Progress Comes with Production*

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At its conference two years ago TANU decided that priority should be given to the development of education, of rural medical facilities, and rural water supplies. This was an emphasis in keeping with the earlier policies of TANU and is in conformity with the Arusha Declaration. It also decided that there should be a massive attack on adult illiteracy. Any survey of such progress since 1971 must be presented in the context of the development of ujamaa villages and of increased production, especially agricultural production. For it is people living together in villages which enables the provision of better primary education, medical facilities and water supplies. And it is production which enables any service at all to be provided.

The importance of production cannot be overemphasized. The total value of the goods we produce as a nation is the total value of the goods we can consume now or invest in future production or in better services. There is no such thing as 'free' education, 'free' medical services, 'free' water supply. There is no such thing as 'free' agricultural advice, 'free' planning services, 'free' defence or 'free' administration. A teacher has to be paid whether fees are charged in school or not, and the number of teachers who can be paid—and therefore to a large extent the amount of education we can provide—depends upon the amount we, as residents of this country, are willing and able to pay to the Government in taxes for this purpose. But it is not really money which the teacher wants; he wants money so that he can buy food, clothes and shelter for himself and his family. To talk of giving him money is just to use shorthand. What we really mean is that the number of teachers we can employ to teach our children depends upon the amount of food, clothing and shelter (or things which can be exchanged for these goods) which are currently produced in this country.

These are simple and basic facts. Our 13,750,000 people can only consume or invest goods to the value of the goods they produce. Money represents goods, it has no value on its own. Therefore any report of our progress in carrying out the resolutions of the last TANU conference has to begin with a report of our progress in expanding our output, and particularly our agricultural output, because that is still by far the most important of our economic activities.

In assessing our progress, however, it must always be remembered that whatever we produce has to be divided between an increasing number of people every year. An extra 380,000 mouths are calling for food this year as against last year; it was the same the year before that and it will be the same

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next year. This means that before any of us can improve our standard of living, we as a nation have to increase our output by nearly three per cent every year even to maintain the standard of living we had in the past! If we do not increase our production of goods by at least three per cent a year the living conditions of every one of us will get worse; we shall have less food to eat, and a lower proportion of our children will go to school, and there will be more people waiting for the help of every medical worker. It is no use saying that these extra 380,000 people have hands as well as mouths. For the first ten years of their life, at the very least, children eat without producing; we as adults have therefore to increase our production accordingly.

That is a very relevant and important fact. If our national output increases by three per cent in a year then our annual income per head remains the same — it goes neither up nor down. If our output increases by 6 per cent in a year in real terms (that is in terms of goods produced), then we can, taken together, increase our consumption by only 3 per cent. Half of our extra efforts will have had to be devoted to the well-being of the extra population.

In practice, and as the Minister for Economic Affairs and Development Planning reported to Parliament, the increase in 1972 over 1971 was 5.3 per cent. In 1971 the increase was only 3.9 per cent over the previous year. This means the per capita income in our country increased in real terms by less than 1 per cent in 1971 and by about 2.3 per cent in 1972. But that is in total. What of our agricultural output—which still accounts for almost 40 per cent of our total Gross Domestic Product? Of course, the rate of growth of agricultural output depends very much upon the vagaries of the weather from year to year, and—in money terms—upon world price levels, which also fluctuate. But there is no doubt that our output is expanding. Cotton, which is in value our second largest single agricultural export, is being produced in increasing quantities. Thus, whereas in 1971 we sold 405,380 bales, in 1972 the figure was 437,850 bales. In 1973 the figure should be higher, although it is not yet possible to give other than partial estimates. Present signs are, however, that output will be reasonably good; and in Mara where a new seed is being used, there is a good chance that the output in the fields will be more than double that of last year. Whether this will all be harvested, transported, and put through the ginneries we have yet to see: great efforts are being made by the Region and the Ministry to make the necessary arrangements. In this connection let me pay tribute to the scientists and other workers at Ukiliguru Research Station who have produced better and better cotton seeds for us year by year. If all our farmers followed the advice of this Station as regards their methods of work as well as using the seed, our cotton production would be even higher.

Coffee production went up by more than 8 per cent between 1971 (which was a bad year) and 1972. Coffee Berry Disease continues to be a problem in certain crop areas; Government has now taken over the responsibility for financing the fight against this disease, and has imposed a coffee exports tax which will contribute to Government revenues while the world price is good. This is another case of providing a service from general revenues, and raising the money through taxes which vary according to current circumstances. In

other words, the service becomes 'free' to those receiving it, but it still has to be paid for by the country as a whole.

Tea production is also going up, although with this crop we are not reaching the target set out in the current Five Year Development Plan, tobacco production went up slightly, as did copra, and pyrethrum production virtually doubled, though it was still only just over 5,000 metric tons. Sisal production went down, as was expected and planned. Unfortunately it went down more than we had planned for, and we could not take full advantage of the high world prices which occurred earlier this year. We must get production back at least to the planned level; sisal is a difficult crop, which fluctuates in price considerably, but it is an important foreign exchange earner. We would do better to carry some reserve of unsold crop than again find ourselves unable to meet demand at a high price. Of course, there is a limit to possible expansion in any one year—a sisal plant takes longer than that to come into production —but production did go up in the first five months of 1973 compared with the same period last year. We must do everything possible to take advantage of these prices while they last.

In fact, over the last 12 months, there has been a slight general increase in the prices we obtained from our agricultural exports. Good prices were received for our cashew nuts, groundnuts, castor and other oil seeds; coffee prices also went up slightly. But these price increases are not sufficient to compensate for the increased prices of the manufactured and capital goods we need to buy with the foreign exchange we earn, much less to compensate us for the losses we suffered in the past when prices dropped to very low levels.

Further, some failures on our part have meant that we have had to buy basic foodstuffs on the world market while the prices are reasonably high. Thus, we had to buy more than 92,000 tons of maize in the 1971-1972 crop year and more than 48,000 tons in the 1972-1973 crop year because our own production dropped very heavily as against the record year of 1970-71 when we were able to export maize to Zambia. There is no excuse for this failure. In our huge and fertile country we should be exporting maize on a regular basis unless there is a widespread drought, which was not the case in the past two years. It is vital that we expand maize production quickly, and on a permanent basis. It is no use our talking about socialism and self-reliance if we cannot even use our resources of land and labour to produce enough basic foodstuffs for ourselves.

Sugar is another crop in which our earlier hopes of self-sufficiency were proved to be illusory. The fault in this case was in our planning: we did not anticipate the rate at which consumption would increase and were therefore much too cautious in our expansion programmes. Just what this means to our overall economic development can be gauged from two figures: the East African Annual Trade Report shows Tanzania as spending nearly Shs. 26 million in 1971, and over Shs. 72 million in 1972 on sugar imports—and this is all hard-earned foreign exchange.

Firm plans are now in hand to expand production of these crops, for we must not depend upon imports for our basic foodstuffs. We really ought not to

be importing dairy foods either, although it does take longer to build up adequate dairy herds of cattle than it does to plant and harvest enough of the basic cereals. To achieve the expanded output that we need, two things are of vital importance. They are first, modern, good husbandry techniques, and second, good organization. TANU has laid down the policy guidelines for both.

The paper *"Siasa ni Kilimo"* was published after the 1972 meeting of the National Executive in Iringa. It urges that farmers should: use the best available seeds, clean the ground properly, fertilize, plant early, weed thoroughly, spray against insects where necessary, harvest early, and store well. It also explains the importance of using the kind of improved tools which can be maintained (and sometimes made) by the local *fundi*, and which do not have heavy running costs. And it stresses the importance of cooperation between TANU leaders and the *Bwana Shamba* in each locality so as to spread modern practices as rapidly as possible. Very many seminars on *Siasa ni Kilimo* have been held for Party workers at different levels. The question we cannot yet answer, because only time will provide it, is whether the Party members who went to the seminars are putting enough efforts into getting the ideas of the paper accepted and put into practice. One thing, however, is encouraging: cooperation between the political workers and the trained agricultural and other civil servants has improved considerably since the decentralization policy was implemented. This is very important. For we must not get tired of working for increased output through better agricultural methods. Nor should we allow ourselves to get discouraged by slow progress; the important thing is that higher yields per acre should begin to be seen. And in fact, many of our ujamaa villages are beginning to improve output per acre. At present the improvement still tends to be, for example, an increase from 4 bags of maize an acre to 8 bags an acre, while the aim is to get 25 bags of maize from an acre. But it is a beginning, and an encouragement to make further effort.

In the use of fertilizers, we are making some progress. In 1971, 41,850 tons of fertilizer were distributed in Tanzania for use on our farms; in 1973 the estimate is 71,300 metric tons. It is also worth pointing out that whereas in 1971 all the fertilizer we used was imported, this year something like 45,500 tons out of the total will be local production. By next year it is hoped that we shall produce 100,000 tons of fertilizer—so there is plenty of room for expansion in our use even though we hope to export some of the fertilizer we manufacture. It should also be mentioned that we have natural fertilizers available wherever we keep herds of cattle or pigs or goats. This manure should be used; it costs nothing and is very powerful.

On the organization side we know the answer to the challenge of increasing agricultural output; and it is an answer which is both economic and socialist. It is to live together and work together for the good of all. In other words, to organize ourselves in ujamaa villages, producing and selling on a cooperative basis, and building for ourselves all the benefits of community living as regards education, water supply, medical services, etc.

UJAMAA VILLAGES

In March this year there were 5,628 ujamaa villages in Tanzania, with a total population of about 1,928,000. This means that nearly 15 per cent of our total population is now living in ujamaa villages—a tremendous development in the six years since 1967 when the policy paper *"Ujamaa Vijijini"* was adopted by the TANU conference at Mwanza. The development is naturally not taking place at a uniform speed throughout the country. In Dodoma and Mtwara Regions more than half the people are living in ujamaa villages; in the Masasi District in the south it is said that only 20 per cent of the population is now living outside them; in Kilimanjaro Region, on the other hand, there are up to now only 24 ujamaa villages, with a total population of about 5,000. Shinyanga, West Lake, Mwanza and Arusha are also backward in this respect, all having less than three per cent of their population living in ujamaa villages. In fact, 80 per cent of the people now living in ujamaa villages live in seven out of the 18 Regions—Mtwara, Dodoma, Coast, Iringa, Mara, Kigoma and Lindi. (Table on Page 539)

This variation in the speed of progress is to be expected; it is a reflection of our past history more than of present efforts. All the Regions in which progress is slow towards ujamaa village development are those in which either there is pressure on the land, or permanent crops cover most of the area, or individual cash crop production with selling through marketing cooperatives was well developed before the new policy was adopted. In such areas, therefore, people cannot often move to ujamaa villages on virgin land unless they move many miles away from home—as some people from Kilimanjaro have moved to Mpanda. Their only way forward is to create ujamaa farms out of their existing shambas, and thus destroy their present life structure before they can begin to build the new. In a few places people have begun to do this. They have pooled their coffee, or their tea, or they cashew trees, so that these now belong to the village as a whole. But although the movement has begun in a small way we should not underestimate the difficulty involved in this step, or the importance of it. It is one thing to leave a tiny, sun-baked, and waterless shamba in Dodoma District and move into a new village where water is, or soon will be, available and elementary medical and educational facilities are being constructed for the first time. It is another thing altogether to surrender to a new village the acre or so of coffee and banana trees from which you and your family have been earning a reasonable living, just with the hope that eventually you and your colleagues might, through cooperation, be able to build together a still better living. In the one case there is nothing to lose and a world to gain; in the other, all that has been gained in the past has to be risked for a future gain which is less clear than the simple provision of basic water, primary schooling and health facilities.

Acknowledging this truth does not mean that ujamaa villages are unnecessary in areas like Kilimanjaro. On the contrary, they provide a way out of the blind alley of development into which those areas are rapidly moving. For this is happening as coffee shambas are divided into even smaller plots and young

people have to travel throughout Tanzania looking for wage employment. But the facts do mean that peasants in such areas will need a greater ideological commitment before embarking on ujamaa village development. They mean that we have to make the change in a manner which will not cause a drop in production even during the transition period; they do mean that, even before they commit themselves, we have to help prospective villagers to understand the potential value of their working together by submitting economic plans for their consideration; and they do mean that we should think about making progress towards ujamaa through the practice of communal or cooperative small industries or services.

Kilimanjaro Region has recognized the special needs, and special potential, of the area and has produced a very commendable set of guidelines which outline the manner in which it will be approaching ujamaa in the Region. These examples could well be followed by other areas which had made a little economic progress on the basis of individual production in pre-1967 days, or which have special land shortage problems. For the people in such areas should not be expected to accept even a temporary reduction in their present living standards, or in their expectations. They may be well off compared with some people in other parts of Tanzania, but they are certainly not rich in any real sense. And in any case it is not only for their sake that we must avoid actions which would reduce production even during a transition period. The nation as a whole cannot afford to lose any of the annual contribution which these areas now make to our foreign exchange resources through the sale of cotton, coffee, tea, or tobacco, etc.

In the meantime, faster progress is possible, and is being made, in many other areas of the country. Operation Dodoma is in its third phase this year, with a further mass movement into ujamaa villages planned and now taking place. Operation Kigoma is in its second year, and some 43 new villages are expected to be established. In Chunya District, the District Development Committee is organizing its own Operation—thus setting an example for other areas—and about 5,000 families are expected to move to ujamaa villages this year. Other Operations are being prepared in Mwanza, Mara and Coast Regions; their success will depend, as in all other cases, upon the amount of work which is done to prepare the people politically so that the people can establish themselves quickly when they have moved.

The question of the appropriate size of ujamaa villages is an interesting one, and with the great variation which now exists it is obvious that the details of their organization must also vary. Some of our present villages, in Rufiji and Dodoma, for example, are possibly now too big to allow for easy and productive cooperation among all members of the village and there is therefore a danger that cooperative production will be inefficient and slow to develop. But in such cases the village can be divided into production teams, each with their own land, own economic target and economic self-management, with cooperation between the production teams for planning, selling, and common village services.

Some of the other of our present villages are still too small to support the kind of social and public services to which all *wajamaa* rightly aspire. Already, in a few cases, nearby villages have merged their planning and marketing operations without necessarily moving their residence, and it may be necessary to do more of that. Indeed three, four or even five small nearby villages can become a single economic unit with a shared school, dispensary, store, etc. This may be the easiest way of combining economic efficiency with real equality and cooperation. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that of the 18 villages selected as the best in their Region in 1973, 15 not only started very small, but still have less than 100 active adult members. Like all good villages, however, these are still growing.

The other matter on which there is great variation among the 5,628 ujamaa villages which now exist is the amount of communal activity within them. Some are still little more than places where people live near each other, or are border villages in the extreme south, where the emphasis is on co-operation for defence against possible Portuguese incursions. The ultimate objective in every ujamaa village is, of course, that all economic activities shall be carried on communally, with the people working as a single cooperative unit. As "*Ujamaa Vijijini*" puts it, "The land farmed would be called 'our land' by all the members; the crops they produced on that land would be 'our crops', it would be 'our shop' which provided individual members with the day-to-day necessities from outside; 'our workshop' which made the bricks from which houses and other buildings were constructed, and so on." But this objective can only be reached at the end of a long process of gradually expanding cooperative production. What matters at the beginning is the commitment to establish ujamaa; if people feel reluctant to produce their food crops in common when they first form the village, then let them start with their cash crops. If they are accustomed to farming even their cash crops individually, then let them in addition start a communal cash crop shamba for village income during the first year—but giving it priority in effort—and then gradually expand it as the members realize the advantages of working together on a planned basis. At present we have a few villages where everything is done communally, and the only private cultivation is that of a small plot actually around and between the houses. This is used to grow flowers, or tomatoes and other vegetables for relish, or to keep a few fowls with which energetic village members supplement their diet from scraps. Much more common at present, however, is a combination of private and communal shambas, with the proportions varying according to the length of time the village has been established. And what is important is not the proportion between cooperative and private activity at any particular time; it is the movement over time towards cooperative production. Generally speaking, this is taking place, though at varying speeds, often depending upon local leadership. As already noted, in a few instances we now even have examples of people merging their private tea, coffee, or cashew plots and transferring ownership to the ujamaa village, because they have seen the advantage of building a community with a strong economic base for the benefit and security of all members.

By March 1973, 342 ujamaa villages had been registered as multi- purpose cooperative societies. All of these will have advanced far along the road to cooperative production, and be fairly well-established. Their registration under the cooperative laws is the only way at present that we can give these villages a legal status: we have recognized that the cooperative legislation is not really appropriate, and comprehensive legislation covering ujamaa villages is being prepared. This will give a corporate entity to all villages in their different stages of development; in the meantime the Rural Land Planning and Utilization Act will enable the Government to designate land for ujamaa villages, and overcome a problem which has affected some villages.

Cooperative production is, however, not the only feature which should distinguish an ujamaa village. We have also accepted that through a combination of village self-help and Government assistance these villages should make faster progress towards the provision of a primary school, a dispensary, and clean water supplies. Comprehensive statistics have not been compiled which would show how many of the present ujamaa villages do have all or any of these services. Certainly ujamaa villages get priority in the allocation of Government money and skilled personnel for the development of schools, dispensaries, water supplies, agricultural advice, and so on. And progress is being made, though not enough to justify any complacency.

In Dodoma Region, for example, out of the 336 villages which existed in March 1973, 225 had a clean water supply; 294 had a primary school; 89 had dispensaries, and 14 had a small industry of some kind. In Rufiji District, out of the 61 villages, 30 had a clean water supply; 30 had a primary school; 25 had a dispensary; and there were two with a village industry. As most of the villages in these two areas were established as part of an 'Operation' with above average level of planning and assistance by Government Ministries, their record is likely to be above that for most other places. This gives some indication of the great amount of work which yet has to be done by the combined efforts of the people's self-help and the Government's finance and organizational assistance. Even so, anyone now visiting ujamaa villages gets impressed by the signs of progress. There are new roads or bridges, a new store, a school or a first aid post or a cooperative shop in most of them, usually built by the people with some help in money or skill from the Government. This assistance from outside the village now usually comes through the Regional Development Fund or the activities of various national institutions like the Rural Development Bank, which in turn have been receiving their money either from taxation revenues or friendly foreign countries, or both.

And when assessing progress in our ujamaa villages we have to recognize that there is inevitably always a settling in period, when people re-establish themselves after moving and create the infrastructures of the village, and do the planning. It also has to be remembered that most of our villages are very young. The biggest expansion in numbers took place only during 1971, so that the villagers have hardly had time to settle down and organize themselves. Indeed, we must be careful that in our concern to collect figures and information

we do not distract people from the urgent work of creating the production and the public facilities which we want particulars about!

There are, however, just two further points to make on this matter. First, although we have naturally and rightly emphasized agricultural production as the basis for ujamaa living, this is not the beginning and the end of the question. There are Ranching Associations which endeavour to apply ujamaa principles to the production of beef and other animals. And there can be ujamaa industrial units, where the people earn their cash (even if they produce their own food) by manufacturing or making goods which are needed in this country or elsewhere. Further, every village which is based on agriculture can, in the course of time, also have its own village industry, where it produces pots, or furniture, or makes burnt bricks or clay tiles or anything else which is useful to themselves or for which there is a nearby market. But local initiative is vital. Thus, for example, it is absurd that we should build our village houses with expensive cement blocks instead of making our own burnt bricks in the villages—this is a skill which is well within the capacity of villagers everywhere. Nor is there any reason why we should depend so much upon imported iron sheets for roofing our modernized houses when we could produce roof tiles from our own clay. Production of these kinds would give an industry to many villages in different parts of the country, enable us to spread good modern houses more widely at a fast rate, and be more consistent with our policies of self-reliance than our present practices.

The National Executive earlier this year decided that more emphasis should now be given to the expansion of small-scale industries, particularly in the ujamaa villages, and has laid down policy guidelines for the Government and people to follow. As a beginning, the Government is now working out plans to give training for village members in different skills. This will be done through the Small Industries Corporation, through the National Service, and through seminars and courses organized by rural training centres or by mobile training units. The new Board of Internal Trade should also, in due course, be able to help organize marketing of village production which is surplus to local needs.

The second point is that we must never forget that our policy has twin aspects—socialism and self-reliance, both. Fortunately there is now less persuading of people to enter ujamaa villages by making them promises of services and facilities which cannot in fact be provided by or through Government. That is the right trend, and must be continued until no false promises are made at all! People must be helped to understand that they will get the better services in the ujamaa villages because they will be able to work together to create them; it must be with this understanding that they join.

As another aspect of self-reliance, we must help villagers to plan in such a way that they can develop to the maximum without heavy inputs of capital from outside. For example, when a village is planning to base its long-term prosperity on crops which take years to mature, they should ensure that in the meantime they are producing their own food, and perhaps some short-term cash crops which will tide them over. As far as possible we should avoid having

people rely upon loans for consumption while they wait for their plans to mature, and certainly this should never extend beyond one season. This does not mean that credit to a village is a bad thing; it is much better if *wajamaa* can get a small regular cash payment rather than wait until the annual cash crop payments are received. Indeed, the absence of pocket money is a real problem for some villages, and causes young men to go outside the village to work for cash even at the periods when their labour is most needed. Nor is there any difference in advancing credit to a village for this purpose or in advancing 'working capital' to a new industry, which we do all the time. The only problem is the general shortage of credit. This means that over the first few years, villages should seek to build up a reserve of money from which they can eventually make monthly payments to their members in the same way as they build up a store of maize and distribute it weekly through the year.

At the same time, we must help our ujamaa villages to think very carefully before embarking on any project which involves heavy long-term debts—say for a tractor, or a lorry—whether to the Cooperative, or the Rural Development Bank or any other organization. Some debts are good; the capital goods purchased with the money raised enable the village to increase its outputs by eliminating a bottleneck in the production cycle; or they relieve the members by providing a simple machine to replace hours of intolerable drudgery and thus enable more productive work to be done. But debts incurred for the wrong purposes, or ill-considered in relation to the priorities and the overall plans, can kill a village by eating up all the returns in interest payments or high running costs. We should not be afraid of borrowing for necessary purposes; but we should always do it after very careful consideration of the liabilities we shall be incurring, and of any possible cheaper and simpler alternative method of meeting our real needs.

DECENTRALIZATION

This fact, that there is a political as well as an economic purpose to the policy of *ujamaa vijijini*, must always be taken into account when assessing progress. Increased production on a communal basis in these villages is important because of the greater well-being which it will enable the people to enjoy. But at least equally important is the fact that only through such socialist villages can the people really control their own lives, that is, be free in the full sense of the word.

The July 1972 decentralization of administration from Central Government to the Regions and Districts is an attempt to extend the reality of this village self-government, in accordance with the decision made at the last TANU Conference. For the greater the extent to which people can decide on things which directly affect their own lives, the more they can really develop themselves and enjoy that self-respect and dignity which is the point of all our activities. That is the whole purpose of the decentralization exercise. We believe it will enable the people in the villages and rural towns to make their own decisions to the maximum extent possible, enable quicker decisions to be made on matters which have a District or Regional implication; assist integrated development and planning along the lines most desired by the people of the different areas concerned; and give maximum flexibility in the development of socialism. It is not necessary in this report to explain again the extent to which decentralization has been carried out, or the organizational structures at the different levels. Nor should it be necessary to comment upon the power which has been given to the local people, operating through active and democratic TANU branches and offices. What is important is to stress that the people's power will be a reality precisely to the extent that TANU in a particular village, Division, or District, is well organized, well led, and committed to the service of the people in accordance with the ideals of our Party and the principles laid down in the Arusha Declaration. It is the Party machinery which the people have to use to make their decisions effective, and to control the activities of the civil servants entrusted with the task of assisting them in their development. And it is the Party which has the responsibility of educating the people about their powers in these matters, and about the need for all the steps towards ujamaa living and working. Only when the Party leadership at all levels is aware of these tasks, and learning all the time how to carry them out better, will the possibilities which are inherent in the policy of ujamaa be made into realities. Decentralization gives a great deal of local power. How it operates, and whether it is used to the maximum benefit of the people, is the responsibility of the local Party leadership.

PRIMARY EDUCATION

One of the spheres in which day-to-day administration and prepartion of development plans has been transferred to the Regions and Districts is primary-school education. In this as in other spheres affected by decentralization, every Region has to act within the framework of general policies laid down by TANU and Government. Thus, it is still possible to work on a national basis for the implementation of the TANU National Conference decision of 1971, that priority should be given to the development of education, water supplies, and medical services in the rural areas.

Progress has accordingly been made in all these fields. In 1971, 902,600 children were attending primary school; by 1973 the figure had gone up to 1,192,500, an increase of 32 per cent. That is a very good result. But we should not allow it to blind us to the facts; we are still a very long way from solving our problem of primary-school education even in terms of numbers. For the actual intake of children to primary schools (that is the number entering Standard 1) is still, now in 1973, only about 48.6 per cent of the number of seven year old children in the country. And this percentage is improving by only about one per cent a year at the present time, which means that if we do not speed up our rate of expansion it will be the year 2034 before all our seven year old children enter school. We will return to this point.

What we have been concentrating on in the past two years is wiping out the barrier which has faced many children in the rural areas at the end of

Standard IV. In this we have made some progress, and Standard V enrolment has been increasing rapidly. In 1970 there were 88,634 pupils in Standard V; in 1971, 102,608 pupils, and in 1972, 116,461. (The actual figures for 1973 are unfortunately not yet available; it is expected that about 130,000 pupils will be enrolled in Standard V). But, and this point must be stressed, the enrolment capacity, that is the number of places available, is very much higher than the actual enrolment almost throughout the primary school system and including Standard V. In 1972 there were more than 20,000 vacant places in Standard V, taking the country as a whole. Indeed, if every available place in Standard V had been used in 1972, only 1,761 children would have been unable to find a place. For in 1971, the number of children actually enrolled in Standard IV was 138,246; in 1972 the available places in Standard V totalled 136,485. In 1973 every child enrolled in Standard IV the previous year could have been given a place in Standard V; for in 1972 the actual enrolment in Standard IV was 144,139; the capacity in Standard V in 1973, 162,360 places. (This Standard V capacity is well in excess of the Second Five Year Plan target, which called for 127,800 places in 1973).

Of course, these are nation-wide figures. Some of the school places in Standard V or Standard I may be in the wrong area, with excess capacity in one village or town and insufficiency in another, which, as virtually all primary schools are now day schools, precludes maximum use. But in any case, this is a problem which is fast disappearing. The real problem now is the attendance throughout the primary schools once the children have been enrolled. Look again at the 1973 Standard I figure, where only 48.6 per cent of the age group is in school. For the actual capacity is such that if every available school place was filled, some 55.6 per cent of the seven year old age group would be at school. And on the first day of a school year virtually every place in Standard I is taken; the enrolment figures given are those after six months of the school year have passed. We must ask ourselves why there is this big wastage, first in Standard I and then throughout the primary school? For the wastage does continue. This can be illustrated by the fact that whereas in 1967 there were 155,196 children enrolled in Standard I, by 1970 there were only 138,485 of them in Standard IV, and by 1973 only about 100,000 of these children were still at school. This is a very serious matter, to which TANU members throughout the country must give great attention. In the hope of reducing the wastage, Government has decided, as was announced by the Minister for Finance in his Budget speech, to abolish primary school fees. But it must be questioned whether this is the whole answer. For it appears that some children who are enrolled on the first day of a new school year drop out before the end of it, regardless of the fact that the fees had probably been paid. It must also be remembered that Government instructed some years back that no child should be expelled from school because fees had not been paid. Local TANU branches must look into this question. They must find out from their local school whether the wastage occurs there and at what level, and must then take the responsibility of visiting the parents of enrolled or eligible children to persuade them against depriving their son or daughter of this opportunity.

Primary school education is not compulosry in this country, but it is absurd for us to devote huge amounts of money to providing primary school places if in the end they are not used. Such resources could be profitably diverted to other purposes. And it is particulary bad for one selected child to keep out another (because there are not enough places for all), and then to give up the place when it is too late for the unlucky child to use it.

ADULT EDUCATION

School education of our children is, however, only one aspect of our fight against ignorance in Tanzania. And in 1971 we set ourselves a new target, the eradication of illiteracy throughout the country by the end of 1975. It is too early to say whether or not we will succeed in reaching that goal, but it is quite certain that great strides have been made towards it during the past two years. The organization for teaching literacy and other basic subjects has been established under the direction of the Ministry of National Education, and is operating throughout the country. There are now something like 70,000 people teaching others to read and write, or about politics, or health, or agriculture, or arithmetic, or Swahili or English. And 2,893,850—or nearly three million—people were in May 1973 enrolled in these classes. This figure can be compared with that of April last year when 1,555,000 people had signed up for classes; and in April 1971 there were less than 750,000 registered students. Enrolment has, in other words, increased by 386 per cent in two years—and all those adult students need books and paper and pencils as well as teaching. This is a very impressive achievement, and the figures show that we are still gaining momentum. At present more than 2,000,000 of the total number of enrolled students have registered themselves for literacy classes. But they are all learning other things at the same time. For, quite apart from the self-confidence which comes with having a literacy skill for the first time, the use of work-oriented literacy textbooks means that simultaneously these adult students are learning about the better methods of growing rice, cotton or maize or about child care or politics. Incidentally, it is interesting to notice that in literacy classes, as well as others, more women than men attend regularly until they have achieved the basic skills, despite the fact that Tanzanian women in the rural areas work so much harder than men do. Indeed, there are on average 13 women at adult education classes for every ten men, although the proportion of women to men in Tanzania is only 105 women to 100 men.

We must use these facts and figures to encourage us to even greater efforts. For we could do more. Primary school teachers, and self-employed ex-Standard VII villagers who volunteer a certain number of hours teaching a week, have provided the backbone for our achievements so far. Without their efforts the position would be very different, and they deserve our thanks and our congratulations. The response to the appeal for adult teachers has, however, generally been smaller from students in secondary and post-secondary schools, and from people employed in the offices of Government and parastatal organizations. Further, and this is particulary saddening, TANU and TYL

leaders could do more than they have been doing to help make the campaign a success. Time and again the people teaching adults in the villages and towns report that they need more support from the Party leaders in encouraging people to enrol, and especially in encouraging students to maintain the attendance once they have begun a course. It is vital that TANU leaders should cooperate in this matter; because when we pass resolutions we should be committing ourselves to more work, not just demanding more from others. And there is a lot which TANU leaders can do, quite apart from attending classes themselves either as students or teachers. For the intention to learn to read and write is the beginning of literacy, and a very big beginning. But learning is hard work, and for weeks at a time attending classes after a long day's work has been done is a very difficult thing to do. The enthusiasm of adult students, therefore, needs to be reinforced by the constant and personal interest and encouragement of TANU and TYL leaders. Then, however hard they find the learning process, the students will maintain their confidence in their ability to acquire the knowledge by persistent effort, and will continue to attend the classes they have enrolled for.

To sum up: we have made a very good beginning on our adult education campaign. But if we are to be able to show by the end of 1975, that illiteracy has ceased to be a major problem in Tanzania, then we have no time to lose. TANU branches and Ten Cell leaders have to check, first that there are everywhere enough literacy teachers, that the necessary books have arrived, and that the organization of adult classes is working well; second, that the enrolment includes all those who are illiterate whatever their age; and third, that once a person has enrolled, attendance is maintained on a regular basis until they have mastered the skill concerned. All these things require commitment and leadership from TANU. For people cannot be forced to learn or to keep trying despite difficulties. They have to be helped. And helping the people to develop themselves is the responsibility of every TANU leader.

HEALTH SERVICES

As regards health services also, progress has been made towards implementing TANU's 1971 resolution. The financial allocation to the Ministry of Health for both development and recurrent expenditure has been greatly increased. And within that increased allocation a change of emphasis in the expenditure pattern now reflects TANU's intention that priority be given to services in the rural areas.

Thus, in the Financial Year 1971/72, the Ministry of Health was allocated only Shs. 4,385,000/- for development and Shs. 154,520,000/- for recurrent expenditure. In the current financial year the comparable figures are Shs. 58,000,000/- in development expenditure and Shs. 205,693,000/- for recurrent expenditure. This is an increase of 1,223 per cent in the development allocation, although it must be admitted that 1971-1972 was a very low year of health development expenditure, so that the increase over 1970-1971 was 163 per cent, still a sizeable figure. For recurrent expenditures, the increase between

1971 and 1973 was 33 per cent. The way in which the money for health services was spent in the different years also illustrates our greater determination to serve the people where they are—in the rural areas. Taking development expenditure first, Shs. 1,447,000/- was given over to the development of rural health centres and dispensaries in 1971/72 but in 1973/74 the figure was Shs. 19,147,000/-. And whereas only Shs. 570,000/- (or 13 per cent of the total) was devoted to training and manpower development in 1971/72, the current figure is Shs. 28,840,000/- which will be 48 per cent of the total health development expenditure. The money spent on developing new and improved hospital and ancillary services (these are things like laboratories) has also increased in amount over the two years, that is, from Shs. 2,280,000/- to Shs. 8,700,000/-. But whereas the 1971/72 expenditure on hospitals, etc., constituted 52 per cent of the total for the Ministry, 60 per cent of that being spent on Muhimbili hospital in Dar es Salaam, by 1973/74 the proportion was very different. In this current financial year hospitals receive only 15 per cent of the total health development allocation, and most of that will be spent on District hospitals outside Dar es Salaam.

Similar big changes can be seen in the Ministry of Health recurrent expenditure pattern. Whereas in 1971/72, Shs. 8,300,000/- was spent on running dispensaries, the figure has increased to Shs. 25,443,000/- for this current financial year. And spending on rural health centres has gone up from Shs. 8,538,000/- to Shs. 14,198,000/- over the same period. The other big increase is an indication of planning for the future; recurrent expenditure on training and manpower increased by more than 106 per cent over the two years, from Shs. 4,767,000/- in 1971/72 to Shs. 9,857,000/- in 1973/74. The effect of this increased expenditure on health services does not yet show properly in terms of service to the masses, because this primarily depends on the existence of trained people. But the number now undergoing training for future service has increased quite dramatically. Thus, for example, 201 people began training as medical assistants this year, whereas only 115 did so in 1971; and 338 people began training as rural medical aids in 1973 as against 124 in 1971. But all training takes time. Before a medical assistant can begin work he has to have three years of training after a Form Four education; a rural medical aid needs three years of training after Standard VII. The current increase in the training of nurses will also take time to show, because a Grade A nurse has four years of training after Form Four, and a Grade B nurse has three years after Standard VII (plus one year midwifery in some cases). In the meantime however, the number of rural health centres and dispensaries is increasing year by year. In 1971 we had 87 rural health centres; by the end of this year we expect to have 135. And whereas we had 1,445 dispensaries in 1971, we should have 1,594 operating by the end of the 1973 financial year. It may be of course, that in a few cases full staffing will present a problem for a while. But Government believes that all of these facilities can be operated as they become available, even if without the optimum number of trained staff members at the beginning.

However, two things are involved in the real efficiency of our health

services. The first of these is the people's understanding of the importance of certain basic health practices, like drinking clean (and if necessary boiled) water, keeping food free from flies and under good conditions, using deep pit latrines, and eating a nutritious diet. All these things are within the power of our people even at our present level of poverty. For they do not demand wealth, only knowledge and care. Earlier this year the campaign *Mtu ni Afya* (Man is Health) was aimed at spreading this kind of awareness and health knowledge. Before the campaign started, a whole series of seminars, aimed at training 750,000 discussion group leaders, were held at different levels. Two specially written textbooks were distributed for the estimated 2,000,000 students, and radio programmes were put out to coincide with the discussion group meetings held between May and August. The total cost of the campaign was about Shs. 1,450,000/-, plus the paper for the 2,000,000 copies of textbooks; all of this was received as a gift from Sweden. The results will be seen over time; if all the people who participated in the discussion groups, read the books, or listened to the radio, do in fact practise what they have learned, then we should shortly see a considerable improvement in the health of our people. But we must make sure that we maintain these practices; good health needs guarding throughout our life, not just in the immediate aftermath of a campaign.

The second major factor in the usefulness of Tanzania's health services is the dedication and efficiency of the workers in our hospitals, rural health centres, dispensaries and laboratories. We must face up to the fact that there are a lot of complaints about the service given and some of these complaints are justified. Some nurses make no effort to help confused and frightened patients, or ignore the sick while they have long private conversations. Some doctors are not exactly on time in opening their clinics but very quick to close them, and some can reasonably be suspected of devoting their energy to carrying on a private practice on the sly. Some laboratory staff allow specimens to get mixed up, or fail to return the report to the doctor. Some administrators fail to see that the equipment is kept serviced and medical records are kept in good order. This last is a particularly bad problem even if it is not so noticeable to the patients. For it frustrates the best of our skilled medical staff as well as wasting the money we have spent on equipment. All these things happen, and our people naturally and rightly complain about them. Such attitudes are contrary to the purposes of our movement and our nation, which is service to the people. We must begin to consider whether some stronger discipline is not needed against persistent offenders.

But there is another side to the story. Our medical staff are all overworked and frequently lack good facilities and good equipment. Their conditions of work very often cause frustration and irritation, particularly as some patients treat the medical workers as if they were less than human. Some of these difficulties can only be overcome as we are able to devote still more resources for better health service buildings, and for new equipment. But some of the problems could be solved by more intelligent use of the medical facilities we now have. Take, for example, the long wait which people experience in some

dispensaries. At least some of this waiting is because, in towns at any rate, people attend a dispensary if they just have a headache or the very slightest temperature. They do not buy themselves an aspirin, or go to bed early to see if they feel better next day, but demand attention from our doctors and nurses when these really ought to be looking after more seriously ill people. Sometimes people waiting in a dispensary or hospital even complain about favouritism if the nurses immediately take a bad accident case in to see the doctor! There are always two sides to a good relationship. Some nurses and doctors may be failing to give the service we expect of them; but many are working extremely hard and selflessly for the benefit of our health and well-being. We as TANU leaders should rightly see that the former individuals are corrected; but we should also be careful to ensure that justice is done to those who are working hard in our service under very difficult conditions.

There is one other matter to which we should pay some attention. In the Ten Year Report to TANU in 1971 I said that the Ministry of Health should put more emphasis on rural services and on preventive work. As I have already explained, this change is taking place. We must determine to maintain this national policy and not again be tempted by offers of a big new hospital, with all the high running costs involved— at least until every one of our citizens has basic medical services readily available to him. But planning for the next five years is now being initiated in the towns, villages, and Districts of the country, and it appears that the reason for this stress, and its implications, needs to be more widely understood. For practically every District is indicating that demands will be coming forward for new or enlarged curative services, for better hospitals or for large health centres. Virtually no area has so far proposed that new preventive medical services should be established, or stressed the need for large numbers of small dispensaries and first aid posts. Let us remember in our local planning, as well as nationally, that it is much better not to get malaria, or bilharzia, or tuberculosis, than to be cured from them after considerable suffering and danger, and then let us act accordingly. A lead in this matter must now be given by TANU leaders at the local level, for this is where planning for the future is now being initiated.

WATER SUPPLIES

One very important factor in maintaining good health is of course a constant and adequate supply of clean water for drinking, washing and cleaning. This has been, and still is, a real problem for the mass of our people, especially in the rural areas where women often carry pots of water on their heads for miles every day after they have collected it from muddy streams or holes. We have been making some little progress on the provision of new water supplies in the rural areas, although we are certainly not yet going fast enough. In the past two years the Ministry of Water Development and Power has completed 757 water schemes in the rural areas, bringing clean water to about 600,000 people at a cost of approximately Shs. 60 million. This compares with 312 water schemes, at a total construction cost of about Shs. 40 million and serving about 400,000 people, in the two previous years. In addition, 187

wells and seven other water supply points, at a money price of some Shs. 350,000/- have been provided during 1971-1973 through self-help projects by funds from the Community Development Trust. This is in addition to other small water schemes built by the people themselves without outside financial assistance, or with assistance in the form of a pump or expert help coming through regional funds, or voluntary agencies, or other private organizations like Oxfam. Those are good figures. They are something to be proud of. But they are also a demonstration of how much further we have to go before all our people have this basic necessity—adequate clean water.

The distribution of this water development over the country as a whole showed some concentration on the areas of most urgent need, and some correlation with the development of ujamaa villages. Thus, for example, of the 757 Government rural schemes since 1971, 185 were completed in Dodoma Region and another 88 in Singida Region; out of the 312 rural water schemes in 1969 and 1970, 57 were in Dodoma, and 38 in Singida. Both of these are dry and difficult areas where water provision creates more of a revolution in the lives of people than any other single activity could do. There is obviously very much more to do even in these two Regions, but Government now has plans for a big effort to extend the programme to other Regions also. New emphasis will be given to Masasi and Kigoma, both areas where many ujamaa villages still lack water, and there is a major programme for Handeni. We are also hoping to expand water supplies in Mtwara, Lindi, in the cotton regions of Lake Victoria, and in the tobacco areas of Tabora and Chunya.

Do not let us imagine, however, that it is always easy to provide clean water, especially in the dry places. In Dodoma Region during 1971-1973, 177 out of the total schemes, and in Singida Region 84 out of the total had to be boreholes. Indeed, taking the country as a whole, 528 out of the 757 Ministry schemes involved the drilling of boreholes; and boreholes take time, are not always successful in producing good water, and require expensive imported machinery. In fact the new fast drilling rigs (each of which can do work in five days which takes the older type nine months) cost Shs. 1.5 million each! Even the old type cost Shs. 150,000/- each. So far, we have imported four of the new ones; we are planning to get more, if possible with some external aid, but otherwise at the sacrifice of some other needed import. There is another factor involved in the use of such expensive machinery, and in the drilling of boreholes, and that also is a present problem for us. It is the need for skilled manpower. Whenever we buy rigs from abroad, we insist that a person is sent to help Tanzanians understand how to use them properly. But that does not provide a full answer. Before a man is really skilled in making boreholes, so that we can leave the whole job under his charge, he will have gone through a local training course lasting five years (or its equivalent), quite apart from learning about the particular make of the machine. Skilled manpower shortage is thus a continuing problem in expanding the provision of rural water supplies and we still need to use people from overseas. So far we have been receiving manpower help particularly from Sweden, Holland, Denmark and Germany and we are also beginning to get some help from India. Indeed, even for the

proper maintenance of village pumps, hydraulic rams, or windmills, we have a manpower problem at the moment, as well as a spares problem. We have found that all too often the pump does not get properly looked after because of ignorance—it is never oiled, or rough treatment causes some part to break. To help deal with such disasters—for this is a disaster to a village—we are planning two things. First, we are proposing to begin the training of a member of those villages which have a pump, so that he understands the need for regular greasing and knows how to do minor repairs. And second, we are planning to increase our stocks of spare parts for the equipment in common use.

Another problem affecting this Ministry's success, as that of so many others, is transport. The rigs are mobile; they have to be kept in good order. But even for more simple schemes, pumps and pipes have to be transported to remote areas over poor roads, and all too often inadequately maintained lorries break down, thus causing a hold up in the work. We are trying to simplify the maintenance problem by standardizing the transport equipment used. But ultimately we come back to an old problem—the proper use of lorries, vans and cars by our drivers, and the care and devotion to duty of our maintenance workers. Few of us could claim that these things always happen. Everyone sees lorries being driven at breakneck speed, even regardless of the state of the road or the safety of other road users; everyone sees lorries leaving their depots with black smoke pouring from them or great rattling noises coming from their engines or chassis—both sure signs of lack of maintenance and imminent breakdown. We must correct this appalling waste of the equipment we buy at such heavy cost. TANU members in particular have a special responsibility to take note of such carelessness; and if they work in garages, or drive trucks, they must provide for their workmates an example of the kind of meticulous care in mechanical and driving operations which is necessary for our development.

The really important thing about the development of rural water supplies in Tanzania, is, however, the extent to which these are being extended through self-help activity. For although boreholes have to be provided through the Ministry of Water Development and Power they are only necessary when there is no surface water nearby which can be tapped, or when the water table is low. In the vast majority of cases, therefore, the ujamaa villagers themselves, often together with other people in the area, work to provide their own clean water supplies and get the finance for pipes, tanks and pumps either from the Regional Development Funds, from the Community Development Trust Fund, or even by collecting among themselves. A few examples will illustrate the different types of activity involved.

In Lupembe Village in Njombe District the people have built a dam to collect water from a nearby swamp, dug trenches for a pipe to carry the pumped water to a storage tank, and from there to the village, and on to the shamba so that surplus water can be used for the crops. This village provides a good example of cooperation between the people, the Ministry which drew up the plans, and the Community Development Trust Fund which provided

Shs. 40,000/- for the pipes, pump, and tank. In Same District the villagers of Manka-Mbaga also received technical advice: they then themselves installed a gravity feed system which brings water from a hill not too far away through two pipelines to the village and the school. In Tanga Region there is a joint scheme involving six ujamaa villages, where the people are through self-help digging trenches from the Wami River to Mkata, and then through different pipelines to the respective villages. This scheme will provide permanent water to replace the unreliable wells which these villagers had previously dug for themselves. The scheme is not yet complete; when it is finished more than 20 miles of trenches will have been dug. The pipes and pumps are being paid for by Regional Development Funds. In Ruvuma Region, seven villages around Peramiho are working to tap water from a common source about seven miles from Peramiho and bring it to their respective villages through pipelines—again provided by Regional Development Funds.

In Mara Region nearly 20 miles of trenches are now being dug by voluntary labour to take water which is already pumped from the Lake to the TPDF camp at Kiabakari to a high point above Butiama village and from thence in one branch towards Bisarye Ujamaa Village and another to Bumangi. And as a final example, there is the Tomoko project in Kondoa, under which water will be brought 77.6 miles from the hills to the dryer regions in the south of the District. Hundreds of people are involved every day on this work, and progress is very good. The response of the people in all these, and the hundreds of other projects, is magnificent. All that is required is leadership from TANU, and sometimes expert advice from the Ministry. If these are made available to the people there is no reason why our rate of improvement in rural water supply cannot be even bettered.

CONCLUSION

This report has referred only to action taken by Government to fulfil specific decisions of the last TANU Conference, and to the progress made. It is not a report on all the activities of the Government. Nor is it a report on TANU activities as such; that will be presented by the Executive Secretary on behalf of the Central Committee. Yet it has tried to indicate those areas where TANU members themselves could have done more, or could do more in the future, to help in the implementation of the 1971 Coast Region resolutions. For, if we are to carry out our intentions of development, Government and TANU should be separate only as the arms and legs of a body are separate. If a load is to be carried from one place to another, then body, arms and legs, all have to work together. So it should be with people, TANU, and Government. None can be thoroughly effective in its own task without activity from the others. Already there is a great deal of TANU/Government action and interlocking activity. But we need still more cooperation. For our national progress depends upon a real combination of skilled, efficient, and dedicated workers provided through Government, through TANU. The old slogan "It can be done: play your part" is still applicable to us in 1973.

Table 1–

VILLAGE STATISTICS

Region	*Number of Villages*				*Number of Villagers*			*Percentage population in villages*	*Average size of villages in 1972*
	Dec.	*Dec.*	*Dec.*	*March*	*Dec.*	*Dec.*	*March*	*March*	*Dec.*
	69	*70*	*71*	*72*	*73*	*70*	*71*	*72*	*73*	*72*	
Arusha	20	25	59	92	95	5,200	14,018	19,818	20,112	2.7	215
Coast	46	56	121	185	188	48,300	93,503	111,636	115,382*	20.2	603
Dodoma	40	75	246	299	336	26,400	239,366	400,330	278,915*	50.0	1,372
Iringa	60	350	651	630	659	11,600	216,200	207,502	243,527	25.5	330
Kigoma	14	34	132	129	129	6,700	27,200	114,391	114,391	22.3	887
Kilimanjaro	7	9	11	24	24	2,700	2,616	5,009	4,934*	0.6	209
Mara	19	174	376	376	271†	84,700	127,371	127,370	108,068*	19.4	339
Mbeya	22	91	493	713	715	32,900	64,390	98,571	103,672	8.8	138
Morogoro	16	19	113	116	118	6,000	10,513	23,951	19,732*	3.2	206
Lindi	412	750	592	626	589†	70,673	203,128	175,082	169,093*	38.0	280
Mtwara	10	—	748	1,088	1,103	173,027	371,560	441,241	466,098	61.2	406
Mwanza	10	28	127	211	284	4,600	18,641	32,099	49,846	2.6	152
Ruvuma	26	120	205	205	242	9,000	29,430	29,430	42,288	6.5	144
Shinyanga	6	98	150	123	108†	12,600	12,265	15,292	12,052*	1.5	124
Singida	12	16	201	263	263	6,800	51,230	59,420	59,420	12.1	164
Tabora	41	52	81	148	174	16,700	18,408	25,115	29,295	4.0	170
Tanga	37	37	132	245	245	7,700	35,907	77,858	77,957	8.8	318
West Lake	21	22	46	83	85	5,600	9,491	16,747	13,280*	2.3	202
Total:	819	1,956	4,484	5,556	5,628	531,200	1,545,237	1,980,862	1,928,062	14.4	357

* These figures have yet to be confirmed.
† At places small villages had to join bigger ones.