

mental and others financial, but I contend that all of them need sound commercial sense. To conserve scarce manpower, while at the same time maintaining quality, it is suggested that:

1. Membership of a board of directors be limited to a maximum of five.
2. Commercial public corporations be grouped into corporations engaged in similar or related commodities and/or services, and be given one board of directors. This practice will enable directors to observe and compare performance and get clues about where and when a particular corporation is going off the rails and how to take appropriate measures in time. The boards of directors will then be inspired to provide the control and guidance they are supposed to give to the management.
3. Boards of directors and management should whenever necessary face the already suggested cabinet standing committees to defend their particular corporation's performance at least half-yearly.

Autonomy

The appointment of chairmen or managing directors of these public corporations should remain with the relevant minister or cabinet or President; but at the least, these jobs should be advertised and applications invited. These posts are sufficiently well paid and carry enough prestige and respect to excite very good responses, out of which a choice could be made by government. This practice will bring the government's attention to previously unknown citizens in the private sector. This more open and free appointment procedure will produce more confident, more qualified managers who can use what autonomy there is with more assurance and responsibility.

The boards of directors and top management should be left to engage the rest of the staff. These appointments should, if considered necessary, be reported to the cabinet standing committee. This reporting would ensure that the boards and managers would take care to appoint qualified people, as they could always be taken to task by the committee. Management should have powers to hire and fire certain cadres of staff and suspend even heads of departments for final decision of boards of directors. Management should have powers to award multiple increments to reward merit. Wrong and unfair appointments would very likely be detected by the standing committee and rectified before the end of the probationary period.

In conclusion it is argued that it is inaccurate and unscientific to assess the performance of commercial public corporations solely on commercial criteria. The political, civil service, and other imposed limitations on commercial performance must always be taken into account to arrive at the correct picture. To improve their performance, governments must adopt sympathetic "preventive" policy control rather than continue to perform long-delayed "post-mortems" when things go wrong. The corporations' managements must at the same time be given and assured more autonomy in executing more commercially based policies.

Inefficiency, Irresponsiveness and Irresponsibility in the Public Services - Is Mwongozo to Blame?

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Together with the issue of involving the people in solving their problems there is also the question of the habits of leaders in their work and in day-to-day life.

There must be a deliberate effort to build equality between the leaders and those they lead. For a Tanzanian leader, it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and who is not a tyrant. He should epitomize heroism and be a champion of justice and equality to fight the vindictiveness of some of its agents. Such actions do not promote socialism but drive a wedge between the Party and the Government on one side, and the people on the other.

Article 15,
TANU Guidelines, 1971
(Mwongozo)

Mwongozo has become famous for its Article 15. For both employer and employee, leader and led, it is a focal point; while for some it has become an inspiration, for others it is the cause of all the inefficiency and irresponsibility of workers in both the private and public sectors. This short essay is addressed to the problems of inefficiency arising from negligence in role performance; it will try to discern the possible causes; and lastly it will make tentative suggestions to rectify the situation.

Post-Mwongozo Tanzania has experienced unprecedented confrontations between management personnel and workers. The confrontation has taken three forms. First, in the wake of Mwongozo, the laying down of tools by workers demanding dismissals of particular persons in the management was in vogue. This method was used mainly in the public economic enterprises or in those commercial establishments where the public had some ownership rights. As a second measure, this strategy was dropped and workers resorted either to total take-overs of the establishments in the case of privately owned enterprises, or to lock-outs and the demanding of dismissals of individuals in the case of public enterprises. Thirdly, the workers in the light of Mwongozo have singled out and accused some members of the management of practising tribalism, of negligence, irresponsibility and arrogance, of misuse of company and public property, and of being anti-TANU and anti-Ujamaa. From one point of view, the workers have placed themselves in the vanguard

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of the Party and have accorded themselves the responsibility of keeping watch over the conduct of their bosses.

It is clear from the nature of the confrontations, however, that the crux of the problem has been the worsening managerial-worker relations rather than the specific issues brought forward when the conflicts come into the open. The particular accusations brought forth have been sensitive issues which both attract public attention and win the workers sympathy and recognition from the Party and government leadership. For the moment, it is not yet well established whether the basic contradictions arise from Mwongozo or whether they have always been there simmering, lacking only the outlet which Mwongozo has now provided. From the nature of the clashes, however, we can assume that the worker-management conflicts have always been present; it is only that they were contained by the pre-Mwongozo management system. Here lie the fundamental questions: What has so far constituted the conflicts, and what impact have they had on role performance?

It has now become practice for members of the managerial sector either openly or behind doors to blame Article 15 of Mwongozo for the worsening industrial relations. Some have suggested that the Article be reworded to amend the situation, while some government and senior NUTA officials, though still subscribing to the letter of Mwongozo, have blamed the workers for not following the right channels in settling their disputes. Indeed, very responsible people have warned that stern steps will be taken against workers who misuse Mwongozo and fail to exhaust the channels provided for negotiation and reconciliation. For example, the *Daily News* of 13 July 1972 quoted a government minister as saying that "the government will not tolerate the practice of workers laying down tools when there is ample machinery to solve workers' grievances." In my view, such threats, even if they can work for some time, are of secondary, if any, importance. Essentially, they cannot cure the disease until a diagnosis has been made. The basic issue is not how to settle the disputes, but to find their basis and nature, and only then proceed to take the proper curative measures.

Before we proceed to find the causes and nature of the disputes, let us for a while dwell on another related issue. This is that so far, the registered open conflicts have taken place without exception in the industrial or commercial sectors; not a single occurrence of conflict has been registered in the civil service sector. Should we assume, therefore, that things are sailing smoothly in this area? Is it true that there is no conflict in these sectors or that the machinery for solving disputes is working perfectly well? These are relevant issues which must be critically analysed if efficiency and responsiveness in role performance in public sectors are to be fruitfully examined.

If we first address ourselves to the problem of why the worker-management conflicts have been rampant in the industrial/commercial sectors, we will find that among other factors, the causes arise from what the nature of the work demands of both workers and bosses. Before Mwongozo, and quite possibly after, the managerial styles of our establishments were based

on capitalist models. Under capitalist management models, the worker and management interests are always at variance. The managerial concern is the maximization of returns from invested capital, while the workers' concern is the maximization of returns from each unit of labour power sold. Hence there is always a conflict, even if it is only implied, between labour and capital. A compromise is struck by the price system: the employer agrees to pay a certain amount of money for a given amount of labour input. Of necessity, then, the managerial class is given the supervisory role in order to see to it that the worker fully contributes his share of the labour agreed upon in the contract. Thus, the relationship established maintains the distinction between supervisor and those supervised. The managerial sector develops commandeer attitudes and patterns of communication with the worker because his concern is not for the worker's welfare but for the extraction of his labour power. The worker, on the other hand, submits to this sort of super-ordinate-subordinate relationship not because of a concern to see the enterprise flourish, but rather to make a living out of the sale of his labour power.

After Mwongozo, however, the managerial class suddenly was directed to refrain from commandeering, while retaining its supervisory role. The implied, if not explicit, intention was to cast away the capitalist modes of management and to adopt socialist models concomitant with the national ideology. This transition was effected by evolving new forms of communication between workers and their bosses. As the Prime Minister told the National Assembly, Article 15 has two main parts: the first exposing the oppressive practices of the bosses and the second dealing with ending such practices. The primary concern of Article 15, then, is human dignity. The worker, in order to acquire confidence and self-actualization, has to be freed from the vagaries of commandeerism. Once the message was proclaimed, the workers quickly seized the first opportunity to declare themselves free men.

Attempts to involve workers in management had started earlier than Mwongozo's declaration. The Presidential Circular No. 1 of 1970 had established the Workers' Councils. Among other conditions the Circular stipulates:

Given a proper work environment, and proper co-operation and support from their leaders and fellows, the majority of Tanzanian workers are capable of accepting more responsibility and would like to do so; they can become more creative and can accomplish more. Every communication of ideas and information between workers and between workers and all levels of management can have the effect of improving the quantity and quality of goods produced, provided that the atmosphere of common endeavour and common responsibility is created. In particular, the top management must have an attitude which regards the workers and the lower levels of management as partners in a common enterprise and not just as tools like the machines they work with.

It is now time for us to take positive steps to encourage such developments throughout the modern sector of the economy where it is only too easy for the workers to be looked upon as a special kind of "factor of production" instead of as the major part of the enterprise. Until now, such an attitude

has tended to exist in both public and private undertakings in Tanzania. For when we first began to own industrial and agricultural enterprises as a community, and especially when we expanded public ownership so rapidly after the Arusha Declaration, we inevitably—and rightly—concentrated first on the sheer mechanics of setting up or taking over economic concerns. We, therefore, followed in our public enterprises the same work customs as we had learned from the traditional capitalist enterprises—a strict hierarchy of industrial discipline and a strict hierarchy of ideas for promotion, with just a suggestion box put in for the occasional use of the more daring junior workers.

Then the Circular called for the establishment of Workers' Councils in all public corporations and in firms employing more than ten workers. The role of the Workers' Councils, in which workers participated through their elected representatives, was and remains advisory; but the tone of the Circular presaged the revolutionary fire to be found in Article 15 of Mwongozo. The proclamation of the Workers' Councils and their subsequent formation in a number of enterprises, however, did not result in any changes in managerial attitudes towards workers.

The proclamation of Mwongozo, catching the management unaware, as it were, was likely to generate problems in role performance. The managerial sector was, in fact, put in a dilemma. Managers were supposed to continue performing their supervisory roles in order to ensure that production did not fall, i.e. that the contracted labour power continued to flow; however, they lost their previous powers of sanction and commandeerism. The workers, fully aware that their bosses no longer possessed these powers, were at times not ready to offer that contracted share of their labour at will. It was in a sense a show of power. President Nyerere, explaining the causes of work stoppages in a number of factories in the wake of Mwongozo, said: "the experiences were inevitable and everyone who understood the document should have expected it." He further explained: "such liberating things like Mwongozo often created excitement, and sometimes out of curiosity, the people seized the first opportunity to do away with managers or leaders whose conduct they thought was contrary to the agreed practices... it is often a test of power, the newly gained power by workers who have hitherto been oppressed."

Under the circumstances three alternatives were open to the managerial groups. They could continue with old management styles including commandeerism and face the risk of lockouts. They could abdicate their supervisory roles altogether and face declines in production; or they could evolve new patterns of supervision without resorting to commandeerism. With the latter alternative they would succeed in maintaining and at times even raising productivity while at the same time enjoying smooth managerial-worker relations. The available evidence illustrates that all three options have been at work in varying degrees. It is true, however, that the second seems to have been the most favourite, resulting, as should be evident, in sacrificing efficiency and responsibility on both sides.

This alternative has been more rampant in the public service sectors,

i.e. non-commercial governmental and parastatal concerns. One needs only to visit a Ministry, the University, or any similar institution to see for oneself the sort of sluggishness, carelessness, negligence, etc., at work. It is a common problem now that some workers—and a good proportion at that—report to work an hour or two after the time they are supposed to arrive. At the University of Dar es Salaam, for example, it is common practice for a worker to report at 10.00 a.m. instead of 8.00 a.m. After about half an hour in the office he goes out for tea, which might take another half an hour and sometimes even more: then he leaves his office about half an hour before the closing time. The inefficiency of the D.M.T. is, of course, the excuse. The inefficiency of the D.M.T. city services is so well known that it needs little elaboration. But it is very doubtful whether it is correct to put all the blame on the busses. Moreover, the problems of delays apart, the spirit and tempo of work in most public offices is very disheartening to say the least.

We have not heard of lockouts or of "the laying down of pens" in any of these institutions. Does this mean that the administrative personnel in these sectors understands and therefore implements Clause 15 better, or does it mean that the same clause did not have the same impact it had on the workers in the industrial/commercial sectors? We would be mistaken to accept such assumptions. The truth is that the impact of Article 15 has perhaps been worse in the service sectors than it has been in the industrial/commercial establishments in terms of efficiency in role performance both by the workers and the administrators. The main, if not, the only, factor which has kept the ongoing inefficiency in these sectors from public attention is that inefficiency can be contained for quite a long time without bringing these institutions to a halt. There are not, as there are in the commercial sectors, measurement tools to evaluate the labour input. Hence, a typist may decide to work slowly, the messenger not to bring the files on demand, the telephone operator not to submit the calls immediately. The result is delays, and perhaps that is all, since the salaries will be paid. Of course, once it is found out that the work is piling up, the solution lies in recruiting more staff and thus raising the wage bill. The taxpayer is subsequently squeezed further without corresponding returns from his investment. In the last analysis, then, no one is held accountable for any of his failures.

The impact, therefore, of Article 15 of Mwongozo has been mainly that the administrator or the supervisor, sensitive to the pending scandals if he follows the old management styles of commandeerism, has decided to play it cool; because of the change, however, some workers have developed negative attitudes to work which have resulted in inefficiency. The problem with the public administrators is therefore not so much bureaucratism as it is a fear of bureaucratism, reflected in their irresponsiveness to the problems of inefficiency in their respective areas.

Can article 15 of Mwongozo be held responsible for this deteriorating situation? Some people have maintained that this is not the answer. It is my contention that the answer to the problem lies with the managerial-administrative personnel. The nature of the problems must be made clear,

Some workers have developed their present attitudes toward work not because they are inherently against their supervisors; nor is it true that they find pleasure in lying about idly in the offices. The reason is that the managerial-administrative personnel are not in a position to acquire supervisory styles other than the old ones. Because they have been deprived of their sanctioning powers, they too have abdicated their principal role of leadership.

It is clear that in order for us to develop socialist management patterns devoid of commandeerism and bureaucratism, the workers themselves should be aware of their roles and responsibilities and should have a respect for duty. Yet it cannot be hoped that a new outlook and a new commitment will evolve on their own. These have to be imparted. In most socialist countries this is a result of politicization as well as workers' education. In Tanzania, however, Mwongozo was not followed by a clear programme of politicizing the workers in the necessary attitudes. Moreover, given the present strength of the Party's financial and personnel resources and given its work load in other areas, it is clear that the Party could embark on such an undertaking only to a very limited extent.

Because of these limitations, it remains the responsibility of the managerial-administrative leadership, which has been entrusted with the responsibility of running socialist organs of development, to take practical measures of politicizing and educating the workers under their jurisdiction. One could here cite the case of the Urafiki Textile Mill, which has worked extensively in this regard. I believe it is the only one.

Yet, calling on the public service administrative-managerial cadres to champion workers' education and politicization is to beg another question: how qualified and prepared are they to undertake such measures? From one point of view it can be assumed that since most of these men are political appointees, they do understand our ideals and appreciate socialism as a developing strategy, including its emphasis on equality, human dignity and workers' emancipation. From another point of view, however, arising from the short post-Mwongozo experience, the commitment to socialist management styles of a good proportion of the high-ranking public officials is doubtful.

Yet, something must be done, for we cannot hope to rectify the present situation by sitting on the edge and looking on while the problems accumulate; nor can we afford to put up with the present inefficiency if we have to march forward, and march forward we must. The challenge, therefore, calls for immediate attention.

The Effect of Changes in the Tanzanian Public Service System upon Administrative Productivity, 1961-72

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In this paper we shall examine developments in the Tanzanian public service system since 1961 and assess their contribution to overall national development. We should, however, from the outset fix the boundaries of our discussion. First, what do we include under the term, "the Tanzanian public service"? For the purposes of this paper, we shall exclude all personnel who work in publicly owned institutions. We are, therefore, including only the civil servants in the traditional sense, not the many people who presently work in parastatal organizations. Secondly, we are not including Zanzibar; our references are only to the mainland.

In the following discussion we shall first review the characteristic features of the civil service at the time of Independence. We shall then attempt to catalogue some of the more critical changes which have taken place over the past ten years, and finally we shall comment on the contributions those changes have made to national development generally, and to the performance of the civil service in particular.

As in many other former British colonies in Africa, the Tanzanian civil service structure established in the early days of the colonial administration was founded on racial lines. The terms of service for Europeans were different and better than the terms of service for Asians, and the terms of service of the Asians were different and better than the terms of service for Africans. By 1961, however, the system of service based on race had been eliminated as a result of the Lidbury Commission's (1954) recommendation, which stated that grading and salary scales should be based upon responsibility rather than on race. The Lidbury Commission's report had not been a sudden development either, for in 1947 the Holmes Commission had rejected the principle of three separate terms of service, though not the idea of differential salary scales for the three racial groups.

At the time of Independence, the structure of the Tanganyikan public service was based on the Lidbury Commission's recommendations. Having rejected a racial basis for the terms of service, the Commission divided the service into field grades. These were: the Super Scale, the Professional and Administrative grade, the Technical and Executive, the Clerical, and finally the Subordinate Service grade. One feature of this service structure, as

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