peoples' rule in development process by not involving the peoples' representatives in major development affairs as stipulated in the Decentralization Programme. The people tend to harbour the feeling that they are the receivers and not the creators of development". The acts aim to hand back participation in planning to the citizenry, especially on the issue of water supply and sanitation. The Government bureaucrats are expected to give advice on the requirements of water for irrigation and industries in order to avoid ecological imbalances which can result through excessive usage and creation of water bodies like irrigation reservoirs and canals. These open water bodies are often breeding places for mosquitoes and other disease vectors and, hence, constitute an environmental hazard for the people. Another environmental hazard is water polluted by industrial processes.

The implementation of the development projects on water resources is the responsibility of four ministries: the Ministry of Agriculture (KILIMO) which is responsible for the development of irrigated agriculture and the provision of watering points along livestock routes; the Ministry of Water and Energy (MAJI) which is responsible for the domestic water supply sector; the Ministry of Land, Housing and Urban Development (ARDHI) which is responsible for providing water for sewage and sewerage needs and the Ministry of Health (AFYA) which issues guidelines on water quality aspects. Other organs which deal with the planning and implementation of specific projects are, for instance, TANESCO which deals with the implementation of water development projects producing hydro-electric power and RUBADA and KRBA which deal with the planning and implementation of projects in the Rufiji and Kagera river basins respectively.

The planning process, the planning structure and project implementation procedure of water policy is, thus, separated over four major sectors and two autonomous bodies. The main problem is, therefore, that of co-ordination. The other problem is the lack of specified means of integrating the Regional Integrated Development Plans and the Regional Water Master Plans into the annual development plans. The Regional Water Master Plans deal with only two user groups (water supply and sewage). The Regional Integrated Development Plans look at the needs and requirements of administrative regions in their totality.

What is lacking is planning based on river catchments, the ideal unit of planning as far as water resources are concerned, and co-ordinated total water resources planning for the entire country. One single ministerial water master planning body is needed, with optimum use of water resources as its ultimate goal. This body would co-ordinate the guidelines, the proposals, recommendations and projects implementation so that the requirements of the four sectors are met satisfactorily. Such a body would also formulate directives on how best to implement the policy requirements so that the ongoing national economic and social transformation efforts are fulfilled. This body could be charged with the responsibility of producing a comprehensive national water plan.

According to Anderson⁸, the planning exercise has, so far, failed to take into account the rapid population growth. Out of the 17 million people recorded in 1978, 1.66 million lived in the regional centres (i.e. large towns) of which the growth rate was 9.1%. Of the total population 90.2% lived in the rural areas during the 1978 census, as compared to 94.7% during the 1967 census. The influx of people from the rural areas to urban/regional centres has, therefore, been very high. If the 9.1%

annual growth rate of regional centres is maintained as well as the overall population growth rate of 3.3%, then, by 1991, 21.8% of the estimated total of 26 million people will be settled in regional centres. If the district centres are added to the above estimate, a total of approx. 6.6 million people or 25.4% of the population will be found in urban or suburban areas by 1991. And if the present growth rate of 3.3% continues the population will double to approx. 34 million by the year 2000. Therefore, Tanzania's planning authorities have to consider this rapid population expansion when planning for water resources. As is clearly stated by Anderson, the aspects of the future population growth and the number of rural as compared to urban settlements after 1991 have been neglected to a large extent in the planning process and often forgotten in the Water Master Planning-concept.

Another aspect which has been forgotten in the planning process, says Anderson, is population density. If the Ministry's criteria of a maximum walking distance of 400m to a public water point is used, and if we consider the fact that each point will cater for 240 people per day, the density which a designed system will cater for is 478 people per km². A density of higher values means that an increased number of water-points is needed. A density of less than 478 persons per km calls not for lowering the number of domestic points, but rather for a different technology approach.

Anderson gives several main reasons why planning has, so far, been unrealistic or inefficient. Goals are not consistent with resources available so that planning for unobtainable goals leads to declining efficiency. Budgetary discussions continue while almost no trace of the expenditure position is kept. Planning for the level of budget appropriation leads to major misallocation of resources. Planners at regional and district levels have no influence on the timing of budget allocations. Therefore, planning has very little impact in the field. Water master plans are made by experts without involving the masses; therefore, problems and difficulties are often experienced during implementation stages. Shortcomings are experienced in set targets due to lack of co-ordination within ministries and between ministries and donors.

Decentralisation planning means that the regions exercise more power in planning, implementation and maintenance of projects and programmes than the ministries. Yet, the regions are dependent on the central government for national plan preparation, funds allocation, external funding arrangements, imported material and manpower development. Decentralisation planning has led to decentralisation and fragmentation of sector responsibility. The linkages between the principal sectors involved (AFYA, MAJI, KILIMO and ARDHI) are vague and indirect. Sector programme planning and implementation has proceeded with only token inter-sector collaboration. This has been the case for internally funded programmes as well as for those which are funded by bilateral and multilateral agencies. Therefore, the need for a co-ordinating body must be emphasised.

Forest Resources

About 40% of mainland Tanzania is classified as forest, thus representing a major natural resource of the nation. The main part of the forest is savannah woodland which, although potentially less productive per unit area than closed forest, provides the greater part of the national output of timber and other forestry products. The total area under forest is 414,000km², and 30% of this (130,000km²) is reserved

or as industrial timber production units. Unreserved forests are utilised for producing domestic fuelwood and charcoal as well as producing building materials for dwellings and small-scale industry. Since natural regeneration is slow and replanting was rare before the 1970s the result was a steady depletion of the unreserved area under forest and the nation's wood resources.

Forest resources, unlike water resources, have not received much attention in the planning process, so far. It was only during the third five year plan that exhaustive examination of the problems of catchment areas was promised in order to facilitate remedial action. A major tree planting and forest management programme was initiated during this time. The main critical issues at the time were catchment forests, aridity and desertification threat in the central part of the country. After a programme for the management of the drylands and of catchment forests had been worked out, the forest resources then received attention as to harvesting and replanting.

During the planning process for the management programme, it was realised that catchment forests can be made highly productive through maintenance and care. Care and maintenance consist of control against illegal felling and grazing and the establishment of firebreaks for controlling wild fires. As in the case of water, success in implementing the plans depends upon the co-operation of the local people.

In Tanzania, it is the task of the Forestry Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to lay the basis for restoration and expansion of the forest area. However, it is said that it is a political task to mobilise people at all levels to implement a vast tree planting programme. As forests comprise one of the basic renewable resources which Tanzania possesses, it is felt that nothing less than total commitment will save the country from losing the forests that remain.

Unplanned cutting down of natural forests can lead to depletion and other irreversible consequences. Soil protection usually provided by the forest is lost, infiltration of rainwater is reduced leading to increased runoff and sometimes to floods in the downstream areas. Soil erosion takes place quickly and may lead to silting of lowlands, lowered land productivity, quick drying of rivers soon after the rains and, finally, desertification. Such was the situation found in large areas of Shinyanga, Singida and Dodoma regions. Small parts of Tanga, Kilimanjaro and Iringa regions were also affected. Threatened catchment forests included those on the slopes of the Ulugurus, Pare, Usambara and Kilimanjaro-Meru mountains.

Therefore, the afforestation programme was launched during the late 1970s and emphasised during the early 1980s with campaigns such as "for every child a tree", "cut a tree, plant three" etc. The Forestry Division has set a target of planting approx. 134,600 hectares, 127,000 hectares being for domestic fuelwood supplies and the rest for pulpwood and saw-wood. It is estimated that the planted area will meet estimated demands for round-wood until the year 2000. By then, demand is expected to have increased by 50%; fuelwood will still account for 76% of the demand, followed by charcoal at 16% (3% at present). The rest of the demand will be from sawmills and plywood industry, poles and pulp and paper industry. The particle-board and fibre-board industries will receive their demands from residues from sawmills and plywood mills. At present, 99.5% of domestic demand for round-wood is met from indigenous forest.

Unless areas formerly under forest are re-planted, the above demands cannot be met. The emphasis for fuelwood planting is now placed at the village level. The Forestry Division is currently estimating fuelwood demand-supply needs at the village level while Forest officers are being trained to advise in the implementation of

the plans for fuelwood supply in all villages and towns in the country. The division runs nurseries all over the country. Tree planting is carried out by individuals, schools, the military and village people. The Party and the Government have launched special programmes to assist the division in reaching its targets, e.g. HADO.

For most of the plantations it is planned to utilise exotic species, basically because these generally mature in the relatively short time of 10–15 years, as compared to 30–50 years for equivalent indigenous species. Other reasons that favour exotic species are that the regeneration techniques for exotic species are generally well established whereas for indigenous species the conditions for optimal regeneration are still being worked out. Also, the properties of the exotic species to be used (chiefly *Pinus* species for industrial softwood supplies and *Eucalyptus* species for poles and fuelwood supply) are well-characterised with respect to their cultivation and their suitability and methods of treatment for particular uses.

A research institute has been established in 1983, to study, among other things, regeneration requirements of indigenous species. The Tanzania Forestry Research Institute which took over research activities from the Forestry Division has, so far, come up with a list of 15–20 species (out of the 800 species of trees known in Tanzania) which are reasonably well-characterised and are being utilised. Research on the durability of indigenous species and their suitability for propagation in plantations is still continuing. It has, so far, been found that many species (e.g. *Muhuhu*) do not take in plantations; it seems that they need the mixed environment of natural woodland. A few species like camphor, mvule and mtambara successfully grow in plantations. There is now a programme of natural regeneration of these and other indigenous species. The main exotic species of quality hardwood to be planted is teak, the establishment and tending of which is well-documented. Teak has a rotation of 60–80 years so that if it is to become a foreign exchange earner, it will be only in the distant future. It becomes obvious, therefore, that long-term planning and control of forests in Tanzania, both in plantations and natural woodlands, is a very important task.

Wildlife and Tourism

Wildlife preservation has received considerable attention in the country's development plans. Tanzania has made a major national effort in the conservation of its wildlife through a comprehensive national parks system. Some of these parks are located in the forested lands, some in the woodlands and some in the open grasslands. The parks contain a rich collection of wild animals which are a major attraction to tourists. Tourism which earns a considerable amount of foreign exchange for the country is based largely on the national parks. Other features, such as the extensive coastal beaches, the mountainous land of Kilimanjaro as well as the various lakes (especially crater lakes) provide additional attraction to tourists.

Tourism industry is planned and managed by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. Elaborate planning for the industry includes the establishment of tourist hotels and communication with and within the parks. Intensive park management includes the establishment and management of park roads, landing strips, information services as well as rangeland management programmes. The programmes vary from park to park, depending on animals found and vegetation types.

Other Resources

Other resources in Tanzania have not received the same systematic planning and management as land, water and forests have. Minerals have for a long time been exploited by private companies and individuals. No comprehensive plans exist for this resource; what has existed, for a long time, is the need to export in order to earn foreign exchange. However, export levels have fallen recently due to an unfavourable investment climate. For example, STAMICO owns 51% in all mining companies and all earnings from mining are heavily taxed.

Recent efforts by the Ministry of Minerals constitute attempts to attract foreign investors into the mining sector because Tanzania has neither the capital nor the technology required by the industry. The new policy (1983) aims to encourage foreign investment by a variety of concessionary measures. Customs duty and sales tax on prospecting equipment and mining plants have been suspended. Mining companies can now open foreign accounts and use part of their foreign exchange earnings to import spare parts and other goods. STAMICO, like in the past, will still hold at least 51% of the shares in all profit-making large-scale mining ventures, and priority consideration will be given to ventures that promote Tanzania's industrial self-sufficiency by mining coal, iron and other industrial minerals.

The Ministry of Minerals is also promoting another line of development for small-scale miners. Extension services and training for small-scale miners are planned, along with increased supervision of enforcement of licensing requirements. Small-scale miners will also receive help in marketing their products.

Achievements?

The main question which must be looked at, in order to decide whether resource planning has yielded the desired social and economic development, is whether there has been progressive increase in agricultural output, improvement in people's living standards and increased industrial production through resource exploitation.

According to Coulson, agricultural production continued to rise until the 1970/71 season. Between 1966–68, coffee and cotton production grew at a rate of more than 12% per annum while the production of cashew nuts and tobacco rose approx. 10% per annum. Though no reliable statistics are available on food crops, it is recorded that marketed wheat production rose by over 20%, maize surplus was recorded so that the country ceased to be an importer of maize and, instead, exported 50,000 tonnes of maize at a loss and paddy stocks equalled two years' sales. At that time, the policies on settlements and ujamaa villages had not been adopted by most farmers. After 1971, there was a drastic change. Production took a downward trend and reached very low levels in the 1980s. The rate of inflation averaged only 2% per year between 1961 and 1972 and rose to 22.5% per year between 1971 and 1977. Tanzania became a large net importer. The deterioration in balance of trade which began before the oil price rises was due to decline in exports and large food imports. However, during this period, there was a provision of a wide range of social services especially in the rural areas.

The Universal Primary Education was declared in 1977 and it is estimated that over 93% of children of school-age were enrolled in primary schools; literacy levels rose from 31% to 66% between 1967 and 1977. For 1985, they are estimated to reach 90%. As a result of villagisation, the majority of the population has been moved to

walking distance of all basic services: transport, water supply, health care, market and school. For example, by 1976 approx. 90% of the population was within 10km of some health facility.¹¹ However, as Mlay rightly states, what needs to be emphasised here is the condition or quality of the social services provided. There are some schools without furniture, teachers or books. There are dispensaries without drugs and qualified personnel; water facilities which are not functioning; tractors, trucks and other vehicles without fuel, tyres and spare parts. So what looks like achievement, constitutes disappointment to many peasants and workers.

In its efforts to enforce its policies of Ujamaa, decentralisation and villagisation, the Government ended up by disrupting the institution which until then had ensured a certain measure of agricultural development. Despite policy statements intended to safeguard the democratic participation of peasants, the Government and Party increasingly adopted a top-down posture in its decision making and implementation. Thus, decentralisation (1972) and villagisation (1973-75) disrupted agricultural production by interfering with labour deployment and by dismantling existing institutions and structures (e.g. co-operatives and extension services). The movement of people into new villages caused great losses in crop production. Mismanagement of the programme as a whole coupled with confusing, frequent and shortlived campaigns intended to raise productivity during crisis periods, such as the "Kila mtu afanye kazi" (everyone has to work), "Siasa ni Kilimo" (Politics is agriculture) and "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona (produce or perish), have ended by confusing people rather than increasing productivity.

The Third Five-Year Development Plan gives the reasons for the decline in agricultural production as:

- (1) drought conditions (especially during 1972-1974)
- (2) insufficient investment in agriculture and faulty allocation of investments to unsuitable areas and
- (3) lack of proper plans for food crops.

Mlay further argues that, though the 1972-74 drought contributed to the decline in agricultural production, it should be noted that the decline stretches over the past fifteen years.¹² During this period, for example, export crop production fell by 34.2%. So the fact remains that, drought or no drought, production in the rural sector has been declining.

It is true that the agricultural sector has not received adequate financial investments when compared to other sectors, like industry or economic services. For example, between 1966 and 1972, Agricultural and National Resources received only 5.9% of total investments, whereas 54.8% went to economic services and 17% to industry.

In an attempt to stimulate rural development the Government has invited foreign donors who adopted the Integrated Rural Development Strategy to prepare regional plans for the different regions of Tanzania mainland. However, the peasant sector did not provide the foundation for decision making or implementation of the plans. Therefore, projects like roads and water supply, started under this strategy, have deteriorated or ceased to function and villagers who were not involved during planning or implementation have failed to maintain them.

The obvious conclusion is that, despite state objectives of popular participation in rural development, the Government failed to mobilise peasants and this is the underlying cause for the poor performance in both agricultural production and ser-

vice provision in rural Tanzania. Despite a decline in infant mortality and rise in life expectancy, researchers have come to the conclusion that the condition of life for rural producers has generally deteriorated between 1969/70 and 1978/79.¹³ The standard of living index in 1978/79 was only 73% of the 1969/70 level. Given the early 1980s economic situation in which, amidst high inflation, there are shortages of almost all basic commodities, especially in rural areas where services have also deteriorated a great deal, one is likely to accept Coulson's conclusion that "rural producers, urban workers and upper income earners were all worse off at the end of the 1970s than they had been at the beginning".¹⁴ The improvements in mortality, Coulson says, are more likely a result of the improvements in levels of literacy and education than of a general improvement in levels of well-being.

Before independence, resources were viewed as sources of foreign exchange, that is: their export potential was considered in deciding whether they had any industrial value. At the time, the creation of an industrial economy for Tanzania based upon local resources was considered remote. For example, the report of a mission organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development states that the "future development of the Liganga iron ore deposits on a large scale will depend, as in the case of coal, on finding export markets".¹⁵ The report represents a total commitment to the external orientation of the economy.

After independence, the emphasis changed. The report by Little Inc. came up with some extremely important and useful recommendations for industrial development.¹⁶ The industries proposed were not of the type that would develop a reasonably self-sufficient industrial base, they were mainly geared to agricultural processing. Until the present time, there are no clear policy formulating guidelines to be followed in establishing a self-sufficient, internally-oriented industrial economy. There is a heavy dependence on imported inputs and external finance.

As it is not possible to sum up the growth of all industries dependant on natural resources, we will only give the example of one of these industries, the electrical power industry dependent on water resources. Electrical power supply is one of the most essential elements for industrial development. Practically every industrial activity depends upon electrical power for one operation or another. Tanzania has chosen to develop the hydro-power potential of its rivers rather than run thermal stations, basically because it lacks petroleum deposits. Its coal deposits were said to be of low industrial potential due to high ash content and unfavourable geographical location. Apart from the lack of oil, hydro-power stations are cheaper and easier to run than thermal stations. Hydro-plants have a much longer life than thermal stations. Environmentally, hydro-plants are pollution free and the source of energy is constantly renewable. As a result of the above factors, hydro-electric power which exists on several of Tanzania's rivers constitutes the major power source for most of the industries. Almost all the power sold is distributed through an interconnected system linking the major industrial areas extending north-westwards and east-northwards. It does not cater for the south, west and northern areas. The hydro-electric power installed capacity stands at 300 MW while the total installed capacity is 360 MW.

Before the completion of the largest hydro-power station at Kidatu in 1975, Tanzania had to operate a very expensive thermal station at Ubungu. This station, with a capacity of 61.6 MW, used to consume 4,000 litres of high grade imported oil per hour (i.e. 96,000 litres per day) for the gas turbine (15 MW) and 150,000 litres per

trial goods considerably.¹⁷ Also, prior to the completion of the Kidatu project, the maintenance problems of the electricity system were exacerbated by the need to run all generating systems at near maximum capacity, in order to meet the demands for electrical power. Frequent power cuts were common when demand exceeded supply, resulting in a loss of production in many industries. Machine breakdowns became more frequent as many power units were not regularly maintained due to pressures to maintain maximum power supplies. The net result often was a need for relatively more extensive (and more expensive) repairs. The above described situation clearly shows a lack of planning to ensure that expansion of power supply corresponds with the expansion of industrial activity. With the completion of Kidatu, Tanzania now has spare capacity, thus allowing for essential maintenance.

In the power industry, most of the capital costs for the supply of machinery, surveys and initial operating costs are provided through loans from abroad. The sums involved are large, and especially the feasibility studies for hydro-electric projects are quite costly. All the projects are designed and constructed entirely under the supervision of overseas firms. All the generating machinery, transformers, switch gear, cable and even relatively simple household meters have to be imported. Not all the technology imported is of the most appropriate kind. All generating equipment incorporates "locked in technology" to a greater or lesser extent, since it depends upon the original suppliers for spare parts. Although some of the spare parts could be manufactured locally, a comprehensive coverage is made difficult by the many different types of generators and engines in operation and lack of standardisation.

Conclusion

What emerges from this discussion is that past efforts in planning for resources development have not yielded the desired goals — those of self reliance and developing natural resources to achieve economic development through increased productivity in all sectors of the economy so that high living standards are achieved for all. Until now, no optimum theory of development and a corresponding planning procedure has been formulated. What has emerged is a host of new concepts with differing ideological and political assumptions (for example, integrated development, endogenous development, self-reliance, basic needs, etc.) It becomes obvious that Tanzania has acted as a testing ground for several of these concepts and approaches, since its philosophy of Ujamaa and self reliance seems to have attracted donors of varying origins. In the process, the people, especially the peasants, have not been given time to fully understand the various concepts and to learn how to adjust to them. As a result, productivity in all sectors has fallen due to reduced initiative on the part of the producers. As Hyden puts it: "development research (i.e. problem identification and problem solving research) has played very little part in the planning process in Tanzania".¹⁸

Two main suggestions have been put forward as ways of salvaging the situation in Tanzania. One is to raise productivity by increasing the political consciousness of the peasant and to train socialist cadres which will be competent to manage socialist development. Meanwhile, the national consultative economic and planning council has recommended that as a long term solution to problems of agricultural development, studies into irrigation farming and production targets should be carried out. The second way is to give top priority to industries which support agriculture and those which will help motivate peasants.

politicians and government authorities. One is that Tanzania should adopt the New International Economic Order (NIEO) for disengagement and for south-south co-operation. The other is that Tanzania should solve existing internal contradictions on paths to be followed in planning and in achieving the desired goals. It is argued that even if external factors were solved through NIEO, the problem would remain if the internal issues were not solved.

Therefore, the greatest challenge for planners and researchers alike is to examine the various alternative solutions proposed in the preceding paragraphs and identify the way out of the present planning and development bottlenecks in Tanzania.

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THE INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE TO THE ARUSHA DECLARATION

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Introduction

Tanzania is part of the world community. Therefore, what happens in Tanzania will affect, to a greater or lesser extent, the rest of the world and vice versa. Whatever happens in Tanzania must necessarily provoke world interest. This interest will no doubt lead to a response that corresponds, firstly, to the self-interest of the respondent and, secondly, to his ability to realise that interest.

In discussing foreign policy principles, Mushi notes that especially the most general aspects are related to the ideology of the state. They need not be in the form of a document. It is enough that they manifest themselves in the nation's social, political and economic structures as well as in processes and programmes. Mushi continues:

Unless there is something very wrong with the leadership, foreign and domestic policy principles should broadly coincide. For example, if the principle of private property is advocated internally, and if injustice is tolerated at home it is most unlikely that it will be challenged vigorously externally by the regime concerned.

This is reminiscent of what Karl Marx and Frederick Engels said in the Communist Manifesto:

In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The explication of the international responses to the Declaration can be guided along the above theses. Those countries whose internal structure is akin, however remotely, to the principles of the Declaration are bound to respond positively and those with a contrary internal structure, negatively. To what extent this response will affect the Declaration will depend on the capability of the country concerned to realise its interest. This explains why some countries succeeded in affecting the direction of developments in Tanzania after 1967. While, in broad terms, the domestic and foreign policies coincide, there are specific instances where experience may put the two policies in an apparent contradiction, as has been noted by Mushi. Herein lies the explanation of why those opposed to the Arusha Declaration not only continued to give "aid" to Tanzania but even increased it! By so doing, the short term contradiction would work for their long term interests. On the basis of the aspirations and capability, referred to above, the international responses can be divided in four groups: the Socialist Camp; the Nordic Countries; the Underdeveloped Socialist Countries; and the Major Capitalist Countries.